

Who Is Coughlin, What Is His Program, How Did He Rise?

**Aided by Big Business, America's
Number One Fascist Rose from
Obscurity to Lead a Movement**

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Father Coughlin: Fascist Demagogue
INSTALLMENT II

Capitalism is Bankrupt

One of the surest signs that a social system is mortally sick is the existence of a large body of permanently unemployed workers. Greek civilization toppled amidst the frenzied despair of her unemployed. The broken pillars of the Coliseum in Rome still stand as a monument to the tyrants of the mighty Roman Empire who vainly attempted to trick the hordes of unemployed out of their hunger. During the death agony of feudalism, all Europe was wracked by wandering bands of desperate and starving unemployed. American capitalism is mortally sick.

For ten years, since 1929, capitalism has cast off an increasing number of people whom it can never employ, whom it cannot even feed—despite the fact that the land is bursting with food and crops are rotting on the ground.

Each year an estimated 500,000 youth reach employable age and are thrown into the ever-swelling ranks of the unemployed. These hungry, ill-clothed Americans number now almost 17,000,000—a colossal figure!

At first they listened to the promises of Roosevelt's New Deal and these promises sounded good. He was going to feed them, clothe them, give them jobs and security.

Now they know that he lied. Now they know that he cheated them, that he had nothing to give them but increased misery.

The unemployed stand for the moment, uncertain what road to take next. They are starving in the richest country in the world. Warehouses are crammed to the roof with goods. Billions in gold lie idle in the banks. Factory gates are shut. Machines are silent. Crops are plowed under.

Using the LIE that private industry will provide jobs, Roosevelt's *slash relief* program hurls fresh millions after millions of Americans into the streets. There they may eat garbage—if they can find any left in the garbage pails—while they hunt for a job in private industry.

All about them they see incalculable wealth monopolized and enjoyed by a miserable handful of parasitic stockholders.

The unemployed go hungry.

They are bewildered, but one basic truth they do understand: *This situation is intolerable.*

They are ready for action. No more postcards to Congress! Already they feel in their minds the thing that is coming... *revolution... three square meals a day... clothing... a decent home... plenty for all...*

Democratic capitalism is doomed. Coughlin knows it. Big Business knows it. Roosevelt knows it.

Everybody knows it but that wooden skull minority composed of John L. Lewis, William Green, Earl Browder, an idiot or two, and a handful of old maids of both sexes who were left over from the last century. This minority still believes that democratic capitalism will continue indefinitely to punch its meal ticket!

In America apt students have watched the rise to power of Mussolini and Hitler. They understand that only one road is left open to capitalism that has become sour and rotten with old age. In Italy Mussolini called it fascism. In Germany Hitler called it Nazism. We do not yet know what name a similar movement in America might bear. Perhaps in America it will be called—*Social Justice*.

What Is Fascism?

Fascism is a combination of two things.

First, it is a wide mass movement of farmers and small business men who face bankruptcy, of youth denied a future under capitalism, of sections of the unemployed. All these layers of the oppressed who are seeking desperately to put their hands on the surrounding plenty become hypnotized by the silver-plated promises of a demagogue who regiments them into blindly obedient shock troops.

Secondly, it is financed and controlled by the very capitalists who above all are anxious to keep the revolutionary violence of the masses from turning against them. In America—the DuPonts, the Morgans, the Rockefellers—the Sixty Families.

To the rank and file followers of fascism, at first it seems a genuine revolutionary way out of their misery. They discover the truth *too late*.

The capitalists provide the money. The dictator provides the powerful slogans, the stirring names, the demagogic program, the organization, the lieutenants, and the *oratory*.

Father Coughlin's Real Program

A few years ago it was very difficult to prove that Father Coughlin was *consciously* plotting to build a fascist movement in the United States. But now he has come out more in the open. He has had time to make slips in his public and private utterances. It is only necessary to read his speeches and his magazine *Social Justice* with a little care to discover Father Coughlin's REAL program.

Only one month before he launched the National Union for Social Justice he said to Paul Weber of Hearst's International News Service (*Detroit Times*, October 10, 1934): *"I am devoted to capitalism."*

Among his sixteen points for Social Justice he calls for the *preservation of private property*.

Devotion to capitalism and preservation of private property—this is the holy Bible of fascism.

On March 13, 1938, in a broadcast over his network, Coughlin urged the establishment in the United States of a *"corporate state,"* which is the gilded way of describing

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**BUILD WORKERS'
DEFENSE GUARDS**

3c a Copy

Fascists Wreck N.Y. Labor Hall

Breaking Through



W.A.A. ENDS BUSY WEEK OF LOBBYING

Set Record for Vis-
iting Congressmen
—and Inaction

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON — Sponsored by the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, the "Right To Work Congress" ended its sessions here June 10, after one week with the feeling, as expressed in the *Daily Worker* of Sunday June 11 by George Morris, that "The Job Congress is the greatest mass lobbying action that has ever been carried through."

That the Workers Alliance met in Washington not to fashion a fighting program to meet the needs of the unemployed but to curry favor from the New Deal is best expressed by Herbert Benjamin, secretary-treasurer of the W.A.A., who stated that "Few actions of the unemployed have been so fruitful as this Congress. I think that at no time have so many Congressmen been visited."

Far from preparing the nation's unemployed and relief workers for militant struggle in their own behalf, the Workers Alliance Washington convocation disgraced itself by granting Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt an honorary membership after she had stated to the press that

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Twin City Workers Showed the Way to Fight W. P. A. Cuts

AN EDITORIAL

Seven months ago, in November, 3,350,000 men and women were employed on the W.P.A. rolls.

At that time the *New York Times'* authoritative business activity index stood at 94. Today that index stands at 86.

And today the Roosevelt Administration has cut down the W.P.A. rolls to 2,500,000.

While business activity—and jobs—fell by nearly one-tenth, Roosevelt was firing 850,000 W.P.A. workers on the pretext that there would be jobs waiting for them in private industry.

He lied. Those workers, fired from W.P.A., are roaming the streets looking for non-existent jobs, eating if at all on the miserable hand-outs of local home relief.

But that isn't the worst of it. On April 27 Roosevelt sent a message on relief to Congress, recommending an average of 2,000,000 on W.P.A. rolls during the fiscal year which begins July 1. That means another 500,000 are to be thrown off the W.P.A. if Roosevelt has his way.

What are you unemployed and W.P.A. workers going to do about it?

Last week the workers of Minneapolis and St. Paul showed the way. Five thousand of them closed up W.P.A. projects in a one-day demonstration and, in trucks provided by General Drivers Local 544's independent truck owners' section, they descended upon the various relief authorities and presented their militant demands. In a word, they demanded a job and a decent living for every worker.

If the stirring demonstration in the Twin Cities were repeated in only twenty other cities, ears now deaf in Washington would be obliged to hear. Fighting demonstrations in the streets are the only road to W.P.A. jobs, the only language that the Roosevelt War Deal can be made to understand.

That is the concrete task now facing the progressives in the unemployed and trade union movement everywhere: to organize demonstrations against the W.P.A. and relief cuts. On however modest a scale, demonstrations should be organized wherever they are at all possible. Millions of workers are waiting for a lead; the progressives have only to prove by action that they are ready to lead these workers in the fight against starvation.

"Freeing" of Mrs. Rubens Opens New Chapter in Case

Reporters, American Embassy Officials
Unable to Find any Trace of Her

By NAT LEVINE

The latest chapter in the G. P. U.-staged drama of the Robinson-Rubens case unfolded in a Moscow court last week when Mrs. Ruth Marie Rubens, wife of the missing Russian secret agent, A. A. Rubens, pleaded guilty to a charge of having illegally entered the Soviet Union on a false American passport.

The charge was an afterthought, merely following the already-established fact, for which three American Stalinists were recently convicted in Federal Court in New York, that Rubens supervised a passport forging ring. Rubens was recently identified by Walter Krivitsky, former head of the Soviet Intelligence service in

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A Tribute From An Enemy

"The only sections of the Left who can consistently oppose the Government's plan (for conscription) are the Trotskyists, who regard all wars as capitalist plots, and the Lansburyites, who would not fight on any provocation."

(From the "Evening Standard", Lord Beaverbrook's paper, April 27, 1939).

**Join the Socialist
Workers Party**

WRECKING GANG SMASHES DEBS SCHOOL OFFICE

Raid Marks Stage in
Rise of Fascist Move-
ment in U. S. A.

Fascist hoodlums broke into the Debs Labor School, 114 West 14 Street, New York City, and wrecked the entire office, sometime after midnight Saturday.

It was the first recorded instance of fascist gangsters breaking into and destroying a working class headquarters in the United States, and marks a stage in the speedy rise of the fascist movement.

As they entered the building, the fascists ripped down the labor school's sign in front of the door, cracked open the lock on the school door, and proceeded to destroy everything in sight.

Typewriters were broken apart, their parts strewn about the room. Plush chairs were slashed to bits while the rest of the furniture was broken beyond repair. The posters decorating the walls were torn down. All the files and records that were kept in the office were ripped up and destroyed. It is believed that some of the more valuable records are still in the hands of the fascists.

The wrecking gang, it is believed, belonged to the Coughlin organization which earlier the same day for the first time invaded the Union Square section and stabbed a Jewish school teacher.

Compelled to leave the neighborhood by the hundreds of anti-fascists who confronted them, the fascists returned, at night, it is believed, to wreak their vengeance on the first labor headquarters they found.

The Debs Labor School is operated by the Socialist Party. Before they left, the fascists turned on the water faucets and the entire floor was flooded. Firemen discovered the wreckage after an alarm had been turned in by an unidentified person.

The second of James P. Cannon's discussion articles on problems confronting the coming party convention appears on page 3 of this issue.

Irish Revolutionists Break With Stalinism, Form Club

Call for Organization of Revolutionary
Socialist Party in Ireland at Demonstration

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

LONDON.—Thoroughly disgusted with the Popular Frontism and bureaucracy of the Connolly Club, a Stalinist stooge outfit composed mainly of Irishmen living in England, a group of members have split away and founded The Friends of the Irish Republic. Especially infuriated with the call of the Connolly Club for unity with De Valera, the members of The Friends of the Irish Republic have organized on a program clearly against British imperialism and Stalinism.

Though the program of the organization, which is now three months old, indicates considerable unclarity on some points, it appears to be turning towards a consistently revolutionary position under the leadership of chairman Murphy and secretary McDermott.

On May 14, the Friends held a parade from Hammersmith Bridge to Hyde Park in commemoration of the execution of James Connolly by the British imperialists. Though the Connolly Club had turned down a

united front offer with the epithets "Trotskyists," about 100 people joined in the parade, and many times that number joined the meeting in the Park. A small hooligan element, led by the Stalinists, tried to disrupt the meeting, but retreated after the audience manifested its hostility.

A resolution attacking the exploiters of Ireland and calling for the formation of a Revolutionary Socialist Party in Ireland was read and adopted unanimously by the audience. The audience then observed a minute's silence in commemoration of the martyrs of Ireland's great revolutionary struggle in 1916 which was followed by resounding cheers. The demonstration, led by a band in defiance of police order, then marched down Edgware Road where a meeting was held to collect funds and sell literature.

Small as these militants are in numbers today, they are showing fine activity and are rapidly becoming known. New members are joining.

Thugs Stab Worker; SWP Branches Hold Anti-Coughlin Rallies

Knife Teacher Who
Speaks Up against
Anti-Semitic Filth

Huge Meeting Pro-
tected by Anti-Fas-
cist Labor Guard

The urgent necessity of mobilizing the labor movement against the Coughlin Fascists was brought home to New York's workers on Saturday when the Coughlinites invaded the Union Square area, traditional labor and Jewish neighborhood, shouted their anti-Semitic slogans and stabbed a protesting school teacher.

Samuel Applebaum, a French teacher at New Utrecht High School, was stabbed, necessitating seven stitches to close the wound, when he spoke up against insults levelled at Jews by Coughlinites selling "Social Justice" on Fourteenth Street.

Party Answers Fascists

As soon as the news was brought to the nearby Socialist Workers Party headquarters at 116 University Place, party and youth members speedily mobilized in a counter-demonstration against the Coughlinites. They were joined by hundreds of workers on Fourteenth Street. The Coughlinites quickly left the neighborhood, while S.W.P. spokesmen set up a platform and addressed the workers on the necessity of uniting to build Workers Defense Guards against the fascist menace.

Several persons who had joined in the anti-Coughlin demonstration were so appreciative of the action of the Socialist Workers Party that they donated money so that *Socialist Appeals* could be distributed free to interested workers. Over 100 *Appeals* were sold here.

Meanwhile two mobilizations of S.W.P. forces were successfully challenging Coughlinite domination of Times Square and 34th St. corner of Macy's Department Store. Over 100 copies of the *Socialist Appeal* were sold at Macy's and another sixty at Times Square in short order. The *Socialist Appeal* salesmen, shouting anti-fascist slogans, were set upon several times at 34th Street by Coughlin thugs, but the sympathetic crowds rushed to the defense of the anti-fascists each time.

Augmented by a detachment of the Anti-Fascist Labor Defense Guard and actively assisted by numerous workers anxious to fight against the fascist gangs of New York, the Bronx Branch of the Socialist Workers Party successfully demonstrated in the Fordham Road District of the Bronx, a major stronghold of the Coughlin Fascist gangs.

Despite police interference and organized heckling from a large contingent of Coughlin Fascists, led in their disruption by students from nearby Fordham University, and by a frocked Catholic priest who sat directing them from a parked car, the anti-fascists were able to stage a huge outdoor mass meeting on the corner of Valentine Avenue and Fordham Road. At least 1,000 were in the meeting.

Standing only a few paces apart from Coughlin's "Social Justice" hawkers, squads of *Socialist Appeal* salesmen sold more than a hundred copies of the anti-fascist paper in less than an hour and a half.

Coughlinites at Bay

Although the organized heckling of the Coughlinites drowned out several speakers, the mass meeting continued for well over an hour in defiance of the fascist provocations. Hundreds of workers saw for the first time the fearless opposition of the Socialist Workers Party to the fascist gangs. The Coughlinite hooligans were held at bay by the Labor Defense Guard while speaker after speaker shot stern barbs at the fascists. The effective protective ring about the platform stopped the Coughlinites from rushing the speakers, although they clearly outnumbered the organized anti-fascists.

It was learned from workers stationed among the Coughlinite hecklers that the fascists attempted at various times throughout the meeting to organize a rush to the speaker's stand. That they were frustrated speaks well for the adequate protection afforded the meeting by the Labor Guard.

Parade Follows Meeting

After the meeting disbanded, the anti-fascist workers staged a parade along Fordham Road, then went to the Bronx headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Thousands of workers along the route of march heard the band of over a hundred workers shout, "Down with Anti-Semitism," "Build the Labor Defense Guards," etc.

At the headquarters of the S.W.P., two militant Italian workers joined the party.

Max Mont, organizer of the Bronx branch, announced that the successful demonstration attests to the future successes of the workers against the fascists. Another workers' action in the Fordham Road district is planned for the immediate future.

Brooklyn Businessman Gives S.W.P. Lesson In "Americanism"

The workers of Boro Park had an excellent example of "Americanism" at work last Friday night when the Socialist Workers Party and the Y.P.S. L. were holding their customary open air meeting at 46th St. and 13th Avenue in Brooklyn.

The meeting was repeatedly interrupted and heckled by Raphael Raymond, executive secretary of the Boro Park Chamber of Commerce and editor of the *Boro Park Herald*. This patriot demanded that the

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Party Members Discuss Problems of National Anti-War Convention

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

With lengthy negotiations over a period of five months dragging into a state of ineffectiveness, the Teamsters' Unions in Ohio felt forced this week to set an absolute deadline for final acceptance or rejection of their proposed contract by employing truckers in this area, Edward Murphy, international representative of the union, announced.

Action in establishing the deadline of June 17 was taken by the Ohio Highway Driver Council at a special meeting held last week in Columbus, O., attended by union representatives from all parts of the state.

Speaking for the council, Murphy stressed the fact that the proposed contract was in line with other wage agreements for the same type of employment in other sections of the country through which the same companies operate, and that further delays would be unreasonable.

The proposed contract in no way varies from other similar agreements and there is no real reason why the employers should not sign it, Murphy added.

Terms of Contract

Demands made upon the employers are only that a pay rate of approximately 75 cents an hour be established; pay for over-the-road drivers is to be based on a mileage basis of 3½ cents per mile for single units, and 4½ cents a mile on double units, and the straight 75 cent per hour rate is only paid when the trucks are halted for checking, spotting, breakdowns, etc.

However, Murphy points out, a single unit driver would have to average 22 miles per hour to receive 75 cents under the "rolling" rate—a difficult task with the huge single and double trailer outfits.

Where the driver owns his own equipment, the proposed agreement sets forth that in addition to the amount he receives for operating this equipment, he also be paid at the union rate.

It seeks to guarantee that all drivers be permitted one off day in every seven days and that no driver be called upon to work more than 60 hours in any one week period, according to Murphy. Establishment of seniority rights is included in the terms.

Around 30,000 truck drivers in Ohio were represented in the Council through representatives of their unions when the contract was proposed and the deadline set.

Among the prominent Ohio truck drivers officials present at the council meeting were: Paul Lave, secretary and business agent Akron Local 348; B. V. McGriff, business agent of Cleveland Local 407, who is also president of the Ohio Highway Drivers Council; Harry Card, business agent of Toledo Local 20, who is secretary of the Council; and the following members of the Council's executive board which includes Lave, David T. Finn, business agent of Dayton Local 957; Leonard Newmaker, president of the Columbus Local 413; Sam Butcher, business agent of Cincinnati Local 100, and Thomas Oakes, business agent of Canton Local 92, and president of the Canton Federation of Labor.

In general this development follows along the lines of the Over-the-Road contracts which were negotiated in the nine-state area during the past year under the direction of a special Teamsters' committee set up in that section of the country with official sanction of the International Union.

On Labor Spies

Unionists throughout the country should pay the closest attention to the latest public findings of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee which were released on June 11. They concern spies in labor organizations.

A prominent member of Goodrich Local, United Rubber Workers of America, was accused in the report of being an agent of the Corporation's Auxiliary Company of Cleveland.

On Leadership—What A Rank and Filer Thinks

By BEN LIEBERMAN

Our Transition Program implies a drastic change in our habits of work and organization. Its adoption signified that it is no longer sufficient for us to reach the few thousands we usually do. We have to reach hundreds of thousands. There are some comrades who doubt that we can do this, whatever our efforts, given the present period of world reaction. Such pessimism is dangerous to us. For to use the defeats of international labor as an excuse for reconciling ourselves to a lack of growth is to doom ourselves to extinction in advance. The time is short—what with the startling rise of fascist tendencies in the U. S., and the impending war.

May Day, New York City held an outdoor demonstration at which Comrade Shachtman made a brilliant speech. One could see people in the audience, who had never heard of us before, nodding their heads in agreement with the speaker. Yet all Shachtman was doing was talking the Transition Program—and it all sounded so simple. For the first time I realized that in these Transition Demands, we really had the elements of about as popular a program as one could wish for. Then as an afterthought, it struck me that this was the first time in the year or so of its existence, that I had ever heard a prominent party spokesman deliver a speech centering around this Transition Program.

The Key Question

And in this lies the nub of the party organizational problem. After having adopted a policy calculated to jerk us out of our isolation, we have thus far neglected, except for occasional stabs at it, to adopt the attitudes and organizational steps that such a policy necessitates. The fault lies with all of us and no section of the party is blameless, whether amongst the ranks or in the leadership. But certainly one of the first places to correct the fault is in the leadership; for the ranks will succeed in making the turn towards mass agitation only when the leadership itself makes that turn and not before. Let no one misunderstand. I think that by and large we have a pretty good group of individuals leading the party. We have in our top cadre some of the best political brains, orators, agitators and writers any group was ever blessed with. The trouble is that, as this cadre conceives its duties, its sole business is to formulate policy and run party institutions. I do not wish to minimize these important functions; but such a narrow conception of leadership hardly suffices for our present needs.

What our party needs most now is a popular leadership. Our leaders have to consider, as part of their job, to do for us what Debs did for the old S.P., what Coughlin does for his movement, what Roosevelt did for the New Deal. Even Norman Thomas understands this particular function of leadership. Our leaders must popularize our program and popularize themselves. The two things go together, for without a popular leadership we can never hope to popularize our program. Mr. Average Citizen of the U.S.A. is no theoretician. He never considers any program apart from the promise.

He is John Grisby and has denied being a spy.

Conclusive evidence was introduced, however, that Percy Booth, former corresponding secretary of the Akron Central Labor Union, an officer in the Machinists Union, and later very active in Goodyear Local, U.R.W.A., was on the payroll of the spy agency. Booth is reported being in California now.

William O'Neil, former president, business agent and one-time secretary of the A.F. of L. Retail Clerks Union was also named. He skipped town two years ago with a large sum of union funds and went to Pennsylvania.

H. D. Hanna, prominent in the Diamond Match Local Union and in the Barberton Central Labor Union was declared to be a paid spy. He is reported to be in Michigan now.

In listing the spies active in the Akron area, the La Follette report says they are based on a confession of the chief director of the Corporation's Auxiliary, and the names are taken from the 1935 payroll of the company.

ment spokesmen who personify it.

A Lost Opportunity
As things stand today our leadership is a purely internal one. Only party members and close sympathizers are aware of its existence. What is more, it makes but few attempts to break its introverted habits. Last summer, for instance, the New York section of the party ran an election campaign starring two prominent party spokesmen as candidates. A bad feature of the campaign was that it was a write-in campaign; but this was unavoidable. What took the ginger out of the campaign as far as the comrades in the ranks were concerned was the fact that the candidates never made any campaign speeches. "And whom should we vote for?" the workers would ask our outdoor speakers. "Write in the names of X and Y, true representatives of independent labor action." "And who are X and Y?" at which point our speakers were usually a bit embarrassed, for to the workers of N. Y., comrades X and Y do not mean a thing. After all those who expect to appear before the masses as their leaders have to at least be seen and heard by these same masses. Naturally, the campaign was a dud. The effect upon the ranks was devastating, and an opportunity for prominent party leaders to popularize themselves and the party missed.

Stump the Country!

Now by a popular leadership, I do not mean that every comrade in our top cadre has to become an agitator. Obviously that is silly. But a certain section of it has to devote itself to becoming just that. These comrades have to stump the country like Debs or Haywood did. They must do what Coughlin does all the time—speak to the masses. True we can't use the radio. But certainly frequent tours can be arranged—not the usual haphazard kind we get once in a blue moon, but carefully planned ones, with a campaign manager, appropriate literature, and a sound truck going along. The effect upon the membership of such action would be invigorating to say the least. Imagine what a serious election campaign in which some of our leaders played an active role, speaking night after night, using sound equipment, would mean for New York. Consider the effect upon a branch out in the sticks of a prominent party spokesman coming to stay a few days, speaking at several meetings, attending a branch meeting, getting acquainted with the comrades' needs. Think of what it means for the youth to have someone like a Debs or a Haywood to look up to and emulate. And what effect would such actions have on our press. "Social Justice" sells because it is Coughlin's paper and every one has heard of Coughlin. Who has ever heard of our leaders or our party? When the names of our leaders become known to thousands of workers, when workers will see and hear our leaders, then we will really be able to sell the Socialist Appeal.

Leadership which conceives its functions solely in terms of policy making and institution running has other drawbacks besides not providing popular figures. It tends to develop a lack of organization mindedness and create a hiatus between itself and the ranks. As things stand today, posts are staked out, each one runs his particular institution, and no one knows too much about what is happening in the organization. The result is, for example, that the N. Y. district convention which occurred under its very nose, could go by with the top cadre only dimly aware of this important event in our party life.

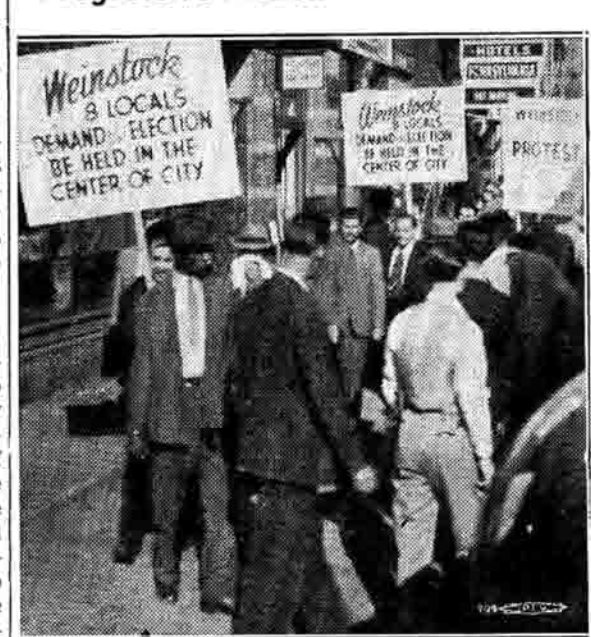
Leaders Must Inspire

When such things happen, the rank and filer cannot help but feel, perhaps wrongly, that the top cadre is only casually interested in what goes on in the ranks. He feels that with the big task ahead of us, it is not enough for leaders to sit in session complacently giving orders. Leadership has to inspire. It must be alive to what the ranks think. It must really lead. If morale is low, it never pays to blame the ranks, for morale is a leadership problem. When Trotsky headed the Red Army in 1917, he could have done as many generals do—stay behind in an office and issue fine ukases. Fortunately for the revolution, Trot-

sky conceived his duty otherwise. Wherever the front was weakest there you would find him, inspiring the ranks to tremendous efforts, showing by example and self-sacrifice—a living example of what a revolutionary leader, who is serious about his business, has to be.

That an orientation on the part of our top cadre towards popular leadership, mass agitation methods and organization mindedness is fraught with difficulties, is obvious. Not all of them are capable of being mass agitators, some are poor administrators, most of them are already pretty busy men. But these difficulties are always put forward as excuses for not even tackling the problem, and that is wrong. The first thing is for our leaders to seriously consider the problem, and to adopt such an orientation for themselves as crucial for the party. That the membership will respond is certain. The fact is that whenever our leaders have stepped out in this direction response was enthusiastic—witness the Madison Square demonstration and its effect all over the country, and the twice-weekly Appeal campaign.

Progressive Action



Who Is Father Coughlin, What Is His Program?

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Mussolini's fascist state.

"A corporate state in which parties would be abolished and the President would be chosen by a House of Representatives elected by occupational classes was proposed Sunday by Father Charles E. Coughlin." (United Press dispatch in the New York World Telegram March 14, 1938.)

But he has been more frank even than this. In a signed article in the February 13, 1939, issue of *Social Justice* (page 7) he declared:

"I am beginning to understand why I have been dubbed a 'Nazi' or a 'fascist' by the Jewish publications in America; for practically all the sixteen principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany."

Like all true fascists he is bitterly opposed to the great majority taking power and favors the rule of a small minority—the capitalists. In an editorial in *Social Justice* (February 20, 1939) he stated:

"The principle of mere 'majority-ism'—sometimes called democracy and sometimes Bolshevism—is not enough. The popular fallacy is that '50 million Frenchmen can't be wrong.' As a matter of experience and historic fact, 50 men are much more likely to be right than 50 million."

In this case Coughlin can add TEN to his fifty men and make it the SIXTY FAMILIES.

During the 1936 election campaign, Coughlin clarified his position still further in an unguarded moment. In an interview at which Dale Kramer, former national secretary of the National Farm Holiday Association, was present, Coughlin stated that "Democracy is doomed" and "I take the road to fascism." (Coughlin, Lemke and the Union Party, by Dale Kramer.)

(To be continued in next issue)

Do you want to see this series of articles on Coughlin published in a popular pamphlet, at a low price, for mass distribution? Pioneer Publishers is undertaking to get out a large edition immediately—IF it receives contributions from all friends and comrades to make it possible. Readers are urged to send contributions for the Coughlin pamphlet to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City.

MASS MEETING

Greet The Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party! Hear The Internationalist Position on War!

Chairman: JAMES P. CANNON

Reporter for the Political Committee: MAX SHACHTMAN

Speakers: V. R. DUNNE of Minneapolis, GENORA JOHNSON of Flint, GLEN TRIMBLE of San Francisco, GEORGE CLARKE of Detroit, REUBEN PLASKETT of NEWARK, NATHAN GOULD, National Secretary Y.P.S.L.

FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 8 P.M.

Irving Plaza, Irving Place at 15th Street

ADMISSION 25c

Party Must Overcome Organizational Defects

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE CALIFORNIA STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S.W.P.

"The progress and revolutionary maturing of our party in the last few years can best be gauged by the adoption of the Transitional Program as the point of departure for the solution of the problems of the American revolution. Of equal importance is our active participation in the formation of the 4th International, our pan-American work, our aid to foreign sections, the steady anti-war agitation, the marked improvement in the agitational character of the Socialist Appeal, the tremendous achievement of a twice weekly and the anti-fascist demonstrations. All this testifies to the fundamental ability of the political leadership of our party and to the revolutionary internationalism and devotion of the membership.

2. In adopting the conception of the Transitional Program, in posing sharply be-

fore ourselves the tremendous task of the revolutionary party in this country, it was to be expected that every weakness, every habit of routine inertia inherited from the past isolated existence would stand out in bold relief. Precisely at this time, when the party has launched itself on the road of direct struggle for influence over the majority of the working class do we feel the insupportable weight of every weakness in the party structure and activity. A party that has the courage to pose great tasks for itself must also have the courage to ruthlessly overcome all habitual, organizational weaknesses that stand in the way of carrying out these tasks.

3. To overcome this contradiction between the enormous political responsibility of our party and its lack of Bolshevik training, the tendency to confine ourselves to routine agitation and our lack of energy, alertness and self-sacrifice in the day to day activity, is the central organizational task of the party in the coming period. With our correct program and the organization geared to the swiftly moving events, we will then have the instrument to overcome the great contradiction of the political backwardness of the American working class and the maturity of the objective factors for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

4. Some comrades recoil before the immensity of this problem and choose the road of desertion. This road can lead nowhere. It is the "solution" of prostration and fear before difficulties.

5. For serious revolutionists, the party's weaknesses in structure, leading personnel and activity in the past year must be critically examined in the light of a united conception of the party's task. In comradely and loyal collaboration the entire party from top to bottom must systematically and energetically root out every one of these weaknesses. However, utilization of the criticism of our national leadership in order to create bitter and hostile relations between our local organization and the Political Committee is an activity incompatible with Bolshevik inner party practice. It is with this understanding and in this spirit that we list those features of the party's work which merit serious criticism.

6. It has been recognized over and over again that the main task of the party is the penetration of the trade unions. This understanding was summed up in the slogan "90% of our activity in the trade unions." The simple fact that every point in the party's program from the struggle against war to the struggle for a Labor Party is dependent upon the degree of party entrenchment and influence in the trade unions, should indicate that in this sector the maximum of national leadership and direction as well as organizational efficiency should exist. It is not the aim of this resolution to examine the party's policy in different trade union situations or on the whole. What is pertinent to the problem we are dealing with is the absence of a functioning Industrial Department during the past period. To our knowledge such a Department does not exist to this very day. As a result of inadequate financing the Labor Secretary has functioned sporadically. Correspondence on vital questions of national trade union work was conducted very poorly and at times not at all. The formation of national fractions proceeded painfully and without direction from the Political Committee. During the crisis in the auto union, the party experienced an internal crisis that was characterized by the absence of any firm di-



THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"During the coming week we are making a special drive for more subs and hope to send in several." — R. D., literature agent of the Toronto Fourth Internationalists.

"Our comrades are following up former subscribers for the purpose of getting renewals and at the same time are trying for new subs. L. Schlosberg is still Boston's Ace subscriber. He won the sub-drive Prize and now leads with four subs.

"Street sales of the Appeal are going o.k. Four times each week, Saturday night mobilizations in the streets, street meetings, etc. Our branch passed a motion that every member give one night to selling Appeals on the streets. This has worked very well. Those comrades exempt for one reason or another must sell 3 Appeals each issue." J. T., Boston Appeal agent.

RENEWAL CAMPAIGN EXTENDED:
Since many branches have

stated they need more time to finish up on their renewal campaigns we are extending it until July 1.

So far the results have not been up to our expectations. A total of 50 renewals has been obtained in about 3 weeks time. The branches can do lots better and have 2 more weeks in which to prove it.

STATEMENTS IN MAIL:

This week each branch and Appeal agent will receive the regular statement itemizing his Appeal bill.

We are depending upon a prompt payment in all cases. Our financial difficulties are not over by a long shot and we expect a steady response from the branches. Liquidate all back debts by the Convention!

NOTICE: Please make all checks, money orders, etc., payable to the SOCIALIST APPEAL. Do not make them out to the manager or editor of the paper. Please observe this request.

N. Y. PARTY AT WORK

Throughout the last weeks, the party in New York has been conducting a widespread agitation against the growing menace of Father Coughlin and his fascist movement.

Sales of the Socialist Appeal have increased appreciably over the previous period and we can state definitely that our Socialist message is reaching hundreds more workers in New York than at any previous period.

The Bronx branch has been conducting a variegated series of activities, including numerous indoor and outdoor meetings, mass sales of the Socialist Appeal and distribution of thousands of anti-fascist handbills. Last week they invaded the Fordham area with their Socialist message, thus carrying the anti-fascist fight right into Africa.

Results thus far: The Bronx branch is beginning to root itself in the Bronx community, the sales of the Socialist Appeal have been greatly increased, several new members have been recruited into the party within the last two weeks.

The Boro Park branch has had several tussles with the local Chamber of Commerce in which the latter has come off second best.

The other branches are swinging into line, holding large open air meetings, establishing connections with the Center and complete failure to keep all sections of the party workers in auto informed on changes in party policy.

We propose:
(a) That one of the first tasks of the incoming National Committee be the formation of a National Industrial Department.

(b) The Department should be headed by an Executive Secretary who shall be a member of the Political Committee, and a Field Secretary. The Executive Secretary shall maintain constant contact with all trade union fractions, correspond on the current problems and convey the line of the P.C. to the localities. The Field Secretary shall be sent to all vital points in the trade union situation either to establish connections for the Party or aid the party fractions in the situation.

(c) The Industrial Department shall issue a regular Bulletin containing information on party activity in different unions, analysis and estimation of the general trade union situations, exchange of experiences in trade union work. Directives on campaigns the party is carrying on within the unions, etc.
(d) The immediate formation of national fractions with a fraction secretary in every union feasible.

(e) Adequate financial provisions must be made from the very first for the efficient functioning of the Department and its personnel. This work must be carried on well even if we must sacrifice other important projects. It must not be thought that we do not recognize splendid trade union work that has been done during the past period under the guidance of the national leadership. Many examples can be given. However, the crying lack was and remains the absence of national co-ordination and direction. (Continued in next issue)

lishing themselves in their local neighborhoods, gradually gaining recognition as THE Socialist movement of New York City.

Meanwhile mass sales of the Socialist Appeal are going full steam ahead in the Times Square and other main thoroughfares of the city.

Let the old ladies of both sexes, let the cowards and the chicken-hearted snivel and weep; our anti-Coughlin campaign has demonstrated to us that we are on the right track, that the workers of New York are by no means licked and by no means reconciled to the rise of fascism in America.

With the anti-Coughlin campaign, which we will continue and extend, our party in New York has hit its true stride!

WAA ENDS BUSY LOBBYING WEEK

(Continued from Page 1)

government employees (W.P.A. workers) had no right to strike against the government.

In full agreement with Mrs. Roosevelt that W.P.A. workers ought silently to accept the New Deal-engineered dismissals, the Workers Alliance "Congress" spent most of the sessions palavered "to keep the New Deal in the White House after the 1940 elections."

Businessmen's Slogan

The keynote of the convention, hoarsely sounded by Davio Lasser, was "to promote business recovery." It sounded like a businessmen's gathering. The promotion of a fighting program for more adequate relief and better housing went wholly unmentioned. The sole effort made by the W.A.A. convention to secure more adequate relief was confined to a one-week lobbying campaign, during which all available Congressmen were asked to be indulgent enough to vote favorably on the Casey-Murray Bill.

In the matter of more adequate relief, the Casey-Murray Bill provides for less W.P.A. jobs than existed prior to the last general election. The Casey-Murray Bill provides for the maintenance of an average of three million W.P.A. jobs, which is 350,000 jobs less than existed in November, 1938.

Conscious betrayers of the hungry masses whom they misled, the Stalinist organizers of the "Right to Work Congress" had simply brought 1200 delegates here to befuddle them into thinking that something had been done by coming here. But the business of sitting and listening to windy speeches, walking around Washington and sitting in Congressmen's offices, was a deliberately-planned substitute for the necessary street demonstrations in the cities and towns back home. The "Congress" was simply a run-around, and worse than useless.

Boston, Mass.

Benefit Supper for the Socialist Appeal

FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 6:30 p.m.
Byron Hall, 6 Byron St.
Admission, 48 cents

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Are Our French Comrades Facing An "Espionage" Trial?

Last week we gave several instances of the wave of persecution unleashed against the anti-war forces in France and its colonies. As a result of the rebellion among the soldiers of the Maginot Line against the indefinite retention of the reservists, which we reported in this column, the persecutions have multiplied. In addition to numerous local headquarters, the central offices of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party in Paris have since been raided twice. Similar raids have been made on anarchist and syndicalist centers throughout the country. But more startling than all these incidents is the case of our comrades Steve and Rigal, young militants of the French section of the Fourth International.

Steve and Rigal have been held incommunicado since their arrest several weeks ago. They were arrested for anti-militarist articles appearing in our press and all efforts to see them up to the present have been unsuccessful. In the name of the coming war for "democracy", the most elementary democratic rights are thus being abrogated even before the outbreak of hostilities. Outrageous as this procedure is, the rumors being spread about the case are even more alarming. As in the case of the rebels in the colonies, according to certain sources, the government is going to try the revolutionary anti-militarists under charge of "conspiring with foreign powers."

If the frenzied lynch-agitation of the Stalinist Humanite and its parliamentary expert on military affairs, Gitton, are any indication, a frame-up espionage trial against Rigal and Steve is being cooked up behind the scenes. Already the recruiting sergeants for imperialist war in the ranks of the French labor movement are every day hatching amalgams in their press between the P.S.F. (Colonel La-Roque's Fascist French Social Party) and the "Pivertists-Trotskys" in preparation for frame-ups.

Of course, our French comrades are not being intimidated by this campaign. They are carrying on their anti-militarist work with even greater vigor than before. But the whole revolutionary movement of the world must stand ready to aid them against the frame-ups and persecutions which French "democracy" and its Stalinist and reformist agents are hurling at them.

Revolutionary Socialists of Ceylon Mark Important Advances

Among the signs of revolt against British war preparations in the colonies, we recently cited the struggle of the Socialist Party of Ceylon. As we pointed out at the time, this party has consistently opposed "collective security" and at its recent national conference

adopted a resolution on war which affirmed the revolutionary class struggle as the only means of fighting against war.

That the Ceylon masses have responded to this policy is attested to by the fact that the party has since elected two members to the State Council and combined its parliamentary activity with powerful street demonstrations in Colombo and other towns. The Ceylon Socialist Party celebrated May Day by converting its weekly paper into a daily. Our heartfelt congratulations and warmest greetings of solidarity to the revolutionary socialists of Ceylon!

Unspeakable Stalinist Attacks Against Revolutionary

The Stalinists in France are leaving no stone unturned to make life as miserable as possible for the revolutionary Spanish refugees who have found a precarious and temporary asylum in that country. Because of the revelations of these refugees, which exposed the counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin in Spain, the G.P.U. agents are redoubling their efforts to silence these opponents by even more despicable methods than they have employed hitherto.

These assassins of Erwin Wolf, Nin and Moulin now have the unmitigated nerve to accuse Spanish anti-Stalinists of plotting the assassination of a Stalinist deputy, Andre Marty! Nor do they confine the accusation to their press. They have taken it directly to Albert Sarraut, Minister of the Interior, whom they not so long ago characterized as the arch-Fascist in France. Furnishing him with lists upon lists of their opponents among the refugees, they have demanded that he round them up and hold them for trial.

The bloodhounds of the Kremlin hope by this means to cover up their crimes in Spain. They will hardly succeed. As with their other crimes, here too truth is on the march.

An excellent account of the civil war in Spain, submitting its experiences to the searchlight of Marxist analysis, has just been published by our French comrades in a special issue of their theoretical review, *Quatrieme Internationale*. The pamphlet is entitled *L'Espagne Livree: Comment le Front Populaire a ouvert les portes a Franco* (Spain surrendered: How the People's Front Opened the Gates to Franco). The author is M. Casanova, one of the leaders of the Spanish section of the Fourth International, whose miraculous escape from Spain was related in the *Appeal* last March. Pioneer Publishers is planning to publish it in English soon. Its appearance is another important blow directed against Stalinism and will be invaluable in educating the cadres of the new revolutionary international.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Timothy O'Toole is a carpenter by trade and a damn fine carpenter at that. One day he was hired by Mr. Murphy who was putting a new roof on his barn. Mr. Murphy and Tim divided the work to make things a little easier. Mr. Murphy used a small pick-axe to rip off the old shingles and Tim followed him with a hammer and nails and put on the new shingles. It was not an easy job because the roof was as slippery as ice and every once in a while one of them would start to slide down the slope where there was a fifteen foot drop on to a great big pile of manure which Mr. Murphy was collecting for the farm.

Whenever one would slip the other would reach out and try to hold him back. This happened several times without dire consequences until Mr. Murphy happened to hit a loose board which banged Timothy in the shin which is a very tender place and Timothy began to slide down the slippery roof like a special delivery letter in a mail chute in the Empire State Building.

Quick Watson! My Parachute!

Frantically Timothy reached out like a drowning man and tried to grab at everything in sight and just in the nick of time got a firm grip on the seat of Mr. Murphy's overalls. Then they both went bumping and slipping down the roof until they hit the gutter pipe. Timothy went over the pipe and for an instant hung in mid-air by virtue of his powerful hold on Mr. Murphy's posterior.

Mr. Murphy, being a foresighted man with great physical strength, managed to retain his pick-axe which he at once used as a sky-hook and hung onto the gutter pipe like a passenger on the Lexington Avenue Express hangs on to a strap in the rush hour.

They made a great picture, the two of them, with Mr. Murphy hanging on the pick which was caught on the gutter pipe and Timothy hanging on to Mr. Murphy's seat. They dangled in the air, swinging to and fro as gracefully as a couple of aerial acrobats except for the expressions on their faces and the way their heels whirled about in space.

After a while, there being no one in sight to bring a ladder, they became tired. Especially Mr. Murphy who was fat and not used to having a one hundred and sixty-five pound man hang on his rear end while he was dangling on the end of a pick-axe. "Let go me pants you idiot!" he howled. But Timothy was nobody's dope and he just said nothing and hung on like glue.

Finally Mr. Murphy could bear it no longer. His pants were in severe danger of becoming separated from his person and his arms were too tired to hang on the pick. He looked below at Timothy and shouted, "Let go me pants or I'll hit you with the pick!"

Don't Lead with Your Chin

There is a moral to this story. Timothy learned it very well that day. Mr. Murphy learned it especially well. And everyone else should consider it carefully. If everyone learned it there would be much less trouble in the world today.

Years ago in Pennsylvania the bosses used to divide up the various nationalities and religions so that whenever they decided to cut the pay they could blame it all on some other group of workers. The Poles were sore at the

Germans and the Germans were mad at the Irish and so it went. The Catholic workers were told that the Protestant workers were to blame for bad conditions, and they would fight each other. One day the workers got wise to this racket and they organized regardless of nationality and religion and then the boss had to figure out a new way to keep the workers fighting among themselves.

And when workers fight workers the boss wins every time. He can't lose when the workers are divided. When one worker kicks the fellow next to him in the shop he doesn't realize that the fellow on the other side will soon kick him.

It works the other way around when workers cooperate. If a fellow who is better paid and has better conditions helps out the fellow who is not so well off or who is not so skilled, then both are helped. If the average wage level can be raised to the point where all the guys in the shop are making a decent living then the higher paid worker is just that much better off. And on the other hand when there is a large number of underpaid and overworked men on the job the fellow who is a little better off is in constant danger of being cut or fired. And when the skilled and unskilled, the better paid and the underpaid, stick together the boss is hogtied to maintain higher pay and good conditions. It works like that every time.

The Old Army Game

I once worked for a boss who took me aside after the second day on the job and said, "Look here, you are a nice American fellow and a gentle and you will go a long way in this business if you just keep away from all the Wops and Jews and Swedes and stick to me." I didn't answer him but he must have figured I fell for his lie because he went on to say how all the others were no good, etc.

The very next day I happened to overhear him telling another new man on the job the very same thing only this time he was praising the Swedes. He said, "Look here, you are a nice smart boy and if you mind your own business and keep away from the Irish and Jews and the Wops and you stick along with me you will be all set." And after all the guys in the shop got together we found out he had tried to pull the same thing on every one. To one he would praise the Italians and to another he would knock the Germans or the Jews or the Swedes. But we got wise to this little trick when we found that each guy in the shop was getting a different wage and had been promised a promotion if he would keep his ears open and stool on the others. We fixed that boss, believe me.

You may think you are saving your little job or are fixing things nicely for yourself if you reach down and take a swing at the guy below or alongside but what you are doing is nothing more or less than greasing the skids for your own exit.

When things get tough it is time not to fight with your fellow workers but to gang up on the boss with a few immediate demands and a bunch of brand new picket signs all ready in case. That is the way to ease up the tension on the job and it works every time. If you don't believe me, try it out sometime. You'll be surprised.

Admits Brutal Puerto Rico Rule

F.D.R. Reveals U. S. Role—Cannon Seconds Pineiro's Call for Independence

By DIEGO MONTANEZ

In a public letter to General Blanton Winship, his infamous Governor of Puerto Rico, President Roosevelt completely gave away the contentions of the Stalinists and their Congressional pet, Vito Marcantonio, that the President is not responsible for the brutal rule of Winship. The people of Puerto Rico will long remember the cold-blooded massacre of unarmed paraders, men, women and children, on Palm Sunday, 1937, in the city of Ponce at the direct instigation of Winship, whom Roosevelt appointed and kept in office for five long years.

The American Civil Liberties Union, mild and respectable though it is, uses unusually strong language in characterizing the administration of this "loyal supporter" of F.D.R.: "Under his administration freedom of speech and assembly have repeatedly been denied, teachers have been summarily discharged or disciplined for their views, violence by the militarized police has resulted in deaths and in injuries running into the hundreds, and courts of law have been used as instruments to support American colonial rule."

The President's letter to Winship, as printed in the New York Herald-Tribune of June 7, follows in full:

"My Dear Governor Winship: 'I have received your resignation of June 3, 1939, which I accept, knowing of your desire to be relieved as soon as convenient. As I have already indicated to you, Admiral Leahy will be able to assume the governorship on Sept. 1 of this year, subject, of course, to his confirmation by the Senate. Therefore, the arrangement of your time as outlined in your letter will fit in satisfactorily."

"I am sure that you already know of my high regard for you personally and officially, but I can not refrain at this time from expressing my appreciation of your long and distinguished career in the service of your government. This applies not only to your work in Puerto Rico but to other special and difficult assignments that you have had previously, and which so remarkably equipped you for the Governorship of Puerto Rico. You took office there at a most difficult moment in the history of the island; you inherited problems of unique and unprecedented gravity. I am proud of the way in which you carried through this most arduous task in the interest of the people of Puerto Rico."

"May I thank you for your loyal support during the years we have known each other and express my best wishes for the future."

Very sincerely,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

Admiral Replaces General This letter serves as added proof of the statements made both by the Socialist Workers Party and the Puerto Rican Nationalists that Winship was by no means the "main enemy" of the Puerto Rican people, but merely a tool of the Wall Street Government headed by Roosevelt. Both the

S.W.P. and the Nationalists are equally opposed to the appointment of the new Governor, Admiral William D. Leahy. The gist of the opinion of the Nationalist Party was contained in the statement of Lorenzo Pineiro Rivera, their U. S. Secretary-General, that: "The Puerto Rican people know that their freedom from Wall Street oppression cannot be attained by being shifted from military to naval control or by the removal of any individual or group of individuals, but only by smashing completely the grip of Yankee imperialism."

James P. Cannon, national secretary of the S.W.P., commenting upon Pineiro's statement, said:

"I am in complete agreement with Pineiro's statement. The Socialist Workers Party, United States section of the Fourth International, and the Partido Comunista Independiente, our brother party in Puerto Rico, stand for the immediate and unconditional independence of Puerto Rico and all other countries that are under the yoke of imperialism. The working people of the United States have every reason to sympathize with the struggle of the Puerto Rican masses against the common enemy: the Wall Street-White House gang of oppressors."

Brooklyn Businessman Gives S.W.P. Lesson In "Americanism"

(Continued from Page 1) cop on the corner stop the meeting and the meeting was ordered closed for 15 minutes. The meeting was successfully concluded in spite of the policeman's interference.

A few days later Raphael's paper, the Boro Park Herald devoted its entire front page to the street corner meeting. After denouncing the "Troskyites, the real Bolsheviks, receiving their orders from foreign agitators", and invectives about the Party for flying the flag from the left instead of the right side of the speaker's platform, the editor made the lying statement that the crowd tried to stop the meeting by surging forward to tear the speaker from the platform. Although this act did not occur, it is significant that Raphael cheers hoodlum actions.

Approves Thuggery

"The crowd cheered when they started to tear down the platform", he wrote. "This is the way real Americans of Boro Park should still voice their disapproval of anti-American rallies."

Raphael's super-patriots on the Chamber of Commerce of Boro Park haven't the sense to realize that the hoodlum actions that they are encouraging are setting in motion the forces of fascism. The Chamber of Commerce members are, for the most part, Jewish and when the fascist axe falls they will not spare these "Americans" at the head of the Chamber, just as the fascists did not spare Jewish "patriots" in Germany.

Before the Party Convention

Blast a Way Forward With a Program of Party Expansion

By JAMES P. CANNON

The question of war, which leads directly to the question of revolution, confronts every workers' political organization with its supreme test. It is as clear as day and nobody any longer denies that capitalism, which has overstayed its time as a social and economic system, is about to inflict upon humanity another world-wide military explosion.

It is self-evident that America, the greatest and most rapacious imperialist power, will be directly involved in the war, as it is already involved in the diplomatic maneuvers which precede and prepare it. Irreconcilable opposition to the war is the pre-requisite for the development of a revolutionary struggle to end the war with a workers' victory. As the only party in the United States whose opposition to war is taken seriously either by itself or others, we have to consider now the practical ways and means to make our opposition effective and emerge from the revolutionary crisis, which will inevitably ensue from the war, at the head of the revolting masses. This question will of necessity dominate our forthcoming anti-war convention from beginning to end.

But what does it mean to begin now to prepare an effective opposition to the war? Obviously it cannot be done by a passive waiting for war to break out. On the contrary it means to gear up all our work to a speed and intensity which breaks completely with the snail's pace movement of "normal" and peaceful times. That is the gist of our problem. Unless we solve it we are lost. The trouble with us, the mortal danger that confronts us, is that our revolutionary anti-war program may remain on paper. We have repeated again and again that the fight against war is not a special task to be accomplished by some sort of sleight-of-hand. If war is only the continuation of politics by other means, then the revolutionary struggle against war is the multiplied extension and intensification of revolutionary agitation and organization. We must prepare for war by building a stronger party and reshaping it for war conditions. And we must make haste and perform miracles of energy in the brief time left to us.

Old Methods Outmoded The social crisis of capitalism is unfolding at such hurricane speed, with a world war on the order of the day, that the slow, modest growth of past times, the patient enrollment and education of new recruits, one by one—the only thing possible in our preparatory years—is fatally inadequate now. We must drive ahead; everything must be done in a hurry and on a many times multiplied scale. Fortunately, we are ready for such a radical transformation of the nature of our work and activity. In cooperation with our co-workers of the Fourth International we have worked out the program. We have educated cadres who constitute the skeleton of a national organization. We are ready, prepared by the past, to drive forward and become a proletarian power if we have the will to do so.

This we can do without undue strain. In our ranks we have great reservoirs of untapped energy. We are not tired; nobody in our organization has hurt himself very much yet. True, our militants have done much more than others, and have made sacrifices which as- tounded the other parties of half-and-half policies and half-and-half people. But we are not like the others; we aim to conquer the world. We need to put the party now on a war footing and move ahead by a forced march. We need to break with the habits of conservative routine and blast our way out of isolation by a bold and ambitious program of expansion.

"Moral Rearmament"

Our anti-war convention must give the signal for a "moral rearmament" of our own, in the sense of transforming our more or less placid, easy-going propaganda circle into an army on the march; an army whose disciplined militants are determined to conquer and who shrink back from no endeavor and no sacrifice. We must aspire to build such a party as Lenin built, and to adapt to the conditions of America his concept of professional revolutionists who live and work all the time for the party and with the party. The convention, in calling for such a transformation, should implement it by setting concrete tasks which, by their very nature, will operate to hasten the process.

Up till now, for explainable reasons, we have been a party primarily of literary propagandists and critics. On the organization side we have been woefully weak, and we have made only a few feeble experiments with mass organization. This lop-sidedness, which had its justification in our days of preparation, must be corrected now by a drastic shift in emphasis. Propaganda, which Plechanof defined as the dissemination of many ideas to a few people, must be counter-balanced by a ten-fold increase in agitation work, which he defined as the spreading of a few ideas to many people. That is the true meaning of our transition program. To accomplish this in a few months' time—that is all we can allow for the change—we need a concrete program of expansion as follows:

The Three-a-Week Appeal 1. On the literary front: Change the *Appeal* to a more popular paper and publish it three times a week as the necessary next step on the road to the *Daily Appeal*. 2. On the organization front: Draft twenty

more qualified comrades to work at full time for the party. One each should specialize in and direct Trade union, unemployed, and Negro work on a national scale. The others should be assigned to work in the field—at least one full-time organizer in every important district or center where we have party organizations and a few men roaming the field to organize new branches and develop new activities.

3. Agitation: Regular speaking tours by party leaders at intervals of not more than two months.

4. Finances: Raise a special fund of \$10,000 to finance the foregoing undertakings.

This program, so modest in comparison with the magnitude of our task and the limited time at our disposal is, of course, only a beginning. But once it is fairly in operation it will produce the new means and possibilities for further expansion. It should be realized within a period of three or four months after the convention.

There is no doubt whatever that we can realize the program in full without any real strain on the resources and energies of our members and sympathizers. To be sure, any other party of comparative size would be flabbergasted by half these demands. But again—we are not like the others. We set ourselves tasks which are in some degree commensurate with our great aims and the quality of our militants. The demands of this expansion program will appear as child's play compared to the real tasks and sacrifices which are yet to come, and for which the minor efforts and sacrifices of this expansion program will help to prepare us.

Our convention, I venture to say, will not stutter over the sacrifices this program entails; more likely it will ask proof of its practical feasibility. From this standpoint I will discuss the question here briefly.

Isn't it foolhardy to undertake a three-a-week publication when the two-a-week is admittedly in serious financial difficulties which, only a few weeks ago, threatened its suspension? No, it is not foolhardy, but on the contrary is entirely feasible. We need the paper three times a week in order to get ready for the *Daily* which will be on the agenda tomorrow.

The twice-a-week *Appeal* is already four months old. It is an inestimable weapon, as all recognize. We strike now twice as hard and twice as often and we distribute approximately twice as many papers as before. The only trouble is a very small one. Naturally, we operate on a close margin. Some of the branches became careless in the payment of their bundle order accounts. Quite a few have been too sluggish in getting subscriptions. Remedy these defects—and the convention, by its authority, undoubtedly can and will remedy them—put a stop to horse-play about the payments for bundle orders, and increase the subscription list by only 1,000 by the mandatory assignment of quotas, and the twice-a-week *Appeal* will be financially stabilized. The decks cleared for the next necessary step—the three-a-week *Appeal*.

Half for Organization Work

We will, of course, require a reserve fund to cover the deficit and help the paper over the first period. One-half of the \$10,000 fund should be allocated to this purpose. The other half should be spent exclusively on organization work as outlined above.

Ten thousand dollars is quite a sum of money for a small organization of poor people to raise at one time. But the rank and file of our organization have shown in the past that they are capable of responding with enthusiasm and sacrifice every time real needs and serious tasks are presented to them in a rational fashion. The 100% achievement of the quotas for the twice-a-week *Appeal* and the simultaneous collection of the international fund should be eye-openers to those who doubt that our militants are ready to take a step forward and to pay for it, if necessary, with their own skin.

The whole party is dissatisfied, and properly so, with the way our organization work lags behind the literary propaganda. Part of the difficulty can be attributed to individual delinquencies which may or may not be corrected in the coming months. But a convention discussion on this level and a chorus of recrimination cannot yield anything very valuable. That would be simply nibbling at the problem, anyway. We need not merely an adjustment here and there—although that will be useful—but a drastic, wholesale reconstruction of our conceptions and methods of organization. We must have done with amateurism and the lackadaisical organizing methods of a propaganda sect that does not contemplate big actions. We need a bigger staff, not only in the center but also, and especially, in the field.

We have the qualified people to make up such a staff, young militants who have received their political education in our incomparable school, who balk at no sacrifice and are ready for any assignment. At the same time the party has reached the point where it needs and must have their undivided labors. The three-a-week *Appeal* and the augmented staff of organizers can soon lift the party higher and prepare it better for bigger things to come.

The convention will mark a real step forward if it adopts a program of expansion along these lines.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

FURNISHED ROOM to rent. Large or small. No. 8th Ave. and B.M.T. Rent very reasonable. Address all replies to S. Stanley, c/o Socialist Appeal.

CAMP SEVEN OAKS. Eaten-town, N. J. Tennis. Swimming. Ping-pong. Plumbing. \$2.50 per day. \$14 a week. Car leaves every Friday at 7 p.m. from 58 E. 4th St. to

Camp. Make reservations, please! You may also pitch your tent at Seven Oaks. We equip it and you can have use of Camp Kitchen. \$20 for the summer. Phone: Eaten-town 515.

FRIENDS OF THE Russian Bulletin—We are getting together again for a swell time on June 17 at 9 P.M. at 321 Second Ave. Singing, dancing and refreshments. A special movie of the Fair and New York street scenes will be

shown. You may bring your friends along.

REMOVAL NOTICE Dr. Paul Luttinger announces the removal of his office to 1684 Grand Concourse, Bronx cor. 173rd Street. Office hours: 1-2 and 6-8. Phone: TREmont 8-2126. 8th Ave. Subway—Train C—to 174th St. or Lexington-Woodlawn to Mt. Eden (173rd).

A FULL DAY'S OUTING AT THE BEACH!

SUNDAY, JUNE 25th

Restricted beach: Swimming, sun bathing, tennis, handball, baseball, croquet, etc.

plus
2 EXCELLENT HOME COOKED MEALS
(dinner and supper)

Entertainment, Dancing, etc.

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SUBSCRIPTION \$1.50

Reservations are limited in number and must be sent in ahead of time, no later than Thursday, June 22, 1939. Send reservations and remittances to E. R. Frank, 116 University Place, New York.

Arrangements have been made to leave by boat from the Battery for a forty-minute ride to Seagate for 15 cents. The grounds can also be reached by subway.

MAKE THIS DATE A MUST!

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Business Manager: S. STANLEY

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 vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Alarm Signal

The fascist raid on the Debs Labor School in New York City is an alarm signal to the whole labor movement.

To our knowledge, this is the first labor headquarters in the United States to be invaded and wrecked by a fascist gang which was, we have no doubt, of Coughlinite inspiration.

The style employed is not new. It is typical of the methods employed by the fascists, in Italy and in Germany, when they launched an audacious offensive to smash labor and all its organizations. That's how Mussolini and his Black-shirts began the campaign which brought them to power. They started with the smaller headquarters of the trade unions and the labor political parties. They entered the unprotected halls and wrecked everything in sight. They sought thereby to intimidate the workers, to imbue them with the feeling that the reactionary tide could not be stemmed.

It would be a catastrophic error if American workers were to let an occurrence like the smashing of the Debs School hall go by without reflecting deeply—and acting immediately.

The raid cannot, must not be waved aside as an accident. It is an audacious trial balloon sent up by the fascist mobsters in this country. They are waiting to see how it is taken by the workers of New York and elsewhere. If there is no aggressive reaction to their brutal provocation, they will deliver a stiffer and more insolent blow next time.

What will it be next time? It is not hard to judge—for Germany and Italy give us the opportunity to tell in advance what steps the fascists in this country will seek to take.

First a small, obscure labor hall, conducted by the Socialist party. A few hours before that raid, the stabbing of a man on 14th Street—not a hundred yards from the headquarters of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

Tomorrow and the days thereafter—the halls of the trade unions, the meetings of the trade unions, the very life of the trade unions will be involved.

UNLESS—
Unless the workers of the United States wake up

—to learn the lessons from Europe;
—to a realization of the growing danger in this country;
—to a realization of their own enormous strength and power.

The fascists are growing. They are becoming bolder. But faced by a militant working class movement determined to smash them, they wouldn't amount to a bag of empty peashells. They would vanish like so much filth before a storm. They would scurry for the holes from which they came.

In Italy, in Germany, in Austria, fascism triumphed because the workers were not prepared in time to fight. When they finally did fight, as in Austria, it was after the fascists had already gained the upper hand as a result of the previous indifference and paralyzing influence of the labor leadership.

Shall we wait, like animals in a trap, until the monstrous beast of fascism is strong enough to snap his jaws around our throats?

Or shall we mobilize our vast power now, while there is still ample time, before our halls are smashed, our papers suppressed, our best

fellow-workers stabbed or beaten to a pulp?

The first step in the mobilization is the building up of the WORKERS DEFENSE GUARD, the fighting arm of the unions and of every other workers' organization, their shield from fascist gangster attacks.

Every minute's delay is like another weapon presented to the fascists.

Act now—don't wait for the concentration camps!

"The history of the human race is an unfolding record of mankind's endeavor to grasp the meaning of substance and supply and thereby acquire a sufficient supply of something to meet his needs and demands," says Judge Frederick C. Hill, Christian Scientist. "Religion has been an important factor in the affairs of mankind, and from canonical writings the fact is disclosed that substance and supply are to be found in the mental realm, and not in the material world." Just another way of saying what Joe Hill said first, and a damn sight better and plainer: "Work and pray, live on hay; you'll get pie in the sky when you die."

Briggs Strike Victory

The great victory won by Briggs Local 212 of the United Automobile Workers, reported in detail in the last issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL, may very well prove to be a turning point in the fortunes, not only of the automobile workers, but of the labor movement in general.

In auto, it is an advance which puts the entire international union in a position to go over to an offensive fight against the auto barons all along the line, and puts an end to Homer Martin's pretensions of having delivered any significant section of the auto workers to the A.F.L.

In the general labor movement, it signifies—following on the heels of the victory of the United Mine Workers—a healthy contrast to the critical situation in which the C.I.O. found itself a few months ago. The two victories together mean that the C.I.O. has again gained the upper hand in the labor movement, and since the C.I.O. unquestionably represents the most progressive movement, that is all to the good.

It is no surprise to find that the Stalinist press managed to report the Briggs strike without a single mention of the local which led it or of its president, Emil Mazey. Instead the Stalinists dwelt on quotes from pro-Stalinist elements in the union who had little or nothing to do with the strike and the victory.

But it is something of a surprise to find that the "C.I.O. News", June 12, devotes only a one-column head on page 2 to this great victory, and that the story fails to mention the local or its leadership. That treatment of this story is probably to be explained by the name on the masthead of Len De Caux as editor and publicity director—a Stalinist stooge. Thus the significance of the Briggs strike is sacrificed by him for factional reasons. That is the kind of disservice which Stalinists and their stooges render the labor movement.

The Briggs victory was the achievement of a local led by anti-Stalinist progressives. Militant action freed from Stalinist poison—that is the road to union victories.

Republicans

The United States has seen few sights more sickening than the exhibition of toadyism given by officials of the republic—Democrats and Republicans, in high position and low—during the visit of the British King and Queen.

The parasitic royal couple is the daily beneficiary of as vicious a system of murder, pillage, exploitation and oppression as can be found anywhere on this globe. Every gem in the royal treasure-trove is stained with the blood of British imperialist conquest and extortion. There is not an inch of the crown's power that is not maintained by machine-gun and bayonet. Slaves of all colors, numbering more than a fourth of the world's population, are kept under the heel so that this pair of useless grinning anthropoids and their retainers may continue to rule a monarch's throne.

Is there a Fourth of July celebration where the Democratic and Republican politicians fail to extol the countless virtues of our Great Republic, to point out our emancipation from England and the monarchical system?

Yet all of them joined in the obscene, humiliating rush to grovel before Their Majesties. In New York, school children were commanded to greet the King and Queen, like the serfs of old who welcomed home the returning lord of the manor. In Washington, Senators and Representatives—to say nothing of their women folk—drooled with delight at the touch of the royal hands. Some of them made a living for a day by allowing their hands to be touched by those not fortunate enough to have touched the King's or Queen's.

It goes without saying that the capitalist press—including, need we add, the Daily Worker—was not outdone in servility and bootlicking by the statesmen.

A Quaker's Testimony on Life In the Land of Franco Fascism

Quaker Relief Representative Tells How the Fascists Stole Food Destined for Starving Children, How They Are "Reconstructing" Spain with the Aid of Lies and Terror

By DOROTHY WILLIAMS

Fascists and semi-fascists everywhere have lauded the termination of the Civil War as a victory of the people of Spain over "the forces of darkness seeking to destroy them." What does this "victory" look like to the Spanish masses themselves?

Some authentic information on life in fascist Spain was given recently by Alfred H. Cope of the American Friends Service Committee, the international relief organization of the Quakers. It is a well-known fact that Quaker organizations are very averse to publicity and hence Mr. Cope's remarks have added value. His parting statement would indicate that, if anything, he has erred on the side of understatement: "Please don't overstate anything. I want to be as fair to both sides as I can."

Since the early days of the Civil War the Friends' International Commission for Assistance to Child Refugees in Spain, with which Mr. Cope was connected, has been engaged in feeding as many half-starved Spanish children as its means permitted.

FASCISTS STEAL CHILDREN'S FOOD

In August its work will be transferred from Spain to the French concentration camps for Loyalist supporters. The Quakers find they cannot work with the Spanish fascists; Mr. Cope said that the immediate cause was the disappearance of six or seven shiploads of food destined to feed 100,000 starving Spanish children which "so far as we can find out was eaten by the army."

This is evidently a common practice: "In Murcia, where we have a canteen feeding 1,000 refugee children who are its only clients, we turned over to the Franco Social Auxiliary enough food for a month and three days. All this food had disappeared in ten days' time and we were asked for more supplies. We soon found out that the food had not gone to the children. Among other things, the Social Auxiliary delegate had sold sugar for as much as seven times its established price." In Albacete, the Quaker director was driven out of town by the fascists, because the evil man had "fed the Reds."

Mr. Cope went on: "When the woman delegate took over our canteens in Murcia the first thing she did was to announce: 'From this moment the children must sing our Nationalist songs.' They had to sing them before they could get anything

to eat. The idea was to put the political angle ahead of everything else. In Murcia province we were feeding close to 100,000 children when Franco came in. We had two colonies, two children's hospitals, workshops for girls, etc. We had weight charts and food quotas. We had tried to build an efficient system that would save as many children as possible from starvation."

"When the Franco people took over, they had no idea of procedure. [They weren't interested in saving the lives of starving children, Mr. Cope.] Their idea was to gain a political victory and to hand out bread and capitalize on public demonstrations. We tried to lean over backward to work with them. In Alicante they sold our powdered milk. The thing is, they want your food, but they don't want you. We hung on in hope of helping the Spanish people, in spite of the attitude of some Franco officials. But now we can't be sure where the food will go."

THE MURDERED AND JAILED

When questioned on the number of Republicans who had been executed since the fall of Madrid, the Quaker relief director became skittish and refused to make any guesses. However, he did say, "When I was in Murcia I know that a great many shots were fired in the jail between midnight and two in the morning. I slept in my car and was awakened by them. Also the nurse in charge of our hospital heard shots al-

"Christian Ideal"

Herbert L. Matthews, Rome correspondent of the N. Y. Times, sends the following dispatch to his paper:

VATICAN CITY, June 11—Pope Pius today greeted the Spanish soldiers of the Italian Arrow division in words of the warmest praise for having brought a "triumph of the Christian ideal" to Spain.

most every night for two weeks."

Asked about the number of anti-fascists held in concentration camps, Mr. Cope said, "About half a million is the figure usually given. There are camps everywhere, many of them holding 5,000 prisoners or more. When the Nationalists occupied Ciudad Real they crowded 20,000 Loyalist soldiers into the bull ring and kept them there for twenty days, with almost no food at all and very

little water to drink. They were packed in so tightly that most of them couldn't lie down. I got this from a man whom I know very well and whose word can't be doubted."

A good many stories have appeared recently in the newspapers regarding the reconstruction which is taking place in Spain, of plans for future rebuilding, etc. Mr. Cope reveals what they amount to in practice: "I was in Valencia many times when the Fascist planes came over from Mallorca. I know the Nationalists are now going around getting people to sign statements saying that they dynamited the houses themselves and that they were not destroyed by aerial bombs."

ITALIAN TROOPS STILL THERE

Evidently Mr. Cope doesn't think very much of "final" withdrawal of Italian troops, which has recently caused a small flurry among capitalist journalists: "About May 10 tremendous numbers of Italians were concentrated all the way between Gandia and Murcia. I drove over that road. We went through village after village, town after town, and the streets were cluttered with Italian soldiers and their equipment. I don't know how many Italians were in the rest of Spain, but there were tens of thousands of them in this district alone. They were repairing the roads and apparently digging in for a considerable stay. From the Italians that I've seen myself, I would say—if they have withdrawn 23,000—then they've only withdrawn about 25 percent of them. I would estimate that three times that number are still in Spain."

The fighting spirit that carried the Spanish masses through centuries of the most cruel exploitation to which any people has been subjected, culminating in thirty-two months of Civil War and defeat, is not gone yet. Between May 12 and 15 Mr. Cope tried to get a pass for Madrid, but it was refused because "Franco was having trouble there. A Swiss relief worker came down from Madrid. He told me that Franco's troops were being sniped at nightly and pamphlets strewn around the streets."

Spain has a long history of resistance to oppression—a fight which ended time after time in defeat, only to be renewed in guerilla warfare, sniping and sabotage of the conquerors. The spirit of Spain is sorely wounded, but the Spanish masses will rise again in their might and destroy forever the hideous sadism that is capitalism in decay.

'Freeing' of Mrs. Rubens Opens New Chapter of G. P. U. Drama

(Continued from Page 1)

Western Europe, as a man named Ewald who had formerly served under him in Moscow.

During the entire eighteen months during which she had been imprisoned, her jailers had never officially indicated what she was held for, much as in previous Moscow trials one could never learn what the charge would be until the prisoners were brought in and "confessed."

"Theatrical Rehearsal"

The character of this latest trial is indicated by the remark of Harold Denny, N. Y. Times Moscow correspondent, that "every move and every phrase sounded as cut and dried as a theatrical rehearsal."

That Mrs. Rubens consented to play her part supports the conclusion that she and her husband are a cog in the G.P.U. machine.

Sentenced to eighteen months on the charge to which she pleaded guilty, and having already served that long, Mrs. Rubens was reportedly set free on June 9; but American embassy officials vainly waited for her to put in an appearance. Correspondents commented on the unusual fact that the sentence of the court did not include the usual order expelling a convicted foreigner from the country.

Planned Moscow Trial
Shortly after the Rubens couple were arrested in a Moscow hotel eighteen months ago, the Russian embassy in Washington declared that "the couple might well be Trotskyists." Similar comments in the Soviet and American Stalinist press indicated that the couple were

to be star performers in another Moscow show trial.

Plans for this trial, designed to bolster up the shattered reputation of Moscow justice after the Dewey Commission's conclusion that the earlier Moscow trials against "Trotskyists" were patent frame-ups, were proceeding apace when the conspirators ran into trouble with the American courts. Rubens' American collaborators in the passport ring were arrested, indicted and convicted as passport forgers—and they were known to be Stalinists.

Stalinists Convicted

Ossip Garber, Edward Blatt and Aaron Sharin were the men convicted by a jury in Federal Court in May.

Sharin was identified by labor papers—and the charge was never denied by the Communist party—with being a member of the Bronx section of the Communist Party.

Ossip Garber, at whose photographer's salon Rubens occupied desk space, and who forged the passport pictures, was characterized at the trial by his brother-in-law as being "communistic."

Edward Blatt, lawyer and

friend of Rubens, was a close sympathizer of the Stalinists, working with David Mankoff, a Stalinist functionary.

Imre Kline, publisher of "Literary America" and recipient of funds from Rubens for publishing the magazine, of which Rubens posed as an editor, is another known Stalinist involved in the ring.

Two others who testified, Ernest Weichen, who sold his naturalization papers to the ring, and Edward Petersen, who housed one of the fugitive defendants, testified that they were members of the Latvian Unity Society, which is the Latvian section of the Stalinist-controlled International Labor Defense. Rubens was a Latvian who found the Lettish wing of the Stalinist movement a ready reservoir for members of his passport ring and other activities.

Defendants Wouldn't Testify

The most striking feature of the New York trial of Rubens' American accomplices is the fact that the three men refused to take the witness stand in their own behalf. Thus, the prosecution was denied the opportunity of disclosing through cross-examination their Stalinist connections. The complete suppression of these all-important connections with the Stalinist apparatus now furnishes the G.P.U. the opportunity to establish any political connection it desires. The pending trial of Rubens in Moscow may see an effort by the G.P.U. to smear Rubens and his jailed companions in this country as "Trotskyist spies, despite all evidence pointing to the G.P.U. itself as the originator and sponsor of the passport ring."

Their Government

By James Burnham

The other night I saw a Philadelphia friend of mine who is a "radical New Dealer." He is one of the bright young men who believe, they say, in "the ultimate goal of socialism," but as "realistic" politicians convince themselves (and try to convince others) that the practical and progressive step today is to support "Roosevelt against reaction." He is a little discouraged lately, and he is anxious to find someone to blame for the fact that all is not so rosy as he expected six years ago.

He told me about a textile worker who lives in the house next to him. This neighbor had had a job in a Philadelphia plant for many years. The plant was unionized, and wages were comparatively good. Suddenly, last September, the company shut the Philadelphia plant, and moved its equipment to non-union, low-wage territory down South. The Philadelphia employees were left behind, without jobs or prospects of jobs.

"In November, two months later," my friend went on, "my neighbor voted for Judge James and the whole Republican ticket." He had got to his point, and found his scapegoat. "How are we going to get anywhere in this country," he concluded, "when the workers are dumb enough to act like that?"

Just Who Is Stupid?

Offhand it might seem that my friend had a point. For a worker to think that he is going to solve his problems by voting the ticket of the ultra-reactionary Republican Party, after all these years, does look at first like almost hopeless stupidity. But reflection on this little incident led me to a conclusion very different from that of my friend.

Pennsylvania had for four years been under the control of George Earle, darling of the New Deal and close intimate of Roosevelt. In last year's Spring Primaries, the U.M.W. had run Tom Kennedy for the gubernatorial candidacy, against the Earle machine. In the Primaries campaign, which was bitterly fought, Kennedy and his supporters had denounced Earle from one end of the State to the other, and every charge they made against the machine was justified a dozen times over. The workers, especially the C.I.O. workers, rallied to Kennedy, but he was defeated.

For some months thereafter the C.I.O. officials did nothing. Then, shortly before the election, they told the workers to vote for—the very same Earle machine which they had denounced that Spring, the same machine that had been running the State into the ground for four years, the machine under which the textile worker's job had disappeared.

What, then, was my friend's neighbor to decide? What possible basis did he have for accepting this new advice, contradicting everything that had been told him before, as well as his own experience? It seems to me that his decision not to vote for the Earle machine was both correct and intelligent, with no trace of stupidity but on the contrary a firm grasp of realities.

What positive was left for him to do? There was only one other party in the field, the Republican Party. He was not a syndicalist or indifferent, he wanted to exercise his rights as a citizen, and therefore the only act within his power was to vote for James and the rest of the Republicans.

Granted that his vote was directly counter to his own interests, as he perhaps understands now, with James' signature just fixed under the new union-smashing labor act. But who was to blame here? Who was at fault that this workers' revolt against the status quo (for that is what it amounted to) was turned into the blind rut of Republicanism? It was not his fault: he, as an individual, had no other choice.

The blame lies at the door of people like my friend, but above all of the trade-union officialdom. It is they who stultified and sterilized this textile worker's wish and need for political expression. If, after Kennedy's Primary defeat, they had done what every event called for—put up a union slate, a labor ticket for the elections, there is not the slightest doubt that this worker's vote would not have reluctantly padded the Republican column.

And Who Is Lagging?

There are rising indications that throughout the country the workers themselves are ready for a new kind of politics: for working-class politics, for union tickets and a labor party. This was shown in November by the success of McLevy in Connecticut, in spite of sabotage by the Stalinists and the officials of both C.I.O. and A.F.L. It is being shown today in Minneapolis, where, in the face of a late start and the overwhelming Farmer-Labor collapse in November, the workers have impressively rallied to Elide and the rest of the unions' ticket.

The complaint is made that the American workers do not learn, that they are politically stupid. But this complaint is ordinarily merely the excuse for passivity, opportunism or betrayal on the part of the complainer. The American workers have learned, during the last decade, a large part of the lesson. They now observe the collapse of New Dealism; and more and more of them are prepared to break not only with New Dealism but with bourgeois politics as a whole—if only they can find an alternate path. The Lewises, Greens and Browders have as a principal function to hide and block that alternate path: the path of independent working-class political action.

Conditions are again ripe, after a year or more's hibernation, for blasting away the obstacles. A Presidential year approaches as the War Deal consolidates its hold and social reaction drives deeper. In the months ahead, the slogans for labor politics are certain to meet with an ever-widening response, if they are put forward boldly and clearly, and carried direct into the camp of the enemy.

Says Cedric Adams, Minneapolis Star columnist: In Montreal messenger boys draw ten cents an hour; cab drivers work for 20 cents and work ten hours; a good stenographer capable of speaking and writing both English and French can be employed for \$10.50 per week. A pharmacist gets 28 cents an hour; while a plumber gets 95 cents an hour. You can bet your bottom dollar that the plumbers have a union.

Republican leaders, now formulating plans for 1940, are preparing a "bill of rights"—particularly the right of worship and religious freedom. I'll bet they'll pass right by the right of better wages and working condition—for workers.

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