



BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

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F.D.R. GIVES WAR DEFY TO JAPAN

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

By JOSEPH HANSEN

INSTALLMENT V Father Coughlin, Speculator and Stockholder

When Coughlin was supporting Roosevelt and the New Deal during the honeymoon first term, he pronounced a series of discourses over the air on the silver question.

The burden of these speeches was, briefly, that to save the forgotten man, increase world trade, give everybody a job, and "thaw out money," it was necessary only to raise the price of silver.

"The restoration of silver to its proper value is of Christian concern. I send you a call for the mobilization of all Christianity against the god of gold." (Quoted in the Churchman, June, 1939.)

Eventually Roosevelt did raise the price of silver.

And then Secretary of the Treasury, Morgenthau revealed in April 1934 that the largest holder of silver futures in the state of Michigan was one Amy Collins, secretary to Father Coughlin.

She held 500,000 ounces, costing 40 cents an ounce at the time of purchase, but purchased at 10 per cent margin. or \$20,000. Every time silver went up 1 cent it meant \$5,000 profit for the holder of the 500,000 ounces.

On an investment of \$20,000, Coughlin made 500 PER CENT PROFIT.

It was this revelation of his silver speculations which turned Coughlin so savagely against Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau. Even the Bund since then curses Morgenthau regularly in its ritual. Not long afterward, Coughlin switched his support from President Roosevelt to William Lemke.

In 1935 the Detroit Free Press revealed in a series of articles that in 1929 and 1930 Father Coughlin had speculated in stock of the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Co. and the Packard Motor Car Co., that in one transaction alone he paid as much as \$30,110.89 for Kelsey-Hayes stock and lost nearly \$14,000 in another venture. The Free Press also revealed that Coughlin manipulated three bank accounts, one in the name of C. E. Coughlin, one in the name of the Radio League of the Little Flower, and a third in the name of Ste. Therese of the Child Jesus Parish, and that he used

Postcard Campaign Futile-Only Action Will Bring Results

OFFICIALS PUT

W.P.A. SLASH

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) WASHINGTON, June 22 -With an order to suspend all activity in connection with new W.P.A. public building projects. Colonel F. C. Harrington, W.P.A. administrator, has begun to put into effect the intensified drive of President Roosevelt and Congress against relief and the

W.P.A. The postcard campaign of certain organizations protesting the slash of relief appropriations has not had the slightest effect in stopping the drive of

the New Deal Administration. If anything, it has emboldened and' encouraged the attack, Roosevelt and his henchmen in Congress feeling that the postcard campaign will succeed in dissipating the anger of those affected by the cuts and prevent them from taking militant action

Harrington's Order Harrington's order which 384 TPEU was telegraphed to all State administrators on June 17 is as follows

"In view of provisions of Section 12 of Appropriation Bill, as passed by the House today, until further notice no public building construction will be started which was not approved by the President prior to June The entire W.P.A. construc

tion program was so drastically curtailed by the provisions of the last slash appropriation

that it amounts to complete eli-

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) GOSHEN, Ind. - Bringing

news of fresh C.I.O. victories

straight from the auto fields of

prominent woman labor lead-

er of Flint, addressed a labor

gathering in this city last Sun-

day. The occasion was a labor

of the C.I.O. unions of Goshen.

Speaking on the recent

Michigan.

Genora Johnson

Peace and Democracy!



Practical Struggle Against War **Io Feature Party Convention**

By car, train, freight and at which militant front line ing Party work and planning its sive unionism. They made a while continuing their systemthumb, delegates to the great fighters in the struggle against improvement and extension. clean sweep in the Local pri- atic offensive against the enmination of this phase of the anti-war convention of the So- war and fascism will speak. The spirit of the party is con- mary elections and convinced trenched strongholds of their

Powers in Tangle Over China Loot

Tientsin Blockade Continues-Anglo-Soviet Negotiations Stymied as British Envoy to **Kremlin Makes Small Progress**

An American admiral defies a Japanese ultimatum. Stifflyworded American notes are delivered in Tokyo. Cordell Hull fills the press with statements about American "rights" and 'interests" in China. At Singapore the French and British Far Eastern naval staffs meet and receive with joy these evidences that their friend Roosevelt is preparing to carry out

PAINTERS ROUT STALINISTS IN PRIMARY POLLS

his appointed task of chief constable for Wall Street in the Pacific.

All this is a prelude to a call to this country to intervene to save the hoarded swags of the British, French - and American - robbers

Progressives Expect **Election Victory Af**ter Primary Sweep

Progressive forces in the 'ainters' Union are working at high gear in preparation for the coming district elections the main targets of vapar s on Saturday, June 24th, at China but everyone underthe Lexington Avenue and 26th Street armory.

Organized into the Inter-local is Yankee imperialism that will Conference of Progressive do the fighting-not for "poor" Painters' Clubs of District China but for the right to dis-Council No. 9, the Progressives fight for two years against the notorious Stalinist wrecking crew headed by the Thirteenth Street Commissar, L. Weinstock.

which spews its poisonous mes-

sage of anti-unionism, religious

street meeting of the American

Labor Party at which Michael

Among the hundreds of thou-

place the Japanese as oppreshave waged a courageous union sors-in-chief of the Chinese people. That is what the present crisis portends, even though the British are for the moment in the hot spot. Confident that its axis partners, Germany and Italy, will

Two weeks ago the Progreskeep Britain busily engaged in sives realized the fruits of their on Friday, July 1 and will con-tinue through the only party that seriously ten wise to the Stalinist dema-conducts a struggle against gogues and were determined to kicking the Chinese around like animals, are being made to eat some of their own dirt. (Continued on Page 2) It's a real atrocity story when you read that subjects of His Majesty are being made to stand in line with Chinese coolies! The only trouble with this is that they are being forced to do so by their Japanese rival gangsters and not by the Harry Milton, Trade Unionist and Veteran aroused wrath of the Chinese people.

from the Japanese hijackers. It is a fresh step toward what Roosevelt and Wall Street understand to be the inevitable clash between American and Japanese imperialism for domination of China and the entire

Pacific area. Yankee Role For make no mistake about

it: the British are being made stands that in the showdown it will be the United States that will take the premier role. It

these funds for speculative purposes.

Father Coughlin's interest in the stock of certain automobile companies sheds an intensely illuminating light on his early ventures into the labor field.

Father Coughlin, Labor Hater

Besides having his printing done in a non-union shop, Father Coughlin constructed his million dollar Shrine of the Little Flower by hiring an open-shop contractor who paid his men 25 to 40 per cent below trade union rates. In this way Coughlin showed what he means by a "living annual wage"!

As a result, the A.F. of L. at its 1934 convention at San Francisco unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Coughlin for his anti-labor policies.

Father Coughlin favors the company union :

"Had the motor manufacturers been in the least intelligent, they would have helped to organize a friendly and efficient union years ago." (Eight Lectures, p. 125.)

Father Coughlin is opposed to strikes (exactly the way Hitler and Mussolini are opposed to strikes!):

"The National Union for Social Justice contends that strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary." (Sermon, December 2, 1934.)

In 1935 a semi-company union, the Automotive Industrial Workers of Amerca, was organized. It was known as the "Coughlin union" because of the blessing Coughlin gave it.

It was organized in order to prevent the formation of a real fighting union which would gain better conditions, better wages, and shorter hours for the workers.

But the "Coughlin union" despite its blessing, decided to strike against the intolerable conditions in the Motor Products Co. and downed tools on November 15, 1935. (Continued on Page 2)

tormer relief program. The bill cialist Workers Party are al- The business sessions of the fident and optimistic, as befits the whole union movement that rivals in the foreign concesas passed in the House fixes the ready heading into New York. convention will open at 10 A.M. the only party that seriously the New York painters had got sions. The Tientsin blockade cost of building activity by the The anti-war convention, to be W.P.A. to structures costing held July 1 to 4, will be formalnot more than \$40,000 if non- ly opened by a large public an-(Continued on Page 5) ti-war meeting in Irving Plaza

'strike" engineered by Martin forces, pointing to the way in

into textile, rubber, steel, and for protecting themselves."

union struggles and gave a stir- of Goshen, Ind.

ring account of the vital role

Call for Defense Guards

tect the unions from the on-

slaught of growing fascist

so on down the line throughout The affair was held under organization convention. For

great auto strikes of 1937.

Interviewed by the Socialist win."

clared, "The big trek for the anti-war convention is under Militant Urges I.L.G.W. to way. Credentials have already apart as Seattle, Houston, Texas and San Francisco. There's representation and the conven-

Struggles-Dullea Calls for Defense Guards tion will present a picture of a nationwide organization.

"The pre-convention discus-NEW YORK .- Harry Milton, of the invasion of the needle played by the women in the sion has been conducted on a prominent and active member trades area by Coughlin fasfree and democratic basis of Local 66, International La- cists selling Social Justice throughout the Party, in the indies Garment Workers Union. ternal bulletins, the Socialist Robert Dullea, organizer for Appeal and at membership and a recently returned veteran intolerance and racial bigotry. the Textile Workers Union of meetings. The discussion has of the Spanish Civil War in They are particularly dis-America, who acted as chair- revealed almost complete unawhich he fought with the 29th turbed by the recent attempt of man, called for the formation nimity on all fundamental po-(Lenin) Division of the Loyal- the fascists to break up the picnic under the joint auspices of union defense guards to pro-litical questions. ist Army against the Fascists. **Organization** Convention has presented to the Executive "The party is unanimous in

Quill, president of the Trans-Board of his Union, with a copy to International President Da- port Workers Union, spoke. in Flint, she branded it as a which small bands of Hitler's its position on war and on virpiece of fakery calculated to Brown Shirts were able to re- tually all other important povid Dubinsky, a resolution urgfurther his own factional pur- peatedly break up union meet- litical questions. The anti-war poses and the "picket line" as ings and thus to disrupt and de- convention will devote itself building of a company of Anti-Fascist Union Guards in each sands of ex-service men, hunnothing but a goon squad. In moralize the entire union primarily to the practical orcontrast, she hailed the new of- movement. "This must not ganization of the party's irrecand every local of the I.L.G.- dreds of returned Spanish War fensive launched by the C.I.O. happen here", he said, "and oncilable struggle against war, W.U. forces in the coal and auto need not, providing the labor the question that dominates all

Identical resolutions have perienced veterans of scores of been sent to other locals of the strikes and battles. fields, expressing the hope that forces waste no time in creat- others. From all indications, the struggle would be extended ing the necessary instruments one is pretty safe in saying American Federation of Labor that it will be pre-eminently an and the C.I.O.

There is a strong and grow- cratic rights and above all their the country. She made a spe- the joint auspices of the Tex- the first time in our history the ing sentiment among the mem- trade unions for themselves tow! What he is actually doing, cial appeal to the women to the Workers, Rubber Workers, convention will be able to con- bers of the I.L.G.W.U. in favor and for all anti-fascists and in effect, is to serve notice on back up their husbands in their and United Furniture Workers centrate almost entirely on the of the building of such Anti- they are becoming more and the Japanese that they cannot practical questions of organiz- fascist Union Guards because (Continued on Page 2)

of Spanish Civil War, Proposes Action

Simultaneously, the Japanese moved in on Swatow, one of the last two ports still not under their direct control on the South China coast. Japanese army and navy forces landed there Wednesday morning and soon took possession of the port.

At anchor there were the American destroyer Pillsbury and the British destroyer Thanet. The Japanese demanded their departure and it was this demand that Admiral Yarnell rebuffed. If necessary, he said in effect, the whole navy would ing immediate action on the sands of members of the I.L. be used to protect the 40 Amer-G.W.U. in New York are thou- icans in the city! And he proceeded to order additional warships to the scene.

Veterans and thousands of ex-This, of course, is the sort of stuff heroes are made of-in Tientsin the Japanese might They are determined to exer- make the British take their cize and preserve their demo- pants down, but Yarnell will keep old glory flying over Swa-(Continued on Page 2)



Appeal, James P. Cannon de-Genora Johnson Hails C.I.O. Drive at Labor Gathering

Tells Women to Support Husbands in Union really going to be a national

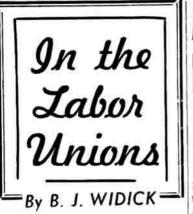
come in from delegates as far apart as Seattle, Houston, Tex. Form Labor Defense Guards

tinue through Monday, July 4. war and fascism and aims to be rid of them at all costs.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

They Showed the Way to Fight W.P.A. Cuts

subscriber to the N. Y. Volk-



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We know some unemployed tailroad workers in Astoria, New York, who will be especially interested in the following ttem we picked up in Cleveland, Ohio, this week.

The convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is still going on. Its cost is now nearly \$1,000,000. By .he time the convention adjourns, over ene million bucks will have been used from the union treasury for convention expenses! 'hat's more dough than the C.I.O. used to organize the auto ...dustry!

Set-Back for Whitney

By the way, President A. F. Whitney took some severe setbacks at this convention. George W. Anderson, secretary-treasurer, who blasted the extravagance of the Whitney regime as reported previously in the Socialist Appeal, was reelected to his post.

Whitney defeated Charles H. Smith for presidency. He was shocked to find opposition to his office. Whitney's attempt to get Smith defeated subsequently for the position of vice-president which he had held, was unsuccessful. J. A. Farquharson, editor of the Railroad Trainmen and national legislative representative of the brotherhood, another Whitney opponent, was also re-elected.

The climax in many respects came when 300 anti-Whitney delegates held a special dinner and dance to honor opposition leaders this week.

Whitney's attempt to achieve dictatorial control of the Brotherhood has collapsed. Unfortunately, the opposition is no more progressive on most issues than Whitney. The worst aspect of the railroad unions is the huge bureaucracy set up which eats the finances of the unions and weighs them down into impotency. This convention illustrates the fact strikingly.

Technological Progress

An idea of what technological development and subsequent unemployment mean to a worker was furnished by a tire builder who reports the following:

"Ten years ago I used to make 28 special size tires in a day's work. I was making 56 of the same tires until recently They had improved the machine and figured out in timestudies how to save operations that increased my work to the 56 tires. "Now I am scheduled to make 180 of these tires in six hours with a new tire-building machine they are setting up! And this is in six hours! My pay isn't any higher than it was ten years ago! Of course, installing this new machinery will mean that one tire builder can do the work of three. What happens to them? They can't even get on W.P.A. anymore. Incidentally, this tirebuilder isn't interested in the slogar 30-30 for himself. He makes more than \$30 a week for a 30 hour week. What he wants to know is what can be done and how can it be done so that he gets the benefit of his increased work While there is a lingering re sentment against the introduction of new machinery, most workers show their resentment against the right place, the bosses. The job of the union is te fight for the benefits that company gets from the new machinery. Much higher pay and much lower hours is the way to squeeze the benefit from the bosses.

In the Jabor Unions Militant Urges Unions

(Continued from Page 1) [A.F.L. and C.I.O. is to built more convinced the only effec- companies of Anti-Fascist La tive weapon against fascism bor Guards, as has alread and for the preservation of ties, notably Minneapolis.

their liberties for every local This resolution presented h in the I.L.G.W.U. and the Milton, reads as follows: General Executive Board

I.L.G.W.U. Attention: David Dubinsky

Dear Brother:

I appear before you to present for your consideration and adoption a very urgent resolution which calls for immediate action on an issue that is vital to the organized labor move ment.

The recent activity of the Coughlinites has placed the issue of fascism squarely before the workers of New York. Not only have the Coughlinites sold their fascist literature in the principal sections of the city, but they have now begun to organize physical attacks against workers and working-class organizations.

They have attacked street meetings of workers' organizations, attempting to break them up with violence. Their literature has long engaged in Jew-baiting. Now this vicious anti-Semitism has begun to take on an extremely provocative form. Under the guise of calling labor speakers "Jews" and 'communists'', they have attempted to drive these speakers off the streets.

The whole history of the Coughlin movement shows that it is a deliberate fascist movement designed to crush the American labor movement. Its anti-Semitism alone would characterize it as similar to the movements in Germany and Italy which put Mussolini and Hitler in power and which wiped out the labor organizations in those countries. There is good reason to believe that the Coughlin movement is secretly financed by Big Business as were the Mussolini and Hitler organizations. Now the Coughlin forces in New York City have become so bold and provocative that they have organized raids into working-class sections. Last Saturday, they began selling their fascist literature in Union Square and stabbed a school teacher, Samuel Applebaum; and they have now invaded the Needle Trades area. Saturday night, they invaded the Debs Labor School, 114 West Fourteenth Street, and wrecked it, smashing typewriters, destroying records, and stealing lists of names. This is exactly the way fascism and Nazism began-by smashing the headquarters of labor organizations, stabbing and shooting workers under the guise of Jew-baiting.

If labor does not answer these attacks, then the Coughlinites will begin a bolder and more daring series of attacks on larger organizations, and eventually crush the American trade unions.

It is estimated that there are more than 800 fascist organizations in the United States beside the Coughlinites, and all these organizations are now beginning to gather together. The experience of the labor movement in Europe has proved beyond doubt that labor can withstand the onslaught of the fascists only if it relies primarily on its own organized strength.

In view of the rising fascist danger and especially the activity of the National Union for Social Justice (Coughlinites) Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., favors the immediate organization of an Anti-Fascist Union Guard. It further urges all other locals in our international union to endorse the creation of such guards as the only method of effectively combatting fascist formations and preserving the democratic rights and civil liberties of labor.

The purpose of this Anti-Fascist Guard will be to defend the civil liberties and the democratic rights of our union, and to work together with all labor organizations against fascist attacks.

Fraternally.

HARRY MILTON

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The start of the recent Holiday Demonstration in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Thousands disposing of copies of the Ap- go in the drive for renewal subof unemployed workers joined the motorized procession to the State Capitol to protest against peal. We in St. Louis have de- scriptions. Right now Minnethe relief-slashing program of the state, city and Roosevelt administrations. Seen here is Local 544's Federal Workers Section.

Progressive Painters Rout Stalinists In Clean Sweep of Local Primary Polls

(Continued from Page 1) |ers of Local 1035 of Long Is-|formed within the local in L. J. Stevens, one of the Pro- land District Council 28 have years, having as its base the gressive leaders, received four formed a "Rank and File biggest and most influential back, tell us that's what we hundred and eighteen votes out Group" on a program of sweep- union in Queens. The Progresof a total of seven hundred ing the Communist Party sive Rank and File Group is

cast for the post of Secretary- wrecking crew out of office. confident of victory despite the Treasurer in the primaries of Just as District Council 9 of fact that the local is a strong-Local Union 848. In Local Union the painters has its Louis Wein- hold of the C.P., which has 14 No. 261, Brother Arber, Pro- slock, the Long Island District of its 18 Queens fraction memgressive candidate, defeated has its Redler, a notorious and bers concentrated in the local. the Stalinist machine man by a discredited C.P. commissar Running against Benny Larlarge majority. In Local Union who was caught red-handed in kin on the Progressive ticket is Hassul, Los Angeles Appeal No. 892, Wm. Haupt, another the misappropriation of union Dave Morten, whose clean, leading Progressive, routed funds by the alert membership. honest and aggressive union-

Weinstock's stooge, Crawford, Removed from office, Redler ism is known to painters In Local Union No. 51, Cronin, has continued to apply his throughout Greater New York. the Progressive candidate for wrecking policy through the With Local 1035 providing the

Business Agent, led the ticket manipulation of various C.P. largest base of progressive by a wide margin. In Local stooges in the local. Organized painters, the Rank and File No. 874, Brother Baldinucci, a within the local as the "Unity Group hopes in the near future leading member of the Pro- Club," the C.P. machine under to organize an inter-local congressive Group, defeated the behind-the-scenes leader- ference in District Council 28



BOSTON BENEFIT PARTY HUGE SUCCESS!

zeitung, the N. Y. Call and the We opened our mail this Socialist Call. I was a member morning and there awaiting us of the Socialist Party, and subwas a check for \$54.39, the en- scribed to the Appeal to Reason tire proceeds of a party run by until it became a book agent's the Boston branch for the bene- paper.

fit of the APPEAL! "None of these papers how-Our warmest thanks go to ever, showed a spirit as millthe comrades in Boston who tant and courageous as the made this possible. That places Socialist Appeal and I hope it Boston on a par with Los An- will keep up this spirit because, geles and Minneapolis as the in my opinion, militancy is the best APPEAL branches in the only characteristic that will apcountry. And now, how about a peal to the masses and arouse few more parties for the semi- them to throw off their chains!" weekly APPEAL? -F.W.H. of St. Louis Park, Minn.

THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"Reading the June 13 issue ONE WEEK LEFT IN of the paper I noticed the sug- SUB-RENEWAL DRIVE: gestion of Paul Fielding for There is still another week to cided to try his suggestion by apolis and New York City are using copies of the Appeal con- lar ahead and have easily done

taining the articles on Coughlin the best job. and distributing them in the Next week we shall announce Jewish neighborhoods." E. the complete results and list Washburn, St. Louis agent. what each branch obtained. "During the past week we Here's the list of new subs for

have been shouting our transi- this past week: tional slogans and anti-Coughim slogans on the streets when selling the paper. The response is really inspiring. People ask for our address. They buzz with excitement. They pat us on the need.

"At a recent meeting we covered, the "People's World" (Stalinist) salesmen went into a huddle when they saw the effect of our slogan on the workers. One of them simply stopped selling the rag!" Leo

THE READER SPEAKS:

SOCIALIST APPEAL & NEW INTERNATIONA Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands

MANHATTAN Cor

CHICAGO CHICAGO, ILL. University of Chicago Bookstore, Ellis Ave. at 58th St. Harry Lenett, 355 W. Madison St. Weston Hotel Cigar Stand S.W.P., 160 N. Wells, Rm, 308 Cor. 57th & Blackstone Cor. 12th & Redzie P. O. News, 37 W. Monroe Ceshinsky's Bookstore, 2730 W. Division St. EALTIMODE BALTIMORE, MD. Weisberg, 1113 E. Balthuore St. Frigate Book Shop, 515 North Howard St. ALLENTOWN, PA. Robert Zettlemoyer, 637 Hamilton St. also: 10th & Hamilton St. Paul Sherr, 7th & Hamilton St. PHILADELPHIA, PA. 1806 North Franklin St. 11th and Markets Sts., N.W. 40th St. and Girard Ave. 8th St. and Arch St. QUAKERTOWN, PA. Esser's Newsstand Esser's Newsstand Front & West Broad Sts. BOSTON, MASS. ndelman's Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford) CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Sq.

LYNN, MASS. S.W.W., Lynn Labor Lyceum, 127 Oxford St. Sam's Corner, Olympia Square ROXHURY, MASS. 'riendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall)

 India and the Stalinist of the Progressive Group, defeated the behind-the-scenes leader is the organize an inter-local council 28
Stalinist candidate for Business Agent, Edite union's affairs in the union two it is moved as a scab.
Ide the ticket by sixteen hundred votes.
Stalinists on Run
With this preliminary victory under their belts, the Progressive is the build of the membership for the membership that the joined the union two fight against the Stalinist can the Automobile Workers' Union, the Furriers' Union, the Automobile Workers' Union, the Automobile Workers' Union, the Automobile Workers' Union, the Automobile Workers' Union, the Furriers' Union, the Furriers' Standing as a scab.
Union and other unions are be ginning to revolt against the buils of the avere of the Stalinist son the tax hows in the Automobile Workers' Union, the Furriers' Union, the Furriers' Union, the Automobile Workers' Union, the Furriers' Union, the Automobile Workers' Union, the Furriers' Union, the Furriers' Union and the union two fight against the buils of all as a scab.
Union and other unions are be stalinist can deter appeal by that the joined the union two fight against the Stalinist can the painters are not alone in the biast the follow of the averest standing as a scab.
Union and other unions are be stalinist ther reveal dwhen, in apply urging the membership to "vote dwinning to revolt against the till be joined the union two place the even more nologrious dwithout bunking into, we set stab the distrusted in comparity installed in his place the even more nologrious was described by the place the even more nologrious was described by the firet entire Reards and the stab stab dow were time and and their revers and was described by the place the even more nologrious was described by the place the even more nologrious was described by the firet entire the and the entire the stabing the more the entire Progressix was the sta Hall) MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. Labor Book Store, 919 Marquette Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet 410 Washington Blvd. CLAYTON, MO. CLAYTON, MO. The Book Nook, 24A Meramac CLEVELAND, OHIO Rubin's Drug Store 1072 E. 105th Street Meriam Building, Room 214 5716 Euclid Avenue Schroeder's Book Shop, Public Sq. YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO Nick's, Wick St. and Commerce SAN FRANCISCO

Foreign Lynn Chicago New York State Pennsylvania Indiana Connecticut Washington, D.C. Total. . . .

Boston has increased its bundle order by 25 per issue and now takes a total of 130 copies,

Minneapolis

Philadelphia

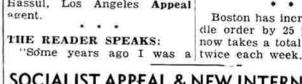
California

Ohio

New York City

10

58



Book Proceeds To Chinese 4th Internationalists

A sympathizer has donated a number of copies of Freda Utyle's book, "Japan's Gamble in China". The proceeds are to go for the work of Chinese 4th Internationalists, whose appeal for funds to carry on their vital work was published recently in the Socialist Appeal. Comrades are urged to obtain a copy now on sale at the Labor Bookshop for \$2.

> THE APPEAL POSTER SHOP At Your Service



Continued from Page 1)

In the vicious strike-breaking campaign that followed. the strikers asked Father Coughlin for help.

He REFUSED to see their delegation. He refused to broadcast in their behalf. He refused to speak a single word in their cause.

Let it not be forgotten, that many of the leaders of this strike were members of Father Coughlin's organization. the National Union for Social Justice.

The police, the armed scabs, the organized company terror-these, combined with the Judas kiss of Father Coughlin, broke the strike.

Yes, Coughlin promises many beautiful things to the oppressed, but when the crucial moment comes, he is the first to plant the dagger in their backs.

Since the formation of the C.I.O. Coughlin has assailed it venomously and incessantly.

When Governor A. B. Chandler of Kentucky ordered President Roosevelt's National Guard down to Harlan County with orders to shoot to kill if necessary to break the strike, Coughlin whitewashed the coal operators who have been notorious throughout the nation for half a century as one of the most tyrannical, bloody, and violent sections of the boss class.

"The Union Leaders Made Troops Necessary." (Social Justice, June 5, 1939, p. 21, headline to article on Harlan.)

"To guarantee the men their right to work, Governor Chandler found it necessary to call out nearly 1,000 National Guard troops to stand guard over the mines. . Lewis defied the forces of law and order in Harlan County, Ky., where Governor Chandler said that 75 per cent of the mine workers desired to work, despite Lewis' command that they continue in idleness. The cry of revolt (against Lewis) was heard in other sections sickened by Lewis' one-man rule over their jobs, homes, and happiness." (Social Justice, May 22, 1939.)

The coal operators, who are also the county officials, openly admitted that THEY sent for the troops to break the strike.

As a propagandist able and willing to paint up violence, terror, and intimidation of the bosses with the gentle colors of the lily, Coughlin has no equal-in America.

The Memorial Day massacre, in which Republic Steel Corporation shot down unarmed workers in the back is blamed by Father Coughlin on the workers. He characterizes the massacre as a "bloody riot" and asserts that it will

discrimination, etc.! vation. Vote for the entire Progressive slate!

Long Island Progressive Painters Prepare to **Oust Stalinists**

September 10, 1937 as having coast is not proceeding, how 'beaten 3 murder raps" and ever, independently of the situhas behind him a record of 37 ation in Europe. The Japanese arrests. It is no wonder that opened up on the British in

this trinity, Redler, Geventer close collaboration with the and Davidson, have nearly Germans, who are setting the ruined the local during the past stage for the summer war threats that may in fact lead vear to war but which they hope will **Confident** of Victory

lead to another Munich. The "Rank and File" group, The Far Eastern crisis un-In preparation for the inter- proceeding against this gangunion election to be held in the ster C.P. clique, is the first orfolds this time in rhythm with near future, progressive paint- ganized opposition group to be the continuing crisis in Europe.

be easy for the Republic Steel Corporation to "prove to any jury that it cost them" the \$7,500,000 for which they are suing the workers they attacked. (Editorial in Social Justice, June 5, 1939.)

The editorial continues with a vicious attack on the C.I.O. To Father Coughlin any militant worker is a "red," a "socialist," a conspirator in the ring of "international lewry."

When he retired "forever" from the air and public life in 1936, he returned in less than two months, January 1, 1937, with an attack on thousands of striking General Motors workers.

His civil liberties record is no better than his labor record.

In the March 13, 1939, issue of Social Justice, for example, he opposes anti-lynching legislation.

In the December 19, 1938, issue, he attacks the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, which exposed the million dollar labor spy racket and the widespread use by powerful corporations of thugs, machine guns, poison gas, intimidation, terror, and violence against their workers.

Father Coughlin does not like investigations or exposures such as those conducted by the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee.

Let the fools and the suckers bite at the gaudily feathered hook Father Coughlin dangles! Labor's right to organize? Father Coughlin believes in it the same way Tom Girdler and Henry Ford and the Harlan County coal operators do. Just let the workers dare to carry a card in a genuine union! There are ways of changing those workers' minds-Memorial day Massacres, multi-million dollar damage suits, rifles and bayonets of the National Guard, a spray of machine gun slugs in the back. . . .

(To be continued in next issue)

BRONX Longwood Ave. & Southern Boule-vard-S.W. 171st St. & Fulton Ave. S.W. 170th St. & Jerome Ave.-S.E. 167th St. & Jerome Ave. Jerome & Burnside Ave. 161st St. & Prospect Ave. Freeman St. & Southern Elvd. 174th St. & Boston Road. Kings-bridge Rd. & Jerome Ave. East Mo-sholu Subway Station. 3897 Sodgwick Ave. Mcellan & Grand Concourse-S.E. BROOKLYN BROOKLYN

BROOKLYN Straus cor, Pitkin Ave. Tompkins cor, Myrtle Ave. Havemeyer cor, S. 4th St. Sutter cor, Van Senderen, Rockaway cor, Pitkin Ave. 475 Sutter Avé. Bay Parkway & 86th St. Ave. 'O' & 66th St. Brignton Beach Ave. & 5th St. 50th St. & New Utrecht Ave. 1510 Kings Hughway, MacDon-ald & Ditmars Ave. 9th Ave. & 40th, OUTEENS In Moscow the Anglo-Soviet ne-

gotiations were thoroughly QUEENS stymied. After characterizing QUEENS 3023 Grand Ave. 31-10 Broadway ROCHESTER, N. Y. 433 N. Clinton St.; 257 N. Clinton St Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts. Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St. S.E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts. S.W. cor. Main & South Ave. Main Street East & Clinton Ave. South southeast corner the latest British alliance proposals as "not entirely favorable" the Kremlin issued a further communique through Tass Agency stating that not much Main Street East, front of Edwards Department Store 208 Clinton Av., North at Cumb'land Levine's Delicatessen, 257 Clinton Ave. North at Westcott Carfi Brothers, 433 Clinton Ave. N. progress was being made. A discovery of a means for providing cows with false teeth took the play away in the Mos-

cow press from news of the alliance that is supposed to transform the balance of power in

At the same time it was reported from Berlin by the New York Times that German-Soviet trade negotiations have reached the point where Hitler is selecting the personnel of a delegation that is to go to Moscow to conclude the talks there. In other words, as Molotov forecast in his speech a few weeks ago, the Kremlin does not intend to permit Chamberlain's pious hopes from interfering with its hopes of making a deal with Hitler if it can.

ENJOYMENT OF

by Max Eastman

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enjoying it-to be read in the

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gent manner possible.

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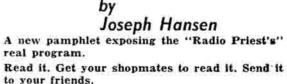
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Convention Problems of the Socialist Workers Party Under Discussion

For a New Orientation in the Party's Methods --- A Program of Action

in its effects on the party, is

tinue to nurse our slender

pletely false estimate of the ac-

Statement by Ohio-Michigan party takes on the protective on war and the defense of civil **District** Committee

The collapse of the New Deal reform program signifies the this period especially, an enincapacity of the capitalist sys. ergetic and open approach to the fight against imperialist tem to solve the social crisis the masses. For only to the de- war and fascism not on some within cratic" order and by internal roots in the masses will we be but by directly inciting the inable to withstand the represmeasures alone. sions of the early war period.

The ruling class in America is confronted with but two alternatives: either extending at its own expense genuinely that which says, "In this period ameliorative concessions to the of reaction, the masses are unmasses; or shackling them to approachable. We must conan open regime of repression and military adventures. Hav- cadres." This reflects a coming abandoned even the pretence of the former with the tually high receptivity of the break-down of the New Deal, masses. The American labor the ruling class drives with all movement is largely intact and haste toward the latter, that is, has suffered no real defeats. Imperialist War and Fascism.

Waiting for Events

For the revolutionary social- gle of the coal miners. ists, impeded by the monumental betravals of the Second and Third Internationals and the resultant bewilderment of the Transitional program, we must masses, events seem too swift find a bridge to the masses, in for our capacity to keep pace the sense that we still must imwith them. Observing stream- plement and carry out this prolined reaction sweep down the tracks, a tendency arises to de- routine of the party, its "norspair of over-passing it. This mal" life, is inadequate to proexpresses itself in the phrase. vide the needed acceleration. We must wait for a favorable In terms of what needs to be turn of events!"-a weak apol-done, the traditional routine by ogy for sterile passivity.

which characterizes those we crisis, the meetings thin out. scorn most, the Stalinists, Social-Democrats, liberals and social revolution.

tasks. We too must stream-line tion which can illuminate the our engine

Trying Panaceas

The sense of immediacy and desperation among broad strata of the masses underscores periment with such panaceas years of acute economic crisis, as the Townsend movement, the average worker and unem-

coloration of the masses. This requires of our party, in

liberties. **Class** Struggle

In other words, we organize the present "demo- gree that our influence grows remote "theoretical" plane. tensification of the class struggle and by compelling the prowar forces, fascists and "isola-A second attitude, paralyzing tionists" to expose their real roles in openly aligning thempose the fulfillment of his spe- around this campaign. cific, if limited, aspirations. This conception is particular-

Its militancy is unimpaired, as shown by the recent Briggs

prisals.

Routine Inadequate Today, no less than a year ago when the party adopted the

gram in action. The present

itself leads to a bogging down It is precisely this disbelief of the party. Inertia and disin the capacity of the proletari- couragement result. Our fiin fu' ill its historic destiny nances suffer, the press has a We can no longer rely solely upon the slow processes of tired radicals. Our party can union penetration, on sporadic justify its existence only by an indomitable program of action against the fascists, on the which can inspire the masses to customary technics and camconfidence in their own power paigns of the past. All these are and guide them on the road to essential, to be sure. But in themselves they fail to suffice. The success of this bold ori- The new orientation must be entation rests, however, on a the gearing of the party to a clear understanding of the in program of action on a national adequacy of our present meth scale, focussed squarely upon ods alone to keep pace with our the masses, with national direc-

> ordinary tasks and inspire and direct every member.

For a Positive Approach To fulfill such a program, we must comprehend also certain heavily the factor of time in past flaws in our propaganda the present epoch. A growing technique. For one thing, we section, including the unem- must modify our too frequently ployed and the declassed petty- negative approach. We must bourgeoisie, seeks desperately give the workers something for a quick, decisive end to positive, something to fight for. their misery. Increasingly dis- Too often we have appeared to

activity. Our campaign, how- the specific incentives, as the struggle methods.

The Way To Do It

The manner in which such a legislative campaign might be conducted is as follows: 1. Three well - formulated

bills shall be immediately drafted covering the three central points of our program.

2. The party shall then comcampaign, locally and nationally, to popularize these bills, illuminating and describing them from every angle.

fascism, nevertheless will fight local branches are to center ranks. the fascists as enemies who op- their activities and propaganda 4. After a sufficient ground-

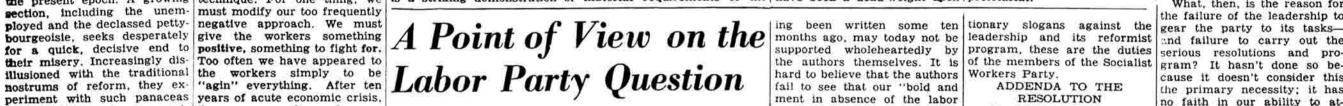
work of popularization has been ly vital to the realization of laid, the party shall then initithat paramount slogan of our ate a campaign of direct acstrike and the victorious strug- party, "Build the Workers De- tion upon city councils, county fense Guards". So long as commissions and state legislamany workers believe the fas- tures for endorsement of these branch. cists to be primarily concerned bills. Picket-lines, mass delegawith "reds" and "Jews", they tions and demonstrations shall fail to understand the need for be organized in the localities. organized defense for them- all pointing toward a possible selves. Only as workers attack, demonstration or mass delegawill they appreciate the need tion to Washington. As a supfor defense against fascist re-

Legislative Campaign Our largely defensive skirmishes with the fascists, our should be utilized. Wherever generalized and theoretical an- possible, our branches should ti-war campaign, our slow engage in the local election bers. While we do not subscribe supervision of the political cenunion penetration must now be campaigns on this program and supplemented by a concentrat- a parallel one on local issues. 5. Coincident with the direct ed party campaign of attack on a positive program. For this, party actions, we shall attempt the masses in the actions ly qualified by technical trainwe propose what may be to secure all possible official termed a legislative campaign. trade-union support and actions Focusing agitation and ac- on any or all of these bills.

Members Will React tions around three main issues It will be argued that this directly geared to the moods of the masses, the party should

drive directly upon the governmental agencies for the adop- tion of such activity is depen- personal participation in the gesting some specific impletion of a three-point program, dent on the present state of the key actions and struggles which mentation to the conclusions concretized into well-drafted treasury is false. Rather, the our program will invoke are an arrived at in the proposed Pobills, including the 20 billion finances of the party are de- imperative obligation upon the litical Resolution. We are condollar public works and the 30 pendent upon the initiation of national leadership. hour-\$30 per week plans, and such activity as a means of inthe popular referendum on war. spiring our members and sym- al fresh blood must be infused which will strip it of any iner-This type of activity is partic- pathizers and, above all, of as well, tested comrades who tia, root out inefficiency and ularly adapted to the present gaining the active support of have the capacity, initiative smugness, destroy any linger-

political understanding of the wider strata of workers. workers who comprehend political battles in terms of legisla- moved by some inspiring im- ideas and creative stimulus and gles of the masses and make tive campaigns about popular mediate objective, have not assume some of the burdens of our movement a veritable crubills. The Townsend movement been backward in fulfilling the technical responsibility which sade for the liberation of the



the effectiveness of this type of party. On the contrary, given jour leadership in the past. ever, would be based on class- Twice-a-Week Appeal and In- must now exact the highest disternational Aid campaigns cipline, responsibility and acdemonstrated, our party has shown remarkable capacities in dues payments, neglect for reprint and endeavor for sacrifice and endeavor. of assignments, tardiness and

Overhauling Leadership absence, disorderly conduct of To save the Twice-a-Week party functions and affairs.

Appeal and realize a daily pa- Above all, we cannot tolerate per, to stabilize the finances of further the notion of first and the party, what is needed pre-second-class citizenship, those cisely is a course of action who can do the work and take which will lift the entire party the risks, and those who exmence an intensive agitational out of the rut and routine. It empt themselves, for innumermust be a program which can able personal reasons, from be conducted independently of "sticking their necks out" the limitations and uncertain- Comrades of the latter stripe ties of the trade union move- must be made to understand 3. Every possible medium of ment, as a direct approach to that a revolutionary Marxist propaganda, including the ra- the masses on the one hand, party is no Sunday school Whoselves against the masses on dio, must be utilized for this and on the other as a means of ever joins us does so with full concrete issues. A worker who campaign. Three popular pam- developing from the outside, as knowledge of the responsibilicannot immediately compre- phlets, explaining each bill, well as within, a bond of sym- ties and risks involved. We are hend the full implications of must be issued. In addition, all pathy between us and the union determined to be a Party of Action. Whoever shuns such ac-The successful conduct of tion signifies his desire to be

Organizational Needs

The organizational implemen-

this campaign at once implies quit of the party. the overhauling of the entire party apparatus in accordance with maximum efficiency and tation of this program, among results. This must start with other things, requires the folthe national leadership and lowing: carry through to the smallest

1. An immediate special joint organizational and press The national leadership is re- fund must be raised. This fund quired to give to the lower is merely for the initiation of ranks of the party the fullest the three-point campaign of acand most explicit directives. In tion, which once started should addition, the leadership must be a means in itself for further now become in the eyes of the finances. This fund should be plement, but not substitute, for masses the personification in used particularly to maintain this action campaign, petition, action of our party and pro- an increased staff of full-time post-card, and placard and gram. Hitherto, our national field-workers and organizers. sticker-posting sub-campaigns leaders have been unknown to 2. A national Propaganda the masses, indeed, are scarce- and Publicity Department, ly known to many of our mem- working under the immediate to the "Leader" principle, we ter, should be established. This must recognize that ideas and department should be commovement are personified to posed of several comrades ful-

> and personalities of men. Fresh Blood

ence.

Our leadership must begin to enter directly into the activities these proposals we do so with program is beyond the material of the party everywhere in a no intent of offering some spenow undertake an intensive resources of the party. How. personal sense. Speaking tours, cial magic key to the masses, ever, the idea that the initia- radio addresses, and above all but rather in the sense of sug-

cerned with the projection of Into this leadership, addition- an attitude within the party and enthusiasm to reinvigorate ing sectarianism or defeatism. The ranks of the party, when the leadership, provide new thrust it into the living strugis a striking demonstration of material requirements of the have been a dead-weight upon proletariat.

the authors themselves. It is of the members of the Socialist gram? It hasn't done so behard to believe that the authors | Workers Party. fail to see that our "bold and ment in absence of the labor party, an academic gesture of By F. X. FERRY, ROGER B. convention we took insufficient no great practical importance. This is, however, not the case. because of the workers who look for leadership, and whose confidence we surely do not inspire by such brilliant maneuvers as our referendum manifesto and our analysis of the labor party. The question is not academic because of the wise hooray-boys who did and will in the future hitch their wagon to the stars and fly after the labor party, be it a non-existent one, as soon as the new tactical turn is declared, as it was last summer. Main Task Remains Our role, even assuming the existence of a labor party, and assuming, although under no and to protect ourselves from circumstances admitting, the unscrupulous maneuvering, we correctness of the majority res- should simply follow the rule side of the trade union movement, exert no influence, for tion in a given situation, i.e., better or for worse, in leading do they further us in our fight the workers. The convention to achieve Socialism. faces toward the masses," is ON THE NAME not carried out, because most of us never knew and never cared to learn how to work OF THE PARTY within and with the masses. unions, wherein the influence and tactics can be made felt.

From the ranks, the party must now exact the highest dis- On Translating the Party

Submitted by a group of Los out even one pamphlet on the Angeles comrades: Steve Robtrade union question, erts, Paula Aragon, Minna

Such a perspective has led us Everett, Edith Mann, Max Heinert.

(Continued from last issue) The Transitional Program letariat in Germany, Spain and was thoroughly discussed and other countries, the Moscow passed by the party. To date Trials, and countless articles has suffered the fate of all other resolutions and programs caused thousands of workers to of the party. The leadership break with the C. P. But infailed to send directives or to initiate discussions in the varicus sections of the party which would have led to ways and means of applying the program. We would like to give life to

one of the most important points in the Transitional Program, that of "Expropriating the 60 Families", and suggest the following: 1. Agitation for the introduc-

tion of a bill in Congress calling for public ownership of the basic industries.

2. Demand that the government instead of pouring funds into the bankrupt railroads and maritime industry, for the profits of those in control, immediately foreclose on the loans and take these over subject to trade union control.

3. Campaign in the trade anions utilizing our slogans: "The Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours", "Opening of the Iale Factories", "Divulgence of Business Secrets and Records" to convince workers of necessity of Points 1 and 2. ing as well as political experi-It is not our intention in this document to analyze every In conclusion, we wish to penetrate the hinterlands, to make clear that in submitting picture in the following fields: phase of the party's work. The unemployment, Labor Party, national minorities, education, etc., is woeful and shows the same lamentable lacks. We have selected the above three major points of War, Trade

Union Work, and Transitional Program, to illustrate our premise-the leadership is in the main responsible for the discrepancy between program and practice.

Explanation It is impossible to conclude that the leadership of our party fails to understand that its task is to initiate and direct the work of the party. What, then, is the reason for

the failure of the leadership to stances. and failure to carry out the serious resolutions and procause it doesn't consider this the primary necessity; it has given the correct orientation

its C. P. orientation. If not, it must be replaced. The specific talents of this or that individual are not sufficient to overshadcw the incorrect perspective of these comrades. In any case their capabilities have not been utilized under the circum-We have not been concerned here with the few successes which our party has had. In general these successes prove our contention that our party,

up a blind alley. World shaking events, the defeats of the proand books (like Gide's), have stead of coming to us the overwhelming majority became hopelessly disillusioned with the radical movement. We did not attract them because they were not interested in joining what they considered merely an anti-C.P. sect. They were interested in organizing the American working-class and when we appeared through our

activity and propaganda to be unconcerned in the main with this problem, they were loath to join us.

Those who are interested in crushing our opposition to the leadership will readily accuse us of failing to see the importance of fighting the Stalinists. Such accusations are dishonest and we treat them as such. We do not think it pertinent to reiterate that Stalinism is deadly and that it is essential to put out propaganda exposing their role here and abroad. Our point is that active participation in the C.I.O. movement, sincere and self - sacrificing work among the working class, would

have done more to convince the Stalinist workers that the trials were a frameup than a thousand pamphlets on the subject. Let our main attention be diected toward ourselves becoming the leader in the struggles of the workers; let our program and our actions become positive: let us address ourselves to the progressive and leftward moving workers who are still in the vast majority

non-Stalinists. The leadership must break with its position of defeatism,

ready displaying alarming day. growth in the resurgence of the Coughlinites with a genuinely so suffers from the tendency to fascist program.

conclude superficially that remnant of other days when these masses are "natural" giving the "principled position material for fascism. It is of the party" was a task of thelargely the "radical" aspects oretical clarification. Effective will attract disillusioned mass- less repetition, but with infines to that banner, unless our ite variety, of two or three simparty intervenes with a com- ple and comprehensible prehensible and bold program themes. Nor are these arbitrarof working-class action against ily posed, but instead project capitalism that will turn them themselves as a direct response on the road to the social revolu- to the existent psychological tion.

False Attitudes

To successfully pose our alternative before the masses, employed, nothing matters so we must first cleanse our ranks of certain false attitudes. For instance, we must root out emotion is so persistent as the in Chicago. any misconceptions about "go- fear of war, expressed in the ing underground" in view of the war danger. Some, seeing "isolationism". only the defeats and the dizzy pace of events, wish to discount further open party work and to plunge forthwith "un- concentrate its propaganda and derground", - that is, to bury activities in a fashion calculatthe party. They conceive of ed to coincide directly with "underground" activity solely these very concrete moods and in terms of fugitive criminals, aspirations. Our Transitional concealing identity, hiding be- program must not remain in hind drawn shades, shunning the realm of abstract slogans, all human contact. Quite the something to drag along by the contrary! The safeguard of our tail as a concession to the party in war-time from the re- "backwardness" of the masses. pressive state apparatus is pos- Instead, we must select those

SOCIALIST APPEAL Vol. III, No. 45 June 27, 1939 Published twice a week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUB-LISHING ASS'N., 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. "Reentered as second class the post office at New York, means a fight against the war sible by the workers. N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

the Epic Plan and technocracy. ployed person wants not so They are ready to try anything much a confirmation of his misin hopes of a "miracle" cure. ery as a road out. Education This psychology is a ripening through a program of positive agent for American fascism, al- action is on the order of the

Our propaganda technique alof meaningless phrases-not believed by even those who preattempt to stuff the workers sent them-that we shall fruc-But it would be fatal for us to with everything at once. It is a tify the reformist labor party, that we shall do it more successfully than the revolutionary elements of the S.D.P. or the English Labor Party were able of the fascist program and the propaganda for mass appeal to do. Is it not a fact that all promise of bold action which must consist rather of the end- revolutionary groupings were out not with increased strength moods and material aspirations of the masses.

To the unemployed, nothing discouraged by our bold steps is so important as jobs. To the much as shorter hours, higher

continued strong sentiment for Selective Demands Our party must therefore sible only to the extent that our three or four concrete demands of immediate appeal from our Transitional program which

of our program of action.

they at present understand, states the facts in saying that pendent class politics."

CROSS, MYRON CARLSON account of the new developments in the labor movement. and IRVING KAPLAN

especially in their political as-(Continued from last issue) pects. . ." therefore, ". . . It is It is nothing but the mouthing necessary now to reconsider the question and to make a radical change in our tactics in regard to the developing labor party movement." The convention was aware of the possibility that "the labor party development takes on a more radical form in appearance' (Draft Resolution I, p. 10), but even then the party agreed that finally driven out of those labor all reformist parties, among parties when a crisis arose, as them the labor party, "act in in 1914 and thereafter, driven practice and in crisis as bulwarks of capitalism and enebut at the cost of lost forces, mies of the socialist revolution. because of the discouragement Their false program and perexperienced by many a worker spectives disorient the masses, along the "bold, resolute and turning them aside from revodecisive" path in the labor lutionary class struggle, and party-as many here must be permit the forces of reaction to consolidate without effective in supporting the Waldmans in opposition . . . the present la-New York and the candidates bor party developments, how-

income and job security. No of the non-existent labor party ever far they may be extended, (are) the method for pre-Of course the labor party venting the growth of indepen- decision as to working in the supporters are not quite sure dent class politics." (Draft trade unions, "turning our whether or not to acknowledge Resolution II, p. 26, 27). paternity if our fructification This analysis was and is corshould not bear the expected rect, and if we shall step out in fruit. While we unambiguously support the labor party move- a manner "bold, resolute and within and with the masses. ment in general and all its decisive," to build or help build Our duty was and still remains local manifestations, neverthe- the labor party we shall, with to make each party member an less the Socialist Workers or without our fructification, be active worker in the trade Party "does not and will not, held responsible for "the methhowever, take upon itself any od for preventing the growth of of our revolutionary program responsibility for this party." independent class politics." It That may be a desire, but will may be repeated with Crux that However, standing on the side-"we must not reckon by our not be a fact, at least not in the eyes of the workers, who prognosis of yesterday, but by just will not follow nor under- the situation of today," which preach to them, is as useless as of differentiation, but because stand the position, and with in- statement must be read with evitable logic will conclude one of Trotsky that "under the must become the living heart that those who unambiguously pressure of the masses of the support the labor movement people, the bourgeoisie will trade union activity on the part and stank of renegacy and be-For the unemployed, this should be held responsible for take various steps to the left." means an aggressive fight for the party. This will be the case This may be understood to say the 20 billion dollar public more particularly in a war cri- that the revolutionary party works and housing program. sis, when the labor party natur- shall not become a handmaiden For the employed, it means a ally, even congenitally, will of the bourgeoisie in helping it fight for the 30 hour week-\$30 support the unambiguous sup- to take such steps as the labor

per week minimum wage plan. porters of the labor party party, which is "from the point matter February 16, 1939, at For the masses in general, it movement will be held respon- of view of the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie, the method for danger in terms of the issues The majority resolution mis- preventing the growth of inde-

workers, and attempting to done not only for the purpose it is impossible. No support to the labor party nym for gradualism, class colmovement, but revolutionary laboration, social patriotism,

of every party member. No building of the labor par- ers of the Revolutionary Interexisting mass political labor national felt on this question existin gmass political labor can be seen from the fact that parties.

olutionary program. No support to the bureaucra-

tic leadership of the labor par-

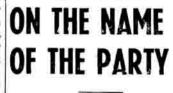
By ROGER B. CROSS consequences of indiscriminate- it's attention is concentratedfundamental, sacred and not to THE COMMUNIST PARTY. be questioned, thus leading to a rigidity utterly incompatible phasis has been on anti-Stalinwith the variegated tasks of a ist propaganda. It has always revolution, and on the other found time, money, to initiate hand, the insufficient consider- and direct activity when at ation given to the leadership's stake was an issue with the important questions simply beshould be obvious. It is discouraging and disheartening to see the revolutionary move-

ADDENDA TO THE

RESOLUTION

ment so handicapped.

To preserve our flexibility label "Socialist." olution, is a hopeless one, the that a program adopted by a patriotic connotation, yet even party being constituted as it is. Party Convention can only be to the most rabid red-baiting The overwhelming majority of changed by a device of like im- reactionary, "socialist" means the party members being out portance. The same test should only social reformism, and a be applied to any proposed ac- confused mixture of pacifism and Norman Thomas.



The 3rd International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky took the name of Communist, discarding the accepted usage of Social Demo-S. P. lines, out of earshot of the crat and Socialist. This was

"Socialist" had become a syno-

tion, to be directed to the C.P.; and in their case "Socialist' trayal. How strongly the foundhas a repulse effect (vestigial

remains of a revolutionary age). **Creates** Confusion

In day, to day activity every they made t he c hanging o f No support, critical or other- they made the changing of the comrade can cite instance wise, to the labor party, but name a pre-requisite for ad- upon instance where unnecesmission into the 3rd Interna- sary confusion amongst the tional. workers has been created by

The passage of 20 years have the present name of the party. ty, but organization of fraction- only confirmed the perfidy and Such remarks as, "They are such as the popular referendum "at the time of our national The majority resolution, hav- al groups around our revolu- treachery of the so-called So- Socialists and believe in peace-

no faith in our ability to at-tract the workers of this coun-felt as a factor on the Ameri-The terms principle and tac- try to its banner and lead them can scene. This convention tic have long been the curse of to victory. It has an orientation must not content itself with a our movement. The disastrous of its own and in that direction smug satisfaction and emphasis on the small successes; our ly labelling certain precepts as its main hope is in SPLITTING task is to evaluate how far we have gone, what we have ac-For ten years its major emcomplished, and what can be reasonably done in the future. Only such a discussion and resultant action will make it possible for the party to emerge as the revolutionary party. A maneuvers on sometimes very C.P. When the C.I.O. was in failure to do this, will mean full swing it published at least that the present sentiment of cause they are called tactics. half-a-dozen pamphlets on the the masses will be swept up by Moscow Trials without putting the fascists.

> cialist parties. It was and is, ful change," etc. are very fretherefore, inconceivable for a quently heard. revolutionary party to bear the

> The confusion in party labels In the U.S. while the word is so great that Coughlinites. our deadliest enemies, mistook Socialist has not such a social us for the S.P. and in retaliation for driving them off the streets of downtown New York, June 10th attacked the befuddled Thomasites, who didn't know what it was all about. If

> the Coughlinites, who had ex-The historical development of the S.W.P. made it almost cellent reasons after Madison Square Garden and June 10th inevitable that for a short peto find out exactly who their riod we maintain the label-Socialist. At the time of the split main enemy was, blundered. with the Thomasites, in order how much more must be the confusion created in the minds to win over as many militants of the S. P. as possible, we had of the backward and even the to continue the use of the name advanced workers.

> Socialist in our party. For the True, the disintegration of same reason it may have been the S.P. will leave the field justified for a short period af- open to us and mistaken no-

ter the split, as a considerable tions will gradually recede into part of our opponents work was the past, but war may break devoted to the remnants of the out any moment, and we may have little time to do a task

All this is, however, a matter which at best has many serious of past history. The split has obstacles to overcome without been consummated and the being weighed down by the brunt of opponents work is, ac- dead corpse of social reformcording to the political resolu- ism and Thomasite pacifistic confusion.

> The convention should therefore change the name of the party by dropping the word Socialist, and also change the name of the "Appeal" to "La-|bor Action" or some other suitable name.

> > Al Findly

Join the Socialist Workers Party

Points of View on Issues Confronting the S.W.P. National Convention

On the Tasks of the Convention And the Political Resolution

The Communist Party

the section on the C.P. in the

political resolution represents

a change, not merely a matter

change in the defacto attitude

of most party members. This

In understandable reaction

against the tradition of the

Trotskyist movement, and ac-

companying a healthy turn

toward the masses, the com-

To underline the point made in

the resolution: since the foun-

locality. In recent months a

This is the elementary or-

Party Organization

directors, for this work!

officially, but certainly

change is overdue.

It should be emphasized that

By HAL DRAPER

New York, Comrade Burnham The task of the national leaderproposed that our work in the ship in this period is not only to should be: war; jobs; demo- likewise. cratic rights; fascism; the C. P.; and the labor party. This machinery, our members are be headlined in our work. It is approach in my opinion is cor- not individually prepared. One not a question of merely re rect, and not in contradiction thing this means is training. peating the previous discuswith our international or other Not training in understanding sion; I wish to point out: tasks. In this article I wish to of our political program-I am (1) that the labor party sec-

War The overshadowing task of vidual comrades to act as our of our tasks. this Convention, and of the Par- mouthpieces, speak for us at war interval? No. Why not, and tions, etc., to a vastly larger what must be done? This is the extent under war conditions. major pre-convention problem; with the best central machinthe following remarks are in- ery. What this points to is infor every rank-and-file party problem.

mented.

First, I think we must make member. a rectification in the direction of our agitation and propaganda on the war question. Up to now, 99 percent of it has been directed against the more-orless open war-mongers: the policies of the Roosevelt adminis- of emphasis. Perhaps not a tration, the collective-security advocates. Since this is in fact the actual policy of the U.S. government, it would be absurd to dispute the importance of this kind of attack. But consider: the great mass of the American people, and especially the workers, are not collective-security advocates, but in one form or another are under rades have obviously let C.P. the influence of isolationist and work slide more than it should. pacifist ideology. Turning to the masses means turning to them, in large part. In fact, there is a smaller percentage of collec- been no seriously organized tive-security-ites among the masses generally, than there is among the "advanced" workers. In this I am not thinking in New York, that is all. about the professional isolationists and pacifists of the various leagues, but of the more naive and inarticulate sentiments of cal machinery, committees and pre-war situation, shaping our the man-in-the-street or theworker-in-the-shop.

Why have we devoted so little attention to this, the predominant mood of the masses? First, perhaps, because we have felt that, as against the collective security shouters, litical problem before the Conthey are the lesser evil, not as dangerous, have a "more cor- importance the task of readymerely a matter of intellectual conviction or passing a resolution, this might have some jus-receive its due share of attentification

| done about it, not even some tasks and our organizational In his report for the P.C. in extremely elementary steps. means. The Labor Party

It is with some regret that next period be concentrated put the national office in order, the largest section of this disaround campaign activity on but it is its responsibility to see cussion article must be devoted six issues. These, he suggested, to it that the local sections do to the labor party question which Comrade Burnham pro-

Aside from organizational poses be one of the six issues to

der war conditions. We tend to a sore thumb and is completely ence: rely too much today on indi- out of place in our general view

by referendum. crisis: That our experiences (3)

that discussion.

This is the first Convention ters are located; after the adoption of the labor party line by referendum. The

party has a right to expect Disgusted with S.P., from the P.C., or at least from Militant Joins Social individual P.C. members, an attempt to draw up a balance ist Workers Party sheet of the 10 months or so change in policy for the party that have intervened - a bal-

Declaring his break with ance sheet of our work in the the decrepit Socialist Party, field, as well as of the develop-Oliver H. Williams of Fitchment of the labor party move ment. Both sides made predicburg, Mass., joined the ranks of the Socialist Worktions, put forward arguments ers Party this week and that perhaps can now be more called upon all militants still concretely tested, etc. In the in the S.P. to follow him and absence of such a balance continue the fight under the sheet by the P.C., I limit mybanner of the Fourth Interself here to some cursory and national.

Committee."

tion

Williams declared that the

Socialist Party remains life-

ess and inactive in the face

A Side Dish?

preliminary remarks.

I. The political resolution bedation of the S.W.P., there has gins with the indisputable C.P. work nationally or in any statement that "Every political, and economic and social issue is being more and more good beginning has been made subordinated to the war preparations." And the resolution ganizational conclusion from rightly links each one of the isthe resolution: national and lo- sues discussed to the present line of attack into a rounded program revolving around the

war question. That is, with the There is a good deal of loose exception of the labor party talk about the party's being in section! Burnham's six points. an "organizational crisis". Alfor example: armist as most of this is, there "War is coming - Struggle

is no doubt that there is no poagainst war!" "War is coming - Fight to

vention which overshadows in preserve the workers' democratic rights! Fight against fascismt "War is coming - Jobs, not

I do not expect that this will battleships! **Resolution of Houston** Branch on Moving Nat'l Headquarters of Party

ADOPTED BY THE HOUS- AND WHEREAS the Ameri-TON BRANCH OF THE SO. can workers do not yet recog-CIALIST WORKERS PARTY nize their own problems in the political atmosphere of New SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1939 York City, but tend to regard

WHEREAS our party is ap- New York with hostility, as a proaching a point where it foreign place; must pass from a small nu-AND WHEREAS the longer

cleus making the important the party stays in New York and difficult struggle for or- and depends upon the New York make some remarks on how taking this for granted - but tion of the political resolution ganizational existence to a po- comrades to manage its varithese objectives can be imple- training as propagandists un- sticks out of the document like litical movement of wide influ- ous activities, the more difficult it will become to move and AND WHEREAS it must shift the party apparatus;

realistically face the problem AND WHEREAS the natural (2) That the labor party posi- of winning the masses of Am- and normal location for the naty in the next period, is prepar- street corners, etc. Each of us tion given in the political reso- erican workers. farmers and tional headquarters of any reation for the war. Is the Party will have to be our own mouth- lution is a departure from that middle class to its program, so volutionary American working geared to the needs of this pre- piece, ourselves react to situa put forward by the majority in as to envisage the scizure of class party would be in some the last discussion and adopted power in the time of social industrial city of the middle west

AND WHEREAS the party's BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED rea the referendum serve to press and activities tend to be that the Socialist Workers Partended as a contribution to this ternal education and training invalidate the majority line in colored by the problem of the ty National Office and publica city where national headquar- tions be removed to some more

suitable city.

Transitional Program as the positive line for the party, the main line. And this is precisely what has happened. Where we have put the Transitional Program into action-as we have

Workers Defense Guard - the effect on the party has been marked. It is the slogans of the Transitional Program which have been repeated at the end of Appeal articles - not, perhaps not once, "Build the labor party!" In his discussion article in the Appeal. Comrade Lieberman mentions Shachtman's speech in New York on Williams, who had been a member of the S.P. since 1934, voiced his disgust with the refusal of the S.P. lead-

May Day, in which the Transitional Program was translated into one of the best mass speeches I have heard. Neither ership to break with the so-I, nor other comrades I have cial-patriotic Second Internaasked, can remember Shacht tional, the phoney deals beman's mentioning "Build the ing conducted between the labor party". What part has the S.P. and the Old Guard, and labor party position played in the party's politics in the the agitation and action of the 'Keep America Out of War party? None. Or if this is not

so, I am waiting for the P.C. to tell us. State of Labor Party

of the world crisis and that Is the labor party position a dead dog? No. Now, says the only the Socialist Workers Party has the bold revoluresolution, is the time for a tionary program that can ofgeneral campaign. What, is fer any hope to the world there a resurgence in the labor proletariat in the threaten party movement? Well, aning periods of war and reacfully, "the organized intervention of labor in politics has con- for political actiontinued and in some respects in-

swered No. 10 months later, the

Some Suggestions for Building The Party on a Mass Base

By WALTER SHIPMAN Suggestion No. 1:

party will follow.

there is none.

Let them do things on time judge them. and start meetings on time, then make others do the same. Let them be more tolerant.

One tends to be intolerant to-

put the leadership on the spot. increases moral courage. But unless that is done one begins to suspect that the leaders

own record than in the party's learn a lot. welfare and that in fact they

Crack Appeal Salesman at Work

partially in the case of the Out in Los Angeles, Calif. there is a star Appeal sales

man. This comrade sells an average of 12 papers per hour by working his way from house-to-house. He puts in an hour each day and in this way sells 60 papers per week.

Manny Fishler-the comrade we have in mind-understands that the job of selling the paper is a firstrate political task for all members of the Socialist Workers Party. The Appeal is the chief organizing weapon in the struggle against the War Deal and the growing fascist danger. It is our means of letting the American workers know why we oppose capitalism and what they can do about their situ ation.

Let's build up a crew of Manny Fishlers from coast to coast!

lower level of organizational swers the P.C. resolution care- form which the Minnesota workers have had to resort to

-There was the trade union 'War is coming - Fight the P.C. answers: "No, it would be creased during this same year" campaign for Murphy in Michi-

consider themselves the party are even careless. Imagine! itself. And above all, it edu- Say if 2,000 leaflets are printed If the leaders will lead-the cates the membership wrongly, and only 100 workers read And of course the same mis- them then-15 minutes reading Let them welcome criticism take might be repeated or be time X 100 equals 25 hours and ask for it and demand it not even discovered; and the workers' time. A circular and become alarmed when leadership should have its ac-should be prepared ten times tions clearly recorded so as to more carefully than a speech because you can write so much

Let them remember that the less, the receiver may take it best teacher is by example. home to his family, keep it as Let them, by example, imbue a record, and it reaches more the ranks with the sacred ne- people and above all more out-

wards a person whose opposi- cessity of speaking the truth side people who are naturally tion opinion we don't value. But and expressing their honest more critical. Every word, it's just the opposition opinion chinions and combat the feeling every phrase must be imwhich we should value and that the end permits one to hide proved and studied when even welcome. And we should not things from or be unfair to op- a few thousand are printed. fear to change our minds, ponent comrades. It will in-Furthermore, a one or two Above all we should not fear to crease faith and trust in the million national leaflet coming

aumit that we have changed leadership and also activity of out regular would probably be our minds or even that we have the members 100 times more attacked and publicized by the made a mistake. When a polit- than stale orders or discipli- newspapers, and the fascists ical or other position is changed hary threats from above. The and police would no doubt want overnight there must be a good training in defending one's dif- to stop it-all of which would explanation. It is not merely to ferences with one's friends also make workers more interested in what it says.

Let them go into the streets Also, it would increase the and sell Appeals and speak and activity of the members, espeare more interested in their hand out leaflets. They will cially those isolated from the labor movement Let them not mistake "Bol-

Some may say the Socialist shevik hardness" for petty Labor Party did that. But the S.L.P. did little else-and be-Let them develop new young sides they wrote very dry. leaders. Give them responsibil- These are critical times and workers will read. Each issue, with dramatic headline and content, could discuss one spe-

"Coughlin,"

"The Stal-

"What Is a

Then we may get somewhere. cific question in each issue, for instance: "War," Suggestion No. 2:

Responsibility develops

bourgeois rudeness.

ity.

ability.

"The History of Capitalism." Print about one million to begin with) leaflets every two "Defend the Trade Unions!" weeks. Size about 6 x 9 inches "The Moral Right to Overthrow in small newspaper type. The Capitalism," "Support the Auto cost is about as much as two (or any big struggle) Strike, The Survival of the Fittest, issues of the Appeal. We stand on street corners 'Revolution is Evolution,' and speak. Yet we doubt the When Force Is Justified," effectiveness of the written 'Demonstrate Against Relief word. This leaflet could have a Cuts-Don't Beg." small permanent masthead inists Are Traitors," "The Ist, called "The Guide," or "The 2nd, 3rd, 4th Internationals," Light" or "The Truth," etc. 'Democracy.'' But the written word, just as

Class?" "Progressive Trade the oral, may be effective, neu-Unionism," etc. tral or harmful. Two things But where is the money commust be taken into considera ing from? One issue would cost tion: (1) There is a tendency about as much as two issues of among some comrades, espethe Appeal. It seems to me too cially some intellectuals and much importance is given to those not in contact with workthe twice and now the 3 times ers, to think workers' minds a week Appeal. The 2 and 3 are simple and crude and sutimes will reach after all pracperficial and dull. That tendentically only the same circle of cy produces propaganda which people. The arguments in favor exaggerates, hides unpleasant of a good 8-page weekly are by truths, uses rough language no means exhausted. Besides if and slang words, believes

the whole country would be workers are too tired or even covered with such leaflets contoo lazy to read many words. tributions would possibly pay and spends too much time try- for it. Besides if it's no good it ing to convince the unemployed can be stopped any time. that unemployment causes suf-

fering (something every worker sees himself) and how bad it SENTENCE 3 FOR DING CASE OF

mication, but the question is	tion at the Convention, because	jingoes in the working class	academic and irrelevant."	during which labor party senti-	gan and Oisen in Camornia	to be be with such the second	- 분장 '한다. 양 '날 것과' 그런 무엇간 ^
rather one of mobilization to ac-	of lack of pre-Convention prep-	HT 2. 2017년 1월 27일 - 2017년 1월 27일 1월 27일 1월 27일 27일 28일 28일 28일 28일 28일 28일 28일 28일 28일 28	~~~~~ ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~	ment has remained inert; and	This certainly represents "con-	is to be without money, etc.	PLEADING CASE OF
tion along the class-struggle	aration and the conditions un-	ranks, the C.P. above all!"	"Snows of Yesteryear"	the present situation is "rais-	tinued" mobilization of labor	(The workers want a way out.)	TELADING CASE OF
path. And it is not news for us		"War is coming-Build a la-	What happens to the despair-		behind capitalist politicians,	An example of this attitude. I	JOBLESS WORKERS
	der which a Convention is held.	bor party!"	ing cries that rose up from the	ing or beginning to raise once		believe, is the leaflet put out	JODELJJ WORKERJ
to be told that the role of paci-	I would propose that this gap		majority's ranks and spokes-	more in the minds of the work-	but how is it "increased" par-	for the Madison Sq. Nazi meet-	CHARGE AND AND A COMPANY AND A
fism and isolationism is pre-	be filled by:	Try that on your street-cor-	men to the effect that the labor	ers questions about political ac-	ticipation as compared with the		NEW YORK-Arrested in the
cisely that of a soporific, of a	(1) Holding special confer-	ner speech. How does a labor		tion." To begin with, to say the	labor campaigns for Roosevelt.	ing. It was praised by many	53rd Street relief bureau for
brake on militant action. Sec-	(1) Holding special conter	party campaign fit into a	party question was a life-and-	least, a far cry from the confi-	for Lehman for LaGuardia et	comrades as a fine example. It	protecting the dismissed of ain
ondly, it is harder to come to	ences of the delegates during	rounded program of agitation	death matter for the party, that	least, a far cry from the com-	all	called the fascists scum and	processing the distribusit
	the Convention on specific or-	and action against the war, or	the party could not go on	dent assertions in the 10-month		slime and filth. The words in	Bie men mont the city a rener
grips with these strata — they	ganizational problems: C.P.	and action against the war, or	"stewing in its own juice" and	old labor party resolution:	The labor party movement in	themselves are the truth but	rolls, one woman and two men,
are not as organized, not as	work; educational and agit-	is it merely a side-dish with no	that a labor party campaign	"The workers have begun to	America is already reaching	themserves are the truth but	members of Local 4 of the Un-
represented by spokesmen in	prop work; etc. Whether this is	connection with the rest of the	- ' 회사님께 있는 것 같아요. 등 것은 것이 가진 것		the end of its blind alley. The	they convince nobody. To con-	employed and Project Work
the public eye. less homogen-	prop work, etc. whether this is	menu?	was the answer to our isola-	political action ""We can with	DO ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL	vince the workers that the fas-	ers Union, were sentenced to a
eous. This is true, but what I	feasible, of course, depends on	A Change in Line	tion?			cists are fascists and that	total of 40 dame in the Dillo
	the physical and time arrange-		Where is the argument that	sufficient assurance predict	What to Do	fascists are the most brutal	total of 40 days in the Rikers
am interested in here is to	ments.	II. The first two sentences of		that the resistance of the bur-	The many comrades who	a manker of the sould be a set	round worknouse by budge
point out that there has been	(2) Organizing the delegates.	the labor party section read as	the labor party issue was "in-	eaucracy (to the L.P. move-	said they wanted to "experi-	agents of big capital and to	Andrews of the New FOR
no deliberate effort to over-	at the formal close of the Con-	follows: "During the past year.	dissolubly" connected with the	ment) will be broken. The	ment" with the majority labor	convince them that it is their	County Magistratos Court on
come these obstacles.	at the formal close of the con-	the sentiment among the work-	Transitional Program-or was	movement in favor of a labor	manin manifian bases had that	moral right and duty to attack	Wednesday June 91
It is not enough to decide to	vention, into a special organiza-	ers for a labor party has re-	a general campaign on the		party position have had their	them physically, that is the	
	tional conference, to consider	ers for a labor party has ie	Transitional Program academ-	party will continue to grow."	noble experiment. Now what?	thing. Those who preach social-	saver beneenee nad been pro-
pay attention to the naively an-	organizational problems only.	mained inert, held back by		etc.	(1) The political resolution	ism are wrong if they in their	nounced by Judge Andrews, he
ti-war masses. We must learn	Such a gathering can be use-	Roosevelt, the labor bureau-	ic and irrelevant too?	Comrade Burnham has kind-	must be given a realistic esti-	isin are wrong it they in their	remonstrated with his prison-
how to approach them. We do	ful as a preparation for:	crats and the Stalinists. Any	Another question on the re-		mate of the labor party situa-	enthusiasm and hatred towards	ers. "Remember," he told
not know. We cannot approach	Ill as a preparation for,	extended general campaign on	frain, "Where are the snows of			the class enemy exaggerate	them, "That you are people
them, by and large in the same	(3) Holding regional organ-	our part around the labor par-	yesteryear?"-In the discussion,	and the second s	tion now and during the past	(exaggeration is really an un-	who live off city funds " Deff
them, by and large in the same	izational conferences after the		이번 사람은 지하지 않는 것 같아. 전 이는 것 같아. 가지 않는 것 같아. 나는 것 않아. 나는 나는 것 않아. 나는 것 않 ? ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	"continued" and "increased"	year which corresponds with	truth) or what is more impor-	who live off city funds." Defi-
way that we have attacked the	delegates return home, for dis-	ty slogan would have been on		intervention of labor in politics.	the facts.	tant, seemingly exaggerate. It	ant of the sage magistrate's ad-
collective-security-ites. This	cussion and exchange of ideas.	the whole academic, and our		According to him, the A.L.P.	(2) It must blace the empha	is better to understate and be	vice, a member of the court-
may be so with some varieties	etc., with N.C. members pres-	agitation on this issue has been	imperatively demanded by the		tal alagebu an independent me	is better to understate and be	room audience retorted, "So
of pacifist-isolationists, but	etc., with N.C. members pres	largely, and correctly, con-	objective situation, and many	In New FOR Sun continues -	sis clearly on independent par-	conservative in this respect.	- W.S.W. 1993 M
with others we must work to	ent at each one. The organiza-	fined to specific and local situ-	and forceful were his remarks	-Very modestly put, "still	ticipation by the party in elec-	We must raise the party's dig-	
with others we must work to	tional end of war preparation	mied to specific and local situ-	and forcerul were his remarks	continues"; the A.L.P. is actu-	toral campaigns, along the	nity. Using workers' language	Anen Orime
lead them from their present	should be an important aspect	ations where it was relevant."		ally in a state of suspended an-	lines of the issues featured in	when among workers is one	The onlee convicted demon-
attitudes towards ours, not only							atuatona Dhada Daanaan Mar
	of these gatherings.		mood of the workers. For him	imption, which the hypodermic	the resolution under the cign	thing: using the	Suators, miloua rearson, Mey-
	of these gatherings.			imation, which the hypodermic	the resolution, under the sign	thing: using the same language	strators, renoua rearson, mey-
on the basis of the proper prop-	PERCENT AND ADDRESS PERCENT	P.C. manages to throw out of	it was a race against time to	of the coming elections may or	the resolution, under the sign of the war question. We must	thing; using the same language	er Drucker and N. Brown, were
on the basis of the proper prop- agandistic approach but also	For the Convention itself, I	P.C. manages to throw out of the window 90 percent of the	it was a race against time to raise the political level of the	may not jerk it out of-	the resolution, under the sign of the war question. We must utilize the elections and the par-	thing; using the same language in an official appeal to gain their confidence and support	er Drucker and N. Brown, were members of a committee of six
on the basis of the proper prop- agandistic approach but also through action. This means	For the Convention itself, I should like to emphasize one	P.C. manages to throw out of the window 90 percent of the argumentation they and their	it was a race against time to raise the political level of the workers—as it is—and the la-	may not jerk it out of-	the resolution, under the sign of the war question. We must utilize the elections and the par-	thing; using the same language in an official appeal to gain their confidence and support	er Drucker and N. Brown, were members of a committee of six who had gone to the 53rd Street
on the basis of the proper prop- agandistic approach but also through action. This means	For the Convention itself, I	P.C. manages to throw out of the window 90 percent of the argumentation they and their supporters used to justify the	it was a race against time to raise the political level of the workers—as it is—and the la- bor party slogan was to be a	of the coming elections may or may not jerk it out of— —There is the trade union	the resolution, under the sign of the war question. We must utilize the elections and the par- liamentary field to put our-	thing; using the same language in an official appeal to gain their confidence and support for an organization to lead their	er Drucker and N. Brown, were members of a committee of six who had gone to the 53rd Street relief bureau to plead the case
on the basis of the proper prop- agandistic approach but also through action. This means training, and I shall return to this point.	For the Convention itself, I should like to emphasize one proposal, which it seems to me puts the finger on an outstand-	P.C. manages to throw out of the window 90 percent of the argumentation they and their supporters used to justify the majority resolution 10 months	it was a race against time to raise the political level of the workers—as it is—and the la- bor party slogan was to be a stout weapon to this end. If	of the coming elections may or may not jerk it out of— —There is the trade union campaign in Minnesota	the resolution, under the sign of the war question. We must utilize the elections and the par- liamentary field to put our- selves before the masses as	thing; using the same language in an official appeal to gain their confidence and support for an organization to lead their lives is another thing.	er Drucker and N. Brown, were members of a committee of six who had gone to the 53rd Street relief bureau to plead the case of two young single men who,
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been considered of the highest the contrary, it is an absolutely vania, does this not necessarily ers are urged to buy, read and cist Labor Guard will particiimportance by both the mem- necessary contribution by the entail a campaign to link up help distribute the attractive pate in the rally. All anti-fasbership and the party leader- national center toward closing these local situations into a na- newspaper of our youth organ- cist workers are called upon to appear in next week's issue of ship - only nothing has been the gap between our political tional labor party?" We an-lization.

the Appeal. be present for the meeting.

More discussion articles will

National Educational Dept. Socialist Workers Party 116 University Pl., N.Y.C.

rrest at the 53rd Street is not an isolated inciuring the last two weeks six unemployed demonstrators have been arrested at various relief bureaus throughout the city on similar flimsy charges.

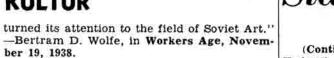
KREMLIN KULTUR

"It seems to me that our intelligentsia are living in a particularly happy time. . . . The Soviet system alone gives the intelligentsia an opportunity to unfold its creative powers. . . . We shall release such forces that the mere thought of it makes us breathless. (Applause.) Comrades, on December 12 we shall all vote for the Communist Party, for him who expresses the aspirations of the people, Comrade Stalin. (Stormy applause, turning into an ovation. Shouts of 'Hurrah!') For the Soviet intelligentsia! For the creative work of the Soviet intelligentsia!"- Speech by M. Kalinin, president of the Soviet Union, before the representatives of the Soviet Toiling Intelligentsia of Leningrad, Nov. 26, 1937. (Quoted from International Literature, No. 1, 1938.)

There is an aged joke about some state legislature which once repealed the law of gravitation. It now appears that in the Soviet Union, where anything can happen these days, something of the sort is actually in process. According to Harold Denny's report in the N. Y. Times for June 15 last, Socialist Agriculture, the official organ of the Commissariat of Agriculture, has just published a letter from twenty-four agricultural students denouncing as "bourgeois formalism" both the Mendelian law of heredity and the theory of genes and chromosomes for which T. H. Morgan was awarded the Nobel Prize. "The concept of the gene contradicts dialectical materialism," write the students. "We share the opinion of Academician Lysenko when he says, 'To my mind it is high time to extract bodily Mendelianism and all its equivalents from the courses of higher educational institutions." Denny points out that "the fact the editor of Socialist Agriculture publishes the letter under the heading, 'CHASE FORMAL GENETICS FROM THE UNIVERSITIES' strongly indicates that that is just what will be done-that the Mendelian law, so far as the Soviet Union is concerned, will be repealed. Unless the editor of Socialist Agriculture made a fearfully bad guess.'

The Philistinism which has laid waste Soviet culture under Stalin appears clearly in the invidious comparison the students' letter makes between "formal" and "modernistic" genetics-which is dismissed as academic hocuspocus, mere theory-and "practical" genetics. The "formal" school of Mendel-Morgan is led by N. I. Vavilov, an internationally famous plant expert. The "practical" school is led by T. D. Lysenko, who is in high favor with the Kremlin (and unknown outside the U.S.S.R.). Lysenko is thoroughgoing in his Philistinism, rejecting not only Mendelianism but even the science of genetics itself, which he terms "merely an amusement, like chess or football." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 14, 1936.) Lysenko and his followers charge the Mendel-Morgan-Vavilov school with placing a "fascist" emphasis on hereditary factors, and insist that any good Bolshevik must put the emphasis on environment. Several years ago they kicked up such a row that Vavilov was arrested as a "Trotskyist" and the Seventh International Congress on Genetics, which was to be held in Moscow in the summer of 1937, was abruptly cancelled on orders from the Kremlin.

Denny comments on the "remarkable" fact that such a controversy, involving cardinal points of political doctrine, should have been



Cinema

"On March 17, 1937, the Central Administration of the Photo-Cinema Industry stopped the production of the much talked-of and eagerly awaited film, Bezhin Meadow, on which Sergei Eisenstein, of Potemkin fame, had been working for over two years. . . In an article in Pravda, Boris Shumiatsky, the head of the moving picture industry in the U.S.S.R. charged Eisenstein with having failed to 'learn from life', with having placed too much faith in his own 'scholastic profundities' and with pendent upon W.P.A. jobs or . . . 'harmful formalistic exercises'. . . Eisen- relief checks for food, clothing,

stein admitted many of the criticisms. He ad- and shelter. mitted having been possessed of the intellec-In New York the filling of tual's quixotic illusion that revolutionary work could be done individually. . . 'Fame came suspended, and Lieut. Col. Breearly to me,' he said. 'I overestimated myself, hon B. Somervell, W.P.A. adand that was a major error. I never advanced ministrator estimated that the

March 31, 1927. at the rate of 1,000 jobs a week. "Boris Shumiatsky, chief of the Soviet mo-There are absolutely no prostion picture industry has been quietly re-pects that those thrown off bill." moved. . . The magazine Soviet Art charged W.P.A. will be absorbed by inthat his political blindness permitted 'savage dustry. Industrial activity is neither postcards nor LaGuarveteran spies, Trotskyist and Bukharinist declining and the first effect of dia speeches will obtain one agents and hirelings of Japanese and German this decline will be slashed cent for the unemployed. There fascism' to perform their wrecking deeds in payrolls, drastic curtailment of is only one language which established by the foregoing considerations. the Soviet Cinema. . . He was also criticised staffs, and increased unemploy- President Roosevelt and Confor introducing the sex element into an almost ment.

completely masculine story, Stevenson's Treasure Island, by transforming cabin boy Times, Jan. 17, 1938.

History

yet been written, and no one appears willing immediate application. to undertake the task because of the virtual certainty that whatever line of thought he pursued today would be unpopular five or ten 1936.

"The heavy guns of the Russian Communist Party have now been turned on the works of the late M. N. Pokrovsky, who until his death in 1932 was almost idolized as a Marxist historian, and on the younger Soviet historians who studied under him and now are accused of being active Trotskyists . . . Pravda is especially angered by the low estimate of Peter the Great made by Professor Pokrovsky and his followers . . . 'Pokrovsky's pupils,' writes Pravda, 'were fertile soil for all sorts of anti-

them became Japanese-German-Trotskyist contents of the issue place the chure. agents of Rightist dissenters.' "-N. Y. Times, journal in the front ranks of April 18, 1937.

'Nikolal Bukharin and Alexei Rykov, former premier, are denounced along with Leon and is varied in content. Trotsky and other one-time Soviet leaders as murderers of Mr. Kirov in a new textbook on the history of the Soviet Union just published. discussed by the Editors. The pus". This is the winner of a government competition, and the group of historians who com- Deal, etc. is fully reviewed. posed it received a premium of 75,000 rubles. . . The textbook awards considerable war is dealt with explicitly and monthly column, "Reading praise to Peter the Great.-N. Y. Times, fully in two articles. The first from Left to Right", and a dis-Aug. 25, 1937.

Joseph Stalin was characterized today as Board of the Bulletin of the snevism and Democracy by A.

Slash Into Effect

(Continued from Page 1) Federal and \$50,000 if Federal.

Effect of Slash

There are very few building tional Conference of Social projects which will be able to Work at Buffalo, Mayor La meet this requirement, as even an ordinary school building will Guardia declared that he was generally exceed this amount opposed to the present slashes by a considerable margin. in relief. "We talk of democ-

racy, but the freedoms of Reports from all over the speech, press, assembly and recountry indicate the terrible effect Roosevelt's slash-relief ligion cannot be enjoyed on an empty stomach.' policy is having upon those de-

SOCIALIST APPEAL

He declared that the present bill for relief "would completely wreck our American system of work relief." But he provacancies by W.P.A. has been posed absolutely no way of obtaining an increased appropriation.

Postcards Won't Help

LaGuardia is scheduled to appear before the Senate Appro-where he hopes "to salvage

something out of the House One thing is absolutely clear, The only exceptions to Som- the language of militant dem-

ervell's rule forbidding new re- onstrations. Jim Hawkins into Jenny Hawkins."-N. Y. placements or assignments are Unless the unemployed begin organizing huge demonstrain a few exceptional cases, nearly half of those now on tions in front of every relief

home relief, will be dropped office they can expect Roose-"One of the biggest problems confronting within the near future. Large velt's slash relief program to the Bolshevists is to get a comprehensive his- scale cuts are now being con- gain new heights of fury in its tory of the Communist revolution. None has sidered by W.P.A. officials for drive to throw every unemployed person on the streets.



Editors Review National Scene in Comment On Republicans and 1940 Elections

The June issue of the The all interested in Marxism and New International is now off its method of analysis will be Appeal is already too narrow for our political party hesitations and wanderings. . . Many of the press, and once again the intrigued by Luxemburg's bro-

The popular and clear-think-Marxist thought. It is fully up ing writer, George E. Novack, to the calibre of other issues contributes a most revealing and informative article on the "The Republicans and the oil industry, entitled, "The 1940 Elections" is the subject Struggle against the Oil Octo-

situation as related to the New Other important and stimulating articles are contributed The problem of imperialist by Dwight Macdonald in his contributed by the Editorial cussion of the problem of Bd-



A program of expansion such as the party needs at the present time should be a rounded In a speech before the Naprogram which sets tasks to be fulfilled in all the most important fields of work. It should aim to push the party forward on all fronts. At the same time, if the program of expansion is not to remain on paper, as the product of irresponsible wish-thinking, it should combine the resolute will of the party to take a step forward with a realistic appraisal of the practical possibilities.

Every item of the program should be judged by the convention in this light. We cannot afford to indulge in idle speculation about what we would like to do if we had unlimited resources at our disposal. Rather, our plan, and every separate item of it, must be geared to the resources at our disposal in the shape of human energy and material and technical needs. There is one more proviso, however. In elaborating our plan we must take into account the imperative political necessities of the time which impose upon us, as a condition for advancement, a greater expenditure of energy, more sacrifices in the spirit of bolshevism and a faster pace all along the line.

No Question about Necessity

The proposal for a three-a-week Appeal, like all the other items of the program, must be weighed and examined within the framework Many factors enter into the discussion of this gress understand, and that is somewhat ambitious project. Is it politically necessary and advantageous? Have we the

technical facilities to produce it? Can we maintain it financially? And finally, can it be effectively distributed by the members of our small organization?

There can be no question about the political necessity and the enormous advantage of a three-a-week publication over the present twoa-week. Things are happening very rapidly in the world today. Problems multiply and questions arise in dizzying succession. A party which answers soonest and oftenest has an incalculable advantage over its slow-poke rivals. The twice-a-week Appeal, which has so clearly put us in a commanding position in the radical labor field, is already inadequate for our needs. Here in this issue, for example, we are obliged to print two extra pages to take care of the convention discussion. Apart of that, the editors tell me, their desk drawers are choked with excellent and timely articles and stories for which they have no space; and other vital material, already set up in type, has to be left as hold-over on the printshop stone. The framework of the twice-a-week and agitational needs.

We Have the Forces

Have we the journalistic facilities to produce a paper three times a week without too much difficulty? For one who knows the rich literary resources of our party, to ask that question is to answer it affirmatively. I don't think it is boasting but merely stating obvious facts to say that our staff of writers is second to none, in literary and journalistic competence and political quality. One has only to compare our bright and interestingly written Appeal with its dull, gray and spiritless rivals to satisfy himself on this point. And I refer not merely to the professional staff of the

because they have a more serious and determined revolutionary spirit and are willing to pay more for any project which will advance their cause.

Distribution Is the Problem

It is noteworthy that in the comments I have heard and received about the project of the three-a-w.tk Appeal, nobody has seriously questioned the capacity of the party to manage it financially. On the financial question, as well as on the technical side, we can speak right now with complete confidence in the feasability of the enterprise. The convention delegates can be presented with facts and figures on all sides of these two aspects of the question which leave no room for doubt that, from a technical and finarcial standpoint, the proposal of a three-a-week Appeal is no pipe dream but a practical and feasible project. It will be difficult. It will be a little more of

a strain than we were accustomed to in the desultory days of the past. But it can be done.

There remains one more question: Can the three-a-week Appeal be adequately distributed by the party members? Here we cannot speak with the same assurance as on the technical and financial sides. The convention delegates, who will represent all sections of the country. who have already accumulated a considerable experience with the problem of distributing the twice-a-week, will have to say the word. However, some provisional opinions on this point will not be out of order. The same question of distribution arose in connection with the project of the two-a-week Appeal. Many comrades who are not at all inclined to pessimism, had misgivings when the twice-a-week Appeal was first projected, and even when the decision to launch it was finally taken.

The experience of five months of the twicea-week Appeal has been very illuminating. Despite difficulties, dislocations and maladjustments here and there, the twice-a-week Appeal, on the whole, has been effectively distributed. It is a fact that we print and sell twice as many papers per week as we did five months ago. And no more than half of them, roughly speaking, go to the same people. We increased the circle of our literary propaganda by a good fifty percent at one stroke. And those who subscribe to the paper, or buy each issue regularly, get the message of bolshevism twice a week instead of once.

Humdrum Routine Disappearing

These facts outweigh all other considerations. The publication of the paper twice a week acted as a form of mechanical compulsion upon the branches to devise new and more effective means of distribution. The old humdrum routine had to give way before the deluge of papers coming to the branches twice as fast as before. The system of handing out the weekly bundle order at branch meetings, and perhaps assigning a comrade or two to cover some radical meeting or other, broke down. In order to dispose of the papers the comrades had to get on the street with them. They had to break into new fields. This, in turn, resulted in the establishment of new contacts, and a general invigoration of the life of the party branches. We have seen, in this transformation of the method of distributing our paper, the beginning of a transformation of our methods in general from routine propaganda to mass agitation.

allowed to drag on for three years-indeed, that it should take place at all. I agree it is remarkable, and suggest that the Kremlin finds itself in a difficult position. For the more national consciousness the Kremlin finds it expedient to stimulate, the more expedient also it must find it to emphasize heredity over environment. And so, while on the whole inclining towards Lysenko's doctrines, the Kremlin cannot quite bring itself to summarily outlaw Vavilov.

For these very special reasons, the Vavilov school has been allowed to survive and even to dispute publicly with the dominant school. But this is a unique situation. In other fields of culture, the Kremlin never hesitates to lay down the law swiftly and with finality. In his intellectual pretensions, if not in other ways, Stalin is a twentieth-century Leonardo Da Vinci, settling out of hand the most abstruse problems of science and esthetics, turning his attention from astronomy to cubism to the expressionistic theatre-and with the most devastating effects in each field. Below I have catalogued a few of the Kremlin's more spectacular recent exploits in such matters. They will perhaps give some faint impression of what the intellectual atmosphere must be like at present in the Workers' Fatherland.

Art

"Purification of Soviet art from 'decadent modernistic influences' as well as the 'sticky sweetness of romanticism' was demanded today in Izvestia. . . 'Neither French impressionism nor post-impressionism nor bourgeois romanticism in the art of the French revolution, nor the spirit of eighteenth century painting, can harmonize with Soviet art.' The philosophical basis of Soviet art was defined thus: 'New ideas, new spectators and new beauty are the principal accessories of socialistic art. Its basic morality is Soviet humanism."-N. Y. Times, Sept. 3, 1938.

Astronomy

"Professor Boris Gerasimovitch, head of the Pulkovo Observatory in Leningrad, was accused today of 'servility' toward foreign science by the newspaper Leningrad Pravda. . . Professor Gerasimovitch is the foremost astronomer of the Soviet Union, and he possesses an international reputation as one of the world's greatest astrophysicists. . . The current campaign against servility is based on the fact that many Soviet scientists first publish their works abroad."-N. Y. Times, July 19, 1936.

"Having jailed Director Gerasimovitch of the Pulkovo Observatory and shot Director Numerov of the Astronomical Institute at Leningrad and removed and jailed so many 'wreckers' and 'traitors' of star-science that no Soviet astronomers could be sent to the recent meeting of the International Astronomical Union at Stockholm, the G.P.U. has now not only a great statesman but as a model his- Russian Opposition in an ar- Alper and Albert Goldman, torian and scientist by Emil Yaroslavsky. . 'Comrade Stalin personally executed a vast Social-Patriotism'', which con- basic tenets of Bolshevism. amount of the work of compiling 'A Short cerns itself with developments Course on the History of the Communist Party arising from the Czecho-slovak- National Question in Central in the Soviet Union', said Mr. Yaroslavsky, ian crisis. 'Isn't our admiration stirred by this work of Stalin, for which he found time amid gigantic Hal Draper on "F.D.R. and the Readers wishing to obtain a State work?. . . The concrete instructions of Stalin to our historians, and concrete criticisms of their mistakes-all this caused a veritable about-face in our history." - N. Y. burg. "The Socialist Crisis in Address The New Internation-Times, March 13, 1939.

Law

"Serious charges are faced by Eugene B Pashukanis, until a year ago regarded as chief theoretician of Soviet justice. . . Mr. Pashukanis had taught that the State was withering away. Y. Times, April 4, 1938.

Lexicography

"The Lexicographical Institute in Leningrad is one of the latest institutions in the U.S.S.R to suffer in the constantly widening purge. Academician N. S. Derzhavin, editor-in-chief of the dictionary, who enjoys international reputation, has been removed from his post. His assistant, Professor Obnorsky and his secretary are likewise accused of 'counter-revolution' and 'wrecking' and there is no reason to doubt that all three have been arrested. . The entire work will be rewritten under the mole for ten long years, Hans estate of the Angier Biddle direction of new editors.

"Leningrad Pravda published a bitter attack on Professor Derzhavin, asserting he doing odd-jobs, is looking about po hills. The still waters of the subtly introduced heretical Trotskyist theories for a new home. into circulation. . . It cited the definition of the word 'emigre' as 'one who lives permanently outside his own country' as a sample, pointing out indignantly that the definition 'said not one word about the treason of such people to their Socialist fatherland'. . . Worse still, 'comparatively few quotations from Stalin were given' while they freely relied on quotatic is from Bukharin, Kamenev, and Radek.

"The editors encountered difficulties a few years ago. They issued the volume, "P", with a definition of the word, 'passport', explaining the hateful significance of this word under the Czarist regime. . . The volume had gone to press when the Soviet Government suddenly announced the introduction of a law requiring also the floor of the warehouse. horse and dog shows, and the every citizen to carry a passport."-Manchester Guardian Weekly, August 27, 1937.

(Continued on Page 6)

By arrangement with the author, Emanuel Garrett's column, "Out of the Past," is being held over this week so that the material prepared by Dwight Macdonald may appear at one time in its entirety. Next week, Garrett will present a biographical sketch of the great 19th Century abolitionist, Wendell Phillips.

ticle entitled, "The Step toward with the latter upholding the Jan Buchar's article, "The Europe", is concluded in the

The second is an article by July number. Industrial Mobilization Plan." copy of the July number should The first installment of the do so immediately. The subfamous work by Rosa Luxem- scription rate is \$2. per year.

From Burrow

In California

receiving no visitors.

long time coming."

covery.

France", appears also in the al, 116 University Place, New July number. Every reader at York, N. Y.



Angier Biddle Dukes Entertain At Tuxedo Park

MODESTO, Calif. - Ejected Of all the luxurious estates in from the underground burrow Tuxedo Park, America's most in which he had lived like a exclusive residential district, the most luxurious of all is the Hansen, 77-year-old man, who Dukes. It is situated on a slope tried to earn a meager living of the rolling fairytale Rama-

tarn below reflect its palatial Police reported that Mr. lines.

Angle and his blonde wife, Hansen had dug out a space under the floor of a warehouse. There he had lived since the summer home. The front door, depression began in 1929, eat- opening onto the cobblestone ing, sleeping, and reading, but court, leads into a formal white marble hall on the second floor.

Prune's own room is a He burned wax paper bread wrappings when he cooked in huge canopied four-poster bed order to make as little smoke as possible and so avoid dis-

By accident he struck the roof of his home which was A loyal company man hearing walls are lined with photothe rap investigated and dis- graphs of their round-the-world covered the aged man in his honeymoon.

trange home. Police came in response to a well as the Dukes. The hospitcall from company officials and able young couple keep conejected Mr. Hansen. They stant open house and the six found little force necessary. "They would come and get ing with guests. Their bar is me some day, I figured," Han- the most popular in Tuxedo sen said. "But they were a Park with its swirl of gayety

and laughter.

Appeal, who are all journalists who know their trade, but also to the occasional contributors, and the small army of voluntary workers and developing apprentices who wait only the call for full-time service.

In addition to that, we have a vast reserve n the shape of worker-correspondents in the field, a reserve which unfortunately has been all too little utilized up till now. Room must be found for the contributions of these worker-correspondents in order to give the paper a more proletarian stamp and make it a truer reflection of the workers' lives.

From a journalistic and technical point of view we could start the three-a-week tomorrow morning without any serious hitch in the schedule

The Money WILL Be Found

Can we find the money to produce and maintain a three-a-week Appeal? This question is not to be airily dismissed. Money, like type, does not stretch; and nobody has yet invented a way of producing three papers as cheaply as two. But on this point our experience with the twice-a-week Appeal is the best criterion we have to go by. In one 60-day campaign our comrades contributed close to \$3500 to launch this enterprise. Despite difficulties, accidents and miscalculations, this reserve fund was sufficient to carry us through to the present.

When the convention convenes the twice-aweek Appeal will be five months old. With the exception of a crisis a few weeks ago, caused by delinquencies in the payment of bundle orders, we had no serious financial difficulty. Even in that crisis we did not have to appeal for contributions. All we asked was that special efforts be made to pay up bundle order accounts. And the really inspiring response of Prune, are very proud of their the branches to this emergency call was sufficient to alleviate the crisis. It demonstrated the determined will of our party comrades to maintain the twice-a-week Appeal.

In consultation with the comrades responsible for the financial management of the padream-boudoir in blue with a per, it has been estimated that we can safely undertake the three-a-week publication if we raise a preliminary fund of \$5000. That can be

done, not because our comrades have more mal and cozy. It is filled with money than the members of other parties-on

the whole they are poorer and have less-but

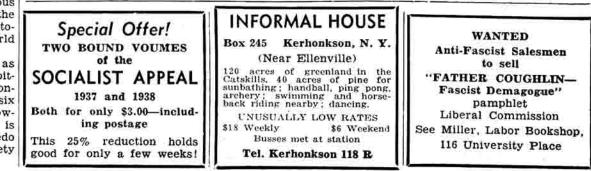
Our party and youth members, by and large, have taken the distribution of the twicea-week Appeal in their stride. There is good reason to believe they will tackle the still more difficult problem of distributing the three-aweek Appeal and solve it in action.

If the problem of distributing the paper three times a week looms in the minds of some comrades as an insuperable obstacle, it is pertinent to ask: How and when are we going to distribute a daily paper? We are by no means three-a-week fanatics. We see it only as another transition step on the road to the Daily. That is the direction in which we must be pointing all the time. In a country like the United States, above all others, it is somewhat ridiculous to hope to become a serious factor in the political life of a country without a daily paper. It is only when a party ceases merely to contemplate events and to comment on them long afterward, through the columns of a monthly or weekly review, and begins to give answers and to pose actions from day to day, that it breaks out of its propaganda shell and becomes a living political movement.

With the Will to Move Forward

We must aspire towards a Daily, and exert every possible ounce of energy to take another step in this direction by the decision of our anti-war convention. The political and agitational advantages of the three-a-week publication do not need to be labored. They are obvious enough on the face of it. The moral effect of the twice;a-week Appeal on our members, on sympathizers, on the radical labor movement in general, has already been enormous. A further step forward to a three-aweek Appeal will operate similarly, with cumulative force.

A decision by our convention to establish a three-a-week Appeal-which everybody will understand is going to be carried out to the letter, for we do not make idle gestures-will ring Inoughout the progressive labor movement like a clarion and rally new supporters to our movement. It will be felt and said on every side: These Trotskyites stop at no obstacle; they have the determined will to move forward and to conquer. And that's the truth of the matter, too.



quilted in blue satin. By contrast the bar is infortrophies and ribbons which the Dukes have won at various

Few know how to entertain as

bedrooms are usually overflow-

SOCIALIST APPEAL

SOCIALIST APPEAL June 27, 1939 Vol. III, No. 45 Published twice a week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547 Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. For-eign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents. Brohx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for all months: \$2.00 for one year. "Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879." MAX SHACHTMAN Associate Editors : HAROLD ROBERTS FELIX MORROW EMANUEL GARRETT Business Manager : S. STANLEY JOSEPH HANSEN 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.

Party Convention

The significance of the coming convention of the Socialist Workers Party as the only political organization that is conducting a consistent and systematic drive against the second World War to divide up the globe again among the imperialist bandits, has been stressed in these pages on previous occasions.

The present issue of the Appeal, containing a special supplement devoted to a membership discussion on party problems, is itself a commentary on another, and perhaps not less important aspect of the convention and of our party itself.

No political party of labor will ever lead in the establishment of a workers' democracy if it does not establish party democracy in its own ranks.

Party democracy is one of the jealously-maintained traditions and practices of the Socialist Workers Party. If we have not been, or pretended to be, without a single flaw in this respect, we have been ever on the alert to check promptly and to eliminate any abuses. Without party democracy, we have learned from the bitter experiences of the international labor movement, a living, fruitful working class movement

tion. Despite the dictatorial regime of Chiang Kai-shek and his labor-hating clique; we stand unconditionally on the side of China against imperialist Japan, just as we stand unconditionally on the side of any colonial or semi-colonial country at grips with its imperialist exploiters. But we do not distinguish by a hair's breadth

the imperialist gangsters of Japan from their ilk in Britain or the United States. The latter are interested in "freeing" China from Japanese invasion so that they may have it for their own exclusive exploitation.

And in that respect. Japan differs from her imperialist rivals only in that she is an amateur, a newcomer in comparison. Most of the sweat and blood of the Chinese masses was coined into fabulous profits long ago by England and America. Even now, in their conflicts with Japan, they are cold-bloodedly defending their "right" to extraterritoriality, their right to special imperialist privileges in China, their right to squeeze profit out of the Chinese people.

Any war, any military or economic action which the capitalist government of the United States takes against Japan (or any other of its imperialist rivals) will be an imperialist war, having nothing at all in common with the defense of China from aggression or with the struggle for democracy.

Roosevelt, Hull and Co. are just trying to drag the American masses into a profit-mad war against Japan in the interest of Big Business and its lust for a greater share of the loot which is China.

Stalin as Scientist

Stalin, the Sun God, the Father of the Peoples, the Builder of Noah's Ark and the Pyramids, is about to deliver another Stroke of Genius.

The press reports that he's going to "repeal" the Mendelian law, now stigmatized in Moscow as "formal genetics."

We hail this bold and long overdue step in the advancement of science. The man who repealed the world revolution should not be fazed by the theories and law of Mendel. Lucky for Mendel, too, that he's no longer alive, otherwise he'd get what's coming to him.

But if we may suggest it, Stalin shouldn't

We refer to Newton's law of gravity. If Stalin is as slick a scientist as he has already proved himself to be, he ought to wipe out that law too, before he falls to earth like Newton's apple. It would only be giving Newton what he deserves.

Another Blow

The announcement of the National Labor Relations Board that it has revised its rules to permit employers to petition the board for an election to determine which of two or more rival labor organizations should be certified for collective bargaining is a stiff blow against labor. The new provision comes at the request of the employers and their agents and is designed for no other purpose but to interfere with labor's right to organize, especially where a plant is not yet organized and a union has not had time to present to the unorganized employees the full benefits that derive from belonging to a union. The crimes of the employers, who stop at nothing in their drive against unionism, have long been notorious. In their bitter fight against labor, the employers used rifles, tear gas, machine guns, thugs, intimidation, coercion, spies, and even deliberate murder. It was against these practices of the employers that labor unions demanded their legitimate right to organize.



suading All "Decent Americans" to Pass Resolutions, Or the Line the S.W.P. Recommends-Class Struggle Action

By HAL DRAPER

In its issue of June 14, the charity. Daily Worker issues a call for 'action" against the Coughlin-Church passes a resolution: 'Even America is not free ites. Citing the shocking case of the Jewish Baltimore school- from the blight of anti-Jewish boy who was attacked by 40 prejudice. Both Jew and Genknife-wielding Coughlin-inspir- tile are responsible for existing als guilty of anti-Semitic inciteconditions and both must cooped school-mates, it runs a fronterate for their betterment. page editorial under the head, Stop the Cancer Before It Christians must rebuke all anti-Semitism." (Our emphasis.) Spreads!" The workers, who echo the

That's all. What this organization means by "action" may be cry, "Stop Coughlin now!", are thereby given a full opportungathered from its simultaneous handling of the question of conity to examine the line which the Communist Party recomscientious objection; it adopted mends for the struggle against a report upholding the admis-American fascism. For the sibility of religious objection to participation in war but re-Daily Worker editorial (1) cites jected a sentence immediately what it considers the significant steps taken recently to stop following promising to "support Coughlin, and (2) lists in cate- and protect him and his rights gorical, unevasive fashion the in the event of his taking such additional measures that would a stand." be required to finish off this The Sons of Italy condemn

'race bigotry". It is perhaps menace. What, in the eyes of the enough to point out that this or-Daily Worker, has been done to ganization was a vehement block the spread of Coughlinpropagandist in America for ism? Here is the paragraph: the justice of Mussolini's war

"Decent America recognizes the danger. There has just been formed the Catholic Committee British goods at that time. to Combat Anti-Semitism. The WHICH LINE WILL Sons of Italy have condemned STOP COUGHLIN? race bigotry. The General Syn-It is this spurious "struggle" od of the Reformed Church of against anti-Semitism that the America has condemned anti-Communist Party puts before Semitism. Others are moving the workers as good coin! Now

A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION

Now every worker must wel- City staged a counter-demoncome any sincere expression of stration outside the meeting of WILL BEAT FASCISTS hatred and opposition to the the Nazi Bund, Coughlin's alpoisonous spread of anti-Semit- lies, in Madison Square Gar- depend 100% on the Departism. He is entitled, however, to den. At this late date, Father ment of Justice to take care of raise the question: Are these Earl Browder finds that he has the Coughlinites for us? In the people "moving to action", or to return to this subject in his unions we take care of scabs are they passing resolutions as latest pamphlet on "The 1940 ourselves. When the governa substitute for action?

The group of Catholics featured by the Daily Worker, for ited the C.P. with the action: example, gives the following prospectus in its statement: Nazis were very happy about the Trotskyite disorders outside "In order to oppose the dangerous aberration of anti-Semitism their meeting, and there is litin the fullness of Christian the doubt that the whole thing we've waited for him to act charity, we are forming this was, by mutual agreement, a against the negro-lynchers? Committee of Catholics to mere division of labor." No doubt, mark you, just as the Fight Anti-Semitism. . . Our ap-"disorders" in Harlan County proach will be positive and digare a mere division of labor nified, and there will be no perbetween John L. Lewis and the sonal attacks against any one." mine owners to embarrass the Anti-Semitism will be fought government. But the C.P., conby explaining the Catholic teachings on racial bigotry; so tinues "called far the Committee's fight has consisted of quoting various

boycott the meeting, to stay en-Popes. This is action! We must tirely away from it, once the not attack any one-that is, we authorities had authorized it must not attack Father Cough- and given it police protection." lin-says the Committee, for after all, anti-Semitism is only workers who moved to action ERS DEFENSE GUARDS! an aberration, and can be against the Nazi Bund-or the Go ahead and pass a resoluwiped out by properly explain- Communist Party's line of hav- tion to that effect.

toward real action.

ing the meaning of Christian ing all "decent Americans" pass resolutions: which will More action! The Reformed stop Coughlin now?

The Daily Worker editorial calls for some more action: "The Department of Justice of the U.S. must seize the criminment. The Federal laws against anti-democratic incitement, the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, make such action possible and necessary." Mr. Browder! Some questions from a worker!

-O.K., so you ask the G-men to jug Coughlin. But Coughlin's been going on for some time and Murphy hasn't gotten around to him. While you're writing editorials, "the cancer spreads". What should we do NOW?

-Why don't you ask your friend LaGuardia to use his police to "seize" the Coughlinites who are shouting anti-Semitic and fascist slogans on the streets of New York? How about some mass protest against the protection his police on Ethiopia and went so far as are giving the anti-Semitic to vote a revenge boycott on scum?

-Your editorial doesn't mention a word about what the working class should do. We're not only decent Americans but decent trade unionists. How can our trade unions get into the fight to smash Coughlinafter we've finished passing a compare the C.P.'s attitude resolution and writing letters to Washington? 50,000 workers of New York

WORKERS, NOT COPS,

-Do you mean we ought to Elections", answering an ob- ment steps in, it's usually to scure Congressman who cred- protect the scabs. Who's the National Guard shooting at in "There is no doubt that the Harlan County?

-Will we have to wait as long for Roosevelt to act against the anti-Semites a:

-If the trade unions formed Workers Defense Guards to 'educate'' Coughlin's anti-Semitic riff-raff the way we do other scabs, would that be "anti-democratic incitement" too?

Yes. Mr. Browder-IT'S THE TRADE UNIONS THAT CAN SMASH COUGH LIN NOW!

IT'S THE WORKERS THAT CAN SMASH THE COUGHLIN Two lines! The line of the ITE MENACE WITH WORK-

By Max Shachtman

Of the type of "open letter" calculated to put its recipient on the spot, few we know of are as profoundly important as the one Norman Thomas addressed last week to Father Coughlin.

Polite . . . But Firm

Its loftiness of purpose is matched only by the spirit of tolerance animating it. It is polite, yet firm in its resolve to seek out and find the very essence of Truth. Just read a few of the sentences:

Tolerance: "We who believe in democracy and civil liberty" do not contest the Detroit fascist's right to proclaim his views.

Alarm: "What troubles us is that so many of your professed followers are leaders in denying or trying to deny these rights to others."

Regret: "These things are bad enough in themselves. They are worse in the light of their parallel to the rise of totalitarian dictators in Europe.

Politeness: "I do not hold you responsible for all the merchants of Social Justice may do or for the young hoodlums who may attach themselves to your case.

Firmness: "I do hold you responsible, however, if when the matter is brought to your attention you use your influence to defend this interference with America's democratic practices or by silence condone it.'

Punch line: "Your name and fame make this a matter of such importance that I am releasing this letter to the press in the full assurance that your reply will receive equal or greater publicity. Let's know where we stand!'

With this document Thomas takes his place by the side of such outstanding contemporary openletter-writers as Bruce Bliven, editor of the New Republic and author of famous unanswered epistles to Al Smith, William R. Hearst, Roosevelt, Hitler and Stalin (also, it is said, he is now contemplating addressing the Almighty Himself), and Israel Amter, local Stalinist leader, whose open letter memorializing the late Pope Pius is reported to have been the final straw that broke the failing prelate's back.

Now every fair-minded person will agree that Coughlin, if he's half the man he ought to be, is duty-bound to answer Thomas's letter, and finally show where he stands. There has been altogether too much uncertainty about the views and aims of the Detroit priest and it is high time the public at large was put straight about them

Thomas, for example, comes right out with an assurance that he favors civil liberties for Coughlin. That's fair and square. The least Coughlin can do, if he's going to be decent about it, is to give a personal assurance that he favors civil liberties for Thomas and all other democrats. That alone would immediately give a more gentlemanly and scholarly tone to the disagreements between the fascists and the anti-fascists. It would make it possible to discuss divergent opinions calmly, over a dish of tea and an after-dinner Cubeb-removed from the hurly-burly and above all the deplorable rancor hitherto attendant upon such discussions in the streets. Best of all, a timely declaration by Coughlin in opposition to totalitarianism and violence would automatically act as a restraint upon his more youthful and ardent adepts who, in their mistaken zeal, sometimes act like fascists.

A Way to End Fascist Menace

If Coughlin would only take Thomas's letter in the spirit of humaneness and tolerance that conwhole annoying problem would be resolved. We could all breathe a big sigh of relief, because that would simply mean the end of the fascist menace to American labor. That is, if Thomas also sent a letter like that to Pelley, Roy Zachary, Deatherage, and Moseley. If, on the other hand, Coughlin doesn't answer the letter, or answers evasively, there are a lot of people who will begin to get the impression that he's not as sound a democrat and Christian as he might be. Thomas himself-and he's obviously not the man to believe readily that any one is really bad at heart-will feel that his efforts to redeem the fair name of the Coughlin movement were, to put it vulgarly, a flopperoo. Still others may even be led to believe that Coughlin just doesn't believe in democracy and is actually flirting with totalitarian ideas. Yet, upon reflection, we would see no grounds for discouragement in such an outcome. We would set it down to one of those all-too-human aberrations to which all mortals are subject, and we wouldn't relent for a moment-that is, if we were Thomas. He shouldn't stop with one open letter. He ought to keep hammering at Coughlin-not too vigorously, to be sure-until the priest softens up. As a next step, he might send him one of his latest pamphlets; or photostatic copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. They couldn't help making a deep impression on the Gentleman from Detroit. Or he might introduce the homely touch, just to show that he bears him no ill will personally, and send him a jar of homemade apple butter or a box of cookies. Or invite him up to the house some evening for a bowl of borscht

to action."

stop there. A more dangerous and pernicious law ought to be repealed too, before it starts affecting Stalin's powerful position.

is impossible.

Unbreakable unity in action-full freedom of discussion inside the party; democratic discussion and decision of all policies-united execution of those policies once adopted. These axioms guide the life of the Socialist Workers Party.

The present pre-convention discussion conducted inside the party and in the pages of the Socialist Appeal give a picture of a democratic regime which cannot be found elsewhere. Readers have but to examine the contents of the articles printed to understand the organizational principles and practices of our movement.

What a contrast to the Socialist party of Norman Thomas and Daniel Hoan! Their way of dealing with members who differed with the party leadership was-speed, bureaucratic expulsion of scores of dissidents.

What an even clearer contrast to the Stalinist party! For proposing a discussion during a preconvention period, we were expelled for "Trotskyism." Nowadays, expulsion is the least of the punishments meted out by the party hierarchy to anybody guilty of entertaining "heretical" thoughts.

Like the Fourth International as a whole, the S.W.P., its American section, stands for the real victory of workers' democracy. The practice of party democracy in its ranks is a guarantee of that future.

Chinese Loot

The jingo press, in which the Daily Worker is of course included, is sweating bullets in an effort to work up a pro-war spirit among the American masses in connection with the Japanese aggressions in Tientsin and elsewhere in China.

Once more "our interests" are at stake, "our honor" involved. It's high time, our foaming patriots clamor, we sent a few (hundred thousand) "boys" over the Pacific to clean up the Japanese.

They are all liars-literally MURDEROUS liars.

Our attitude towards the war of Japan against the Chinese people needs no elaborate amplifica-

The National Labor Relations Board was set up a few years ago. Its rules do not forbid the employer from appealing if in his estimation the unions engage in "unfair practices". It carried no criminal penalties, imposed no fines.

All it did was declare that the employers may not INTERFERE with the rights of workers to organize.

The new rule of the Board lets down the bars for every crime against labor conceivable in the grasping and sordid imagination of the most brutal thug employer.

With all the force of a steam-hammer the new rule drives home the truth that when labor relaxes its vigilance and begins to trust capitalist courts, capitalist lawmakers, and capitalist political parties it can expect nothing but a stab in the back.

This fresh attack from the reactionary forces of the bosses, who control the New Deal, must be answered blow for blow by labor.

Organize Workers Defense Guards to protect union men from the violence of the employers! Organize an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY which will put into power for the first time a government of the workers and farmers that will represent their interests, and forever end the rule of the handful of stockholders who govern through a puppet Congress and a Charley McCarthy President!

There is no other way to safeguard the rights of labor!

Kremlin Kultur--Annotations to A Clipping From a Newspaper

Browder

upon the workers to

(Continued from Page 5)

Literature

"The Soviet Union is purging its writers The tallest reputations to fall so far have been those of V. Kirshon and A. Afinogenov, the two best-known playwrights in the Soviet . . They are only two of many. The Union. current purge . . . has turned up a nest of 'enemies of the people' in nearly every newspaper, magazine, and publishing house. . . Until the new 'party line' becomes clear, it would be a foolhardy Soviet writer who would advance a new idea. One of them, asked recently why he had written so little recently, quoted an old Jewish proverb: 'While a pogrom is going on, don't rush out on the street.' "-N. Y. Herald-Tribune, May 11, 1937.

Music

"Dimitri Shostakovitch officially went into eclipse today as the Soviet Union's favorite living composer. . . Pravda branded his music as 'unSoviet, unwholesome, cheap, eccentric, tuneless and Leftist' and pleaded for music with a tune to it that one could whistle on the way home. . . His ballet, Limpid Stream, was removed from the repertory of the Bolshoi Theatre. His opera, Lady Macbeth of Mensk, was cancelled on the eve of its opening in a theatre that had been rehearsing it for months."-N. Y. Times, Feb. 14, 1936.

"Joseph Stalin . . . yesterday attended the revised version of Glinka's nineteenth century patriotic opera, Susanin. . . The original version, entitled, A Life for the Czar, glorified Czarism. . . The revised version retains the famous finale music but changes the words from 'Glory, glory to the Czar!' to 'Glory. glory to the fatherland!'. . . Mr. Stalin repeat-edly applauded his approval.''--N. Y. Times, April 4, 1939.

Philosophy

'Professor Shatkin, who said in a lecture at the Moscow Power Institute that Aristotle had laid down the fundamental principles of Menshevism and that Plato was the father of fascism, has been summarily removed. . . This action was followed by a full faculty meeting at which both the Communist Party and the Young Communist organization were represented, as well as the administration of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. . . "-N. Y. Times, Oct. 22, 1938.

Theatre

proudly

"Vsevolod E. Meyerhold, head of the famous theatre bearing his name and long revered by Leftist dramatic groups abroad as a prophet of the revolutionary theatre, has received a terrific drubbing from Platon Kerzhentseff chairman of the arts committee of the Council of People's Commissars. . . Meyerhold's first play in 1920, after he organized his new theatre, Mr. Kerzhentseff says, had a Menshevist traitor for a hero and the second was dedicated to Leon Trotsky."-N. Y. Times, Dec. 18, 1937.

"The long-expected axe fell today on V. E The arts committee of the Meyerhold. Council of People's Commissars ordered his theatre dissolved and members of his acting company transferred to other theatres. . . The arts committee charged , . . the Meyer hold Theatre throughout its existence was unable to free itself from the utterly bourgeois, formalistic positions alien to Soviet art, had distorted the classics for the sake of Leftist tricks, and formalistic stunts, and had failed in the production of Soviet plays, such few as it had produced being saturated with ambiguity, even downright and anti-Soviet sneers."-N. Y. Times, Jan. 8, 1938.

Et Cetera: Anthropology, Archaeology, Buddhist Lore, Ethnography and Soil Culture

"The directorate of the All-Union Academy of Science has recommended the immediate expulsion in disgrace of Nikolai Bukharin. . The grounds given were that Bukharin pre sided over the most dangerous counter-revo lutionary nest within the academy. According to the report of the permanent secretary, N. P Gorbunov, who presented the expulsion reso lution, many departments of the academy were riddled with counter-revolutionary tendencies which disrupted the work of the scientific institutions. . . . Mr. Gorbunov's report specifically condemned the Pulkavo Observatory . . . the Soil Institute, Literature Institute, Law Institute, the Institute of Buddhist Lore, which was accused of publishing an organ of the Buddhist lamaist religion, and the Institutes of Archaeology, Anthropology and Ethnography. . . . He attacked Germany for expelling her best scientists and falsifying science. "-N. Y. Times, May 21, 1937.

We don't swear that this will work, but what can you lose by trying? Nothing, it seems to us. And if it does work, just think of the vistas of progress and peace for humanity opened up to us by the outcome of similar letters from Norman Thomas to Hitler, Mussolini and other erring souls.

Columnists Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner say: Attorney General Murphy has carried out an intelligent and much-needed reorganization of the justice department. He has launched a campaign to drive the worst of the numerous shabby political judges from the bench.

BULL-ETIN: The board of directors of the Na. tional Manufacturers declares "its unalterable opposition" to war and pledges the organization to make "every effort to maintain peace."

Japan does not object to the open door principle but believes that the United States and Great Britain should set an example by applying it throughout the world before they demand its application in the Far East, a foreign office spokesman declares. Gad! but these gangsters can spot each other's weaknesses