

F.D.R. GIVES WAR DEFY TO JAPAN

Who Is Coughlin, What Is His Program, 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 Lenke.

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 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 America, 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.

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OFFICIALS PUT W.P.A. SLASH INTO EFFECT

Postcard Campaign
Futile—Only Action
Will Bring Results

(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 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 14."

The entire W.P.A. construction program was so drastically curtailed by the provisions of the last slash appropriation that it amounts to complete elimination of this phase of the former relief program. The bill as passed in the House fixes the cost of building activity by the W.P.A. to structures costing not more than \$40,000 if non- (Continued on Page 5)

Peace and Democracy!



Practical Struggle Against War To Feature Party Convention

By car, train, freight and thumb, delegates to the great anti-war convention of the Socialist Workers Party are already heading into New York. The anti-war convention, to be held July 1 to 4, will be formally opened by a large public anti-war meeting in Irving Plaza

at which militant front line fighters in the struggle against war and fascism will speak. The business sessions of the convention will open at 10 A.M. on Friday, July 1 and will continue through Monday, July 4.

Interviewed by the Socialist Appeal, James P. Cannon declared, "The big trek for the anti-war convention is under way. Credentials have already come in from delegates as far apart as Seattle, Houston, Texas and San Francisco. There's really going to be a national representation and the convention will present a picture of a nationwide organization."

"The pre-convention discussion has been conducted on a free and democratic basis throughout the Party, in the internal bulletins, the Socialist Appeal and at membership meetings. The discussion has revealed almost complete unanimity on all fundamental political questions."

Organization Convention

"The party is unanimous in its position on war and on virtually all other important political questions. The anti-war convention will devote itself primarily to the practical organization of the party's irrevocable struggle against war, the question that dominates all others. From all indications, one is pretty safe in saying that it will be pre-eminently an organization convention. For the first time in our history the convention will be able to concentrate almost entirely on the practical questions of organization."

ing Party work and planning its improvement and extension. The spirit of the party is confident and optimistic, as befits the only party that seriously conducts a struggle against war and fascism and aims to win."

Militant Urges I.L.G.W. to Form Labor Defense Guards

Harry Milton, Trade Unionist and Veteran
of Spanish Civil War, Proposes Action

NEW YORK.—Harry Milton, prominent and active member of Local 66, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and a recently returned veteran of the Spanish Civil War in which he fought with the 29th (Lenin) Division of the Loyalist Army against the Fascists, has presented to the Executive Board of his Union, with a copy to International President David Dubinsky, a resolution urging immediate action on the building of a company of Anti-Fascist Union Guards in each and every local of the I.L.G.W.U.

Identical resolutions have been sent to other locals of the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O.

There is a strong and growing sentiment among the members of the I.L.G.W.U. in favor of the building of such Anti-fascist Union Guards because

of the invasion of the needle trades area by Coughlin fascists selling Social Justice which spews its poisonous message of anti-unionism, religious intolerance and racial bigotry.

They are particularly disturbed by the recent attempt of the fascists to break up the street meeting of the American Labor Party at which Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, spoke.

Among the hundreds of thousands of members of the I.L.G.W.U. in New York are thousands of ex-service men, hundreds of returned Spanish War Veterans and thousands of experienced veterans of scores of strikes and battles.

They are determined to exercise and preserve their democratic rights and above all their trade unions for themselves and for all anti-fascists and they are becoming more and more (Continued on Page 2)

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. Stiffly-worded 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

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 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.

Progressives Expect
Election Victory After
Primary Sweep

Progressive forces in the Painters' Union are working at high gear in preparation for the coming district elections on Saturday, June 24th, at the Lexington Avenue and 26th Street armory.

Organized into the Inter-local Conference of Progressive Painters' Clubs of District Council No. 9, the Progressives have waged a courageous union fight for two years against the notorious Stalinist wrecking crew headed by the Thirteenth Street Commissar, L. Weinstock.

Two weeks ago the Progressives realized the fruits of their two years' battle for progressive unionism. They made a clean sweep in the Local primary elections and convinced the whole union movement that the New York painters had gotten wise to the Stalinist demagogues and were determined to be rid of them at all costs. (Continued on Page 2)

Yankee Role

For make no mistake about it: the British are being made the main targets of Japan's latest drive against its rivals in China but everyone understands that in the showdown it will be the United States that will take the premier role. It is Yankee imperialism that will do the fighting—not for "poor" China but for the right to displace the Japanese as oppressors-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 keep Britain busily engaged in Europe, the Japanese are meanwhile continuing their systematic offensive against the entrenched strongholds of their rivals in the foreign concessions. The Tientsin blockade continues. Proud Britons, used to kicking the Chinese around like animals, are being made to eat some of their own dirt. 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 aroused wrath of the Chinese people.

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 Thanes. The Japanese demanded their departure and it was this demand that Admiral Yarnell rebuffed. If necessary, he said in effect, the whole navy would be used to protect the 40 Americans in the city! And he proceeded to order additional warships to the scene.

This, of course, is the sort of stuff heroes are made of—in Tientsin the Japanese might make the British take their pants down, but Yarnell will keep old glory flying over Swatow! What he is actually doing, in effect, is to serve notice on the Japanese that they cannot (Continued on Page 2)

Mass Meeting

IRVING PLAZA

Friday, June 30, 8 p. m.

Irving Place at 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Greet the Opening of the Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party!

Hear the Internationalist Position on War

Chairman: James P. Cannon; Reporter for the Political Committee: Max Shachtman; Speakers: V. R. Dunne of Minneapolis, Genora Johnson of Flint, Glen Trimble of San Francisco, George Clarke of Detroit, Reuben Plaskett of Newark, Nathan Gould, National Secretary Y.P.S.L.

Admission 25c

Convention Problems of the Socialist Workers Party Under Discussion

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

Statement by Ohio-Michigan District Committee

The collapse of the New Deal reform program signifies the incapacity of the capitalist system to solve the social crisis within the present "democratic" order and by internal measures alone.

The ruling class in America is confronted with but two alternatives: either extending at its own expense genuinely ameliorative concessions to the masses; or shackling them to an open regime of repression and military adventures. Having abandoned even the pretence of the former with the break-down of the New Deal, the ruling class drives with all haste toward the latter, that is, Imperialist War and Fascism.

Waiting for Events

For the revolutionary socialists, impeded by the monumental betrayals of the Second and Third Internationals and the resultant bewilderment of the masses, events seem too swift for our capacity to keep pace with them. Observing streamlined reaction sweep down the tracks, a tendency arises to despair of over-passing it. This expresses itself in the phrase, "We must wait for a favorable turn of events"—a weak apology for sterile passivity.

It is precisely this disbelief in the capacity of the proletariat to fulfill its historic destiny which characterizes those we scorn most, the Stalinists, Social-Democrats, liberals and tired radicals. Our party can justify its existence only by an indomitable program of action which can inspire the masses to confidence in their own power and guide them on the road to social revolution.

The success of this bold orientation rests, however, on a clear understanding of the inadequacy of our present methods alone to keep pace with our tasks. We too must streamline our engine.

Trying Panaceas

The sense of immediacy and desperation among broad strata of the masses underscores heavily the factor of time in the present epoch. A growing section, including the unemployed and the declassed petty-bourgeoisie, seeks desperately for a quick, decisive end to their misery. Increasingly disillusioned with the traditional nostrums of reform, they experiment with such panaceas as the Townsend movement, the Epic Plan and technocracy. They are ready to try anything in hopes of a "miracle" cure. This psychology is a ripening agent for American fascism, already displaying alarming growth in the resurgence of the Coughlinites with a genuinely fascist program.

But it would be fatal for us to conclude superficially that these masses are "natural" material for fascism. It is largely the "radical" aspects of the fascist program and the promise of bold action which will attract disillusioned masses to that banner, unless our party intervenes with a comprehensible and bold program of working-class action against capitalism that will turn them on the road to the social revolution.

False Attitudes

To successfully pose our alternative before the masses, we must first cleanse our ranks of certain false attitudes. For instance, we must root out any misconceptions about "going underground" in view of the war danger. Some, seeing only the defeats and the dizzy pace of events, wish to discount further open party work and to plunge forthwith "underground"—that is, to bury the party. They conceive of "underground" activity solely in terms of fugitive criminals, concealing identity, hiding behind drawn shades, shunning all human contact. Quite the contrary! The safeguard of our party in war-time from the repressive state apparatus is possible only to the extent that our

party takes on the protective coloration of the masses.

This requires of our party, in this period especially, an energetic and open approach to the masses. For only to the degree that our influence grows roots in the masses will we be able to withstand the repressions of the early war period.

A second attitude, paralyzing its effects on the party, is that which says, "In this period of reaction, the masses are unapproachable. We must continue to nurse our slender cadres." This reflects a completely false estimate of the actually high receptivity of the masses. The American labor movement is largely intact and has suffered no real defeats. Its militancy is unimpaired, as shown by the recent Briggs strike and the victorious struggle of the coal miners.

Routine Inadequate

Today, no less than a year ago when the party adopted the Transitional program, we must find a bridge to the masses, in the sense that we still must implement and carry out this program in action. The present routine of the party, its "normal" life, is inadequate to provide the needed acceleration. In terms of what needs to be done, the traditional routine by itself leads to a bogging down of the party. Inertia and discouragement result. Our finances suffer, the press has a crisis, the meetings thin out.

We can no longer rely solely upon the slow processes of union penetration, on sporadic defensive demonstrations against the fascists, on the customary technics and campaigns of the past. All these are essential, to be sure. But in themselves they fail to suffice. The new orientation must be the gearing of the party to a program of action on a national scale, focussed squarely upon the masses, with national direction which can illuminate the ordinary tasks and inspire and direct every member.

For a Positive Approach

To fulfill such a program, we must comprehend also certain past flaws in our propaganda technique. For one thing, we must modify our too frequently negative approach. We must give the workers something positive, something to fight for. Too often we have appeared to the workers simply to be "agin" everything. After ten years of acute economic crisis, the average worker and unemployed person wants not so much a confirmation of his misery as a road out. Education through a program of positive action is on the order of the day.

Our propaganda technique also suffers from the tendency to attempt to stuff the workers with everything at once. It is a remnant of other days when giving the "principled position of the party" was a task of theoretical clarification. Effective propaganda for mass appeal must consist rather of the endless repetition, but with infinite variety, of two or three simple and comprehensible themes. Nor are these arbitrarily posed, but instead project themselves as a direct response to the existent psychological moods and material aspirations of the masses.

To the unemployed, nothing is so important as jobs. To the employed, nothing matters so much as shorter hours, higher income and job security. No emotion is so persistent as the fear of war, expressed in the continued strong sentiment for "isolationism".

Selective Demands

Our party must therefore concentrate its propaganda and activities in a fashion calculated to coincide directly with these very concrete moods and aspirations. Our Transitional program must not remain in the realm of abstract slogans, something to drag along by the tail as a concession to the "backwardness" of the masses. Instead, we must select those three or four concrete demands of immediate appeal from our Transitional program which must become the living heart of our program of action.

For the unemployed, this means an aggressive fight for the 20 billion dollar public works and housing program. For the employed, it means a fight for the 30 hour week—\$30 per week minimum wage plan. For the masses in general, it means a fight against the war danger in terms of the issues they at present understand, such as the popular referendum

on war and the defense of civil liberties.

Class Struggle

In other words, we organize the fight against imperialism and fascism not on some remote "theoretical" plane, but by directly inciting the intensification of the class struggle and by compelling the pro-war forces, fascists and "isolationists" to expose their real roles in openly aligning themselves against the masses on concrete issues. A worker who cannot immediately comprehend the full implications of fascism, nevertheless will fight the fascists as enemies who oppose the fulfillment of his specific, if limited, aspirations.

This conception is particularly vital to the realization of that paramount slogan of our party, "Build the Workers Defense Guards". So long as many workers believe the fascists to be primarily concerned with "reds" and "Jews", they fail to understand the need for organized defense for themselves. Only as workers attack, will they appreciate the need for defense against fascist reprisals.

Legislative Campaign

Our largely defensive skirmishes with the fascists, our generalized and theoretical anti-war campaign, our slow union penetration must now be supplemented by a concentrated party campaign of attack on a positive program. For this, we propose what may be termed a legislative campaign.

Focusing agitation and actions around three main issues directly geared to the moods of the masses, the party should now undertake an intensive drive directly upon the governmental agencies for the adoption of a three-point program, concretized into well-drafted bills, including the 20 billion dollar public works and the 30 hour-\$30 per week plans, and the popular referendum on war.

This type of activity is particularly adapted to the present political understanding of the workers who comprehend political battles in terms of legislative campaigns about popular bills. The Townsend movement is a striking demonstration of

the effectiveness of this type of activity. Our campaign, however, would be based on class-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 commence an intensive agitation campaign, locally and nationally, to popularize these bills, illuminating and describing them from every angle.

3. Every possible medium of propaganda, including the radio, must be utilized for this campaign. Three popular pamphlets, explaining each bill, must be issued. In addition, all local branches are to center their activities and propaganda around this campaign.

4. After a sufficient groundwork of popularization has been laid, the party shall then initiate a campaign of direct action upon city councils, county commissions and state legislatures for endorsement of these bills. Picket-lines, mass delegations and demonstrations shall be organized in the localities, all pointing toward a possible demonstration or mass delegation to Washington. As a supplement, but not substitute, for this action campaign, petition, post-card, and placard and sticker-posting sub-campaigns should be utilized. Wherever possible, our branches should engage in the local election campaigns on this program and a parallel one on local issues.

5. Coincident with the direct party actions, we shall attempt to secure all possible official trade-union support and actions on any or all of these bills.

Members Will React

It will be argued that this program is beyond the material resources of the party. However, the idea that the initiation of such activity is dependent on the present state of the treasury is false. Rather, the finances of the party are dependent upon the initiation of such activity as a means of inspiring our members and sympathizers and, above all, of gaining the active support of wider strata of workers. The ranks of the party, when moved by some inspiring immediate objective, have not been backward in fulfilling the material requirements of the

party. On the contrary, given the specific incentives, as the Twice-a-Week Appeal and International Aid campaigns demonstrated, our party has shown remarkable capacities for sacrifice and endeavor.

Overhauling Leadership

To save the Twice-a-Week Appeal and realize a daily paper, to stabilize the finances of the party, what is needed precisely is a course of action which will lift the entire party out of the rut and routine. It must be a program which can be conducted independently of the limitations and uncertainties of the trade union movement, as a direct approach to the masses on the one hand, and on the other as a means of developing from the outside, as well as within, a bond of sympathy between us and the union ranks.

The successful conduct of this campaign at once implies the overhauling of the entire party apparatus in accordance with maximum efficiency and results. This must start with the national leadership and carry through to the smallest branch.

The national leadership is required to give to the lower ranks of the party the fullest and most explicit directives. In addition, the leadership must now become in the eyes of the masses the personification in action of our party and program. Hitherto, our national leaders have been unknown to the masses, indeed, are scarcely known to many of our members. While we do not subscribe to the "Leader" principle, we must recognize that ideas and movement are personified to the masses in the actions and personalities of men.

Fresh Blood

Our leadership must begin to penetrate the hinterlands, to enter directly into the activities of the party everywhere in a personal sense. Speaking tours, radio addresses, and above all personal participation in the key actions and struggles which our program will invoke are an imperative obligation upon the national leadership.

Into this leadership, additional fresh blood must be infused as well, tested comrades who have the capacity, initiative and enthusiasm to reinvigorate the leadership, provide new ideas and creative stimulus and assume some of the burdens of technical responsibility which have been a dead-weight upon

our leadership in the past.

From the ranks, the party must now exact the highest discipline, responsibility and activity. We cannot tolerate laxness in dues payments, neglect of assignments, tardiness and absence, disorderly conduct of party functions and affairs. Above all, we cannot tolerate further the notion of first and second-class citizenship, those who can do the work and take the risks, and those who exempt themselves, for innumerable personal reasons, from "sticking their necks out". Comrades of the latter stripe must be made to understand that a revolutionary Marxist party is no Sunday school. Whoever joins us does so with full knowledge of the responsibilities and risks involved. We are determined to be a Party of Action. Whoever shuns such action signifies his desire to be quit of the party.

Organizational Needs

The organizational implementation of this program, among other things, requires the following:

1. An immediate special joint organizational and press fund must be raised. This fund is merely for the initiation of the three-point campaign of action, which once started should be a means in itself for further finances. This fund should be used particularly to maintain an increased staff of full-time field-workers and organizers.

2. A national Propaganda and Publicity Department, working under the immediate supervision of the political center, should be established. This department should be composed of several comrades fully qualified by technical training as well as political experience.

In conclusion, we wish to make clear that in submitting these proposals we do so with no intent of offering some special magic key to the masses, but rather in the sense of suggesting some specific implementation to the conclusions arrived at in the proposed Political Resolution. We are concerned with the projection of an attitude within the party which will strip it of any inertia, root out inefficiency and smugness, destroy any lingering sectarianism or defeatism, thrust it into the living struggles of the masses and make our movement a veritable crusade for the liberation of the proletariat.

A Point of View on the Labor Party Question

By F. X. FERRY, ROGER B. CROSS, MYRON CARLSON and IRVING KAPLAN
(Continued from last issue)

It is nothing but the mouthing of meaningless phrases—not believed by even those who present them—that we shall fructify 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 to do. Is it not a fact that all revolutionary groupings were finally driven out of those labor parties when a crisis arose, as in 1914 and thereafter, driven out not with increased strength but at the cost of lost forces, because of the discouragement experienced by many a worker along the "bold, resolute and decisive" path in the labor party—as many here must be discouraged by our bold steps in supporting the Waldmans in New York and the candidates of the non-existent labor party in Chicago.

Of course the labor party supporters are not quite sure whether or not to acknowledge paternity if our fructification should not bear the expected fruit. While we unambiguously support the labor party movement in general and all its local manifestations, nevertheless the Socialist Workers Party "does not and will not, however, take upon itself any responsibility for this party." That may be a desire, but will not be a fact, at least not in the eyes of the workers, who just will not follow nor understand the position, and with inevitable logic will conclude that those who unambiguously support the labor movement should be held responsible for the party. This will be the case more particularly in a war crisis, when the labor party naturally, even congenitally, will support the unambiguous supporters of the labor party movement will be held responsible by the workers.

The majority resolution mistakes the facts in saying that "at the time of our national

convention we took insufficient account of the new developments in the labor movement, especially in their political aspects." Therefore, "... It is 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 all reformist parties, among them the labor party, "act in practice and in crisis as bulwarks of capitalism and enemies of the socialist revolution. Their false program and perspectives disorient the masses, turning them aside from revolutionary class struggle, and permit the forces of reaction to consolidate without effective opposition..." the present labor party developments, however far they may be extended, "... (are) the method for preventing the growth of independent class politics." (Draft Resolution II, p. 26, 27).

This analysis was and is correct, and if we shall step out in a manner "bold, resolute and decisive" to build or help build the labor party we shall, with or without our fructification, be held responsible for "the method for preventing the growth of independent class politics." It may be repeated with Crux that "we must not reckon by our prognosis of yesterday, but by the situation of today," which statement must be read with one of Trotsky that "under the pressure of the masses of the people, the bourgeoisie will take various steps to the left." This may be understood to say that the revolutionary party shall not become a handmaiden of the bourgeoisie in helping it to take such steps as the labor party, which is "from the point of view of the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie, the method for preventing the growth of independent class politics."

The majority resolution, hav-

ing been written some ten months ago, may today not be supported wholeheartedly by the authors themselves. It is hard to believe that the authors fail to see that our "bold and ment in absence of the labor party, an academic gesture of 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 circumstances admitting, the correctness of the majority resolution, is a hopeless one, a party being constituted as it is. The overwhelming majority of the party members being outside of the trade union movement, exert no influence, for better or for worse, in leading the workers. The convention decision as to working in the trade unions, "turning our faces toward the masses," is not carried out, because most of us never knew and never cared to learn how to work within and with the masses. Our duty was and still remains to make each party member an active worker in the trade unions, wherein the influence of our revolutionary program and tactics can be made felt. However, standing on the sidelines, out of earshot of the workers, and attempting to preach to them, is as useless as it is impossible.

No support to the labor party movement, but revolutionary trade union activity on the part of every party member.

No building of the labor party existing mass political labor parties.

No support, critical or otherwise, to the labor party, but revolutionary program.

No support to the bureaucratic leadership of the labor party, but organization of fractional groups around our revolu-

tionary slogans against the leadership and its reformist program, these are the duties of the members of the Socialist Workers Party.

ADDENDA TO THE RESOLUTION

By ROGER B. CROSS

The terms principle and tactic have long been the curse of our movement. The disastrous consequences of indiscriminately labelling certain precepts as fundamental, sacred and not to be questioned, thus leading to a rigidity utterly incompatible with the variegated tasks of a revolution, and on the other hand, the insufficient consideration given to the leadership's maneuvers on sometimes very important questions simply because they are called tactics, should be obvious. It is discouraging and disheartening to see the revolutionary movement so handicapped.

To preserve our flexibility and to protect ourselves from unscrupulous maneuvering, we should simply follow the rule that a program adopted by a Party Convention can only be changed by a device of like importance. The same test should be applied to any proposed action in a given situation, i.e., do they further us in our fight to achieve Socialism.

ON THE NAME OF THE PARTY

The 3rd International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky took the name of Communist, discarding the accepted usage of Social Democrat and Socialist. This was done not only for the purpose of differentiation, but because "Socialist" had become a synonym for gradualism, class collaboration, social patriotism, and stank of renegacy and betrayal. How strongly the founders of the Revolutionary International felt on this question can be seen from the fact that they made the changing of the name a pre-requisite for admission into the 3rd International.

The passage of 20 years have only confirmed the perfidy and treachery of the so-called So-

On Translating the Party Program Into Practice

Submitted by a group of Los Angeles comrades: Steve Roberts, Paula Aragon, Minna Everett, Edith Mann, Max Heinert.

(Continued from last issue)

The Transitional Program was thoroughly discussed and passed by the party. To date it has suffered the fate of all other resolutions and programs of the party. The leadership failed to send directives or to initiate discussions in the various 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 introduction 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 unions utilizing our slogans: "The Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours", "Opening of the Idle Factories", "Divulgence of Business Secrets and Records" to convince workers of necessity of Points 1 and 2.

It is not our intention in this document to analyze every phase of the party's work. The picture in the following fields: 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 gear the party to its tasks—and failure to carry out the serious resolutions and program? It hasn't done so because it doesn't consider this the primary necessity; it has no faith in our ability to attract the workers of this country to its banner and lead them to victory. It has an orientation of its own and in that direction its attention is concentrated—its main hope is in SPLITTING THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

For ten years its major emphasis has been on anti-Stalinist propaganda. It has always found time, money, to initiate and direct activity when at stake was an issue with the C.P. When the C.I.O. was in full swing it published at least half-a-dozen pamphlets on the Moscow Trials without putting

cialist parties. It was and is, therefore, inconceivable for a revolutionary party to bear the label "Socialist."

In the U. S. while the word Socialist has not such a social patriotic connotation, yet even to the most rabid red-baiting reactionary, "socialist" means only social reformism, and a confused mixture of pacifism and Norman Thomas.

The historical development of the S.W.P. made it almost inevitable that for a short period we maintain the label-Socialist. At the time of the split with the Thomases, in order to win over as many militants of the S. P. as possible, we had to continue the use of the name Socialist in our party. For the same reason it may have been justified for a short period after the split, as a considerable part of our opponents work was devoted to the remnants of the S. P.

All this is, however, a matter of past history. The split has been consummated and the brunt of opponents work is, according to the political resolution, to be directed to the C.P.; and in their case "Socialist" has a repulse effect (vestigial remains of a revolutionary age).

Creates Confusion

In day to day activity every comrade can cite instances upon instance where unnecessary confusion amongst the workers has been created by the present name of the party. Such remarks as, "They are Socialists and believe in peace-

out even one pamphlet on the trade union question.

Such a perspective has led us up a blind alley. World shaking events, the defeats of the proletariat in Germany, Spain and other countries, the Moscow Trials, and countless articles and books (like Gide's), have caused thousands of workers to break with the C. P. But instead 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 frame-up than a thousand pamphlets on the subject.

Let our main attention be directed 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, its C. P. orientation. If not, it must be replaced. The specific talents of this or that individual are not sufficient to overshadow the incorrect perspective of these comrades. In any case their capabilities have not been utilized under the circumstances.

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, given the correct orientation and direction, can make itself felt as a factor on the American scene. This convention must not content itself with a smug satisfaction and emphasis on the small successes; our task is to evaluate how far we have gone, what we have accomplished, and what can be reasonably done in the future. Only such a discussion and resolute action will make it possible for the party to emerge as the revolutionary party. A failure to do this, will mean that the present sentiment of the masses will be swept up by the fascists.

ful change," etc. are very frequently heard.

The confusion in party labels is so great that Coughlinites, our deadliest enemies, mistake us for the S.P. and in retaliation for driving them off the streets of downtown New York, June 10th attacked the befuddled Thomases, who didn't know what it was all about. If the Coughlinites, who had excellent reasons after Madison Square Garden and June 10th to find out exactly who their main enemy was, blundered, how much more must be the confusion created in the minds of the backward and even the advanced workers.

True, the disintegration of the S.P. will leave the field open to us and mistaken notions will gradually recede into the past, but war may break out any moment, and we may have little time to do a task which at best has many serious obstacles to overcome without being weighed down by the dead corpse of social reformism 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 "Labor Action" or some other suitable name.

Al Findly

Join the Socialist Workers Party

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

On the Tasks of the Convention And the Political Resolution

By HAL DRAPER

In his report for the P.C. in New York, Comrade Burnham proposed that our work in the next period be concentrated around campaign activity on six issues. These, he suggested, should be: war; jobs; democratic rights; fascism; the C. P.; and the labor party. This approach in my opinion is correct, and not in contradiction with our international or other tasks. In this article I wish to make some remarks on how these objectives can be implemented.

War

The overshadowing task of this Convention, and of the Party in the next period, is preparation for the war. Is the Party geared to the needs of this pre-war interval? No. Why not, and what must be done? This is the major pre-convention problem; the following remarks are intended as a contribution to this problem.

First, I think we must make 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-or-less open war-mongers: the policies of the Roosevelt administration, 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 the influence of isolationist and pacifist ideology. Turning to the masses means turning to them, in large part. In fact, there is a smaller percentage of collective-security-ites among the masses generally, than there is among the "advanced" workers. In this I am not thinking about the professional isolationists and pacifists of the various leagues, but of the more naive and inarticulate sentiments of the man-in-the-street or the worker-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, they are the lesser evil, not dangerous, have a "more correct" position, etc. If it were merely a matter of intellectual conviction or passing a resolution, this might have some justification; but the question is rather one of mobilization to action along the class-struggle path. And it is not news for us to be told that the role of pacifism and isolationism is precisely that of a soporific, of a brake on militant action. Secondly, it is harder to come to grips with these strata—they are not as organized, not as represented by spokesmen in the public eye, less homogeneous. This is true, but what I am interested in here is to point out that there has been no deliberate effort to overcome these obstacles.

It is not enough to decide to pay attention to the naively anti-war masses. We must learn how to approach them. We do not know. We cannot approach them, by and large in the same way that we have attacked the collective-security-ites. This may be so with some varieties of pacifist-isolationists, but with others we must work to lead them from their present attitudes towards ours, not only on the basis of the proper propagandistic approach but also through action. This means training, and I shall return to this point.

Organizational Preparation
The second point that has to be made with regard to preparation for war is of course organizational. Indisputable as it is, it is more than disquieting to realize that with war so near we have no organizational machine that would not be dislocated and ripped apart on the day that the government's M-day machine gets going—if not before. And of all our weaknesses, what can compare with this weakness in its importance? I have complete confidence that the Fourth Internationalist movement will stand out against the war more firmly than any movement in the history of the world—including the Russian Bolsheviks in 1914—in a political sense; but, to quote the Bible, what shall it profit us to gain the anti-war monopoly and lose our own organization?

I am aware that this task has been considered of the highest importance by both the membership and the party leadership—only nothing has been

done about it, not even some extremely elementary steps. The task of the national leadership in this period is not only to put the national office in order, but it is its responsibility to see to it that the local sections do likewise.

Aside from organizational machinery, our members are not individually prepared. One thing this means is training. Not training in understanding of our political program—I am taking this for granted—but training as propagandists under war conditions. We tend to rely too much today on individual comrades to act as our mouthpieces, speak for us at street corners, etc. Each of us will have to be our own mouthpiece, ourselves react to situations, etc., to a vastly larger extent under war conditions, with the best central machinery. What this points to is internal education and training for every rank-and-file party member.

The Communist Party

It should be emphasized that the section on the C.P. in the political resolution represents a change, not merely a matter of emphasis. Perhaps not a change in policy for the party officially, but certainly a change in the de facto attitude of most party members. This change is overdue.

In understandable reaction against the tradition of the Trotskyist movement, and accompanying a healthy turn toward the masses, the comrades have obviously let C.P. work slide more than it should. To underline the point made in the resolution: since the foundation of the S.W.P., there has been no seriously organized C.P. work nationally or in any locality. In recent months a good beginning has been made in New York, that is all.

This is the elementary organizational conclusion from the resolution: national and local machinery, committees and directors, for this work!

Party Organization

There is a good deal of loose talk about the party's being in an "organizational crisis." Alarmist as most of this is, there is no doubt that there is no political problem before the Convention which overshadows in importance the task of readying the party organization for its tasks in the next period.

I do not expect that this will receive its due share of attention at the Convention, because of lack of pre-convention preparation and the conditions under which a Convention is held. I would propose that this gap be filled by:

(1) Holding special conferences of the delegates during the Convention on specific organizational problems: C.P. work; educational and agit-prop work; etc. Whether this is feasible, of course, depends on the physical and time arrangements.

(2) Organizing the delegates, at the formal close of the Convention, into a special organizational conference, to consider organizational problems only. Such a gathering can be useful as a preparation for:

(3) Holding regional organizational conferences after the delegates return home, for discussion and exchange of ideas, etc., with N.C. members present at each one. The organizational end of war preparation should be an important aspect of these gatherings.

For the Convention itself, I should like to emphasize one proposal, which it seems to me puts the finger on an outstanding and continuing lack in our work.

There is not one comrade in the National Office whose task it is to oversee and direct and aid the organizational functioning of the local sections. Comrade Cannon, as the political secretary of the Party, cannot and should not be expected to fill this gap. This is especially important since in few localities have we a local organization which does not need constant aid and guidance and which can be independent of the center in this respect. The necessity of this is testified to once more by the eagerness with which comrades in the field grasp at organizational directives, advice, suggestions of any sort which come from the center.

What this means is an organizational secretary and department in the National Office. It is not a utopian proposal; on the contrary, it is an absolutely necessary contribution by the national center toward closing the gap between our political

tasks and our organizational means.

The Labor Party

It is with some regret that the largest section of this discussion article must be devoted to the labor party question, which Comrade Burnham proposes be one of the six issues to be headlined in our work. It is not a question of merely repeating the previous discussion; I wish to point out:

(1) That the labor party section of the political resolution sticks out of the document like a sore thumb and is completely out of place in our general view of our tasks.

(2) That the labor party position given in the political resolution is a departure from that put forward by the majority in the last discussion and adopted by referendum.

(3) That our experiences since the referendum serve to invalidate the majority line in that discussion.

This is the first Convention after the adoption of the labor party line by referendum. The party has a right to expect from the P.C., or at least from individual P.C. members, an attempt to draw up a balance-sheet of the 10 months or so that have intervened—a balance sheet of our work in the field, as well as of the development of the labor party movement. Both sides made predictions, put forward arguments that perhaps can now be more concretely tested, etc. In the absence of such a balance sheet by the P.C., I limit myself here to some cursory and preliminary remarks.

A Side Dish?

I. The political resolution begins with the indisputable statement that "Every political, and economic and social issue is being more and more subordinated to the war preparations." And the resolution rightly links each one of the issues discussed to the present pre-war situation, shaping our line of attack into a rounded program revolving around the war question. That is, with the exception of the labor party section! Burnham's six points, for example:

"War is coming—Struggle against war!"

"War is coming—Fight to preserve the workers' democratic rights! Fight against fascism!"

"War is coming—Jobs, not battleships!"

"War is coming—Fight the jingles in the working class ranks, the C.P. above all!"

"War is coming—Build a labor party!"

Try that on your street-corner speech. How does a labor party campaign fit into a rounded program of agitation and action against the war, or is it merely a side-dish with no connection with the rest of the menu?

A Change in Line

II. The first two sentences of the labor party section read as follows: "During the past year, the sentiment among the workers for a labor party has remained inert, held back by Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists. Any extended general campaign on our part around the labor party slogan would have been on the whole academic, and our agitation on this issue has been largely, and correctly, confined to specific and local situations where it was relevant."

In these two sentences the 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 ago. I allow a residue of 10 percent out of good-will.

Were we not told then that precisely because "Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists" were against the labor party that the revolutionists must throw themselves into a campaign to mobilize the workers over the heads of these gentlemen? Surely the P.C. knew in advance that these forces would seek to keep the workers from independent political action and confine any manifestations to "specific and local situations"?

When the then-minority counterposed fraction work within the labor party movement to the slogan "Form a labor party," we were asked the so-called question: "If you agree to agitating for independent labor party candidates in 'specific and local situations where it was relevant,' like the Kennedy movement in Pennsylvania, does this not necessarily entail a campaign to link up these local situations into a national labor party?" We answered No. 10 months later, the P.C. answers: "No, it would be academic and irrelevant."

"Snows of Yesteryear"

What happens to the despairing cries that rose up from the majority's ranks and spokesmen to the effect that the labor party question was a life-and-death matter for the party, that the party could not go on "stewing in its own juice" and that a labor party campaign was the answer to our isolation?

Where is the argument that the labor party issue was "indissolubly" connected with the Transitional Program—or was a general campaign on the Transitional Program academic and irrelevant too?

Another question on the refrain, "Where are the snows of yesteryear?"—In the discussion, Comrade Crux argued that agitation for the labor party was imperatively demanded by the objective situation, and many and forceful were his remarks about basing our policy on the mood of the workers. For him it was a race against time to raise the political level of the workers—as it is—and the labor party slogan was to be a stout weapon to this end. If Comrade Crux's approach had anything in common with the P.C. position, what difference does it make whether Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists have worked to hold back the workers? All the more necessity for a stiff campaign!—As we pointed out then, all this is academic and irrelevant to the P.C.'s position.

What remains as the decisive justification for the labor party position we now have on our books?

Transitional Program

In practice—to keep away from the academic and irrelevant—what has pushed the party forward in the last period?

In the discussion we pointed to the campaign around the

Resolution of Houston Branch on Moving Nat'l Headquarters of Party

ADOPTED BY THE HOUSTON BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1939

WHEREAS our party is approaching a point where it must pass from a small nucleus making the important and difficult struggle for organizational existence to a political movement of wide influence;

AND WHEREAS it must realistically face the problem of winning the masses of American workers, farmers and middle class to its program, so as to envisage the seizure of power in the time of social crisis;

AND WHEREAS the party's press and activities tend to be colored by the problem of the city where national headquarters are located;

AND WHEREAS the American workers do not yet recognize their own problems in the political atmosphere of New York City, but tend to regard New York with hostility, as a foreign place;

AND WHEREAS the longer the party stays in New York and depends upon the New York comrades to manage its various activities, the more difficult it will become to move and shift the party apparatus;

AND WHEREAS the natural and normal location for the national headquarters of any revolutionary American working class party would be in some industrial city of the middle west;

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED that the Socialist Workers Party National Office and publications be removed to some more suitable city.

Disgusted with S.P., Militant Joins Socialist Workers Party

Declaring his break with the decrepit Socialist Party, Oliver H. Williams of Fitchburg, Mass., joined the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party this week and called upon all militants still in the S.P. to follow him and continue the fight under the banner of the Fourth International.

Williams, who had been a member of the S.P. since 1934, voiced his disgust with the refusal of the S.P. leadership to break with the social-patriotic Second International, the phoney deals being conducted between the S.P. and the Old Guard, and the party's politics in the "Keep America Out of War Committee."

Williams declared that the Socialist Party remains lifeless and inactive in the face of the world crisis and that only the Socialist Workers Party has the bold revolutionary program that can offer any hope to the world proletariat in the threatening periods of war and reaction.

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Challenge Out

The first issue of the Two-Month CHALLENGE OF YOUTH is off the press. Readers are urged to buy, read and help distribute the attractive newspaper of our youth organization.

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 partially in the case of the 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 its discussion article in the Appeal, Comrade Lieberman mentions Shachtman's speech in New York on May Day, in which the Transitional Program was translated into one of the best mass speeches I have heard. Neither I, nor other comrades I have asked, can remember Shachtman's mentioning "Build the labor party." What part has the labor party position played in the agitation and action of the party? None. Or if this is not so, I am waiting for the P.C. to tell us.

State of Labor Party

Is the labor party position a dead dog? No. Now, says the resolution, is the time for a general campaign. What, is there a resurgence in the labor party movement? Well, answers the P.C. resolution carefully, "the organized intervention of labor in politics has continued and in some respects increased during this same year" during which labor party sentiment has remained inert, and the present situation is "raising or beginning to raise once more in the minds of the workers questions about political action." To begin with, to say this, at least, a far cry from the confident assertions in the 10-month old labor party resolution: "The workers have begun to turn in million-masses toward political action." "We can with sufficient assurance predict that the resistance of the bureaucracy (to the L.P. movement) will be broken. The movement in favor of a labor party will continue to grow," etc.

Comrade Burnham has kindly revealed to me what it means when it talks about the "continued" and "increased" intervention of labor in politics. According to him, the A.L.P. in New York "still continues"—"Very modestly put," "still continues"; the A.L.P. is actually in a state of suspended animation, which the hypodermic of the coming elections may or may not jerk it out of.

—There is the trade union campaign in Minnesota . . . which only underlines the bankruptcy of the F.L.P., and the

lower level of organizational form which the Minnesota workers have had to resort to for political action—

—There was the trade union campaign for Murphy in Michigan and Olsen in California . . . This certainly represents "continued" mobilization of labor behind capitalist politicians, but how is it "increased" participation as compared with the labor campaigns for Roosevelt, for Lehman, for LaGuardia, et al?

The labor party movement in America is already reaching the end of its blind alley. The P.C. takes the ebb for the flow.

What to Do
The many comrades who said they wanted to "experiment" with the majority labor party position have had their noble experiment. Now what?

(1) The political resolution must be given a realistic estimate of the labor party situation now and during the past year which corresponds with the facts.

(2) It must place the emphasis clearly on independent participation by the party in electoral campaigns, along the lines of the issues featured in the resolution, under the sign of the war question. We must utilize the elections and the parliamentary field to put ourselves before the masses as the anti-war party, tying ourselves to no social-patriotic political formations whatsoever. Section 23 should be rewritten from this point of view.

(3) Section 22 should be completely cut out of the resolution, to be replaced by a section in the spirit of point 1 above.

(4) This does in effect mean ditching the labor party thesis adopted in the last discussion. More than ever, I would propose its replacement by the Convention with the minority labor party resolution put before the party last year.

CONVENTION NOTE

Several carloads of auto workers are on their way from Detroit to New York to attend the National Convention. General Johnson, leader of the Women's Battalion in the Flint 1937 strike will accompany them.

More discussion articles will appear in next week's issue of the Appeal.

Some Suggestions for Building The Party on a Mass Base

By WALTER SHIPMAN

Suggestion No. 1:
If the leaders will lead—the party will follow.

Let them welcome criticism and ask for it and demand it and become alarmed when there is none.

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

Let them be more tolerant. One tends to be intolerant towards a person whose opposition opinion we don't value. But it's just the opposition opinion which we should value and welcome. And we should not fear to change our minds.

Above all we should not fear to admit that we have changed our minds or even that we have made a mistake. When a political or other position is changed overnight there must be a good explanation. It is not merely to put the leadership on the spot. But unless that is done one begins to suspect that the leaders are more interested in their own record than in the party's welfare and that in fact they

consider themselves the party itself. And above all, it educates the membership wrongly. And of course the same mistake might be repeated or be not even discovered; and the leadership should have its actions clearly recorded so as to judge them.

Let them remember that the best teacher is by example.

Let them, by example, imbue the ranks with the sacred necessity of speaking the truth and expressing their honest opinions and combat the feeling that the end permits one to hide things from or be unfair to opponent comrades. It will increase faith and trust in the leadership and also activity of the members 100 times more than stale orders or disciplinary threats from above. The training in defending one's differences with one's friends also increases moral courage.

Let them go into the streets and sell Appeals and speak and hand out leaflets. They will learn a lot.

Let them not mistake "Bolshevik hardness" for petty bourgeois rudeness.

Let them develop new young leaders. Give them responsibility. Responsibility develops ability.

Then we may get somewhere.

Suggestion No. 2:

Print about one million (to begin with) leaflets every two weeks. Size about 6 x 9 inches in small newspaper type. The cost is about as much as two issues of the Appeal.

We stand on street corners and speak. Yet we doubt the effectiveness of the written word. This leaflet could have a small permanent masthead called "The Guide," or "The Light" or "The Truth," etc.

But the written word, just as the oral, may be effective, neutral or harmful. Two things must be taken into consideration: (1) There is a tendency among some comrades, especially some intellectuals and those not in contact with workers, to think workers' minds are simple and crude and superficial and dull. That tendency produces propaganda which exaggerates, hides unpleasant truths, uses rough language and slang words, believes workers are too tired or even too lazy to read many words, and spends too much time trying to convince the unemployed that unemployment causes suffering (something every worker sees himself) and how bad it is to be without money, etc. (The workers want a way out.)

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

lower level of organizational form which the Minnesota workers have had to resort to for political action—

—There was the trade union campaign for Murphy in Michigan and Olsen in California . . . This certainly represents "continued" mobilization of labor behind capitalist politicians, but how is it "increased" participation as compared with the labor campaigns for Roosevelt, for Lehman, for LaGuardia, et al?

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are even careless. Imagine! Say if 2,000 leaflets are printed and only 100 workers read them then—15 minutes reading time X 100 equals 25 hours workers' time. A circular should be prepared ten times more carefully than a speech because you can write so much less, the receiver may take it home to his family, keep it as a record, and it reaches more people and above all more outside people who are naturally more critical. Every word, every phrase must be improved and studied when even a few thousand are printed.

Furthermore, a one or two million national leaflet coming out regular would probably be attacked and publicized by the newspapers, and the fascists and police would no doubt want to stop it—all of which would make workers more interested in what it says.

Also, it would increase the activity of the members, especially those isolated from the labor movement.

Some may say the Socialist Labor Party did that. But the S.L.P. did little else—and besides they wrote very dry. These are critical times and workers will read. Each issue, with dramatic headline and content, could discuss one specific question in each issue, for instance: "War," "Coughlin," "The History of Capitalism," "Defend the Trade Unions!" "The Moral Right to Overthrow Capitalism," "Support the Auto (or any big struggle) Strike," "The Survival of the Fittest," "Revolution is Evolution," "When Force Is Justified," "Demonstrate Against Relief Cuts—Don't Beg," "The Stalinists Are Traitors," "The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Internationals," "Democracy," "What Is a Class?" "Progressive Trade Unionism," etc.

But where is the money coming from? One issue would cost about as much as two issues of the Appeal. It seems to me too much importance is given to the twice and now the 3 times a week Appeal. The 2 and 3 times will reach after all practically only the same circle of people. The arguments in favor of a good 8-page weekly are by no means exhausted. Besides if the whole country would be covered with such leaflets contributions would possibly pay for it. Besides if it's no good it can be stopped any time.

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Let them not mistake "Bolshevik hardness" for petty bourgeois rudeness.

Let them develop new young leaders. Give them responsibility. Responsibility develops ability.

Then we may get somewhere.

Suggestion No. 2:
Print about one million (to begin with) leaflets every two weeks. Size about 6 x 9 inches in small newspaper type. The cost is about as much as two issues of the Appeal.

We stand on street corners and speak. Yet we doubt the effectiveness of the written word. This leaflet could have a small permanent masthead called "The Guide," or "The Light" or "The Truth," etc.

But the written word, just as the oral, may be effective, neutral or harmful. Two things must be taken into consideration: (1) There is a tendency among some comrades, especially some intellectuals and those not in contact with workers, to think workers' minds are simple and crude and superficial and dull. That tendency produces propaganda which exaggerates, hides unpleasant truths, uses rough language and slang words, believes workers are too tired or even too lazy to read many words, and spends too much time trying to convince the unemployed that unemployment causes suffering (something every worker sees himself) and how bad it is to be without money, etc. (The workers want a way out.)

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

lower level of organizational form which the Minnesota workers have had to resort to for political action—

—There was the trade union campaign for Murphy in Michigan and Olsen in California . . . This certainly represents "continued" mobilization of labor behind capitalist politicians, but how is it "increased" participation as compared with the labor campaigns for Roosevelt, for Lehman, for LaGuardia, et al?

The labor party movement in America is already reaching the end of its blind alley. The P.C. takes the ebb for the flow.

What to Do
The many comrades who said they wanted to "experiment" with the majority labor party position have had their noble experiment. Now what?

(1) The political resolution must be given a realistic estimate of the labor party situation now and during the past year which corresponds with the facts.

(2) It must place the emphasis clearly on independent participation by the party in electoral campaigns, along the lines of the issues featured in the resolution, under the sign of the war question. We must utilize the elections and the parliamentary field to put ourselves before the masses as the anti-war party, tying ourselves to no social-patriotic political formations whatsoever. Section 23 should be rewritten from this point of view.

(3) Section 22 should be completely cut out of the resolution, to be replaced by a section in the spirit of point 1 above.

(4) This does in effect mean ditching the labor party thesis adopted in the last discussion. More than ever, I would propose its replacement by the Convention with the minority labor party resolution put before the party last year.

CONVENTION NOTE

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

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 Telling 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 hocus-pocus, 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 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

turned its attention to the field of Soviet Art." —Bertram D. Wolfe, in *Workers Age*, November 19, 1938.

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, *Bezbin Meadow*, on which Sergei Eisenstein, of Potemkin fame, had been working for over two years. . . . In an article in *Pravda*, Boris Shumiatky, 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 'harmful formalistic exercises'. . . . Eisenstein admitted many of the criticisms. He admitted having been possessed of the intellectual's quixotic illusion that revolutionary work could be done individually. . . . 'Fame came early to me,' he said. 'I overestimated myself, and that was a major error. I never advanced beyond the stage of elemental revolutionism.' . . . —Joshua Kunitz in *Moscow News*, March 31, 1937.

"Boris Shumiatky, chief of the Soviet motion picture industry has been quietly removed. . . . The magazine *Soviet Art* charged that his political blindness permitted 'savage veteran spies, Trotskyist and Bukharinist agents and hirelings of Japanese and German fascism' to perform their wrecking deeds in the Soviet Cinema. . . . He was also criticised for introducing the sex element into an almost completely masculine story, Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, by transforming cabin boy Jim Hawkins into Jenny Hawkins." —N. Y. Times, Jan. 17, 1938.

History

"One of the biggest problems confronting the Bolsheviks is to get a comprehensive history of the Communist revolution. None has yet been written, and no one appears willing to undertake the task because of the virtual certainty that whatever line of thought he pursued today would be unpopular five or ten years hence." —N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Jan. 10, 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-party hesitations and wanderings. . . . Many of them became Japanese-German-Trotskyist agents of Rightist dissenters.'" —N. Y. Times, April 18, 1937.

"Nikolai Bukharin and Alexei Rykov, former premier, are denounced along with Leon 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. This is the winner of a government competition, and the group of historians who composed it received a premium of 75,000 rubles. . . . The textbook awards considerable praise to Peter the Great. . . ." —N. Y. Times, Aug. 25, 1937.

"Joseph Stalin was characterized today as not only a great statesman but as a model historian and scientist by Emil Yaroslavsky. . . . 'Comrade Stalin personally executed a vast amount of the work of compiling 'A Short Course on the History of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union,' said Mr. Yaroslavsky. 'Isn't our admiration stirred by this work of Stalin, for which he found time amid gigantic 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. 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. . . ." —N. 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 direction of new editors."

"Leningrad *Pravda* published a bitter attack on Professor Derzhavin, asserting he subtly introduced heretical Trotskyist theories 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 quotations 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 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.

W.P.A. Officials Start to Put Slash Into Effect

(Continued from Page 1)

Federal and \$50,000 if Federal. There are very few building projects which will be able to meet this requirement, as even an ordinary school building will generally exceed this amount by a considerable margin.

Effect of Slash

Reports from all over the country indicate the terrible effect Roosevelt's slash-relief policy is having upon those dependent upon W.P.A. jobs or relief checks for food, clothing, and shelter.

In New York the filling of vacancies by W.P.A. has been suspended, and Lieut. Col. Breton B. Somervell, W.P.A. administrator estimated that the new policy would reduce W.P.A. jobs in New York alone at the rate of 1,000 jobs a week.

There are absolutely no prospects that those thrown off W.P.A. will be absorbed by industry. Industrial activity is declining and the first effect of this decline will be slashed payrolls, drastic curtailment of staffs, and increased unemployment.

The only exceptions to Somervell's rule forbidding new replacements or assignments are in a few exceptional cases, nearly half of those now on home relief, will be dropped within the near future. Large scale cuts are now being considered by W.P.A. officials for immediate application.

Postcards Won't Help

In a speech before the National Conference of Social Work at Buffalo, Mayor La Guardia declared that he was opposed to the present slashes in relief. "We talk of democracy, but the freedoms of speech, press, assembly and religion cannot be enjoyed on an empty stomach."

He declared that the present bill for relief "would completely wreck our American system of work relief." But he proposed absolutely no way of obtaining an increased appropriation.

LaGuardia is scheduled to appear before the Senate Appropriations Committee today where he hopes "to salvage something out of the House bill."

One thing is absolutely clear, neither postcards nor LaGuardia speeches will obtain one cent for the unemployed. There is only one language which President Roosevelt and Congress understand, and that is the language of militant demonstrations.

Unless the unemployed begin organizing huge demonstrations in front of every relief office they can expect Roosevelt's slash relief program to gain new heights of fury in its drive to throw every unemployed person on the streets.

Publication of Luxemburg Work Begins in New Int'l

Editors Review National Scene in Comment On Republicans and 1940 Elections

The June issue of the *The New Internationalist* is now off the press, and once again the contents of the issue place the journal in the front ranks of Marxist thought. It is fully up to the calibre of other issues and is varied in content.

"The Republicans and the 1940 Elections" is the subject discussed by the Editors. The situation as related to the New Deal, etc. is fully reviewed.

The problem of imperialism is dealt with explicitly and fully in two articles. The first contributed by the Editorial Board of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition in an article entitled, "The Step toward Social-Patriotism", which concerns itself with developments arising from the Czechoslovakian crisis.

The second is an article by Hal Draper on "F.D.R. and the Industrial Mobilization Plan."

The first installment of the famous work by Rosa Luxemburg, "The Socialist Crisis in France", appears also in the July number. Every reader at

all interested in Marxism and its method of analysis will be intrigued by Luxemburg's brochure.

The popular and clear-thinking writer, George E. Novack, contributes a most revealing and informative article on the oil industry, entitled, "The Struggle against the Oil Octopus."

Other important and stimulating articles are contributed by Dwight Macdonald in his monthly column, "Reading from Left to Right", and a discussion of the problem of Bolshevism and Democracy by A. Alper and Albert Goldman, with the latter upholding the basic tenets of Bolshevism.

Jan Buchar's article, "The National Question in Central Europe", is concluded in the July number.

Readers wishing to obtain a copy of the July number should do so immediately. The subscription rate is \$2. per year. Address The New Internationalist, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Before the Party Convention

For a Three-a-Week Appeal-- On the Road to a Daily Paper

By JAMES P. CANNON

A program of expansion such as the party needs at the present time should be a rounded program 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 established by the foregoing considerations. Many factors enter into the discussion of this 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 two-a-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 Appeal is already too narrow for our political 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 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 in 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-a-week 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 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 paper, 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 money than the members of other parties—on the whole they are poorer and have less—but

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-week 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 feasibility 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 financial 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 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 twice-a-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.

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

SOCIETY NOTES

Aged Man Ejected From Burrow In California

MODESTO, Calif. — Ejected from the underground burrow in which he had lived like a mole for ten long years, Hans Hansen, 77-year-old man, who tried to earn a meager living doing odd-jobs, is looking about for a new home.

Police reported that Mr. Hansen had dug out a space under the floor of a warehouse. There he had lived since the depression began in 1929, eating, sleeping, and reading, but receiving no visitors.

He burned wax paper bread wrappings when he cooked in order to make as little smoke as possible and so avoid discovery.

By accident he struck the roof of his home which was also the floor of the warehouse. A loyal company man hearing the rap investigated and discovered the aged man in his strange home.

Police came in response to a call from company officials and ejected Mr. Hansen. They found little force necessary.

"They would come and get me some day, I figured," Hansen said. "But they were a long time coming."

Angier Biddle Dukes Entertain At Tuxedo Park

Of all the luxurious estates in Tuxedo Park, America's most exclusive residential district, the most luxurious of all is the estate of the Angier Biddle Dukes. It is situated on a slope of the rolling fairytale Ramapo hills. The still waters of the tarn below reflect its palatial lines.

Angie and his blonde wife, Prune, are very proud of their summer home. The front door, opening onto the cobblestone court, leads into a formal white marble hall on the second floor.

Prune's own room is a dream-boudoir in blue with a huge canopied four-poster bed quilted in blue satin.

By contrast the bar is informal and cozy. It is filled with trophies and ribbons which the Dukes have won at various horse and dog shows, and the walls are lined with photographs of their round-the-world honeymoon.

Few know how to entertain as well as the Dukes. The hospitable young couple keep constant open house and the six bedrooms are usually overflowing with guests. Their bar is the most popular in Tuxedo Park with its swirl of gayety and laughter.

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EMANUEL GARRETT

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 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 pre-convention 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-

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

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.

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!

Stopping the Cancer of Fascism - By C.P.'s Methods, or By Ours?

Workers Can Choose the Daily Worker's Line of Persuading All "Decent Americans" to Pass Resolutions, Or the Line the S.W.P. Recommends—Class Struggle Action

By HAL DEAPER

In its issue of June 14, the Daily Worker issues a call for "action" against the Coughlinites. Citing the shocking case of the Jewish Baltimore school-boy who was attacked by 40 knife-wielding Coughlin-inspired school-mates, it runs a front-page editorial under the head, "Stop the Cancer Before It Spreads!"

The workers, who echo the cry, "Stop Coughlin now!", are thereby given a full opportunity to examine the line which the Communist Party recommends for the struggle against American fascism. For the Daily Worker editorial (1) cites what it considers the significant steps taken recently to stop Coughlin, and (2) lists in categorical, unevasive fashion the additional measures that would be required to finish off this menace.

What, in the eyes of the Daily Worker, has been done to block the spread of Coughlinism? Here is the paragraph: "Decent America recognizes the danger. There has just been formed the Catholic Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. The Sons of Italy have condemned race bigotry. The General Synod of the Reformed Church of America has condemned anti-Semitism. Others are moving to action."

A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION

Now every worker must welcome any sincere expression of hatred and opposition to the poisonous spread of anti-Semitism. He is entitled, however, to raise the question: Are these people "moving to action", or are they passing resolutions as a substitute for action?

The group of Catholics featured by the Daily Worker, for example, gives the following prospectus in its statement: "In order to oppose the dangerous aberration of anti-Semitism in the fullness of Christian charity, we are forming this Committee of Catholics to Fight Anti-Semitism. . . . Our approach will be positive and dignified, and there will be no personal attacks against any one." Anti-Semitism will be fought by explaining the Catholic teachings on racial bigotry; so far the Committee's fight has consisted of quoting various Popes. This is action! We must not attack any one—that is, we must not attack Father Coughlin—says the Committee, for after all, anti-Semitism is only an aberration, and can be wiped out by properly explain-

ing the meaning of Christian charity.

More action! The Reformed Church passes a resolution: "Even America is not free from the blight of anti-Jewish prejudice. Both Jew and Gentile are responsible for existing conditions and both must cooperate for their betterment. Christians must rebuke all anti-Semitism." (Our emphasis.) That's all. What this organization means by "action" may be gathered from its simultaneous handling of the question of conscientious objection; it adopted a report upholding the admissibility of religious objection to participation in war but rejected a sentence immediately following promising to "support and protect him and his rights in the event of his taking such a stand."

The Sons of Italy condemn "race bigotry". It is perhaps enough to point out that this organization was a vehement propagandist in America for the justice of Mussolini's war on Ethiopia and went so far as to vote a revenge boycott on British goods at that time.

WHICH LINE WILL STOP COUGHLIN?

It is this spurious "struggle" against anti-Semitism that the Communist Party puts before the workers as good coin! Now compare the C.P.'s attitude toward real action.

50,000 workers of New York City staged a counter-demonstration outside the meeting of the Nazi Bund, Coughlin's allies, in Madison Square Garden. At this late date, Father Earl Browder finds that he has to return to this subject in his latest pamphlet on "The 1940 Elections", answering an obscure Congressman who credited the C.P. with the action:

"There is no doubt that the Nazis were very happy about the Trotskyite disorders outside their meeting, and there is little doubt that the whole thing was, by mutual agreement, a mere division of labor." No doubt, mark you, just as the "disorders" in Harlem County are a mere division of labor between John L. Lewis and the mine owners to embarrass the government. But the C.P., continues Browder proudly, "called upon the workers to boycott the meeting, to stay entirely away from it, once the authorities had authorized it and given it police protection."

Two lines! The line of the workers who moved to action against the Nazi Bund—or the Communist Party's line of hav-

ing all "decent Americans" pass resolutions: which will stop Coughlin now?

The Daily Worker editorial calls for some more action: "The Department of Justice of the U.S. must seize the criminals guilty of anti-Semitic incitement. 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 are giving the anti-Semitic 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 Coughlin—after we've finished passing a resolution and writing letters to Washington?

WORKERS, NOT COPS, WILL BEAT FASCISTS

—Do you mean we ought to depend 100% on the Department of Justice to take care of the Coughlinites for us? In the unions we take care of scabs ourselves. When the government steps in, it's usually to protect the scabs. Who's the National Guard shooting at in Harlem County?

—Will we have to wait as long for Roosevelt to act against the anti-Semites as we've waited for him to act against the negro-lynchers?

—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 COUGHLIN NOW!

IT'S THE WORKERS THAT CAN SMASH THE COUGHLINITE MENACE WITH WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS!

Go ahead and pass a resolution to that effect.

IN THIS CORNER

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 cause."

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 open-letter-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 Cubes—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 conceived it, the whole 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.

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 National 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. Gadi! but these gangsters can spot each other's weaknesses!

Kremlin Kultur--Annotations to A Clipping From a Newspaper

(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. Afanogenov, the two best-known playwrights in the Soviet Union. . . . They are only two of many. The 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 Shostakovich 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 repertoire of the Bolshoi Theatre. His opera, Lady Macbeth of Minsk, 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, Susannin. . . . 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 repeatedly 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

"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. Meyerhold. . . . The arts committee of the Council of People's Commissars ordered his theatre dissolved and members of his acting company transferred to other theatres. . . . The arts committee charged . . . the Meyerhold 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 presided over the most dangerous counter-revolutionary nest within the academy. According to the report of the permanent secretary, N. P. Gorbunov, who presented the expulsion resolution, 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 Pulkovo 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.