

Upon Whom Shall We Rely to Fight Coughlin?

By JOSEPH HANSEN
INSTALLMENT VII

Can Roosevelt Stop Fascism?

Father Coughlin is not alone among the representatives of Big Business who hears death's knuckles rapping at the door of democratic capitalism.

President Roosevelt, nearing the end of his second term in the White House sees his New Deal collapsing like a house of cards built from an old and very dirty deck.

Only WAR can save Roosevelt—and then only for the briefest of periods.

But for this brief period he will pay the price of millions of lives of the workers, the farmers, the youth. That is why he is buying battleships with the relief funds of the unemployed.

That is why he has poured money without precedent into a war machine that outstages anything in the history of the country. He hopes to divert the attention of the desperate masses from their plight to a foreign enemy.

But even war is a temporary and unpopular expedient. The unemployed don't want bayonets. They want food and jobs. Roosevelt's war can only whip their fury to new heights. Father Coughlin knows all this very well. He has read a lot of fan mail since 1926.

He knows too that Big Business in its way is as desperate as the unemployed. Big Business fears the revolutionary might of the unemployed. It wants to preserve its clutches on national wealth. It wants to preserve the profit system.

Roosevelt's usefulness as a stop-gap for Big Business is almost at an end.

Roosevelt is capitalism's smiles and promises of last year.

Now the Sixty Families need a new demagogue with less smile and more promises.

General Smedley Butler has revealed that the Morgan-DuPont interests were ready to spend \$3,000,000 with a promise of \$300,000,000 more if necessary to finance a fascist army that would march on Washington behind the General.

General Butler turned the offer down. *Perhaps someone else did not turn that offer down.*

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Fourth International Greet Party's Nat'l Anti-War Convention

Dear Comrades:

The Executive Committee of the Fourth International sends you its warmest greetings on the occasion of the Convention of the American section of the Fourth International. Your party is today the most important section of the Fourth International, not only by virtue of its numerical forces but also because of the political weight of its leadership and the quality of its cadres.

Our comrades all over the world are proud of their fighting brothers in the United States and they applaud your successes, particularly the high political level of the *New Internationalist*, the semi-weekly appearance of the *Socialist Appeal*, your serious trade-union activity, the public actions like the anti-Nazi demonstration in New York. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the preponderant role that your section has played in the political guidance of the Fourth International, or to emphasize the very exceptional sacrifices that the militants of the S.W.P. have made toward furthering the solidarity and political work of the Fourth International. For that proves that for the sections of the Fourth International, internationalism is a living reality, and your example is a new and singularly convincing proof of the existence of the Fourth International as the world vanguard, steeped in the best traditions of Bolshevik internationalism.

At the same time, dear comrades, we do not gloss over the fact that much still remains to be done before you become the great revolutionary party of the working class of the United States. We hope that you will indefatigably continue and intensify your activity along the road of Bolshevism, toward a continual strengthening of your trade-union work, toward a tireless agitation among the most exploited sections of the population (the youth, unemployed, women), toward an increasingly active and vigilant internationalism.

Today we point, as an example for the other sections of the Fourth International, to your methods of work, which have shown that you know how to combine unwavering firmness and the greatest flexibility, in the spirit of Bolshevism. Our International has succeeded in enunciating correct principles and in hammering out the only Marxist program corresponding to the character of our epoch; now it must learn how to work. It must definitively rid itself of all remnants of a sectarian and propagandist-circle existence, and in all countries acquire the methods of Bolshevik work. Then, through their own development and inspired by your example, the comrades of the other sections will be able to help you in their turn and to collaborate in your development.

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Executive Committee of the Fourth International

Socialist Appeal

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International—Issued Twice Weekly

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BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

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3c a copy

F.D.R. Relief-Wrecking Bill Dooms Millions of Jobless to Starvation

The Platform of "Social Justice"



British Give Way in Far East as Hitler Prepares Danzig Grab

Bog-Down of Anglo-Soviet Negotiations Encourages Hitler Moves—British Expect Roosevelt to Police Orient

Danzig has replaced Tientsin as the focal point of war infection. Hitler is generally expected to make a fresh grab for the former German city. Whether that grab will lead, finally, to a general world war, is the question that the coming weeks will answer.

Pending that showdown, the British are being forced to give way in the Far East. Unable to meet the Japanese with an adequate show of force, the haughty Britons, having had their pants taken down, are bending over as gracefully as possible to take a beating.

But the "negotiations" opening in Tokyo over the issues involved in the Japanese

blockade of the British concession at Tientsin are nothing but a means of stalling diplomatically. It is the British hope and expectation that if war should engage them in Europe, their friend Roosevelt will quickly assume his cherished role of Policeman of the Pacific and make Japan his own special prey, thereby relieving the pressure on Britain's exposed

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Gulf Seamen Push Revolt Against NMU Leadership

Resist Curran's Splitting Move—Principal Weakness Is Failure to Advance Program

The revolt against the Stalinist misleadership in the N.M.U., led by the Gulf District, reached a decisive stage with the appearance of the first two issues of the Gulf edition of the *Pilot*. The Gulf District is demanding complete autonomy from the C. P. dominated National Council. Joe Curran, No. 1 stooge for the C. P., made his appearance in New Orleans for the announced purpose of "enlightening" the membership and "clarifying" the issues, accompanied by a gang of Stalinist hatchmen.

In typical faker fashion, Curran's clarification of the issues took the form of opening a dual headquarters in New Orleans in an attempt to split the union. This splitting move has met with the almost unani-

mous resistance of the membership in the Gulf. A persistent report is circulating the New York waterfront that Curran and Co. have mortgaged the union's strike fund for \$25,000, the money to be used for "organization" purposes in the Gulf. The wrecking crew is not hesitating at undermining the entire organization in their splitting effort to eliminate the Gulf militants who resist their domination.

Fail to Push Program

One of the weaknesses revealed by the opposition movement in the Gulf is the failure, thus far, to push the fundamental question of program to the fore. The main point in any progressive program for the

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Delegates Pour into N. Y. For Convention Opening

Militants, Coming from All Sections of the Country, Exchange Viewpoints as they Wait for Sessions to Begin on Saturday

From every section of the country, from every field of the class struggle, delegates have poured into New York as the National Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party is set to open.

Some came by riding the rods, some by thumbing rides, some by piling into old cars. By a dozen conveyances, they've come to discuss the momentous problems facing the party, to plan a program of activity, to criticize its shortcomings, to present and analyze their own experiences in the class struggle.

These delegates allowed nothing to stand in their way—not jobs, not physical obstacles, not personal responsibilities. They had important business to transact, and that was all there was to it. One delegate for example, was pinched on the road for hitchhiking and sentenced to ten days but he talked his way out of that, and talked fast because the convention was nearing opening time.

Exchange Viewpoints. Seamen have come in ready to discuss the maritime situation and the party's policy with respect to it. Ditto rubber workers, auto workers, teachers, etc., etc. All together, however, they've got their mind set on working out the ways and means of building the party—not any one section of it, but the party as a whole—spreading its message, and organizing the vast reservoir of militant, revolutionary activity—the working class.

In the national office, as they wait for the convention to open they've been exchanging viewpoints, experiences and suggestions. Not carping dilettantes these. They're sober-minded militants, most of them young, though with years of revolutionary activity behind them, conscious of the immense job the party has before it, and determined to work out the means of doing that job well.

Listening to the delegates, it becomes clear that on the major political questions—war, American politics, trade union policy and so forth—there is almost complete unanimity. Such differences as exist are on the methods of party work, how to improve them. And that the delegates will improve

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COUGHLINITES ATTACK NAT'L OFFICE GUARD

Following closely on the heels of the fascist raid on the Debs Labor School, two Coughlin fascists, attempting to enter the national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party Wednesday evening, June 28, knifed and wounded Sol Bendel, member of the all-night headquarters guard, who nevertheless succeeded in frustrating the attack.

Bendel, who had gone to fasten the street door of the national headquarters, was accosted by two men at eight o'clock in the evening.

"What do you want?" Bendel asked them.

One of the men, a heavy-set, tall, blond-haired hooligan, a thick scar running the length of his face to his neck, replied, "Is this the Social Party or something or other?"

Draw Knife

Answered in the affirmative by Bendel, the hooligans stated that they wanted to join.

"What is your name?" Bendel asked.

In reply, the scar-faced hooligan drew a long, jagged fishing knife and lunged for Bendel's face.

In the effort to defend himself, Bendel sustained a deep knife wound in his wrist.

Wounded and bleeding, Bendel gave chase to the two fascists who turned and hollered, "We'll be back." But before Bendel could nab either of them, both hooligans hopped in to a shiny new Pontiac and fled the scene.

In addition to stating that Rubens is a fascist, Mrs. Rubens related to the foreign correspondents that her missing husband was born in Latvia. Mrs. Rubens' revelation of her husband's Latvian birth confirms for the first time the statement made in the Baltimore Sun of May 5 by Walter G. Krivitsky, former chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, that Rubens was born in Latvia. Krivitsky also identified Rubens as a G.P.U. agent named Ewald who had formerly worked un-

Woodrum Bill Will Be Signed Into Law

Stalinists and Labor Skates Staged Sham Battle Against Cuts

The Roosevelt - Woodrum Starvation Bill has passed the Senate, and now it returns to President Roosevelt's desk, needing only his signature to become a law. And he's sure to sign it—because he proposed it.

Democrats and Republicans, working in close harmony and at high speed, this Friday pushed through the most brutal slash in relief since the days of Hoover's breadlines.

What the Roosevelt appropriation means should now be completely clear to everyone, even to the labor fakers and the Stalinists nailed to Roosevelt's relief-wrecking administration. First and foremost, this bill means a cut of one million W.P.A. workers. Five hundred thousand have already been fired throughout the country as a result of Roosevelt's appropriation. Another 500,000 will get the axe immediately after the bill is signed by the President. And 500,000 more will face the streets in the months ahead, under the 18-month rotation plan, which has been preserved by the Senate vote.

Role of Labor Leaders

Where were the labor leaders, the leaders of the unemployed? That is the question every W.P.A. worker with a pink slip in his hand will want answered in the coming weeks. And the answer is quite clear; they were right behind Roosevelt, who leads the drive against W.P.A.

The trade union bureaucrats and Stalinist leaders of the Workers Alliance, tied hand and foot to the War Deal, and more loyal to Roosevelt than to the jobless, could only put up a sham fight against the cuts. They spent their time shadow boxing phantoms.

Shunt Casey Bill

The Casey Bill, which made provision for keeping W.P.A. at the 3,000,000 level, was formally initiated by the C.I.O., but not really fought for. It hardly figured in the debates at all. The labor fakers, comfortably seated on the Roosevelt bandwagon, couldn't be expected to climb down and lead a militant fight. Now the unemployed can see the Casey Bill in its true role, an empty parliamentary gesture made by bureaucrats in a tight spot—a pure and simple face-saving device.

The Senate made a last minute effort to camouflage the open brutality of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Bill by tacking on all sorts of amendments encompassing legislation that has already been passed and do not mean an increase of any kind. Only the labor leaders and the Stalinists will be fooled by this sort of shabby move. But, for the unemployed the key to the situation is the original appropriation, which is being passed without any real increase. Tomorrow when the bill goes into effect, one-third of W.P.A. will be left in ruins.

Tossing a Bone

Youth now comprises at least one-third of all the unemployed employables," says Owen Lovejoy, associate director of the American Youth Committee. Roosevelt's an-

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Mrs. Rubens "Freed", Spins New Plot on Kremlin Order

Confirms Krivitsky's Revelation that Her Husband Was Latvian G.P.U. Agent

By TONY CHAPMAN

Paced like a Keystone serial, the G.P.U.-staged Robinson Rubens case moved one installment nearer its climax when Mrs. Ruth Marie Rubens, wife of the missing Russian secret agent, A. A. Rubens, in an interview with foreign newspaper correspondents, told them that she believed her husband to be "pro-fascist" and "anti-communist."

In addition to stating that Rubens is a fascist, Mrs. Rubens related to the foreign correspondents that her missing husband was born in Latvia.

Mrs. Rubens' revelation of her husband's Latvian birth confirms for the first time the statement made in the Baltimore Sun of May 5 by Walter G. Krivitsky, former chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, that Rubens was born in Latvia. Krivitsky also identified Rubens as a G.P.U. agent named Ewald who had formerly worked un-

Organized Passport Ring

Krivitsky's knowledge of Rubens' birth, confirmed for the first time by Mrs. Rubens, adds significant authority to his further charge, that Rubens was especially dispatched by the G.P.U. to the United States to organize a ring of passport forgers.

In light of the fact that his American accomplices in forg-

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In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

For years the bosses in the milk industry have used two obvious tricks when dealing with organized labor. One is to play off the farmers against the workers, and the second is to play off either the farmers or workers against the consumers.

The Borden and Sheffield companies are using trick two in an effort to stave off the milk drivers union, representing 20,000 workers, in current negotiations in the New York area.

Before any contract has even been settled, these big milk companies announced a raise in the price of milk of one cent per quart and they threaten another increase shortly.

Of course, company propaganda says that the increase became necessary because of the demands of the union movement.

The companies claim that union demands for wage increases, limitation of production, a five day week, and other standard concessions make a higher cost of production and milk prices must go up.

There is an obvious answer to this propaganda. It is a brief analysis of the profits made by these companies. Borden's and Sheffield make millions yearly.

Public Support

Labor has a right to more than it has been getting in this industry. And labor can get public support if it shows up the company's huge profits.

We remember very well a similar experience in Ohio in which the milk drivers union around the Akron area fought and obtained better conditions and wage increases, etc., despite the usual hue and cry of the companies on increased costs.

But after the union won, the companies refused to deal with the farmers and rejected their demands for an increase in the price of milk sold to the companies. "We've had to give it all to labor," the bosses cried.

That kind of propaganda is dynamite. It plays off the farmers against the workers, and too often in the past succeeded in accomplishing this reactionary aim.

In particular, the Ohio farmers were at first enraged at this argument and tended to blame the union for the company refusal to \$2.00 per hundred weight instead of \$1.50, if our memory serves us correctly.

Here, the C.I.O. movement intervened to straighten out the mess, in cooperation with the milk drivers union.

A joint committee of organized labor and the farmers' milk association took up the battle of the farmers.

Labor put picket lines around the milk companies. Farmers came into town for miles around to help. Milk supplies were cut off.

But above all, labor organized a first class publicity campaign, and explained the whole matter to the workers and the farmers and the consumers.

Analyzing Profits

Analysis of the Borden Company profits proved that they could pay the farmers and the workers more. This was emphasized over and over again.

A brief history of how the bosses used labor against the farmer and vice versa was related. All this was done on radio programs which were well publicized and thus received wide hearings.

The result has been that both the milk drivers and the farmers have benefited. A more harmonious relationship between them has resulted.

Of course, in many localities like Minneapolis where organized labor has a shrewd leadership with a progressive outlook, the old stunts don't work so easy.

The new gag is to organize an "Associated Farmers" organization, a fake business-inspired, boss-paid strike breaking outfit. This money outfit ostensibly speaks for the farmers . . . and always goes after the union movement.

Its final and complete exposure came recently before the wages and hours hearings in Washington. This outfit spends all its time explaining why the poor farmers, the agricultural workers and sharecroppers should be exempt from minimum rates, that is, should continue to work for slave wages.

Discussing the National Convention Issues

Dissenting Opinion on Ludlow Referendum

By ARTHUR BURKE

The death agony of our decaying, rotting system has placed the most catastrophic of all imperialist explosions immediately before us. Failing the intervention of the proletariat, the coming bath of blood will positively throw all humanity backward for decades to come.

The most vital life and death question thus facing those who have voluntarily banded together to liberate humanity from the class yoke, is the war problem. All of us in the 4th International unhesitatingly accepted this.

The War Pressure

The pressure of the bourgeoisie correspondingly increases as the war draws closer. The subjectified expression of the class conscious economic strata—political parties—have all, with the modified exception of the S.W.P., come out for the war in advance. This is a most reliable barometer for measuring such pressure.

Even the S.W.P., however, is not immune and this is manifested in the steadily growing opportunism of its leadership. The watering down of revolutionary defeatism, the espousal of the Ludlow amendment and a Labor Party, to reveal to all with eyes to see how J. P. Cannon and Co. will answer the hail of repressions that are sure to come.

Tailendism vs. Historical Materialism

In revising one of the most basic tenets of Marxism—the necessity for the class independence of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie as expressed in the necessity for the political and organizational anatomy of the Marxian vanguard at all times—the S.W.P. leadership has likewise jettisoned the historical materialist mode of approach. The opportunists now proceed with the methodology of tailendism, and support of Ludlow's nostrum is a perfect example. Instead of beginning from the objective economic factors as historical materialists do, the Pundits begin with the subjective prejudices of the masses.

In his "Capital", Marx posits the inevitable contraction between manual and intellectual labor in a class society. The exploitation at the point of production, poverty, insecurity, family cares, etc., drain the physical and mental energy of the masses. The moneyed classes are able to impose their morals, dogmas, illusions, and lies upon the rest of society by virtue of control of social propaganda instruments and through its monopoly of leisure time.

If the masses were not held bound with backward prejudices and illusions—if they thoroughly understood their role in society, there would obviously be no need for a Marxian Party. From the dominance of illusions among the exploited we have not only derived the need for a vanguard but have vouchsafed the necessity to swim against the stream and this particularly in time of war when illusions are more prevalent than at any other period. The World War at first had the support of the masses. The Tailendists, basing themselves not on the solid economic truths but on the "sentiments" of the masses naturally supported the war. Logically considered, this is the inevitable outcome of such an approach.

"American" Prejudices

In the U.S. in particular, the prejudices of the masses are reflected in faith in capitalist legality; i.e., elections, the constitution, courts, etc. The gap between the economically ripe conditions for socialism and the backward political faiths of the American workers will only be bridged when these faiths ARE SHATTERED through experiences in the class struggle. Those who in any way preach confidence in the capitalist legality only foster the lies and deception of the American ruling class. Socialism, say the Stalinists, is economically necessary . . . but "the masses aren't ready". Herein is the formula of capitulation.

II

Marxists and the Ludlow Bill

The Ludlow bill provides for a national referendum before Congress can declare war upon another country unless the hemisphere of the Americas is actually invaded.

1. Firstly, reactionary imperialist opposition to this bill does not necessarily signify that revolutionists should support it, any more than fascist opposition to Roosevelt should determine our support of him.

2. The war which the working class must conduct against imperialist war is hindered, not promoted by pacifist, middle class illusions. Writes Lenin: "We must face the issues squarely and call things by their proper names: WE MUST TELL THE WORKERS THE TRUTH". In one breath we say that the American government will transform itself into a fascist dictatorship in time of war, and in another we foster the illusion that the ruling class can conduct a legitimate, democratic referendum at such a time. Who but fakery can gain from this double system of bookkeeping?

3. "Pacifism begins when war ends, and ends when war begins." Histories have shown that where pacifist "remedies" are not outright deceptions, they are the most dangerous of drugs which only paralyze the fighting power of the proletariat. Honest pacifists—(LaPollette) promote this unconscious, but what are we to think of alleged Marxists who supposedly know better?

4. Ludlow's resolution likewise promotes the moth-eaten imperialist fraud of "aggressive" and "defensive" capitalist states. Each imperialist power makes this distinction and endeavors to foist the onus of "aggression" upon the other in order to win mass support for the war.

5. The resolution further equates the entire Western Hemisphere with the territory of the U.S. proper, thus acknowledging Latin America as a protectorate of Yankee imperialism.

6. A la the disarmament fake, the referendum illusion diverts attention from the necessity of a consistent class struggle policy against war every day in the year, because it cultivates the notion that when the "real" war danger faces us in the remote future, the masses will be able to avert by the mere casting of a ballot on some specific date.

7. To support the Ludlow resolution is to inculcate in the minds of the workers the idea

that war can be "prevented" or fought by means other than THE CLASS STRUGGLE, that imperialist war can be averted otherwise than by the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

NOTE: The points adduced in this part were once specifically accepted by the Political Committee. The P.C. has never once seriously reanalyzed the arguments to show the basis for their rejection. I challenge the P.C. to do so.

III

The S.W.P. takes refuge under the usual skirts of "critical support". The bourgeoisie is surely shaken to its roots by the imposing nature of this "criticism". When it does appear (and how often does it appear) it takes the form of a mournful bleating to the effect that the bill is being "emasculated", that the referendum should apply even when "our" hemisphere is invaded (?).

In its recent program of action the City Committee of local N.Y. places the Ludlow Bill in the forefront of the "anti-war" struggle. (!!) Indeed, even speakers' outlines will be drawn up for street corner meetings to propagandize the bill. We are, in reality, here substituting the Ludlow Bill for the policy of revolutionary defeatism.

Conclusion

We must advocate the class struggle policy of revolutionary defeatism as the only means of fighting the war. We must do all in our power to expose pacifist illusions. We must become known as the only revolutionary anti-war party. These are fundamental.

At the same time that we dispel the Ludlow illusion, we can capitalize on the present confused anti-war sentiment supported by a majority of the workers. We can expose the spurious nature of the imperialist yowls of "defense of democracy" by pointing to their opposition to this bill. This not only bares the lies of "democracy" but likewise proves that the imperialists themselves do not and cannot accept or acknowledge peaceful "legal" means of fighting war. Likewise we point out that even if the "miracle" of a referendum does occur it can only be along the forceful lines of Hitler's plebiscites.

This policy would fruitfully capitalize on the present anti-war groping of the masses, expose the anti-democratic nature of the imperialists, dispel pacifist illusions and consistently point to the class struggle means of the socialist revolution as the only way out.

On Making the Appeal A Paper for the Masses

STATEMENT ON THE SOCIALIST APPEAL BY THE AKRON BRANCH

(Continued from last issue)

Some of our propaganda can be more concretely expressed. In general we have a better chance of getting the ear of the worker if we develop our propaganda from the material confronting the worker in the bourgeois press. For instance, there was no better way to develop our anti-war propaganda than by taking the issue of the sinking of the submarine Squalus and writing an article along the theme of "What Really Sank the Squalus!" From this point of view the stories on the tenement fires in New York were excellent, first, in making a general attack on capitalism, and second, in developing the need for a real housing program. Similar capital could have been made in explaining the mechanics of imperialism through the visit of the king and queen.

(3) Our material should have more human interest. There is a dearth of feature material in our press. Yet it is interesting to note that the articles which have gone over best with persons outside the movement were ones like the story on Brenda Frazier, the editorial on the boloney salesman in congress, the workers' correspondence (what there has been of it), the rats in Minneapolis, and in general Bill Morgan's stories, though they are a little long.

Shop Stories

We need more stories on women in the shop, shop conditions, novel strike techniques when they are used, youth and the labor movement, incidents culled from other labor press, working class disasters, working class humor, etc. All of this should be treated in feature style, and should inferentially or directly draw our revolutionary conclusions. This approach has two advantages: first, it catches the workers' eye because it is simple, appealing, and concerns persons like himself (anyone likes to read about other persons in a situation similar to one's own), and secondly, it proceeds from the concrete, isolated incident to the general political conclusion—one of the best propaganda approaches.

Workers have also commented on one other deficiency in

our agitational appeal. That is the lack of humor. Humor is a powerful weapon. Anyone who has been in a strike situation knows the satirical songs that are made up, the jokes that are passed around, the verbal rough-housing that the cops and the scabs are given, and the biting sarcasm in the strike bulletins. Comrades will remember with what effectiveness humor was used in dramatizing the Minneapolis strike. Many comrades will recall having seen reproductions of humorous broadsides distributed in Russia during the period of the seizure of power. There is a good reason for the use of such material. Few things are better for toppling over respect for bourgeois institutions and personalities than a good healthy wisecrack. Nowhere in the world has humor in the form of the comic strip, the wise crack, the cartoon, the tall story, and the joke been developed to such an extensive degree as in this country. We should draw upon this reservoir. Humor, naturally, must be judiciously used. But it should be used. A good median was struck in the "Notebook of an Agitator" which ran for a few times in our press some time ago.

Small Features

(4) We need more small feature material. Diversified small feature material would help to brighten up the Appeal. A feature such as Scissorbill Sam ("The Bosses' Man"), which runs in the Northwest Organizer, would prove very popular if the way the Organizer readers receive it is any indication. Similarly, our anti-Stalinist work could be very effectively carried on by the regular use of the cut, "Stalinist Press at Work," with a nice, juicy C.P. quote beneath.

There should be a regular, snappy column on branch activity. Likewise there should be a column on youth activity. There should be a good column for women; we are woefully weak in our appeal to working class women. In this respect, incidentally, it has been suggested that recipes for persons on relief be run. A column in a modified Winchell style, similar, say, to the one formerly run by Bill Reich, would prove a popular feature.

War Column

In view of the impending war crisis, a column called "Twenty-five Years Ago this Week," giving one or two line summaries of the events of 1914 would afford an instructive parallel. A news behind-the-news column, dealing with the administration activities, would go over well during this pre-election period. The question box was a good idea and should have been retained.

Short book reviews could well be run in the Appeal. They should not be in the New Internationalist style, however. Too often, unfortunately, the N. I. reviews are used merely to show off the erudition of the reviewer. The reader gains no insight into the book whatever. Book reviews in the Appeal should cover at least these three points: (1) What the book is about, (2) what is wrong with the book, and (3) what we can gain from the book.

Typography

From the typographical point of view more typographical aids should be used. The ears could be used to better advantage for ballyhooing the contents of the paper. There should be as much art as the budget will allow. There should be more boxed material. The solid inside pages should be broken up as much as possible.

(5) Some of the present departments can be improved in certain respects. The column idea in the twice-a-week Appeal was a good one, but a certain improvement could be made. In general the columns are too long. They could also be broken up by the use of bold face type, etc. Paul G. Stevens' column is good in that it concretizes the meaning of internationalism. Dwight Macdonald's column, which unfortunately at times has a somewhat patronizing air, could probably do the best job if it were directed toward the winning of intellectuals. In many respects comrade Macdonald is best qualified for that job.

The editorials should be snapped up. The thumbnail editorials are a good idea. They should not be printed in smaller type, however.

Carlo's cartoons are an extremely important part of our paper. He has an excellent,



INVITATION TO CONVENTION DELEGATES:

All those Convention delegates attending sessions in New York City who are either branch literature agents, or connected in any way with Appeal circulation, are urged and invited to consult with the manager during their stay.

We would like to receive first hand reports on current Appeal activities, as well as take up various problems relating to future Appeal circulation. So just step into the office at 116 University Place while you're here!

SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH AT WORK:

The Frisco branch, which recently had to re-organize its entire literature department, is hard at work on new fields. Under the capable direction of Eloise "El" Booth they are making a drive to get longshoremen as regular readers of the Appeal. They intend taking a total of 150 copies per week which will be utilized for propaganda work among these men.

TAKE THE APPEAL ON YOUR VACATION:

Many comrades and sympathizers will be taking a few weeks off during the summer to spend at some camp or other.

The Appeal is prepared to

send bundle orders to these people at their camps. Already two comrades, Miriam Gerson and Lou "Zinov" Becker have arranged for this.

We will send all bundles at the usual bundle order rate. Send in your requests to the Appeal office.

Subscriptions continue to hold up nicely and well above an average of 50 per week. This is primarily due to the fine work of the Minneapolis branch. New York City—the other hand—has completely fallen down in its sub work in the past month. What's wrong, New York? How about visiting some of those expired subscriptions we gave you? Here's the list for the week:

MINNEAPOLIS	19
Chicago	10
Foreign	5
Massachusetts	3
Indiana	3
Newark	3
St. Louis	2
Los Angeles	2
Iowa	2
Philadelphia	1
Connecticut	1
Ohio	1
Wisconsin	1
New York City	1
Detroit	1
Rochester	1
Total	56

bold style, and generally speaking the cartoons are extremely effective. A turn toward the American idiom ("The Gyp Joint" approaches what we want), and a consequent turn away from rather abstract drawings such as "The Real Ideology," which was difficult to understand, would enhance the value of Carlo's work. The retention of the cartoon on the front page is a good idea.

What to Do

Such are our ideas on the Socialist Appeal. In presenting them there is no question in our mind, obviously, of watering down our program, curtailing the "foreign" news, "getting less political," etc., etc. It is simply a question of presenting our program in the most palatable and effective manner. We don't want to make a family almanac out of the Socialist Appeal.

To achieve this new orientation in the Appeal we believe that the following three things are necessary: (1) The Appeal staff (which has been doing a good job under difficult conditions, let it be remarked) must put into practice this new orientation, (2) the national leadership and the branches as well must take up seriously the question of sending in news regularly to the Appeal, and (3) equally serious efforts must be made to secure worker correspondents for our press.

While we regard this statement as a composite of suggestions which must be flexibly applied, and while we recognize that there will always be exceptions to the points made, nevertheless we regard the course indicated as being the generally correct one for the coming period. We recognize that this new orientation will be no open sesame to the masses; other problems, which will be discussed at the convention, are involved here. But we do believe that the suggestions embodied herein will go a long way toward making the Socialist Appeal a much better organizer for the party than it is at present.

JOINT A.F.L., C.I.O. LABOR DAY PARADE

ST. LOUIS—Attesting to the growing desire of unity in the ranks of labor, the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. of Granite City, Madison, and Venice announced that they will unite their forces for a joint parade on Labor Day. At the head of the column a banner showing the clasped hands of both labor organizations will be carried. The two labor bodies have 10,000 members in the Tri-Cities.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

WANTED: Comrade to share unfurnished apartment. Lower East Side. Shower, refrigerator, steam. Rent: \$15 per month. See Ben Hall in the Y.P.S.L. office.

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Mrs. Rubens "Released", Spins New Plot on Kremlin's Order

(Continued from Page 1)

ing passports were all Stalinists, the statement of Mrs. Rubens alleging her husband to be a fascist has all the earmarks of falsehood. For it would follow that if Rubens were a fascist, the same would hold true for his intimate American associates. That both Rubens and his American cohorts are Stalinists was previously supplied by the Socialist Appeal.

Stalinist Connections

Edward Blatt, lawyer-mouthpiece for Rubens, now serving a two year prison rap for his activities in the passport ring, is a Stalinist whose range of connections with the C. P. include David Manokoff, former Brooklyn organizer of the Young Communist League.

Ossip Garber, at whose Fifth Avenue photographers salon Rubens occupied desk space, was described by his brother-in-law as being "communistic."

Imre Klein, whose last known activity was in connection with the Stalinist slander campaign against Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 and who granted Rubens an editorship with Galleon Press, a fact confirmed by Mrs. Rubens in her interview, is a notorious Stalinist trouble-shooter.

Used Lettish Group

Also significant of the fact that Mrs. Rubens is spinning a G.P.U.-inspired lie about the "fascist" tendencies of her husband is the fact that the Latvian-born Rubens used the Lettish wing of the Stalinist movement as a recruiting ground for his ring of passport forgers. The Latvian Unity Society of the Stalinist International Labor Defense provided Ernest Weichen, who sold his naturalization papers to the ring, and Edward Peterson, at whose

Walton Avenue home in the Bronx lived John Blank, alias John Apsit, fugitive defendant at the New York trial.

That Mrs. Rubens should have pitched in to describe her husband as a fascist is the price which she is apparently paying the G.P.U. for her release from prison. But like all frame-ups arranged by the G.P.U., Mrs. Rubens' story of her husband's fascist leanings is as thin as a soap bubble. As the only proof of her husband's fascism, Mrs. Rubens cited the fact that Rubens was fond of playing a phonograph record of the Italian Fascist Anthem, "Giovanezza." There is nothing else in Mrs. Rubens' interview to establish her husband's fascist leanings, leave alone his actual fascist connections or any overt act in connection with a fascist power. On the other hand, all of Rubens' known connections point conclusively to the G.P.U. itself.

Suspicious "Vagueness"

Harold Denny, N. Y. Times Moscow correspondent, present at the interview with Mrs. Rubens, described her as "vague about her husband's business." If after travelling all over the face of Europe with one's husband, making some 45 entries and departures from Central European countries, a woman still remains "vague" about her husband's business, then she is fit material for a nursery rhyme.

Unable to pin the charge of "Trotskyism" on Rubens, an attempt made at the time of his arrest in November 1937 by the Soviet Embassy in Washington and echoed in the Soviet press, the G.P.U. has come forward with a new theory, this time painting Rubens as a "fascist." And in order to execute the job well, the G.P.U. took more than two years to hunt

around for an angle to this latest frame-up, resorting, finally, to the expedient of using Rubens' own wife against him.

Show Trial Ahead

As indicated by the Socialist Appeal in previous articles on the Rubens case, particularly at the time of the New York trial of Rubens' American pals, the failure to establish the political identities of the members of the passport ring will ultimately see the G.P.U. rush in with ready-made political labels. Mrs. Rubens' description of her husband as a fascist, reflecting on his convicted American cronies and in flagrant violation of their proven Stalinist affiliations, is the first step in that direction.

Once having achieved the smear of fascism against Rubens and his American Stalinist pals, the G.P.U. will proceed with its plan for a public show trial of Rubens. That it may take place in the near future is indicated by the fact that Mrs. Rubens, now a star witness in the case, has been granted a temporary permit to remain in the Soviet Union for the next six months. Ostensibly permitted to remain in the Soviet Union for a six months' period in order to "determine" the whereabouts of her missing husband, Mrs. Rubens will wake up one morning to find her husband in the prisoner's dock, playing the role of "voluntary confessor" to a plot against Stalin. As Mrs. Rubens significantly told the foreign correspondents, preparing them for a "confession" from her husband, "I asked the examiner why Russians confessed. He said it was because they were ashamed." According to Mrs. Rubens, her husband tacitly admitted his shame when he told her, "I am a criminal in the Soviet Union."

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Information, Please

For some time now we have been told by the press of the Socialist Workers Party that the fate of the workers of the world turns to a large extent on how the crucial situation in France develops. I agree entirely. But I have been, to put it mildly, disappointed with the way the S.W.P. press has covered the French front. The recent developments in the P.S.O.P. and the relation of the P.O.I., the London Bureau and the Fourth International, to them—this most central of all themes has been touched on only in the most gingerly way. The cut-and-dried account of the P.S.O.P. congress which was printed in the *Appeal* of June 23—the entire story being told, in the most unlightening and perfunctory way, in about 500 words—this is a recent case in point. I don't see why the *Appeal* can't find a Paris correspondent who will send in regular articles interpreting such things as the Stalinists' attitude toward the Daladier regime, the latest tendencies in the P.S.O.P., the rumored right-wing split in the French C.P., and so on. I realize that the French situation, from the standpoint of the Fourth International, is at present both delicate and complex. But that seems to me all the more reason why it should be fully discussed in the *Appeal*. Ostriches, not revolutionists, hide their heads in the sand.

Add: Kremlin Kultur

There have been objections to my inclusion of Eisenstein, Shostakovich and Meyerhold in last week's "agony column" on the grounds that, since the date of the news stories I quoted, all three of these artists have been taken back into official favor. As for the first two, the price they have paid for reinstatement in the Kremlin's good graces is the abandonment of their experimental techniques in order to turn out the most banal and conservative work (Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky*; Shostakovich's latest symphony), utterly lacking in the qualities that made them world-famous. As for Meyerhold, I quote from today's *N. Y. Times*: "MOSCOW, June 23—Vsevolod Meyerhold . . . was taken from his Moscow home by secret police night before last and locked in a cell at Lubyanka prison. . . . His arrest surprised Soviet stage and literary circles because recently he seemed to be coming back gradually into favor."

"Egyptian Socialism"

In the May issue of *Jewish Frontier* there is an extremely interesting article by Solomon Schwartz on "Social Legislation in the Soviet Union". Schwartz begins with a point which fits neatly into the thesis of Trotsky's recent article in the *New Internationalist*: namely, that the Soviet bureaucracy which used to masquerade as part of the working class, in the last year has openly asserted its differentiation from the workers. They don't, of course, call themselves "bureaucrats". No, the term the press now uses for these gentlemen is—"the intelligentsia"! "Under the banner of the 'intelligentsia,'" writes Schwartz, "there is be-

ing consummated a process which has practically nothing to do with that name. That process is the social self-assertion of the upper stratum of the Party and Soviet bureaucracy and its 'liberation' from the intimate ties of the proletarian ideology."

Early last December the press began printing scores of letters from Stakhanovites, Udar-niks, straw bosses, and, of course, "intelligentsia", 'exposing' lax discipline and low production in the factories and 'demanding' strict laws be passed to remedy this. In the Ural machine plant, for instance, where this 'spontaneous' movement of protest began, *Pravda* indignantly reported that in the eleven months up to last December, there had been no less than 7,978 cases of unexcused absences from work. Schwartz points out, however, that actually this represents only an average absence per worker of one-half day a year.

These letters got action at once. (The pen is mightier than the sword!) Without consulting the much-publicized Soviet parliament, a flat violation of the much-publicized Soviet constitution, the Kremlin in quick succession put through a series of labor regulations of unprecedented severity. On December 20 it decreed the introduction of the "work passport", that ultimate in control of the working class, first introduced by Napoleon III in 1854 as the "livret ouvrier", and the very same sort of "fink book" as the New Deal's Maritime Commission, backed up by the Kremlin's American agents, is now trying to impose on American seamen. Hitler re-introduced it into Germany in 1935. During the whole campaign of letters-to-the-editor, by the way, no one dared suggest this work-book idea, and it was only after the Kremlin had issued its decree that its "innumerable spokesmen began to vie with each other in glorifying the new regulation."

More edicts were issued on December 28 last, again without consulting any one—parliament, trade unions, even the Party—outside the top ranks of the Kremlin bureaucracy. These greatly extended the time a worker must be employed in a plant before he becomes eligible for sick benefits, cut down the period expectant mothers were given time off with pay from eight weeks before and eight weeks after the birth to five weeks before and four weeks after, required workers to give one month's (instead of one day's) notice before quitting a job, and ordered heads of factories, on pain of severe punishment, to discharge at once any worker who, without valid excuse, is either absent from work or over twenty-minutes late at any time. Finally, all workers who give up their jobs, whether they are fired or whether they leave of their own free will, are to be automatically dispossessed from their homes within ten days, regardless of whether the Housing Bureau has provided another dwelling for them. Thus the Soviet worker is shackled hand and foot to his job, a cog in the apparatus of Soviet production. The "socialism" Stalin is building in one country is coming to have an increasingly Egyptian flavor to it.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

WENDELL PHILLIPS

(Nov. 29, 1811-Feb. 2, 1884)

In a small mid-western town a mob of respectable people invaded the printshop of Elijah Lovejoy. They dragged him out, did these good northerners, an lynched him. Lovejoy had infuriated them with abolitionist agitation. The year was 1837—the Civil War was some twenty-odd years off.

Wendell Phillips, well-to-do Harvard man, went to a meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, called to discuss the murder of Lovejoy. Social problems hadn't agitated him much before. True, he had attended one or two abolitionist meetings, but that was the extent of his social protest. In fact, he went that evening to Faneuil Hall not so much out of aroused indignation as out of liberal interest. But Wendell Phillips that night changed the course of his life.

A Champion of Truth

The Assistant Attorney General of Massachusetts took the platform to speak his approval of the lynching. Hardly had the Attorney General sat down when, burning with fury, Phillips jumped on the platform and delivered an impassioned denunciation of the slave system, the murder and those who would condone both. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to stop him. When he finished, the placid Bostonians cheered themselves hoarse. Of a sudden, Phillips had become a leading spokesman of the cause against slavery—along with Lloyd Garrison.

His friends thought him insane. It was all right to show some sympathy for the slaves, to contribute money to the abolitionist movement, even to attend a meeting. But to plunge wholeheartedly into freedom's cause, to submerge oneself in the fight against chattel slavery, to devote one's life to an ideal—that was something altogether different.

Phillips, however, did precisely that. A "Knight-Errent of Unfriendly Truth" he spent one night in a valley speaking to a few people, the next in a large city addressing a huge crowd. Often he had to leave the meeting-hall under protection. For the respectable people who had lynched Lovejoy and beaten Garrison, would have been glad to do as much to him. At one meeting the town's "respectables" roared so loud Phillips could not be heard; he nevertheless continued speaking, addressing himself to the newspapermen: "While I speak to these pencils I speak to a million men. We have got the press of the country in our hands; whether they like it or not, they know that our speeches sell their papers."

Because a lawyer had to swear fidelity to the Constitution, Phillips in 1842 gave up his

practice. "My curse be on the Constitution of the United States", . . . which defends slavery. He was as caustic with the scriptures which sanctified slavery.

His enemies called him "nigger-friend". And a friend of the Negro he was; looking beyond formal emancipation to real equality. When, the Civil War over, Garrison and other abolitionists were content to give up the fight, he insisted upon the continued existence of the Anti-Slavery Society until full suffrage rights were granted.

With the Labor Movement

His great distinction, however, was that unlike most of the abolitionist leaders he was an active supporter of the labor movement. Standing for the "abolition of chattel slavery and wage slavery", Phillips attacked the profit system and all forms of social oppression. He supported women's suffrage when that was far from being a popular cause. He defended the Russian Nihilists, attacked the suppression of the Irish people by the British tyrants, and honored John Brown for his courageous stroke against slavery. And in the fight for liberty and against tyranny, he sought to rouse the working class to action.

As a candidate of the Labor Party, he ran in 1870 for the Massachusetts governorship. His platform said that "Labor is entitled to all it creates." Attacking corruption and the profit system he stumped the state. In the election he polled 20,000 votes.

Phillips kept on the go. Speaking, writing, agitating. When he was 70, the Phi Beta Kappa association graced him with an invitation to speak. Phillips who had been Phi Beta Kappa in school had never before in all the years of his activity been invited to address the well-fed sons of Harvard or the smug conservatives of Phi Beta Kappa. Now an old man (they thought), and the issue for which he had principally fought largely settled, they considered it safe to hear him. Phillips saw the humor of the situation, but he spoke. He spoke to them about the duties of a "Scholar in a Republic" . . . to probe, to criticize, to fight exploitation of man by man, to stand on the side of social justice.

Writes the Chicago "labor" paper, the *Wrecker*, alias the *Midwest Daily Record*: "It is not too late to drum the fascist General Mosely out of the army he has discredited" (for his vicious blasts against workers and his general all around ratishness). Once upon a time the Communist Party, whose paper this is, would have told us that the general is but the rotten ripe fruit of militarism, the watch dog of capitalism.

Focus of War Situation Shifts From Far East to Danzig Arena

(Continued from Page 1)

Danzig Coup Awaited

Meanwhile all the now-familiar stages of a Nazi offensive are unfolding around the issue of Danzig. An effort is apparently being made to put on a "cold" coup in the so-called Free City, which voted the usual 99.4 percent Nazi in its last elections. The city is being filled with storm troopers and the Poles are being worn down by a slow process of cutting away their authority, piece by piece.

The idea is that one fine day soon Danzig will proclaim itself part of the Reich. Poland will hesitate just a little too long and its fine friends in London and Paris will ditch it just as they did Czechoslovakia. That appears to be the general trend of the calculations in Berlin.

Grist to Nazi Mill

Fine grist, of course, to the Nazi mill is the bog-down of the negotiations in Moscow for Russia's entry into what the *New York Times* likes to call the "peace front"—i.e., the Anglo-French side of this monster gang war. If there was any doubt about the bogdown and the wishful character of the optimistic predictions of a week ago in London and Paris, it was dispelled on Thursday by a blistering editorial in *Pravda*, Joe Stalin's own organ.

The editorial was signed by Andrei Zhdanov, Stalin's latest copy boy, who said it expressed his "own" opinion—but we all know what happens to *Pravda* writers whose opinions do not happen to agree with Stalin's. The *Pravda* editorial, of course, represents the official view of the Stalin government.

The parleys, said Zhdanov, have "entered a blind alley" because the British and French still want "an agreement under which the U.S.S.R. would play the role of a hired man, carrying on its shoulders the entire load of the engagement. No self-respecting country would accept such an agreement if it does not want to be a plaything in the hands of people who want someone to pull a hot coal out of the fire for them." Zhdanov charged that the French and British are deliberately sabotaging the negotiations in order to "exploit the imaginary stubbornness of the U.S.S.R. before the eyes of public opinion in their own countries" in order to "help them to strike a bargain with the aggressors."

Both Sides Stall

What Zhdanov says about the British and French may be quite true. What he does not say is that it can be said with equal truth about the Soviet government itself. There has been plenty of stalling on both

sides but the main stall has been on Russia's part.

The present "blind alley" of the negotiations is exactly where Stalin has wanted to drive them in order to show Hitler that he remains ready to come to an understanding—even a tacit one—that will leave Hitler free to engage his rivals in the West without fear of embroilment with Russia.

No doubt the British and French would like to sic Germany onto Russia and keep the strategic sideline berth for themselves. The Russians would like to do just the opposite. This is all perfectly natural. That's how things go in gang warfare and the Russians are forced in this situation to play according to the rules of such warfare.

Life and Death for Poland

It is this situation, almost more than anything else, that is encouraging Hitler to make a stab for Danzig and the Polish Corridor in the hope that the British and French, seeing no help from Russia, will back down again.

Whether they will be able to back down however, is precisely the question. Danzig may be just a minor note in the terrible disharmony that screeches around the heads of Chamberlain and Daladier. But to Poland it is a matter of life and death.

The British and French have given explicit and solemn and oft-repeated pledges of immediate assistance to Poland should the Poles fight in de-

WOODRUM BILL DOOMS JOBLESS TO STARVATION

(Continued from Page 1)

swer to the youth is to fling it the miserable appropriation of \$123,000.

The terrible situation among the unemployed in the United States is mirrored in a recent Gallup Poll. For many millions the steel doors of private industry have closed forever. The unemployed know this. But to act, they must know this too: their condition is due to the decaying system of capitalism. They must realize that the so-called leaders, the Lewises, Greens and Browners, have deliberately avoided the answer. For the only answer is to fight the real enemy, the Roosevelt War Deal and the W.P.A. administration by militant mass action from coast to coast.

Minn. Farmer-Labor Confab Skirts Basic Problems

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS — On Saturday, June 17, the Minnesota Farmer Labor Association held its first state-wide conference since the catastrophic defeat of November. This conference was called to discuss the important problems which confront the workers and farmers of Minnesota and the U. S.

It met at a time when the world is on the brink of another world war, when fascism is raising its head in every corner, when the unemployment problem is becoming more and more acute in every section of the state. It met within a few days of a most significant election in the city of Minneapolis when the forces of labor rallying from the November Farmer Labor defeats united under a trade union committee to make a surprisingly strong bid for power.

No Progressive Program

One might reasonably assume that a Farmer-Labor Party which has held power would be realistic enough to give these problems serious consideration and to draw the necessary conclusions of the need for independent political activity under trade union leadership, free from entanglements with the war-mongering New Deal. There should have been sufficient time in the ten-hour meeting to lay out a bold program of progressive action.

This the Farmer-Labor Association failed to do.

Handicapped by the reactionary Stalinist forces and the New Deal politicians, both intent on hamstringing any progressive program of independent political action, the meeting failed to give the positive

fense of what they deem their vital interests.

Pledges Worthless

To be sure, pledges don't mean anything to the bloody-handed boss politicians in London and Paris. They're worth about as much as Roosevelt's "new deal" election pledges. But this time if the French and British do not call Hitler's hand they'll have to throw in their own. The bloc of alliances hastily fashioned in the last few months will fall to pieces. Bloodlessly victorious once more in Europe, Hitler and his bus-boy Mussolini will turn with a will to the French and British empires overseas. Britain will be less able than ever to cope with the Japanese in China and will render still more difficult Roosevelt's job in swindling the American people into a new war.

These are the headaches these days in London while actually Britain and all the other governments concerned are proceeding to call up reserves and distribute their armies, navies and air forces, and giving every indication that they expect the final payoff soon.

SLUM DWELLERS PROTEST BOSTON CLEARANCE PLAN

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

BOSTON, MASS.—The inadequacy of present slum clearance plans was dramatically demonstrated in the Charlestown area of this city a week ago Friday. More than 400 angry residents of the area selected for a low cost housing project shouted their disapproval of the project at the first of twenty-two meetings called by the city council and threatened to barricade their homes against eviction unless they were offered dwellings at equal rent levels.

Mrs. Lillian Lyman, mother of three children, rising to state the case of the tenants, told the eight councilmen that she would refuse to move unless a dwelling similar to her present one and at the same rent was found for her. From every part of the audience came shouts of accord: "Same here," "Where do you expect us to move to?" "We can't afford to move any place else."

Mrs. Lyman told the committee that she now has a five-room house for which she pays \$17. "The best I can get is a four-room back-alley place and then they ask me to pay \$16 rent." Again there were shouts from the audience: "They won't let us rent places if we've got too many children." "They want us to put up deposits for rent, and we haven't got any money."

The people of this and other areas in Boston are badly in need of dwellings better than the ones in which they are at present living. But here, as has been proved in other cities, the slum clearance project works only as a hardship on those who are compelled to move. It is up to the city administration to provide these people with suitable dwellings at low rent while the houses are being built — and then to scale the rents in the newly built houses at levels within the means of the slum dwellers. But the city administration is not likely to do either of these things unless the residents compel the politicians to heed their needs and wants by forceful action.

DEFINITION

"An Indian Stalinist is a brave who has buried the hammer and sickle!" From the "Congress Socialist" of India.

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Upon Whom Shall We Rely to Fight Coughlin?

(Continued from Page 1)

Can the Trade Unions Alone Stop Fascism?

The trade unions, bogged down with the bureaucracies headed by John L. Lewis and William Green, stand helpless before the terrible problems now facing the working class, the half-ruined farmers, the small business men, and the destitute unemployed.

The trade unions as fighting organizations of the working class won huge successes in the past, conquering many of the rights of labor and defending them during the upswing of capitalism. Today under the domination of Lewis and Green the trade unions if left alone and without help face disaster.

Father Coughlin understands the limitless strength of America's laboring people far better than do Lewis and Green with their corner grocery outlook.

That is why he attempts to turn the unemployed, tooth and nail, upon those organized in trade unions.

That is why he denounces the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. over his radio network. That is why he calls strikers "idlers," and speaks of the "jobs they have left."

That is why he calls every militant trade unionist a "communist," a "socialist," a "Jew."

That is why he exerts every ounce of his voice and his pen to build up a terrible hate for the words: *communist, socialist, Jew*.

The trade unions alone, especially as they have been caught in the death grip which democratic capitalism has clamped upon Lewis and Green, cannot meet the situation. A new force is needed and needed badly.

A new weapon of the working class must be forged. An Independent Labor Party, a fighting militant political party of the working class charged with vision, with daring, with invincible boldness must be organized as the battering ram that will smash this entire trashy structure of New Deal politics and the poisonous fascist growths that swell upward from its rotting foundation.

Fascism in America Must Be Stopped!

We must not repeat the mistakes of the labor movement in Italy and in Germany which permitted forgers, sidewalk spiliers, and sideshow adventurers like Mussolini and Hitler to take over power.

The first lesson to learn is not difficult: LABOR MUST DEPEND ON ITS OWN STRENGTH.

Labor must have its own independent political party. Labor must have its own defense guards.

The greatest danger of all is to depend on the Roosevelts, the LaGuardias, the police, and the boot lickers of these former bosom friends of Coughlin and his ilk.

The first task that labor must perform in stopping the fascist movement in America is the organization of a *workers' defense guard*.

Every union local should begin the immediate organization of a guard to protect itself from the certain onslaught of the fascists in the near future.

The sooner these guards are organized the more efficient they will become in protecting the labor movement.

Trained, disciplined, and bold *workers' defense guards* are the ONLY FORCE that can physically stop the fascists from overpowering the labor movement in America. (Concluded in next issue)

Second Edition Going to Press!

FATHER COUGHLIN

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By JOSEPH HANSEN

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Staff Members: **HAROLD ROBERTS**
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SHEPHERD STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
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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.

What They Say

Somebody said a few days ago that "democracy" and "peace" are the two most abused words in the English language. In this country 20 million starving people are asked to get along on the "fruits of democracy" but nobody knows better than those 20 millions that there is no nourishment in that fruit. Our masters give us the democratic right to go hungry and then to die or be maimed on the battlefields they will send us to in the name of "peace." All over the world billions are being poured into ships, guns, and airplanes for the purposes of "peace." Roosevelt is for "peace"—Hitler is for "peace"—the Japanese generals are for "peace."

In the mouths of the rulers and their chorus of chattering monkeys, preachers, ladies' clubs, rotarians, columnists, radio commentators, newspaper editors, labor fakers, Stalinists, so-called socialists, these words become foul poisons, poured down the gullets of the people. So long as we follow them, there shall be for the millions of us no democracy, no peace.

But we of the Socialist Workers Party have a way of meaning exactly what we say. When we speak of democracy, we mean democracy, not the lying plutocracy of the monkeys' chorus. We're fighting for a society in which the great masses of the people shall be free to thrive, to grow, to flourish in minds and bodies amid the plenty provided by the conquered material resources of the earth.

When we speak of peace we mean peace, not an armed truce. We mean a peace solidly established by the very absence of the causes of capitalist war. The war that menaces us all is not caused by this or that evil Fascist dictator but by the terrific conflict between rival capitalists striving for markets, for labor to exploit, for more profits, more wealth, wrung out of the backs and bones of more people. By crushing capitalism and establishing a free socialist commonwealth of nations we shall abolish war and establish a real peace.

It is to this struggle that the Socialist Workers Party dedicates itself. These are the problems that lie behind the organizational problems with which our convention, in session over this week-end, has been wrestling. And our words mean what they say. We're democrats and we're for peace, but we're not for the phoney democracy of the bosses and we're not for the kind of "peace" that ends up in a new boss war. Hail the convention of the Socialist Workers Party and—To work!

Stalin's Russia

Every once in a while now the world is given a glimpse into the dark depths of the purge with which Stalin lashed millions in Russia during the past few years.

When Laurent Beria succeeded the unlamented Yezhov—now a victim of his own brutal regime—it was publicly admitted that thousands of workers had been falsely charged, falsely imprisoned, falsely tortured, and wantonly put to death in the dungeons of Stalin's G.P.U. Now that Andrei Vishinsky, Stalin's prosecutor-in-chief, has been kicked upstairs on his way to the oblivion from which no Stalin tool ever returns, more of the filth is rising to the surface.

The New York Times reports that Vishinsky's successor, a gentleman named Pankratyeff,

told a Moscow conference of prosecutors that people had been arrested recklessly, that the period of investigation had been dragged out "impermissibly" and that suspects had been kept for lengthy periods in jail—and jail in the Soviet Union of Stalin means endless weeks and months and years of moral and physical torture.

Russia faces the present war crisis in a position that is strong only in the most superficial sense. The corrosive force generated by Stalin has eaten deeply into the most vital organs of the country. Its effects will become visible when the strain of war is placed upon it. Only by cutting the Stalinist cancer from itself will the Russian working class be able to emerge victoriously from the momentous conflicts that lie ahead.

Danger Signal

Here is a danger signal—to us and to the labor movement as a whole.

A cross-section of W.P.A. workers and direct relief recipients were asked by the Gallup poll: "Do you think you would be better off or worse off if there were a Republican administration in the White House?"

Better off, said 24%, while another 32% said it would make no difference. In other words, a decisive majority of the unemployed—who overwhelmingly voted for Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936—have lost faith in him.

The Gallup poll's sampling confirms the trend already evidenced in the 1938 elections. Millions upon millions of workers, especially the unemployed—who constitute, with their families, 23 millions—are turning in despair away from the New Deal. And the only alternative to the status quo that they see is the Republican party of Hoover, and they vote for it in their blind desperation. Anything, anything, except what they already have . . . that is the psychology of desperate tens of millions. And not a few of them turn also to the fascist demagogues who lavishly promise everybody everything.

The Gallup poll is a danger signal. It means that, by servilely supporting the Roosevelt administration, the official labor movement is not lifting a finger to prevent the masses from turning to the Republicans and the fascists. Only smug scoundrels like the Stalinists will blame these millions of workers for turning to the Republicans and fascists. These workers are not to blame. The blame is on the labor leaders who offer them no real alternative.

Either the labor movement will undertake the responsibility for defending the interests of the desperate masses, will fight for their right to jobs and relief, and that means fighting against the relief-slashing Roosevelt administration—or the masses will succumb to the demagogy of the Republicans and fascists.

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Education Be Damned

The New York State Legislature is in special session at Albany as a result of the court decision that declared unconstitutional the so-called lump-sum "economy" budget which slashed \$9,700,000 from funds for state aid to schools. With an ear cocked to the great clamor of protest that has arisen over this attempt to make economies by taking them out of the hides and minds of the state's children, the Democrats are making a big play of "fighting" for restoration of the school cuts.

Taking every possible opportunity to place responsibility for the cuts solely at the door of the Republican majority, Gov. Lehman and his fellow-democrats have introduced bills for restorations of the school money and have referred protesting delegations to the Republicans.

But Lehman and his friends are putting up nothing more than a sham battle. The Legislature is going methodically through the budget, changing its form to comply with constitutional requirements and carrying over into it, of course, the economies made at the expense of the schools. As a number of Albany correspondents have sagely pointed out, the Democrats, if they really wanted to make any kind of fight for the schools, would be presenting alternate sources of revenue out of the pockets of those who can well afford it in order to make up the necessary sums. But of this there is no sign.

The bosses don't see any point any more in pouring money into a school system that doesn't pay them dividends. You don't need to educate cannon fodder. You've simply got to push them in front of the cannon. Education was a luxury that the bosses allowed themselves when the going was good. It was a luxury, like "benefits" for the workers. But the time for luxuries is slipping past the bosses. The squeeze is getting harder. They rip away the meager "benefits" they used to throw like scraps to the workers and they are cutting down on schools for the workers' children. The Tweedledee Lehmans and the Tweedledum Republicans both serve the same bosses. That's why Lehman's battle for the schools is only a sham battle.

New Testimony Damning Stalin Policy of Rule or Ruin in Spain

Irving Pflaum, United Press Correspondent, Adds His Testimony to that Already Given by Krivitsky and Araquistain on Stalin's Sabotage of the Loyalist Struggle

By RAY ROBBINS

The rule-and-ruin Stalinist policy in Spain, most recently exposed in the revelations of General Krivitsky and Luis Araquistain, is once again confirmed by the corroborating evidence presented by Irving Pflaum, United Press correspondent behind the Loyalist lines throughout the civil war.

Mr. Pflaum, writing in the May issue of the American Mercury, tells how Stalin used the threat of discontinuing arms shipments to the beleaguered Spanish workers as political blackmail. At first, Stalin hesitated to send munitions to Spain. He wasn't sure that such an action would not interfere with his maneuvers on the diplomatic front with Britain and France. This calculated period of hesitation, during which Stalin sacrificed the Spanish workers to the exigencies of "collective security," covered four months, a crucial period for the whole outcome of the war.

SENDS ARMS—AT A HIGH PRICE
Finally, Stalin decided to back the Spanish struggle, and began to ship arms; making sure that he was paid in good Spanish gold—and paid well in advance.

An ironical letter sent by Caballero, while still Premier, to a friend, is quoted by Pflaum to show the perfidious use Stalin made of the vital arms shipments.

"We would be ungrateful," Caballero says, "and unbending to those who sell us arms—arms which are paid for in gold, cash on the line, and which they use even for blackmail, removing and installing ministries at their pleasure."

Caballero, Pflaum also reports, accused the Stalin gang of withholding munitions at decisive points in the military

struggle in order to further their factional interests.

TAKE CONTROL BY BLACKMAIL AND THREATS

"On three occasions during his incumbency, he (Caballero) said, it would have been possible to strike decisively, perhaps to defeat Franco—at Guadalajara, Pozoblanco, and Aragon—and each time the flow of munitions stopped in time to save Franco."

Caballero says that he was told by the Stalinists that the arms shipments had been held up by the "Non-Intervention." "But I believe," Pflaum reports him as saying, "the prolongation of the war was deliberate. Arms were held back until communist control was assured."

As a result of such ruthless sabotaging and blackmail tactics, Stalin's "democratic" bloodhounds were soon in control of Loyalist Spain. Terror against all opponents, especially directed against the revolutionists, destruction of all the gains made by the workers and peasants toward socialist control, emasculation of the army by the G.P.U. cabal; these were the inquisitorial methods of the Stalinist agents once they were firmly in power.

In the face of the Stalinist measures, the inevitable effect on the workers was demoralization. Pflaum tells the heart-breaking story of the last days of the Loyalist rout. The spirit of both civilians and soldiers had been undermined.

"General apathy took the place of the revolutionary zeal evidenced in the earlier period. The draft displaced the volunteer system. The kind of fighting force that had defeated Franco's trained troops and their foreign reinforcements now gave way to a sullen, 'disciplined,' and continually more spiritless army, chafing under the po-

lice regime of its communist commissars. More than two-thirds of the most ardent and self-sacrificing fighting men, being communist, were insufficiently supplied, and in effect demobilized when their assistance was most needed. More and more Spaniards say, 'What difference who wins; it's tyranny on both sides.'"

POPULAR FRONT POLITICIANS CONVICTED

"When Franco reached the sea, in March 1938, Prieto, still Minister of Defense, told me," Pflaum relates, "It's not munitions so much as cojones (guts). The men don't want to fight as they did in the early days." And no wonder. After the Stalinist blight had passed over the army, the Spanish workers would have to have been made of superhuman material not to lose heart and waver.

The rout of the last days of the civil war thus becomes perfectly clear. The withdrawal of the Loyalist army from Barcelona, handing the city with its great supplies of munitions and foodstuffs to the fascists without the slightest real resistance, stands as a condemnation of Stalinism.

The article by Pflaum is aimed solely at the Stalinists, but it indirectly convicts the cowardly policy of the various Popular Front politicians. Why did Prieto, Araquistain, Caballero and Co. preserve complete silence when what they might have said would have been of the greatest importance in the military struggle? Their extreme eagerness to talk now, when the Spanish workers are finally defeated, is a two-edged weapon. Their mutual accusations, angry and frenzied, sound more and more like the falling out of thieves, each one eager to cover himself by unloading on the others.

Striking a Balance of Labor's Recent Minneapolis Campaign

With the dust of the Minneapolis municipal campaign still settling on one of the most heartening manifestations of independent labor political action of recent years, and with the labor movement of this state still buzzing with talk of the phenomenal showing of the labor slate, it is appropriate to make an estimate of the political struggle through which the Minneapolis unions have come. Briefly, the balance sheet of the campaign reads as follows:

Many Pluses

1. The platform adopted by the April 8 trade union and Farmer-Labor conference, the platform upon which the labor candidates ran, marked a measurable advance over all Farmer-Labor platforms of recent years. It spoke out for a defense of popular civil liberties and for a defense of specific working class rights: "The rights of labor to organize, bargain collectively, picket, strike and strive for better living and working conditions." It opposed the sales tax for the right reason, that such a tax "is a burden on the people least able to pay." It advocated "a municipal public works and housing program to take care of all persons now residing in homes unfit for human habitation." Such a program would have to build decent homes for at least eleven thousand persons now living in squalid quarters.

The platform declared for adequate relief, opposed the concentration camp system advocated by the employers and their boss parties. It opposed "all attempts to return the cost of relief back to the states and the local communities as this is an attempt by large income tax payers to . . . shift the relief burden to the backs of the home owners and the small businessmen."

Almost all of the demands contained in the April 8 platform were progressive as far as they went, but in almost every instance they could and should have been carried further. A criticism of the platform from the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party was issued during the campaign, and will be given in the next article.

2. The most refreshing aspect of the platform and of the entire labor campaign was that none of the candidates tried to

to a support of the Democratic Party. It is this one factor, more than any other, that explains the enthusiasm and the success of labor's political comeback as contrasted to the Farmer-Labor debacle of last fall, when the Benson machine got snowed under when they tried to sell the workers and farmers of Minnesota the tattered remnants of the Roosevelt party. The 1938 elections nationally and every political development since then indicates that the New Deal with its war-mongering and relief-flashing is losing the support of the masses.

Trade Unions Lead
3. For the first time in many years the trade unions led and controlled the campaign through their members on the Volunteer Trade Union and Farmer-Labor Campaign Committee. The Farmer-Laborites on the committee, composed mostly of Stalinists, contributed nothing whatsoever to the campaign, indeed they proved a definite handicap. It was the union committee headed by Seavey and Ogg that raised the finances from the local unions, opened the union headquarters in various wards and carried on and directed the fight for the labor slate.

The Farmer-Labor ward clubs, completely gutted by the disastrous defeat of 1938, played no role. The trade union committees set up in the various wards did women's work for the labor slate. Here is precisely the campaign apparatus that must be developed in all future labor campaigns, in Minneapolis and every other city. It is especially encouraging to note that these trade union committees have not disbanded since the election, but are being organized on a permanent basis in the three wards where they flourished.

Spurned Communist Party
4. If the labor slate silently rejected the New Deal, along with the party of Stassen and Landon, it publicly and vigorously lashed out at the Communist Party. And it didn't do any clownish red-baiting, it called the Stalinists for what they are, the most reactionary force in the labor movement today.

The day has passed in Minneapolis, and is rapidly passing and turn the workers backward everywhere in the world, where

either the Communist Party or Martin Dies can pretend that the Stalinists are reds. They're not, they are war-mongers and supporters of anti-working class politics in every country of the world.

T. A. Elide, labor's mayoralty candidate, bluntly rejected the Communist Party by stating in an open letter that "I have not sought and I do not wish any support or endorsement from the Communist Party. I wish to seek the support of all groups who are sincerely interested in the improvement of the working conditions and living standards of all people who must labor for a living."

Carefully distinguishing between the aims of the Communist Party and the aims of organized labor, Elide said, "I wish to point out that the principles and purposes of the Communist Party do not coincide with a progressive and constructive platform such as I am campaigning on."

Try to Knife Slate
True to their yellow record, the Communist Party threw a knife into the labor slate in the closing days of the campaign by distributing a foul leaflet in the reactionary wards of the city, attributing New Deal sentiments to Elide and otherwise distorting the union campaign. This dirty job is registered in the minds of tens of thousands of workers, and Elide, after the campaign, called them on it.

"At the last minute the old blundering tool of reaction, the Communist Party, peddled its propaganda sheets throughout the most conservative wards and church areas, intensely blanketing the Eighth and Thirteenth Wards, seeking to give the impression their cause would be helped by the election of T. A. Elide. This door-to-door work by the Communist pamphlet peddlers occurred at the same time as my opponent's last minute city-wide distribution of propaganda sheets took place, all aimed to discredit me without giving me an opportunity to answer because of lack of time."

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

June marks an anniversary that should not be passed by without mention. Ten years ago appeared the first number of the Bulletin of the Opposition (Byulletin Oposititsye), the first regularly printed organ of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists.

Leon Trotsky, Natalia Ivanovna Sedov and their son Leon had been banished from the Soviet Union by the G.P.U. a few months earlier, in January 1929, and had taken up residence in Istanbul, Turkey. Stalin's decree banishing the organizer and the sword of the October Revolution was perhaps the greatest single mistake made by the Kremlin autocrat in his self-assigned task of interfering the world revolution. Despite the natural restrictions imposed upon a political exile in Turkey, Trotsky's release from "house detention" in the wilderness of Alma-Ata, where he had been confined for about a year since his expulsion from the Russian Communist party, afforded him his first real opportunity to establish contact with the international movement.

Rearming the Movement

Clearing away the mass of misrepresentation and falsehood spread by the Stalinist machine about the Bolshevik opposition in the Soviet Union was the first job to be tackled—and nothing in our time has more closely resembled Hercules' tasks of cleansing the Augean stables. Inseparably connected with this job went the one of re-arming the international communist movement with the principles and traditions of Marx and Lenin, which the Moscow machine had ridiculed, discredited and then solemnly banned as heresy.

The accomplishment of these tasks would not have been impossible without the Bulletin of the Opposition, but it would have been infinitely harder than it was.

Up to the time it began publication, the only material we could rely upon to give us a true picture of the situation in the Soviet Union and the program of the Bolshevik Opposition—what appeared in the Stalinist press could of course not be relied on at all, then as now—was contained in the episodic scraps which Trotsky or other comrades managed to smuggle out of the Soviet Union. From June 1929 onward, we—and I speak here primarily about our own terribly isolated movement of those days—had at our disposal not only a dependable source of information, but a political-theoretical organ which measured up to the highest standards of the great literature of Marxism. Even nowadays we await each issue with impatience, and just as impatiently the translation of the important articles, which usually means virtually the full contents of the number.

Trotsky's Contributions

It is almost an iron law of the movement, as we have observed it in the last decade, that every backslider and turncoat from Marxism who is abandoning its revolutionary principles, or even those shreds to which he was once attached, covers his retreat by squeaky denunciation of "Trotsky's dictatorship" or the "one-man international" or more of the same. Anyone acquainted with the early years of our international movement, back in the days of Marx and Engels, will easily identify this refrain, if only the names in the latter-day revisionist lament are changed from Marx to Trotsky.

The most merciful thing that can be said about these critics is that they are guilty of the crime of ignorance. They know nothing about the actual functioning of our movement. Those of us who do, understand how absurd is the accusation—more accurately, this pretext for retreat. We who have been eager to learn and fight in the revolutionary struggle, not only at high tide but also at low, know how to appraise justly the invaluable and unique contribution Trotsky has made in enriching the arsenal of the living movement. And unlike the shamefaced "friends" of the revolution, whose much-touted "independence of thought" is conceived by them as license for fluttering around in a thickening daze, we are proud to proclaim ourselves followers of Leon Trotsky.

The Bulletin of the Opposition has played a tremendous role in the crystallizing of our political ideas and in the solidifying of our movement throughout the world, the movement which our enemies are pleased to call—it is a name we readily accept—"Trotskyist."

A Salute to Leon Sedov

No comment on the Bulletin can end without a mention of the comrade who was its effective director from the very beginning, the late Leon Sedov. Soon after his banishment to Turkey, he left for Berlin, where the Bulletin was launched. Although he lived under difficult political conditions, "Lyova" succeeded in editing and managing (and contributing to) the Bulletin until early in 1933. The advent of the Hitler regime meant the end of the German publication of the review. The Nazis banned it, forcing young Sedov to flee to Paris, where publication of the Bulletin was resumed.

Those who had the privilege of knowing this magnificent young revolutionist could learn from his conduct what a model militant should be. His devotion was tireless and profound. His political development—he died at the age of 32—was remarkably rapid and solid. He knew in what proportions to mix boldness, courage and prudence, even though he never tended to lay emphasis on the last-named. Despite surveillance by the G.P.U. and the bourgeois police, he knew his job, knew how to accomplish it, and did accomplish it. It was not only the Bulletin of the Opposition that owed its existence to Leon Sedov.

We evaluated him in life less keenly, alas, than did the G.P.U. We did not realize in time how determined Stalin's hatchet-men were to rid their boss of Leon and his works. Only later we learned of the special attention the G.P.U. had devoted to the young militant for a long time before his death. Only later was it revealed that he had been shadowed daily and almost assassinated one day at a rendezvous which, by happy accident, did not materialize.

Leon died in "mysterious circumstances." But not so mysterious that the hand of the Kremlin butcher is not evident.

His death was a stiff blow to his parents, a blow to the Bulletin, a great blow to our international movement. On the tenth anniversary of the Bulletin we salute the shining memory of the intrepid revolutionist whose name will always be associated with it—Leon Sedov.