### Appeal Readers Can Help Us **Build the Party**

who have no contact with our fices, they stand ready to party branches, but who get march to their designated posts. the Appeal in the mails, at newsstands or from a street every vital industrial center, to salesman-this article is ad- every field of the class strugcressed to you.

We want you in our party. the rest. But if you don't feel quite WE MUST PROVIDE ready, that doesn't mean that the only other alternative is for you to stay on the sidelines.

There are many ways that you could help us right now. Let me suggest one very important way.

this way is, let me first say that work and in the center." our press is only one phase of our activity. It is a big and important phase, for the press is, but a mere pittance of a few in Lenin's phrase, "the collective organizer" of the party, but it is only one phase.

#### FIELD ORGANIZERS: OUR PRESSING NEED

the growth of our party, field fund. organizers constitute our most pressing need. Our party grows entitled, "National office . . only in the proportion that we \$3,400.' expand our staff of professional That was the amount which revolutionists in the center and we felt, would be contributed in the field. Wherever we have toward this work by you Appeal established full-time organiz- readers. ers, there our branches flourish

and grow strong. tionary movement. Selfless, York City.

Those readers of the Appeal devoted, ready for all sacri-We want to send them into gle, where we already have

### THESE ORGANIZERS

In the program of expansion adopted last month by our convention, we decided that we must "increase the staff by the assignment of twenty more To understand how important full-time organizers for field

> Our trained comrades are In our last issue, we launched a drive for \$10,000 to make possible these organizers and the

Among those quotas was one

Give to the anti-war party Get off the sidelines today. we have in our ranks today Give and give as generously as IN GRAND JURY hundreds of young comrades, you possibly can. Send your trained and educated, ready contribution TODAY to the end willing to devote their entire lives to building the revolu- tee, 116 University Place, New

## For Civil War Against American Labor Unions

the American labor movement, in his radio address this Sunday,

"We will fight you in Franco's way", declared the Fascist priest, addressing the trade union movement.

'FRANCO'S WAY' NEED NOT

"We will fight you Franco's way", declares fascist leader

The same day Franco takes another step on his way:

"BURGOS, July 30-Generalissimo Francisco Franco today

decreed that all Spanish men between the ages of 18 and 50

must work fifteen days each year for the State without

pay. . . In effect, General Franco has adopted the law pre-

vailing in some European countries in the Middle Ages when

peasants were required to labor a specified number of days

been abolished, and the unions converted into the Nazi sys-

Franco's way: a state decree setting the daily wage of

Franco's way: an endless chain of concentration camps

Franco's way: daily executions, day in day out, of the

Franco's way: civil war against the masses of the people

There is still time to prevent Franco's way from becoming

There is still time-if we prepare now, quickly and firmly,

to resist the Coughlin fascist gangs who-Coughlin makes no

bones about it-are already organizing, training and arming.

task of winning the workers to the formation of Workers

utterly unprepared, where Franco's onslaught came like a

bolt out of the blue to workers duped to believe that the

Popular Front government would adequately protect them.

terparts, counselled the workers not to build Workers Defense

Guards. Dubinsky swore to Coughlin that his union would

have nothing to do with building Workers Defense Guards.

and Coughlin repays him by calling Dubinsky and the other

Listen to our martyred brothers in Spain, in Germany and

'Don't repeat our mistakes. Prepare well and quickly. Save

yourselves and thereby avenge us. If you win, we shall not

have died in vain in the struggle against fascism.'

Do not listen to the Dubinskys who, like their Spanish coun-

There is still time-if we begin, in every trade union, the

Remember the lesson of Spain, where the workers were

filled with the flower of Spain's workers and peasants.

Franco's way: strikes for better wages and conditions have

**BECOME AMERICA'S WAY!** 

wide radio network, which he for America. entitled "The Call to Action", skirts of the civil authorities, asking these authorities to fight hog: Coughlin with their police instead of meeting Coughlin's followers "shoulder to shoulder" ing in New York and elsewhere and "cheek to jowl." His fol- in the country?. . . The 'Chrislowers, on the other hand, tian Front' is not a debating

"scum" who hid behind the like that in Italy and Germany. Then Coughlin went the whole

"Do you know that units of the 'Christian Front' are formwould "use force" said Cough- society, it is an ACTION society. . . We will fight you in

"It is a death struggle" de- Franco's way."

We want you in our party. groups of members or sympa-Many of you are thinking of thizers, and where within a few joining. Many others want to months they, with the aid of a read our press a while longer field organizer, will build before considering joining. Still branches sufficiently strong to others of you feel that, for one support full-time organizers. reason or other, you must re- Ail we have to do is to prime main for a time on the side- the pump for a little while, and the growing branches will do

ready for this work. They need dollars a week to keep going. further expansion of our press. We published the quotas as-Particularly in this stage of signed to the branches for this

# Coughlin Issues Call

Father Charles E. Coughlin issued a call for civil war against grand jury began its hearing

trade union movement, calling the world has never seen." A them "miserable cowards" and defense mechanism, he stated,

each year for the State without pay.'

tem, where bosses lead the "unions."

the way of America.

Defense Guards

Italy, who say,

workers at 8 pesetas—less than a dollar a day.

Loyalist soldiers who laid down their arms.

trade union leaders "cowards and scum."

# Socialist Appeal

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BUILD WORKERS'

DEFENSE GUARDS

3c a Copy

# Disguised Federal Agents Rioters' in Mpls. W.P.A. Strike

### Ohio Auto Strikers **Beat Back Police Tear** Gas and Bullet Barrage

CLEVELAND, Ohio, July 31-Five thousand infuriated C.I.O. auto workers and sympathizers this morning hurled themselves at an army of 500 armed police at the strike-bound Fisher Body tigating the Minneapolis WPA strike, the plant and drove the cops to cover.

In a two-hour pitched battle, between 6 and 8 this morning, the aroused workers incensed by repeated police brutalities gave blow for blow, amidst heavy clouds of tear gas and in defi-

#### ance of bullets, clubs and horses' hooves, to send the largest aggregation of police ever assembled in this city reeling back behind the plant gates and crying "Truce! Truce!". State of Seige Intermittent fighting has broken out this afternoon again

as workers are mobilizing to

meet the scabs coming out of

in early before the picket lines

A late bulletin received from

B. J. Widick, national labor

secretary of the S.W.P., who is

on the scene of action reports

the complete stoppage of plant

were formed this morning and

are now being held in a virtual

The fighting broke out early

(Continued on Page 4)

Anti -Labor

By House

New Dealers and reaction-

aries alike joined last Saturday

in the House of Representatives to pass the vicious Smith omni-

bus anti-alien, anti-labor bill,

peace times, combines the re-

others which have previously

Outlaws Anti-War Work

The first section of the bill,

rohibiting "incitement to dis-

(Continued on Page 3)

een rejected.

blasting police brutality.

Try to Get Something the plant, the few score who got On Local 544 Leaders At Mpls. Hearing

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS - Confronted operations at the struck Genwith a united front of the entire eral Motors subsidiary. The Minneapolis labor movement in Cleveland Union Leader, organ defense of the WPA strike and of the C.I.O. Council, appeared its leadership, the federal Monday night in a special issue Monday, July 24, on the Minnepolis strike.

Egged on by Attorney Genadministrator Glotzbach, Gov-Despite daily promises of indictments from District Attor-Ley Victor E. Anderson, the adjourned Wednesday light to reconvene next Monday, July 31 at 10 a.m.

Move Against 544

It is becoming quite clear that Murphy and Anderson with the encouragement of the employers are doing their damndest to try to get something on the leaders of the Minneapolis Central Drivers Union, Local

The St. Paul Pioneer Press yesterday headlined the news that "Activity of 'higher-ups' in Minneapolis General Drivers Union 544 during the recent WPA strike in that city is being investigated by the Federal grand jury"; and the Minneapolis Tribune relates that by the enormous margin of 273 Witnesses who told about un- to 48. This bill, one of the most with the strike spent more time in the jury room than did those who told of interference with workers.

### Inquiry Expanded

Now the press reveals that the jury will expand the field of inquiry next week to take in Mankato, Rochester, Albert Lea, Stewartville, Hopkins, Robbinsdale, and St. Paul.

The national administration may prolong the jury hearing for some days yet in order to increase the intimidation of WPA workers, one of the main reasons behind the jury hear-

The hearing opened Monday in a nice dirty atmosphere, with the St. Paul Pioneer Press screaming that scheduled witnesses had received "actual threats" warning them not to appear. The Press was the only Twin Cities paper that carried this lie, and of course presented no evidence to support its talk of "threats." So far about 40 witnesses have been heard, and 70 more are under subpoena for testimony. The witnesses are of three sorts: finks from the WPA sewing project, the scene of the worst sections of the Minneapolis la- cious.

## Agents-Provocateur----Ugly Word, Ugly Fact

We call to the attention of the Federal grand jury, now sitting in St. Paul invesfollowing paragraphs from a story in the daily Minneapolis Tribune of July 24, headed "F.B.I. agents who posed as WPA riot pickets to testify in inquiry":

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, about 25 of them, were in a good position to learn what took place around the sewing project in the series of riots July 14, it was disclosed Sun-

"Wearing overalls and other articles of workmen's clothing, the agents, posing as pickets and onlookers, mingled with the crowd surging around the project building. . .

"When the shooting and tear gas bombing started, the agents scattered with the rest of the crowd."

#### A Slip of the Tongue

The most extraordinary thing about this tory is that it somehow slipped into the papers. That government agents, in this and other countries, do these things is a known fact, but is usually a little hard to prove. We eral Frank Murphy, state WPA state of seige. Another mass know most about such government agents' Calls Unionists "Scum" eclared the priest, who advo-in his talk over his nation. cales a fascist corporate state the jury heard about 40 wit-of the establishment of a "riot Napoleon III in France, because when these mobilization of workers is acts under the Czarist regime and under "You are either with me or nesses during the first three zone" by the city officials and governments were overthrown, their secret the fascist demagogue de-nounced the leaders of the such a defense mechanism as Murphy's agents-provocateur. tries we find out about such actions only by

his morning when mounted po- an occasional slip. One famous slip happened when New York police broke up a great unemployed demonstration on March 6, 1930; Police Commissioner Grover Whalen then boasted that his undercover men, shabbily dressed, had marched in the demonstration, shouting Bill Passed had marched in the demonstrate slogans and carrying placards.

Whalen's boast was made the subject of a notable article by the late William Bolitho in the New York World; in biting sentences Bolitho asked Whalen whether he had ever heard the term "agent-provocateur", the malodorous French word which has become part of all languages, to describe the government spy who disguises himself as a worker, participates in a strike, demonstration or other labor activity, and incites others ion operations in connection reactionary pieces of legisla- or himself to do things which serve to justition ever passed in Congress in fy governmental repression of workers.

### pressive features of several A Vicious Instrument

The Federal grand jury should be reminded that in the post-war years, under Attorneys General Palmer and Daugherty, affection" in the Army and the Federal Bureau of Investigation agents were notorious for their role as agents-pro-

vocateurs. The authoritative Encyclopedia for the Social Sciences says that, "by them selves committing actual crimes of violence attributed to radicals . . . the agents of the bureau kept the country conscious of their

The stench got so bad that, under Attorney General Harlan F. Stone, orders were issued to abolish the political-police function of the F.B.J. And now, through a casual story in the press, we learn that Attorney General Murphy has re-created the politicalpolice function of the F.B.I.!

### Questions that Need Answering

If the grand jury wants to get to the bottom of this situation, it should pointedly ask these twenty-five agents-provocateur: Did you throw the bricks which, accord-

ing to the police, were the cause of their opening fire on the pickets and killing one

Those of you who posed as pickets-what epithets did you hurl at the police?

Those of you who posed as pickets-what did you call on the genuine pickets around you to do?

President Boscoc of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union stated that he is ready to Airport and other public works prove that "on Bloody Friday night there were no pickets either on the sidewalk nor on the street in front of the Sewing Project ment continued, "like all emat the time the police opened fire upon the ployers since time immemorial, people clear across the street." What pretext did you F.B.I. agents, posing as pickets, provide the police with so that they tant that all the people of the

Just what orders were you given by your superiors when they sent you among the learn that work on a \$40,000,000 pickets in your workingmen's disguise? Did airport, the two public schools they tell you to try to stage a riot?

### Where Else Have They Been Used?

The jury might also demand that subphoenaes be issued for Edgar Hoover, head of the F.B.I. and for his superior, Attorney General Murphy. The broader question vitation. should be looked into, how regularly and systematically the government has been employing agents provocateur.

In how many strikes during the past years have F.B.I. undercover men posed as strik-

In how many demonstrations have these TIGHT IN CHL agents-provocateur carried placards?

How many of labor's martyrs, murdered by troops or police in strikes and demonstrations, died because of the presence of Murphy's agents-provocateurs?

These are some of the questions that a uation the Illinois WPA officials real investigation of the WPA strike would always manage to come for-

### Strikers **Await** Decision On Wages

### Murray Asks Investigation of Situation At Airport Project

NEW YORK, July 31-With 30,000 skilled workers of the Building and Construction Trades Council still out on strike, strike leaders were 'standing pat' today, awaiting news from Washington as to the disposition of the union proposal to have the prevailing wage restored on projects begun before July 1.

Meanwhile, Thomas A. Murray, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council, suggested, in identical telegrams to the Board of Education, the Board of Estimate and the City Council, that a "thorough and impartial investigation be launched for the purpose of bringing to the public attention the state of affairs which has obtained for the last under WPA.

### WPA Officials Lying

have striven to minimize the effectiveness of the stoppage.

city, the members of Congress and those specifically in charge and the other projects has been completely paralyzed and will continue so until such time as

Needless to say, these three august bodies declined the in-

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) CHICAGO-In spite of any ips or downs in the strike sitward with what they call cheerful news. Thus on July 24 they reported less than 1,800 accredited WPA workers still out in the state, exclusive of Chiago, and they described the rike as "about washed up." How did they arrive at this igure? By the very simple

ocess of counting those who have returned to work, and there have been some, and eliminating from consideration entirely the thousands of work-

### More Walk Out

similar there to what is taking place in Chicago. This last week has witnessed additional walkouts by members of the building trades unions bringing

### President of Minneapolis Central Labor Union Answers Attack on WPA Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) coe, president of the Central Labor Union, in a speech Friday night over stations WCCO the WPA strike and its leadership against the assault made on them the previous Friday by Republican Governor Stassen.

ances against one or another ership as "unsound and vi- hours of labor greatly in- lief Act.

returned to their jobs Wednes-

slaught initiated by Attorney July holiday, they found posted their jobs in unison in protest police violence; G-Men and General Murphy in ordering the on the bulletin boards a notice sgainst the wage-cutting, job WPA officials; and assorted grand jury investigation of the that their union wage scale was slashing and hour-lengthening rascals who have petty griev- strike, had denounced the lead- cut as much as 50% and their provisions of the new slave Recreased. Spontaneously, WPA "Almost simultaneously the mately half a million men and their total number to above

President Boscoe answered workers throughout the nation same reaction was occurring in

the governor in the name of the dropped their tools and refused all parts of the state in Duluth. MINNEAPOLIS - John Bos- Minneapolis labor movement. to work. In the Twin Cities, the on the Iron Range, in southern their 403's, for you see, those Minnesota. At the same time are fired and no longer accred-W.P.A. workers all over the ited WPA workers. But the ef-Ohio, in Pennsylvania, in Chi- jects were not revealed in the cago and southern Illinois, in news. Unofficially, however, ex-New Jersey and California and tensive interruptions were injects in protest against the ted by the sponsors and supporters of the Woodrum Amendments.

"A compilation of strike figures indicated that approxi-(Continued on Page 3)

"First of all, was it a small daily press agrees, the W.P.A. handful of men who caused the walkout began at the projects trouble and created the situa- on the State Fair Grounds and Chia in New York City, in fects of the strike on WPA proand KSTP, sharply defended tion? This is what the Gover- rapidly spread throughout Hennor charged. The truth is as nepin and Ramsey Counties. follows: When the WPA work- Members of trade unions, of ers of the city, state and nation unemployed organizations, and elsewhere were walking off prodicated throughout the state. workers who had never be-The governor, joining the on- day morning after the 4th of longed to either, walked off wage cutting outrage commit-

Perhaps the case is somewhat

(Continued on Page 2)

### Political Resolution of the S. W. P. Convention

#### The Perspective of United States Imperialism

1. In common with every other great power, the course of United States imperialism is set directly toward the second world war. The entire life of the nation is being grooved into the war channel. Every political, economic and social issue is being more and more subordinated to the war preparations.

2. After six years, the New Deal, as a primarily internal program of huge governmental expenditures and subsidies, liberal demagogy and social concessions to the farmers and workers, has ended in definitive collapse. The intolerable economic crisis continues. The business cycle refuses to turn upward for more than fitful and unsatisfying periods. The impossibility of a solution on the New Deal basis. and the fatuousness of any proposed solution on the basis of old-fashioned, Chamber-of-Commerce Republicanism, have become apparent. Internal measures having failed and offering no hope, the United States bourgeoisie turns to external measures, to the war. It plans to solve its problems through acquiring a greater share in the world market, in particular by gaining monopoly control over Latin America and a major position in the Far East. Indeed, it aims at nothing short of world hegemony. In the present stage of the war preparations, Roosevelt has taken aggressive leadership. His New Deal has ended, and will not be revived except occasionally in his holiday words or in those of his agents. The New Deal has been transformed into the War Deal.

3. Because of the needs both of the war and of tottering U.S. industry, the War Deal is also a deal of social reaction. The months since Munich and the November elections have witnessed a growing reactionary wave. This has been marked above all by the sharpest and most brutal attack since 1929 on the unemployed and by the sustained drive against the democratic rights of labor. In the period ahead this attack and this drive will continue, and it is planned to climax them by the imposition of totalitarian military dictatorship on the day that war begins.

#### The Struggle against War

4. The character of the present period dictates unequivocally the main task of the party: The struggle against the war. Just as the bourgeoisie subordinates every other question to preparation for the war, so must the party subordinate every question to the struggle against the war. What is required is not a temporary or episodic campaign, but a sustained, deliberate and enduring policy. The S.W.P. must aim to be and to become known to the masses as: the anti-war party.

5. In accordance with our analysis of the nature of capitalist war as an integral phase of capitalism, the struggle against the war cannot be conceived as a "special" campaign, but must, rather, infuse all of our activities: trade union work no less than our press; youth and defense and unemployed work no less than our occasional manifestoes.

We must recognize that our opponents within the labor movement—the social-reformists, Stalinists, and the labor bureaucracyare separated from us now not by mere ideological divergences but by their having become part of the war machine. They have joined the camp of the class enemy. Our attack against them must correspondingly increase in sharpness and intransigence. We must reveal them to the workers in their full and true light.

7. Our press and platforms must be constantly used to make clear the character of the coming war. We must continue to support the popular referendum on war declaration, as a means for reinforcing anti-war sentiment among the masses, for putting forward our own program, and for exposing the anti-democratic nature of the war-makers. Similarly, with the demand for "No Secret Diplomacy!" and with exposures of the secret maneuvers of the State Department we must show the war as a conspiracy against the people. Our unqualified opposition to all imperialist armaments, to all varieties of "national defense" must be modified in no way whatever in the face of prejudices seeking some patriotic loophole. With our slogan of "All War Funds to the Unemployed", we sum up both our analysis of bourgeois armaments and their relation to the reactionary drive against the masses.

8. The first aim of U.S. imperialism in the war is monopoly control over Latin America, and the U.S. plans also to use Latin America as a strategic base and a source of raw materials and personnel in the conduct of the war. Our struggle against the war cannot be divorced from the firmest and widest support of the Latin American masses in their own struggle against U.S. imperialism. During the past year, the Fourth International, which is the sole organization supporting on a world scale the anti-imperialist movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, has made notable progress in a number of Latin American countries. The S.W.P. must in the next year vastly increase its concentration upon Latin American work, and must link this with what has been almost entirely lacking in the past: political activity among the Latin Americans resi-

dent within the United States. 8A. The outbreak of the war is certain to be followed within a comparatively short period, far shorter than in the case of the last world war, by tremendous social convulsions within all of the warring countries. The war itself will have smashed the illusions of Popular Frontism, New Dealism, reformism and Stalinism. The subsequent social convulsions will provide every premise for the revolutionary advance, at an entirely unprecedented speed and with unparalleled scope, of the masses toward the overthrow of the world system of imperialism

and the conquest of workers' power. 8B. A realistic appraisal of the present world crisis can lead to no other conclusion than that the outbreak of the war cannot be long delayed. However unlikely, it is not however absolutely excluded that the present rulers of the imperialist powers, seeing in the war their own certain downfall, may find some means of postponing general hostilities for a few years. But in this case there is sure to result the most terrible economic crisis, aggravated unbearably by the weight of the colossal armament expenditures. A postwar situation-inflation, high cost of living, scarcity of

### As Adopted by the National Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, New York, July 1-5

food, vast unemployment-wth its attendant social convulsions would come about without a war. Just as in the case of the results of the war itself, this would bring about and constitute a pre-revolutionary situation. Within the non-fascist powers, the fascists could grow rapidly. But in this instance also New Dealism, Popular Frontism, reformism, Stalinism would go to pieces both in fact and in their hold on the minds of the masses. As in the case of Italy and Germany, the crisis and the growth of fascism would be accompanied by the wide and rapid radicalization of the exploited masses. Under such circumstances, as in the other variant, the prospects and perspectives for the revolutionary party and the social revolution would be in the highest de-

#### **Democratic Rights**

9. During the past eight months there has taken place a growing attack upon the democratic rights of labor, an attack required by the bourgeoisie equally as part of the war preparations and in order to aid the suffering business cycle. The illegality of sit-downs has been made explicit by the courts. The courts, State Legislatures, Congress and the police are engaged in a nation-wide drive to limit or smash the rights of picketing, boycotts, closed shop, strikes, demonstrations, and through a variety of other means strive to hamstring labor organization. This attack will not diminish but on the contrary will increase in intensity during the next period.

10. These democratic rights are indispensable to the very existence of organized labor, both in the struggle against the war and in the fight for jobs and food. The end term of the present series of attacks, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, is the total wiping out of labor's rights through a war-time military dictatorship or through outright fascism. We understand and explain the present attacks in

11. The party must, consequently, bring to the forefront during the coming period the question of defense of democratic rghts of labor. The struggle against war and reaction is intimately and acutely bound up with this question. In the defense of democratic rights. broad united fronts are both possible and desirable. In localities where it is feasible, the party should take the initiative in forming committees for the defense of democratic rights of labor. As the tactic for defending democratic rights, the party should advocate the wide use of militant methods of mass action-strikes, demonstrations, marches, etc .in place of the hopeless confinement of tactics to parliamentary and legalistic maneuvers.

### The Fight for Jobs

12. The continuance of the unparalleled economic crisis, the persistence of the army of unemployed at a level of twelve or more millions, and the drive of reaction against the unemployed, place the fight for jobs squarely and enduringly in the front rank of the problems of the working class and of the party. Short of the actual outbreak of war itself, which would temporarily absorb (under a dictatorial regime) a considerable percentage of the unemployed in either the war industries or the army, there is not the slightest prospect of a major economic upturn. Even the vast armament outlays of the pre-war Roosevelt program have a comparatively minor effect on U.S. economy as a whole. Chronic and staggering crisis for the masses of the people has become the normal condition of U.S. capital-

13. The older program of "immediate demands" and restrained and legalistic methods of fighting for them are no longer adequate to rouse the masses to struggle or to make any headway against the onslaught of social and economic reaction. We must be bold, open and resolute in advancing the broad and positive slogans of our "transitional program": a Job and a decent living for every worker; the opening of idle factories under workers' control; the 30-hour week and \$30 minimum weekly wage; \$20,000,000,000 public works program; expropriation of the Sixty Families; etc.

14. We must take care not to permit the transitional program to become a mere literary exercise. It is not intended as a finished document valid as a whole and just as it stands for all times and occasions. In the first place, it must be lifted out of the pages of our press and thrust into the midst of the unions and other mass organizations. In the second place, it must be understood as a method for linking the party with the actual struggles of the masses. The conception of the transition program must be used to give depth and extension to issues which arise naturally out of the living experience of the masses. The popular movement for a referendum on war is a prominent example of such an issue. Another, extremely important at present, is the drive for a 30-hour week begun by the electrical workers and the plumbers and, in a somewhat different form, by the auto workers. This 30hour week movement is a concretization of the transition demand for a "sliding scale of hours", and should receive the full and active support of the party.

### The Communist Party

15. The Communist Party must occupy a central place in the propaganda and general activities of the party in the coming period. The total of all other opponent organizations-Social Democratic Federation, Socialist Party. Lovestoneites, etc.—does not add up to a small fraction of the importance of the Communist Party. Insufficient attention to the Communist Party, almost equal attention to other opponent groups, have been one of the most serious weaknesses in the work of the party during the past year. The Communist Party is far and away the greatest obstacle in

this country to the building of the revolutionary movement.

16. It is necessary to dispel certain illusions, shared to one or another extent by our own membership, with respect to the Communist Party. It is false that the Communist Party consists only of bureaucrats and hopeless petty bourgeois. In its ranks and especially in its sympathizing circles it includes many genuine and militant workers, as its influence in the trade unions proves. It is deceptive to consider that the C.P. is characterized through an through and in every respect by an iron monolithism. The framework of the party is wholly monolithic. But in the heart of that monolithic framework there have grown in the present period profound conflicts and paradoxes, springing from the conflicting and paradoxical social and political situation of international Stalinism. These internal conflicts are the compelling sources of splits and defections from the Stalinist movement. It is even false to believe that splits have not taken place in the Stalinist movement. Especially in recent times, after the Third Moscow Trial, after Munich, after the fall of Barcelona, what might be described as slow and passive-but very extensive splits have occurred. But these splits have led the dissident Stalinists, with a few exceptions, only to complete retirement from political activity or to bourgeois politics.

17. The basis for influencing the Communist Party, for recruiting its members and sympathizers and for hastening its dissolution as an obstacle to the growth of the revolutionary movement, is present. What is required for success is a conscious, deliberate and sustained policy on our part. We must root out all traces of a defeatist or passive attitude toward Stalinism, and orient boldly on the perspective of major and fruitful work in that arena.

#### The Struggle against Fascism

18. In the months since Munich and especially since the fall of Barcelona, and with the failure of the 1938 upturn in business to extend into 1939--thus signalizing the definitive collapse of the New Deal's policies, the fascist and semi-fascist movements in this country have been growing rapidly in numbers and boldness. The nationwide notoriety achieved by Hague through his use of fascist and semifascist methods symbolizes this development. The nationwide series of meetings and mobilizations by the Nazi Bund provided a kind of dress rehearsal for native movements. The Silver Shirts have been especially active in small towns and villages. It is reported that there are now more than 800 fascist and nearfascist organizations in the United States. At the present time the most successful and advancing of these is the Coughlin movement, which, since Coughlin's reappearance on the scene after two years of quiet, has taken on a more and more openly fascist character. Though it is doubtful that a movement led by a Catholic priest can be the authentic fascist. movement in this country, Coughlin's followers are being prepared in ideology and methods for fusion into the definitive fascis ment of the not too distant future.

19. It is absolutely inadmissable to neglect or minimize the importance of the current growth of U.S. fascism. Fascism in this country is capable of spreading like wildfire, of strangling the labor movement before it is aware what is happening. The great army of disillusioned unemployed and the disinherited youth are particularly and immediately vulnerable. Europe has taught that in order to defeat fascism the labor movement must never let fascism get a step in advance, that it must anticipate and prepare for the fascist developments before they take place.

20. It is the immediate duty of the party to prepare educational and propaganda material in its press and in cheap pamphlets dealing with the native fascist and near fascist movements. This material should be put in the most popular and simple form, directed especially toward the youth and the unemployed, and must aim at mass circulation to combat the fascist ideas directly on the ground where they chiefly germinate.

21. The struggle against fascism at home, however, cannot even now be confined to propaganda and agitation. It is necessary to fight the fascist movements in action from the very beginning. Our slogan "For Workers Defense Guards against Fascism" cannot any longer be confined to agitation, but must be put into concrete effect. A beginning has been made in a few localities. But the party must now attempt in every section of the country where it has branches to begin the actual organization of at least skeleton defense units, which will work indefatigably to broaden their base, especially through union support. Ideally these should be based on and built through the unions, as in Minneapolis. But where this is not possible, the party must nevertheless lead the way and itself take the initiative in forming, together with sympathizers and non-party workers now ready to participate, initiating nuclei of the anti-fascist defense guard, functioning as independent, organized, disciplined and active institutions.

### The Labor Party

22. During the past year, the sentiment among the workers for a Labor Party has remained inert, held back by Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists. Any extended general campaign on our part around the labor party slogan would have been on the whole academic, and our agitation on this issue has been largely, and correctly, confined to specific and local situations where it was relevant. Nevertheless, the organized intervention of labor in politics has continued and in some respects increased during this same year. The collapse of the New Deal and its transformation into the War Deal, the wave of social reaction, the more openly reactionary character of the Roosevelt administration, the approach of the 1940 elections, are all raising

or beginning to raise once more in the minds of the workers questions about political action. So untenable is worn-out New Dealism becoming that even Lewis and the Stalinists have in the recent weeks been compelled to make certain criticisms of Roosevelt. It is hardly conceivable that the disillusionment of the workers with Roosevelt can in the main take the form of a swing back to Republicanism; and in any case it would be disastrous if this were permitted to happen. The slogan for a labor party, properly developed in connection with the other aspects of our program, can play a significant role in directing the disillusionment with Roosevelt and the dead New Deal into the sole progressive direction-toward independent political activity by the working class. We must be ready to utilize every concrete situation as it arises for propaganda and action in this direction.

23. The slogan for the labor party, as we conceive it, is in no way incompatible with direct entry of the party, under its own name, in elections. On the contrary, experience has amply proved the great value of the party name and party candidates appearing on the ballot, with the wide opportunities for revolutionary education which this opens up. In all localities where this is practically feasible, and where it will not conflict with the development of genuine independent working class political action on a broader scale, the party must in the next period try to enter elections

#### The Prospects for the Party

24. The defeats of the working class on an international scale, the lack of organized resistance to the approach of the war, and the apparent passivity of the working class in this as in other countries, above all since the fall of Barcelona, have not been without adverse effect in some quarters of the radical labor movement. In some cases this takes the form of the entirely erroneous opinion that our perspective for the next period must be one merespective for the next period must be one merely of consolidating a tight and firm cadre and of excluding the possibility of important numerical growth.

25. While the factors that have led to this feeling cannot be denied, the inference drawn is by no means necessarily correct, and other equally important national and international conditions point to a contrary conclusion. The war is approaching, but the masses, in the United States as in most other nations, are not in favor of the war, and have not succumbed to a blatant war chauvinism. They are on the whole against the war, however incompletely they understand the implications of their opposition. As the only party which fights the war, there is every objective foundation for the growth, even the rapid growth, of the party as the organization concretely embodying the anti-war sentiments of the masses. Again, the masses want to fight fascism and its growth at home; and only our party has prosequently every serious feeling or thought directed against the present order of war and tyranny and starvation can find genuine outlet ony in the ranks and actions of our party, the Lower East Side has made stand today as a powerful re-Again, the masses wat to fight fascism and its the Stalinists desperate. Their growth at home; and only our party has pro- constant heckling and disrup- strike. posed or attempted to carry out a serious fight tion has failed to stop our against fascism. Finally, the end of the New meetings, which far exceed in Deal once again poses sharply before the size and interest the meetings F.D.R. Responsible workers the problems of political action; and of the C.P.

here also our party alone gives an answer. 26. It is entirely possible that the coming termined that heckling alone Appointment period will be one of rapid growth for the party. It is certain that if we do not have this as our perspective, if we decide in advance that growth is impossible, then stagnation is cist Coughlin, the war plans of assured. But our problem and aim is not to the Roosevelt Administration, retreat, but to advance and to gain. The party was making a deep impression has never taken recruiting seriously; it has always allowed new members to drop like ripe fruit into the ranks of the party, after suitable cided to swing into direct acand lengthy fertilizing by our ideas and theories. To assure the success of the party in the next months we must radically alter this attitude: we must become crusaders and recruiting agents, not at all satisfied with a tense of asking a question, proformally correct program, but resolved that ceeded to make a speech to this program will become the program of the crowd, urging them to masses of workers. Habit and routine dictate break up the meeting. A young caution and reserve. The future of the party girl who tried to remonstrate and the needs of the American revolution de- and restore order was immedimand audacity and a bold offensive.

### A Campaign Party

27. The serious advance of the party in the Stalinist thugs went into acmass movement depends upon its adoption of tion. First they rushed the the campaign principle in its activity. As in platform and knocked it over the case of a military campaign, a political right on top of a girl comrade. campaign means the concentration and coor- During the rush, another girl dination of all available forces in advancing a sympathizer, was surrounded toward and achieving a concrete and definite by a group of these sadistic objective or set of objectives. For the party, C.P. thugs and brutally beaten it means gearing in the entire national organ- over the head and across the ization and every aspect of its activitiespress, pamphlets, leaflets, meetings, tours, The girl, small and slight, who demonstrations, petitions, fund-raising, mo- had recently recovered from to completion within less than tions in unions and other mass organizations, an illness, was knocked unconstreet meetings-as a single unit revolving scious and fell to the ground. around the specific axis of the campaign. Cam- Luckily. she was rescued by both the President and Attorpaigns cannot be properly conducted loosely or workers in the crowd and taken ney General Murphy had been haphazardly, nor for vague or "general" pro- to a place of safety. grammatic aims. They require systematic organization, and by their very nature have also surrounded later, thrown simplified and limited aims.

28. For the next immediate period, the party will concentrate its activities on the following three campaigns: (1) Against the War; (2) Jobs; (3) Anti-Fascist, in particular Anti-Coughlin. These campaigns, in turn, shall be still further limited and concretized around the following slogans:

(1) Against the War: Let the People Vote on War!

All War Funds to the Unemployed!

(2) Jobs: Thirty-Thirty! Expropriate the Sixty Families!

Them under Workers' Control! (3) Anti-Fascist:

Build Workers' Defense Guards!

29. It shall be the task of the incoming Na- From now on I'm with you fel- workers; to show the road out tional Committee to organize the entire work lows!" The Y.P.S.L. got two of misery and hunger and the of the party for the coming period around new recruits right after the coming world slaughter. YOU these campaigns, with the aim of penetrating meeting, young workers who with these central slogans deeper into the had been wavering between us mass movement than ever before in our his- and the C.P. tory, of becoming known to the workers as precisely the party of these slogans, and of not allowed to continue. Four extending all of our activities, especially re- or five police squad cars, recruitment, through these campaigns.

MASS STREET SALES:

peal circulation.)

Mass street sales are the WHERE TO CONDUCT most important Appeal activity MASS SALES: that our branches can conduct. Mass street sales are not only a method of selling many papers, but also a type of demonstration having many purposes. It gets our paper out nto the streets among the workers and people of the community; it offers splendid opportunities for popularizing the clogans we raise in our press; quarters. The entire branch and it helps train our comrades in the art of agitation and least once every two weeks. mingling among workers.

#### PLANNING MASS STREET

SALES: Mass Street sales must be local Branch Executive Cometc., must be given in advance.

Each salesman should be plenty of Appeals to sell, small change. At least one comrade in the unit should wear one of the newsboy aprons that each your Appeal Squad."

branch possesses. (Second in the series of ar- rades who are to do the selling ticles on how to build mass Ap- are then to be assigned to a busy corner, intersection, workers' meeting, union hall, etc.

(a) At busy, central street corners.

(b) At subway, trolley or bus exits and entrances.

(c) At union meetings, headquarters, etc.

(d) Near newsstands that carry the Appeal.

(e) In working class neighborhoods near the branch headshould be mobilized for this at

#### SUMMARY:

We urge mobilization of the entire branch as often as is posplanned well in advance by the sible—not less than once every 2 weeks!-for mass street mittee. All assignments, divi- sales. If clear and simple insion of branch into units, provi. structions are issued beforesion of protection for salesmen, hand on how to cover the best concentration points, then every branch should easily be equipped with an attractive able to fulfill its quota in the poster which can be obtained Anti-War Campaign. Send in from the Appeal Poster Shop, reports on your mass street sales activity.

Next week: "How to build up

## S.W.P. MEETING CONSTRUCTION C.P. HOOLIGANS TIGHT IN CHI.

### Injure Two Workers, Topple Platform at East Side Meeting

Stalinist thugs on Friday, July 28th, broke up a street meeting of the S.W.P. on Rivington and Clinton Streets, in the heart of New York's Lower East Side, and seriously injured a comrade and a young, girl, a sympathizer.

Growing success of the S.W.P. among the workers of

would not be enough. The voice of our party speaking to the

#### Topple Platform A C.P. woman, on the pre

ately physically attacked. A number of our comrades went to her aid and immediately the stomach with a strong cane.

Another male comrade was to the ground and severely beaten over the head a number of times, resulting in lacerations of the scalp.

### Workers Disgusted

cur comrades succeeded in raising the platform and continued the meeting. Many workers expressed sympathy with us and remained to listen to our speakers. One worker was heard to say "I've heard you will be treated like Fas-Open the Idle Factories, and Operate a lot about the disruption of cists! We will defend our meetthe Stalinists before this, but ings against your hooligans this is the first time I've really with all our strength! WE seen it, and am I disgusted! have a duty to perform to the

> However, the meeting was ported to have been called by

### PROJECTS SHUT (Continued from Page 1)

8,000. What is more, every WPA construction project in the city is closed down completely. Even shovels and wheelbarrows are stored up in rows because the essential skilled labor is not available.

The walkout, for example, of 200 union plumbers from water pipe inspection projects threw out of work an additional 3.100 unskilled laborers. Of the eleven sewer projects, which employed 10,000 laborers, not one is in operation. The big gaping holes in many parts of the city minder of an effective WPA

# For Ku Klux Klan

NEW YORK, July 21 .- Responsibility for the speed and trickery in jamming through the confirmation of Elmer D. Davies, admitted ex-member of the Ku Klux Klan, as federal judge in the middle Tennessee district, rests squarely upon the shoulders of "our national legislative and executive leadership," President Roosevelt was told today.

In a letter which described the action of the Senate in taking up the Davies matter out of turn and the speed of the White House in signing the commission as "shocking," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reviewed the whole case, from the time Davies was mentioned for the post up to the time Mr. Roosevelt made him a judge for life.

"A process," said the letter, which in its normal course would not be completed within three or four days was rushed twenty-four hours.'

The letter cited the fact that warned as early as April 11 and 13 that Mr. Davies was reputed to have been a member of the Klan. Affidavits attesting to this membership were forwarded to the White House and to the Department of Justice three months before Davies' name came up in the In spite of the vicious attack, Senate, the letter said.

> the Stalinists, appeared and broke up the meeting

> To the Communist Party, we say, "Act like Fascists and WILL NOT STOP US!

> > At Your Service THE APPEAL POSTER SHOP

### In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens =

Leon Blum Reveals His Role In Installing Daladier

In a recent polemic with a bourgeois opponent, Leon Blum speaks with startling candor about the part he has played in installing the current Daladier reaction as the political regime in France. Writing in Le Populaire on July 8, he boasts of "having done everything possible to insure a peaceful transfer of power (into the hands of Chautemps, Daladier's friend) on June 20, 1937."

"I left no stone unturned," he writes, "to see that things were done just that way.

"If I had bucked the Senate, if I had decided upon resistance, if I had called upon the masses of the people for support of such resistance, indeed if I had only allowed the masses free play for their instinctive movement, very likely M. Wladimir d'Ormesson [the gentleman against whom the polemic is directed-P.G.S.] and his friends would have felt shivers creeping down their spines of the same kind as in May and June, 1936. . . . '

Nor is this said in a spirit of penitence. "I have nothing to regret in my conduct of that time." Blum adds. The former Premier winds up his article by reproaching "bourgeois of the type of M. d'Ormesson" that they simply dub as impotence "that which they should praise, they more than anyone else, as an act of wisdom.

"Fortunately," he concludes, "we are wiser

Fortunately, for the capitalist class, naturally. Not for the workers, certainly.

#### Daladier Plans Frame-Ups Against French Anti-Militarists

To the list of French anti-militarists arraigned before Daladier's courts has been added the name of Lucien Weitz, youth leader of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.). Together with Marceau Pivert, Jaquier, Goldschild and Lafeuvre, other leading militants of this party, Weitz is charged with inciting the military to disobedience.

But, aside from that charge, the youth leader is also being prosecuted for "divulging information relating to an espionage case.' This latter charge is based on the publication of the following item in Jeune Garde, the paper which Weitz edited:

"Comrade Steve of the J.S.R. (Revolutionary Socialist Youth, French youth section of the Fourth International which recently merged with the P.S.O.P. youth) has been under arrest for more than a week; he is held in solitary confinement without the possibility of any contact with the outside world."

From the charge, it is evident that Comrade Steve, as well as our comrades Rigal and Schmitt, whose case has been reported in this column repeatedly, are actually being framedup as spies.

That some such kind of an amalgam is being planned is further confirmed by reports in last Friday's paper of the arrest of a stenographer employed by the Senate military appropriations committee who is alleged to be a member of the "pacifist wing of the Socialist party which recently split away from the main body," namely the P.S.O.P. The Senate stenographer is also held on an espionage charge. His name is linked in the newspaper dis-

patches with that of Otto Abetz, avowed Gestapo agent, who was expelled from France several weeks ago. The Daladier government has learned a good deal from Gestapo and G.P.U. frame-up methods.

#### Belgian Militants Appeal for Help in Miners' Struggle

Some time ago we reported that the Belgian boss class locked out some 4,500 workers who stood their ground against downward revisions in the wage and hour scales when renewal of contracts came up in the Levant du Flenu

The lockout is still in full force. Some 20,000 persons are on the brink of starvation. The reformist leaders of the miners union have remained absolutely passive. Only our com rades of the Belgian Revolutionary Socialist Party are carrying on a campaign for militant action. As the first need of the hour, they have launched the slogan of equal division of work among all the miners in the region in those mines which the lockout has not yet affected. It is a demand which has found a ready response among the active militants in the mines who know what demoralization of belonged to any "anarchistic" ists do not explain how the their locked-out comrades can mean for their whole movement.

Meanwhile our comrades, whose main base or how far in the past." is in the mine regions, have encountered the greatest difficulty in raising the material sive our present laws which means for their campaign. The miners who make up the bulk of the members of the party are penniless.

In a deeply moving letter, Comrade Walter Dauge, the leader of the P.S.R. has appealed to us here in America to come to the aid of the Belgian party.

The S.O.S. of our Belgian miner comrades must not be left unanswered. Collect and send in contributions for them to this column. They will be remitted at once.

Send all monies to Socialist Appeal, Att. Belgian Fund, 116 University Place

#### Stalinists Attack Thomas Mann: End of Another People's Front?

In line with the alleged negotiations between the Kremlin and Wilhelmstrasse, it is inter- fully reinserted on the floor by great Railway strike of 1877 esting to note the attack launched by the German Communist Party press against Thomas Mann, the well-known novelist. Up until very ing or advocating in any form so many workers engaged in a attack against the American for it a greater share of the recently Mann has been played up by the Stalinists as the true prophet of the German crnment; the printing or pub- the W.P.A. strike was the most People's Front. No matter what inane, antisocialist and anti-communist literary twaddle vocating the overthrow of the which has ever occurred in this Herr Mann saw fit to bandy about, on the public platform or in print, the paid German or justifying of such actions; gives full credit for it to "a agents of Stalin have always leaped to his and membership in any organ- small handful of local leaders."

Recently Herr Mann referred to certain poses similarities between the political regime in Russia and that in Germany, at a lecture in New York. For that speech, he has now been attacked by the Stalinist "Runa-Korrespondenz" of Zurich as a "lackey of American big House, such as the Hobbs Con- a more concerted drive against on strike and to refuse to work business." If this attack is at all indicative, centration Camp Bill that proit is as an adumbration of a change in line on the part of the bowdlerized Comintern. Apways more of a caricature of those in France and Spain than anything else is also about and Spain than anything else, is also about to

### be officially buried. Workers Alliance and the WPA Strike---A Company Union Record

By NEIL WHITE

Alliance in the WPA strike is ing of letters and postcards? one of deliberate misleadership and conscious scabbing.

ing and Construction Trades Council, David Lasser, presi- WPA slashes is directed mainly WORKERS ALLIANCE dent of the Workers Alliance, the WPA appropriation this ing Roosevelt into a Land of declared in the New York

"We are not so concerned with the prevailing wage controversy as with the fate of the 700,000 WPA employes who practice. are going to lose their jobs. . .

Times, August 8:

Already, with the strike but vey was obscuring the issue, skillfully belittling the prevailing wage fight by counterposing to it the dismissals.

Why Lasser Scabbed

That the attack of the government upon the prevailing wage was giving the signal for a wage-cutting drive in private industry-of this Davey and his gang said not a word. Why? Because their beloved leader, Roosevelt, was for smashing the prevailing wage.

Next, on July 11, the Workers Alliance issued a call for a "WPA stoppage." But—a one dealt blow after blow at the day stoppage!

the future-July 20!

The Daily Worker, July 11, pause on all the projects" quotes Lasser: "A nation-wide | (Daily Worker, July 16). one day stoppage against the speedy legislative action in the the Daily Worker, July 19: Senate, he expressed apprehension as to the situation in the protest against the conditions. House. . . . To meet the situa- the whole and complete respontion, the Workers Alliance head sibility for which belongs to

The Why and Wherefore date for the first nation-wide sion of the National Executive WPA action 13 days after the Board of the Alliance to withbeginning of the strike? And draw from all current stopwhy did Lasser advise the WPA pages of a protracted nature

The record of the Workers devote themselves to the mail- stor Murray."

ment. Any action against the reduced figure. against Roosevelt who reduced

year by one-third, and directed Flenty that never materialized. also against Harrington and are encouraged by the Workers Murphy, Roosevelt appointees, who have the task of putting spell of the Roosevelt hypnosis Roosevelt's "economy" into

One day later, on July 13, from New Dealer to Lasser, asked the question as Dealer. one day old, stout-hearted Da- to what he thought about Administration forces would not ages of a protracted nature." the present WPA law," replied. 'Mr. Roosevelt is badly advised."

> appropriation - slashing, unionbusting, war-mongering Roosevelt is "ill-advised"!

Preparing a "Pause" 1,000,000 letters and postcards Roosevelt government. nasty reactionaries, the Work-When?—a week and a half in ers Alliance drew a deep breath and prepared for the "general

Finally, the day before the Woodrum Bill to be held on July one day stoppage that was to emphasized that their demon- somewhat of a humorist, says not a threat, not a move. How unsound and vicious. Thereby 20 was called today by the stop the Tories dead in their stration motion was not a "The outlook is pretty gloomy can it? Didn't it support Mayor he implies that Minneapolis Workers Alliance. . . . While tracks, the following statement strike, and that it was not nec- if you ask me" Lasser said that he expected of Willis Morgan appeared in essary in many localities to

"Our stoppage voices our urged that 1,000,000 letters and Clifton A. Woodrum and his copostcards be sent by July 20." horts. . . . The Workers Alliance will never strike against Why did David Lasser set the the Government. . . . The deciworkers, that in the interim be- was done to allow Congress to

tween July 11 and July 20 they consider the resolution of Sen

The Workers Alliance delib Simply because Lasser and crately misleads the workers the rest of the unsavory Alli- when it ascribes responsibility One day after the strike was ance crew give unqualified sup- to Woodrum, whose task it was sanctioned by the AFL Build- port to the Roosevelt govern- to adapt WPA to Roosevelt's

> The American workers who have been deluded into follow-Alliance to remain under the while the magician in the White House does a "quick change"

'Roosevelt's intimation that by withdrawing from all "stopconsciously scabbed on the un-Roosevelt, the inspirer of the ion workers by splitting the still out fighting a life and

> Company Union Wherever they could get

have all day stoppages."

Boss in the White House.

Union Guards Bulletin.

### New Deal Votes with Reactionaries to Pass House Anti-Labor Bill Against the Coughlinite Menace

(Continued from Page 1: Navy, places new and danger- dered deported for whom forous restrictions on freedom of cign visas cannot be secured, speech and press in peace time, the Smith Bill is another constrikes at constitutional guar- vincing demonstration that the antees against searches and War Deal is well under way beseizures. This section would fore the war was started. It make it a crime to advise a also gives a good idea of what perior. A leaflet against the machine, when the hysteria war machine would be so con- gets really going

nullify the decision of the Su- of this is probably that if you

It makes even more repres-'are more stringent than in any other democratic country John Boscoe, Minneapolis Central Labor in the world," according to the any other democratic country Civil Liberties Union.

Toward Domestic Passports The fourth section provides for the fingerprinting of all incoming aliens, which is an opening wedge for fingerprinting and registration of all allens, and eventually all citizens in the United States, giving us the spontaneous walk-out in workers would be denied re- injury to the W.P.A. workers similar to those under dictator- their living standards.

One section of the bill, thrown out in committee, was success- Never before, not even in the Virginia. It would outlaw teach- for the 8-hour day in 1886, had joined hands in protesting this ingly to protect labor and win the overthrow of the U. S. gov- joint struggle. It is certain that standard of living! lishing of books teaching or ad- ropular movement of protest government; or the defending country. Governor Stassen ization devoted to such pur- The fact is that such wide-

The War Deal

Coming on the heels of much | Here are some of them: fantastically reactionary legislation already passed by the of ten years of unemployment,

## **CUT FAR BELOW** LIVING NEEDS

\$6 to Single Person Per Month; Forced Labor Also Decreed

By S. B. Grant

employed today as the relief al- slash in monthly wages of over stored. lowance per person sinks to 30 one million workers in the percent of the estimated budget North and West. needed for subsistence! Relief help. These figures, given out War by Relief Administration head, jointly with the building trades new cases. An additional 60,000 6 00 for food). unions throughout the country, are a dead certainty within the

next two weeks. The central intake offices, members back to work at the of starvation. Hundreds are six dollars a month. highest point in the nation-wide turned away by harrassed and gesture of objection.

"No Money" away with it, the Workers Alli- ment continues to insist that it relief order will be cut off com- American people. ance leaders even called off the does not have any money, and pletely. one-day stoppages, the Daily the state administration refuses

Admission 25 cents

A Concert of the Classics of Swing Drinks - Dancing - Refreshments SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, at 9:30 P.M. at 315 EAST 13th STREET, Apt. 4-a

For the benefit of the Needle Trades Brigade of Anti-Fascist

nority of 48 to 273.

vides for imprisoning aliens ormember of the armed forces we may expect from Congress. o disobey the orders of a su- let alone the president's war

The Daily Worker foams of America preme Court in the Strecker turn the other cheek you will 131 West 33rd Street, New York, N. Y. Dear Comrade:

(Continued from Page 1)

Most Popular Strike

"Half a million strikers!

spread protests do not occur

"After the cumulative effects

with children and old age pen-

Government Attacks Continue

without impelling reasons.

er, D. Benjamin, recently com-

The second and third sections against the bill at the same of the bill are directed against time that it whines that the bill non-citizens. It would extend does not apply to Communists, the grounds for deportation far who are not against the govbeyond anything in the past. It ernment (never was there a would amend existing law to truer word spoken). The moral Case, deporting any alien who get slapped again. The Stalinorganization "at any time, of "progressive New Deal" mano matter how short duration, jority has shrunk to a tiny miThe Independent Labor with our Anti-War Convention business, and Labor can meet

Proposing Effective Labor Action

A Letter to the Lovestone Group

ed corners, against the growing labor organizations. Wherever Ohio, Minnesota and elsewhere Coughlin menace. Below we any Coughlinite hoodlums have have already initiated the espublish the reply of E. R. been disturbing or threatening tablishment of such Guards and Frank, secretary of the New meetings of any labor organiza- with excellent effect from evtions, our Party is ready, for ery standpoint. its part, to cooperate to the

New York District Organizer, Independent Labor League We regret the delay in reply- action of the unions themselves. ing to your letter of June 26.

that the Coughlinite and, in general, the fascist movement, can be effectively counteracted only by the militant, organized

League (Lovestonites), through interfered with a prompt reply the menace they represent only its New York District Organiz- to your communication. if it means business. By that We fully agree that the we understand the mobilizing municated with the New York Coughlin movement, like the of the most devoted and mili-District of the Socialist Work-rising fascist movements in tant elements in the trade uners Party suggesting joint general, constitutes an acute ions into Union Defense Guards. street meetings held on select- and immediate menace to all Several union organizations in

fullest extent in protecting such

An Effective Means

However, it is our conviction The fascists have demonstrat-The press of work connected ed to the hilt that they mean

As you are aware, the proposal to form such Union Defense Guards is now being widely discussed in the more advanced sections of the labor movement in New York, particularly among members of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. Were one or more Locals of this powerful Union to endorse and organize a genuine Union Defense Guard, it would constitute a great step forward in the struggle against Fascism.

Zimmerman Support Asked We consider highly desirable cooperation among all elements looking toward such a goal. It would be especially desirable. in our opinion, if so prominent a leader of the I.L.G.W.U. as Vice-President Zimmerman, a member of your organization. were to give his support to the proposal in question.

We are interested in hearing from you on the matters raised in this letter.

Fraternally. E. R. FRANK, Organizer, New York District, Socialist Workers Party

### LEAFLET SCORES PROPAGANDA

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio-A novel and effective anti-war leaflet was distributed here in picketing local showings of "Confessions of a Nazi Spy."

"On the way to the trenches" was the title of the leaflet. It said in part:

"Tomorrow we will be asked to fight a new world war. This time it will be for 'Democracy 'Democracy against Kaiserbe the same as in 1917. . .

"The main threat of Fascism comes from the Duponts, the Girdlers, the Coughlins and the Hagues.

Movie Propaganda Scored

'We who publish this leaflet are forthright enemies of Fascism, and against these sinister forces we will fight with all our Labor Assembly and the State strength, but we want no part in a war which, under hypocritical protestations of anti-fascism, such as 'Confessions of a Nazi Spy', has as its objective the preservation of English, French and American trade empires.

"Analyse for yourselves the half-truths of this pro-war antilabor propaganda and remembering the real reasons they want us to fight, answer the war makers:

'We are not your army! "This is not our war!" The leaflet was signed by a

group of students and faculty members of Antioch College and a number of others, including Socialist Party members. The project was carried through in the face of vigorous opposition from the local Young Communist League and of conspicuous non-cooperation from Paul Jones, Ohio state chairman of the Socialist Party, who took the position that picketing in this quiet village was so wholly exotic as to alienate the populace. Events proved him to be seriously in error.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

FURNISHED ROOM to rent-All privacy. Facing Bronx Park at Allerton Station. Inquire any day. 690 Allerton Ave., Bronx. Apt. 55W.

CAMP SEVEN OAKS. Eatontown, N. J. Tennis, swimming, ping-pong. Plumbing. \$2.50 per day. \$14 a week. Make reservations, please! Phone: Eatontown 515.

A PINK SLIP

NEW YORK, July 28-The

to defend the union wages and workers on the capitol steps on conditions won during fifty June 2 that no one would go on W.P.A. workers reached a 7th the Policy Committee of the were going to create for the gainst Fascism' instead of peak. Under the leadership of Minneapolis Central Labor Un-reactionaries Congress passed ion endorsed the action of the nor Stassen? And is it not true, a cut of 800 million dollars from Building Trades Council. In the Governor, that while you are last year's figures. An inadequate security wage was sub- County Workers Alliance, the group of Minneapolis labor in America comes not from the

"As the national protest demrequests have risen 300 percent onstration grew came three ful of men in Minneapolis in the last week, as discharged more blows in succession—the started the walk-out, and that W.P.A. workers continue to announcement that all those the strikers had no chance to storm central intake offices for away from their jobs for five vote on the strike? The truth is

Leo M. Lyons, may be found in back when the full budget was ganizations having members Finally, the Workers Alliance, any local newspaper. Each ad- actually received by anybody, on W.P.A., voted to join the ditional thousand applicants for The single woman has been re- strike. The truth is that all this aid reduces the budget 1 per-ceiving 65 percent of the bud-talk about the strike resulting support any move to change that is, from strike actions held cent. Already there are 35,000 get: \$13.80 (\$7.80 for rent and from a conspiracy is untrue,

20 Cents a Day!

strike when the unions were understaffed social workers, this bounty, 43,000 unemployed the country. If there was a and roughhoused by the police have begun scrubbing street conspiracy, it was a conspiracy As time went on, and the death struggle against the when they make the smallest signs and gathering rubbish un- of the paid political representader the supervision of various tives of Big Business to put city departments. Those who over an attack upon the wages Meanwhile the city govern- refuse to comply with the work and living standards of the

> Just an illustration: the full Illinois? The unemployed grow sert this leadership. monthly budget for a single restive, sensing a sell-out. The Yes, the Workers Alliance is woman is \$21.24. That figure is scheduled one-day strike of the the company union of the Big more or less a fiction because Alliance which was called off best unionized cities in the en- 27 West 93rd St. only the old remember way in Cook County at the last mo- tire country and, Governor Police were dredging the

> > sufferers are. ders and glass, or unite to de- thoughtless and unsound. mand the right to live, supporting that demand with action.

days would be dropped from the Minneapolis labor leaderwomen were participating in the rolls; that striking W.P.A. ship of causing great loss and a domestic passport system protest against this attack on lief; and then the Press cam- and with placing 10,000 men paign that: YOU CAN'T and women in dire need. Who STRIKE AGAINST THE GOV- is it that is injuring the work-ERNMENT. "No wonder that the W.P.A. sota and placing them in dire

Union Head, Defends WPA Strike

York District S.W.P.:

D. Benjamin,

July 25, 1939

Unions Led Strike

"The Minneapolis labor movement took quick and effective relief bill that violated the action to organize the protest pledges these Congressmen had locally. On Thursday, July 5, made to the people, that the day after the spontaneous slashed the wages of W.P.A. walkout began, the Minneapolis workers, lengthened their Building and Construction hours, and promises to throw Trades Council officially endorsed the protest strike. The various Building Trades unions voted unanimously to remain the unemployed began after for anyone at less than union last November's elections when wages. The Minneapolis Building Trades Council, like many 000,000 workers were dropped from W.P.A. rolls. Next, early sister councils throughout in 1939, non-citizens, widows America, has not receded from this position and is determined sioners were dropped from the

years of struggle. "On Friday morning, July "In recent weeks, the attack Woodrum amendments includ- neapolis Central Labor Union. WPA employes of 18 months and support the protest strike real thing to the Chicago un- nally the new act called for a and that union wages be re-

what happens to the claim of the Governor that a small handthat the overwhelming majority of the Minneapolis labor orand deliberately circulated to blind the uninformed as to the But the 65 percent budget is true cause of the strike, namely going too. At the present rate, the attack upon the workers WPA law, who took a billion united front of labor in time of built like stockyard pens, are according to Mr. Lyons' calculiving standards. The truth is dollars away from WPA and strike, consciously scabbed by daily packed with stricken cli- lations, the monthly budget for that the anti-union and pauperadded it to the War Budget, sending the Workers Alliance ents already showing evidences a single woman will be about izing provisions of the Woodrum Relief Act had identical To show their gratitude for social repercussions throughout

> "Governor Stassen's second The Communist - controlled charge is that the Minneapolis Worker, July 18 reporting: to contribute more than its Workers Alliance of America labor movement has elected a "The Workers Alliance heads present quota. Lyons, who is has not made a single gesture, leadership that is thoughtless, Kelly and the state New Deal in workers would be wise to de-

> > Outstanding Union City ment caused revolts in many of Stassen, it will remain so. All Harlem River, today, for Meethe locals, especially in the the benefits of organization han's body after he leaped into Two choices lie before 300,000 cause they have organized un-

"In his third charge, the Gov- Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation ernor, in a pious tone, accuses Law.

ers of Minneapolis and Minne workers felt desperate and that need? Is it the Minneapolis laits author, Democrat Smith of nor in the nationwide struggle the entire labor movement bor movement that works untirgood things of life? Or is it the connivers in Congress who pushed through a last-minute 11/2 million of them out of employment off W.P.A.?

Recalls Stassen Promises

"Come to think of it, it is passing strange that there are ANY unemployed persons in this state, for did not Governor Stassen promise to create jobs in private industry that would absorb the unemployed? Did he not promise the assembled hungry in Minnesota?

"Where are these jobs you stituted for the prevailing, or Federal Workers Section of Lo- leaders, that during the past Bunds or Germany, but from union wage. Then came the cal 544, the C.I.O., and the Min- week you have had a delega- the decay and collapse of an tion of labor leaders from the economic system that offers ing the 30-hour lay-off for all all voted officially to endorse Minnesota Federation of Labor neither jobs nor the hope of along with Mr. Zanier from Jobs to twelve million Ameristanding; and the W.P.A. ad- called by the Minneapolis the government employes na- can workers. The main threat ninistration made it clear that Building Trades Council and tional union calling upon you CHICAGO—The possibility of those dropped have a slim their demand that the Wood- for a hearing on wholesale disdeath by starvation is a very chance of re-employment. Fi- rum Amendments be repealed criminatory dismissals of their members during recent days, as well as the charges leveled "In the light of these facts, at your highway department for wage cutting and wholesale lay offs by the St. Paul Trades and Machinists Unions?'

President Boscoe concluded: "In this as in all previous W.P.A. demonstrations here. the Minneapolis labor movement has recognized and declared that the main function of such demonstrations is to direct public attention to the unjustifiable problems of unemployment. That was our prime purpose. The fight for jobs at union wages and conditions, and for decent relief standards for those who have no jobs, did not begin nor end with the W.P.A. strike in Minneapolis. The struggle, by the logic of events, now takes other channels. There must be no adjournment of Congress until the vicious Woodrum provisions are repealed."

### HE WON'T NEED

W.P.A. administration can save itself the trouble of sending a pink slip to Cormack Meehan "Minneapolis is among the 35 year old cement worker, of

Negro district where the worst came to the workers and un- the water from the Manhattan employed of Minneapolis be- span of the Triborough bridge The cement worker was relief sufferers in Chicago: der this leadership whom the slated to be fired from W.P.A. either learn to eat gravel cin- Governor accuses of being at the end of this month under the 18-month ruling of the

### SOCIALIST APPEAL

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MAX SHACHTMAN

Associate Editors: FELIX MORROW EMANUEL GARRETT Staff Members: JOSEPH HANSEN Business Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

#### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- 1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
- 2. Open the idle factories-operate them under workers' control.
- 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
- 4. Thirty-thirty! \$3θ-weekly minimum wage-30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- 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.

### The Japanese Treaty

Do the people of the United States want to go to war in the Far East in order to defend the investments, present and future, of the Wall Street corporations in China? Do they want to give up their lives for the protection of the profits squeezed out of the Chinese masses by Standard Oil, Curtiss-Wright, General Motors, and Associated Gas & Electric?

What foolish questions.

Everyone knows the answer to them. Everyone knows that the people of this country would never, willingly and deliberately, plunge into a war of imperialist aggression in the Far East or anywhere else.

President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull know this just as well as the rest of us. But that doesn't hold them back one moment in the course they are steering toward their war.

Their latest move—the denunciation of the 1911 Treaty with Japan-is just one more giant step in their march toward war.

Are they, and the Sixty Families whose press daily sings the praises of their policy, really interested in helping the brave Chinese people, as they sometimes pretend?

The facts give the answer: The United States is the chief supplier of munitions and secondary war material to Japan. In almost all decisive items, from airplanes to scrap iron, the United States has been sending to Japan more than all other countries combined.

In China itself, the United States corporations continue their terrible exploitation of the Chinese workers, whether within the Japanese or the Chinese lines. The dispute and the only dispute which the U.S. government and bosses have with the Japanese government and bosses is over which shall have first choice in grinding profits out of the sweat and blood of the Chinese people.

The newest U.S. - Japan crisis once again warns the people of the United States: On Guard! Roosevelt and Hull have a nice, bloody future all planned for you. They do not intend to let you have anything to say in connection with it.

Roosevelt and Hull have been the outstanding leaders in the fight against the war referendum. Naturally. They know what they are doing. They know that they could never dare submit the war they are cooking up to the verdict of the people.

Congress is preparing to slink home, after seven reactionary months. They think, in Washington, that they have shelved the war referendum -supported by at least two-thirds of the nation -until such a time that it won't matter one way or another.

If it is to get off that shelf, where at the order of Roosevelt the Congressional committees placed it, the people themselves will have to get into action.

Let us put an end to this blank check for the war-mongers!

Let us put the right of making war where it belongs-in the hands of those who suffer and

Let the people vote on war!

Let the people decide!

### **Unwilling Witness**

How deeply has Roosevelt's infamous W.P.A. policy cut into his previous following? Bitter comments in a number of formerly pro-Roosevelt trade union papers are one index. Another the Roosevelt administration,

index is an editorial in the current issue of the New Republic, the liberal weekly which has been almost as uncritically pro-Roosevelt as the Stalinists. For months, indeed, the New Republic is indistinguishable from the New Masses. But the New Republic's editors are more sensitive to the developments in public opinion, as witness this paragraph in a half-apologetic editorial:

"Here are men acting to protect their union standards, as they have acted many times before. Thousands have left their work. Yet this natural protest is combatted (by the government) with all the bitterness and fury that the most self-righteous private employer could use. No effort at conciliation is made, even when tempers rise and fatal violence occurs, as in Minneapolis. Newspapers are encouraged to whip up public anger against the unions. The strikers are peremptorily discharged. Home relief authorities announce that those deprived of livelihood by the action will get no help from them. And even Mr. Roosevelt puts himself at the head of the pack. Not for months has the country witnessed an uglier spectacle. Unless a change in policy is quickly made, we shall be treated to the sight of thousands of jobless mechanics condemned to destitution because they dared, in a cause they believed right, to protest against an action of the government in a manner that is a democratic tradition."

### The Farmers and the WPA Workers' Strike

(The following editorial is reprinted from the July 17 issue of the North Dakota Union Farmer, leading organ of the Farmers Union.)

What does all this hullabaloo about the 130 hours a month for WPA workers mean? Why the strikes? That is what the farmers are wondering about.

Certainly asking a man to work 130 a month. or 321/2 hours a week is not unreasonable—but the wages per month the WPA worker will get remain exactly the same as when he worked about half that time.

Up until now WPA workers have been paid the prevailing hourly wage which meant in many trades, the union scale. But they were limited in the hours of work to a monthly "security wage" which was little enough for security:

Now they have to work many more hours for the same wage. Private employers will undoubtedly use the lower hourly wage of WPA to batter down existing wage standards. As a result the purchasing power of non-relief workers will be brought nearer to that of relief workers.

What does that mean to farmers who are already broken under the burden of a surplus because of underconsumption:-it simply means more underconsumption and more surpluses of farm products and lower prices. It is to the farmers' own interest that they stand squarely with labor in vigorously protesting the inhuman relief measure passed by Congress.

Slashing hourly wage rates is just one of the inequitable features put in by the reactionary House Democrats. Another is the month's staryation period for WPA employes after they have been on the job 18 months. A third is a decrease in the monthly wage, low enough now, in the Northern states. A fourth is reduction of the appropriation so that 2,000,000 instead of 3,000,000 will be employed by WPA, though there are still at least 11,000,000 persons out of work. A fifth is that after January 1 the states and municipalities will have to bear 25% of the cost, whether able or not.

Farmers fared quite well in securing appropriations for the various farm programs but if the city workers suffer, it will take even more government assistance to make up for loss of the farmers' market.

### John Boscoe's Speech

Elsewhere in this issue we carry excerpts from the speech in defense of the WPA strike made by John Boscoe, president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. It was a good speech and a militant defense of the strike.

It was not, however, entirely sufficient for the needs of the present situation. It reflects the fact that the average trade union leader, progressive though he might be, was caught flat-footed by Roosevelt's attack on the unemployed. For the average union leader had many illusions about Roosevelt. Now that the onslaught has come, the union leader may not try to defend Roosevelt, but at the same time he hesitates to place the blame at Roosevelt's door.

This state of mind is very dangerous, for it leaves organized labor unprepared for a whole series of new attacks which Roosevelt is preparing: the Monopoly Commission's prosecution of the building unions, new attacks on relief, new onslaughts on the unions and union conditions to facilitate production of war materials, etc.

If the unions are to be adequately protected. union leaders will have to come to the point of pointing the finger of blame where it belongs: at

### Somebody's Got a Kick Coming!



### Ohio Auto Pickets Beat Back Police Tear Gas, Bullet Barrage

(Continued from Page 1) to smash through the pickets at ly accuracy. Police cowered bethe gate by driving at a terrific hind the fences, gates and aurate of speed

Police Open Fire

Police opened fire with highpowered tear-gas guns from behind the plant fence, but received a good dose of their own lethal medicine when the wind carried the fumes back full in

Instantly, the workers surged picked up the red-hot tear-gas the cops and firemen have a handkerchiefwith wrapped hands and tossed

hem back into the cops' faces. For two hours the workers ought without yielding, not givng an inch. Scab cars were turned over in the melee and caught fire. With rocks and heir bare hands, the workers finally drove every uniformed thug off the street into the

### Bid for Truce

At 8 a.m., when the police nad exhausted their supplies of tear-gas they came out and asked for a truce. But fighting broke out again early this aftertoon, while most of the pickets nad returned to their jobs in other plants, when police tried o bring in additional tear-gas

The mass of pickets were composed of C.I.O. members from other plants who dropped their tools and swarmed in a body to the battle scene. The White Motor Company and the Bender Body Corporation were shut down for the day as thousands of union men pitched into the fray. Workers from half dozen other nearby plants poured into the battle-lines as word spread of the struggle.

By early this afternoon the hospital records showed 46 injured, including at least 7 cops and a score of scabs. At least 20 pickets have been treated in the union field hospital. It is believed that a great number of police have required medical aid, but have not been taken to public hospitals.

Direct Lines from "Mike" Throughout the fight, strike leaders directed the action from an amplifier stationed on he roof of a restaurant at one end of the street. Calling on the workers to hold their lines and fight back in self-defense, the picket captain at the "mike" repeatedly mobilized the work ers to points of advantage from which to escape the worst effects of the tear-gas, which saturated the neighborhood for blocks around, and from where they could break up the police formations and shatter the police lines at the weakest points. The scene around the plant

looked like a war. Hundreds of lice charged a small group of workers in a semblance of real pealed to Mayor Burton and the strikers at the plant gate who formation, wearing steel and city council to stop the violence were attempting to slow down pith helmets to protect them scab car and persuade the from the police maces, surged these only replied, "We shall uriver not to enter the struck forward in wave after wave, plant. The scab had attempted hurling their missles with dead-

> tos guarding their heads with upraised hands.

strikers and pickets. One hose the scabs had escaped before burst and drenched a squad of the workers arrived. police who quickly ducked to forward hurling a mighty bar- group would dash forward from Traffic police were taken off

> rocky shower. Police Brutality Today's strike battle.

liercest in the history of the city, was the climax to three weeks of police provocation and brutality. On July 12, Local 45 of the C.I.O.-U.A.W. called a strike of the tool and die men shattered the police ranks and at the Fisher Body plant, largest in Cleveland.

Only about 650 tool and die men were working, as most of the production men are off. The police, with characteristic sadism and viciousness, repeatedly attacked the small band of pickets, injuring a number and making unprovoked arrest after arrest

### INFORMAL HOUSE

Box 245 Kerhonkson, N. Y. Near Ellenville)

120 acres of greenland in the Catskills, 40 acres of pine for sunbathing; handball, ping pong, archery; swimming and horseback riding nearby; dancing. UNUSUALLY LOW RATES 8 Weekly Busses met at station

Tel. Kerhonkson 118 R

When the union officials ap against the peaceful pickets, maintain our usual policy of 'neutrality'." And the brutaliies continued

Last Friday afternoon the C.I.O. held a mass demonstra tion at the plant with over 3000 City firemen attempted to in attendance. But the comturn high-pressure hoses on the pany had closed down early and

Almost every cop in town cover. The powerful streams of was mobilized this morning at water would drive one group of the plant gates. It was clear workers back, but another they were aching for a fight. rage of bricks, stones and paving blocks. Fearless workers pressed to their faces, and let and gangsters and hoodlums could have had a field day, for all the protection the public was afforded. Traffic in this city of 1.200,000 inhabitants was at standstill all day

### Mobilization Called

The strikers have issued a declaration calling on all workers to mobilize at the plant this afternoon and tomorrow morning. The union is determined to shut the plant once and for all. until a settlement satisfactory to the union is made. General Motors is attempting to break the strike by every means. This is the only one of twelve struck G.M. plants which the company is trying to operate. But company officials today admitted they are already three to four weeks behind schedule.

The "Battle of E. 140th St. is not yet over. But it is already taking on the historical form of those great never to be forgot ten struggles in Minneapolis and Toledo in 1934, the famous Truck Drivers victory of the "Battle of Bulls' Run", and the Auto-Lite victory at the "Bat le of Chestnut Hill" where the first union auto contract was

### The Army Has a New Rapid-Fire Rifle . . The anti-war agitator has a new weapon too-

Just out-

# Let The People Vote On War"

By JAMES BURNHAM

3 cents per copy. Bundle rates: 60 cents for 25; \$1.00 for 60; \$1.75 for 100; \$16.00 for 1.000

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### By James Burnham Government

MRA-"Moral Re-Armament"-has been getting a big play in the press lately. It recently climaxed a cross-country series of meetings with a capacity crowd (25,000) at the Hollywood Bowl, and has currently been holding a "convention" at the swank California resort of Del Monte. Thirty-three State governors, and President Roosevelt, have sent messages of endorsement. Henry Ford is very enthusiastic, and Louis Mayer of M.G.M. (one of the six highest on the recently published list of 1937 salaries) spoke at the Bowl ceremony.

What is this movement, and where did it come from? Why are politicians and big shots so happy to have their names connected with it, and why do virtually all newspapers treat it at such length and so kindly? When we notice that Roy Weir, of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, Charles Copperman of the California Teamsters, and a number of Scandinavian labor officials have been conspicuous at the California meetings, these questions become worth enquiring into.

### Primitive Christianity, a la Buchman

MRA is the new ballyhoo by-line for a movement which has been known for a number of years as the "Oxford Groups", which was self-advertised as a twentieth century return to the primitive Christian Brotherhood of the first century, A.D. Before it took the title of "Oxford Groups", this movement was usually known as "Buchmanism".

from the name of its founder, Frank Buchman. Buchman, a plump, soft, oily fellow with the typical appearance of a thousand small town Kiwanis Club secretaries; started his comfortable racket fifteen or more years ago, in the United States. He busily "converted" suitable persons through a patent method of his own, which he called "soul surgery", to a "new life" based on "God guidance". He specialized in young people of respectable families, particularly good-looking young men, and wealthy dowagers.

High point in his course of treatment was the 'House Party''. A rich sympathizer (several members of the Rockefeller family, for example, were included) would turn over a big house, and a group would be invited for a few days. Long meetings would be held, at which individuals would make public "confessions" of the errors of their ways: drinking, gambling, and such-like skullduggery, but, in the case of the really smash confessions charmingly intertwined with plenty of sex.

After good thorough confessing, the converts would become model citizens, and go around con-

verting their acquaintances. For a while Buchman set up shop at Princeton University; but at that time, for some reason, the undergraduates did not take kindly to his brand of theologico-pornographic pap, and, in the wave of an angry protest, Buchman found it expedient to pull up stakes.

### A Not-So-Innocent Abroad

Soon thereafter, Buchman showed up at Oxford University in England, traditional home, as Matthew Arnold called it, of lost causes. After a few months' careful maneuvering with the right people, he got off to a flying start. Prominent figures signed on the dotted line, and House Parties were blossoming around the English country-side. He stretched out to Holland, and, oddly enough, to South Africa, in both of which spots he met a jolly reception; and he found the Scandinavian countries, also, hospitable.

He followed the same method in getting key recruits: young people, especially young men, of good appearance and families, and older persons of wealth and if possible of title.

He worked on a gradually bigger scale. He travelled often with hundreds of followers (there were a thousand on his just completed trip to California), in the best of style. Yet no one seemed to know where the money came from. He never asked for contributions, or passed a plate, like an ordinary preacher.

And such a friendly man! The first time you meet him, it's "Frank" this and "Bill" that: no such formalities as "Mr." among the Buchman ites. And such hearty slaps on the back and practical jokes and general good fellowship!

### New Worlds to Conquer

As his movement grew, Buchman's ideas have grown with it. A couple of years ago, he made his first little ventures into politics. His voice is getting louder in telling the world how to run its business, how MRA is going to solve the problems of depression and crisis and war-this was the theme of the Hollywood jamboree

And here, my friends, is where Labor comes in, as MRA's 'Absolute Honesty, Purity, Unselfishness, Love" get into political action. From the New York Times, reporting the Del

Monte convention: "Lauritz Laustsen, a Danish sawmill worker, in broken English told a story of how his employer had been "guided by God" to give better conditions. This had built up confidence among the men, he said, so that in the midst of deadlocked strike negotiations the trades union president told an employer that because he was morally rearmed he trusted him, and any terms he might make would be acceptable.'

At the Bowl meeting, from the platform, Copperman, the Teamsters' official, pledged hisfriendship to G. G. Bennett-who happens to be president of Associated Farmers in the Imperial

Clear enough, then, why Henry Ford telegraphed his support to MRA and all its works. What need for unionism at River Rouge, when the workers can get all the better conditions they want simply by putting faith in the morally re-armed Henry Ford? Let us hope, however, that Edsel (and Campbell and Bennett) are following the example of the God-guided Henry.

The United States army has warned Cupid to keep away from its enlisted men at Fort Snelling. Minn. Marriages for enlisted men have been banned unless they can obtain written consent of the corps area commander. The order of the war department excepts only master, technical, staff or first sergeants in grades 1, 2 and 3. Officers at Fort Snelling explained income of enlisted men is not sufficient to maintain a wife, children and home. Buck privates get \$21 per month; first class private, \$30; corporal, \$42; and line sergeant, \$54. The military minds, who long ago repealed the law of humanity so far as they're concerned, will now attempt to repeal the law of procreation