

WORKERS OF THE  
WORLD UNITE!

## Socialist Appeal

BUILD WORKERS'  
DEFENSE GUARDS

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# LET THE PROFITEERS DO THE DYING!

## Stop Fascism In America!

Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN

(FIRST INSTALLMENT)

"Bolshevism is knocking at our gates. We can't afford to let it in. We have got to organize ourselves against it, and put our shoulders together and hold fast. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy."—Al Capone. (Quoted in *Fascism and Social Revolution*, by R. Palme Dutt, p. 204.)

### The Black Shirts March on Rome

On the night of October 29, 1922, a man who later called himself *Il Duce* boarded a Pullman sleeping car at Milan and sped to Rome where he had been summoned by King Victor Emmanuel to act as Premier of Italy. On the following morning King Victor charged him with forming a new government.

A few days later 50,000 Black Shirts, followers of *Il Duce*, climbed off trains at Rome and paraded through the streets shouting "*Il Duce! Il Duce!*"

This was called the "March on Rome."

Before the "March on Rome," *Il Duce's* Black Shirts had ranged like wolves over Italy. They had raided trade union headquarters, smashed the furniture to kindling wood, dumped typewriters out of windows. They had broken into halls where workers met, drenched the floors with gasoline and turned the buildings into crackling furnaces that lit up the sky at night with a red glow.

In every city and village of Italy unions had conducted funeral services for members whose bodies had been found in dark alleys, victims of *Il Duce's* Black Shirts.

But if Terror, Violence, and Torture had ridden as banner bearers during the period before the "March on Rome," now they swept behind *Il Duce's* new government like a great desolating scourge that spared not a home of the workers and small farmers of Italy.

*Il Duce's* Black Shirts strong-armed every trade union and co-operative enterprise, confiscated the insurance and pitiful savings of the poor, herded every one who breathed "union wages union hours" behind barbed wire, drowned free speech in castor oil, black-jacked learning and culture, assassinated all opposition, and marched through every factory and farm with the dripping blade of the bayonet.

*Il Duce* wiped out every progressive organization in Italy. The workers bowed down their backs in misery, hunger, and degradation such as Italy had not known for generations.

Mussolini, the once obscure man, who called himself *Il Duce*, labeled this campaign of murder a "revolution."

He called it FASCISM.

He called it a CORPORATE STATE.

He said it would preserve PRIVATE PROPERTY.

### The Powerful Italian Trade Unions

Those who have studied the labor movement in Italy know that toward the end of the year 1920 the trade unions boasted more than 5,000,000 loyal militant members. Besides this, there were almost 20,000 co-operative societies and a powerful working class political movement.

The workers had succeeded in gaining the eight-hour day throughout most of Italy. They had succeeded in gaining wages high enough to live like human beings. Even in the agricultural districts union contracts prevailed, and the workers had won a few nation-wide concessions such as unemployment insurance and old-age pensions.

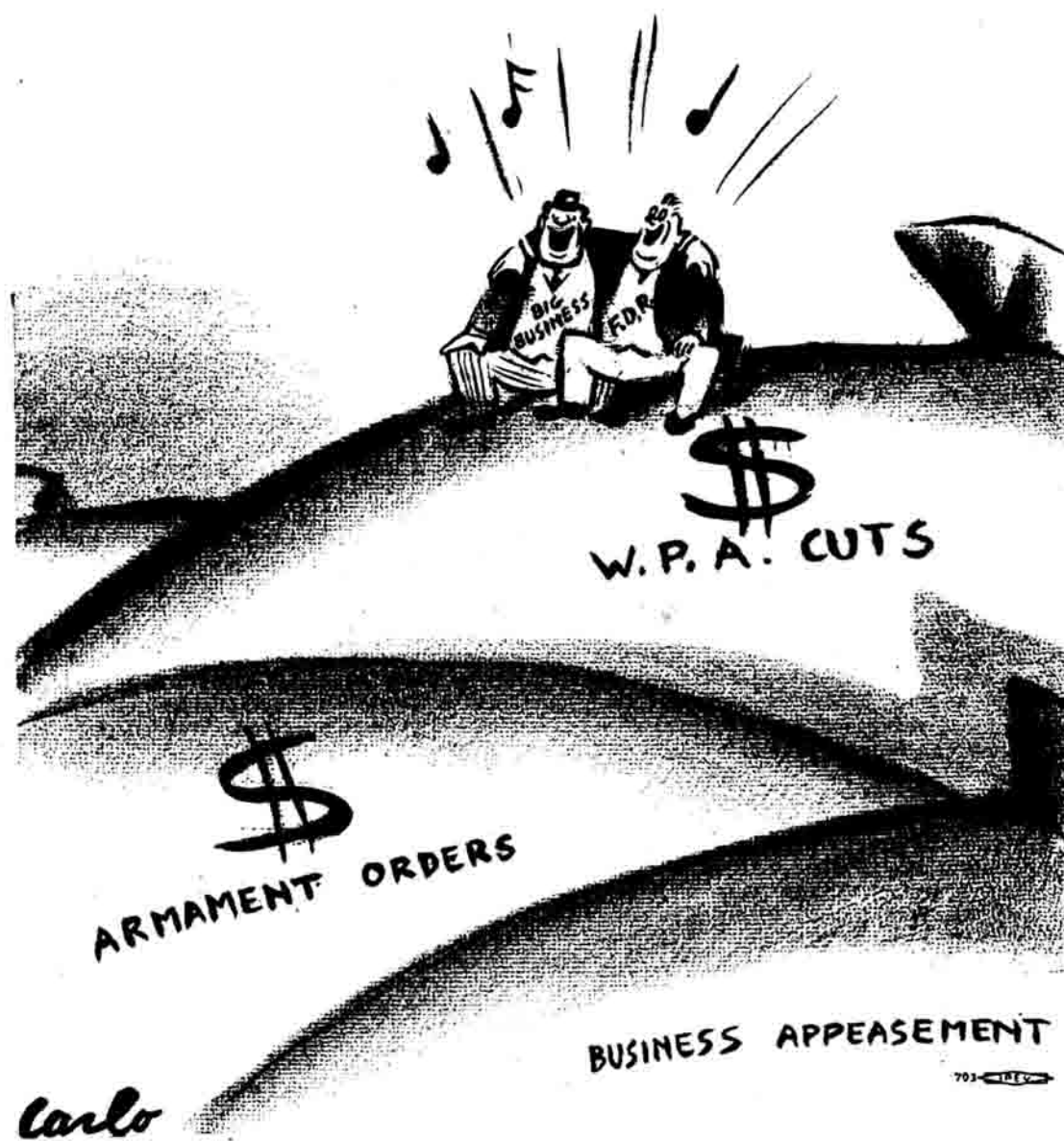
In September 1920 when the big industrialists locked out 600,000 men from the factories, the workers retaliated with a giant sit-down strike. The bosses fought viciously. But the strikers were determined to win. If the stockholding bosses couldn't pay union wages, let them step out of the way. The strikers began running the factories under the supervision of expert shop committees elected from their own ranks.

They even opened the safes of the bosses and uncovered the secret bookkeeping which had hitherto hidden staggering rake-offs through closely guarded manipulation of cost prices and profits.

With a trade union movement as militant and determined as this, how was it possible for a renegade from the Socialist movement like Mussolini, starting with a contemptible handful of porch-climbers and foot-pads, to wipe these powerful labor organizations off the face of the land as if they had never existed?

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"Happy Days Are Here Again"



## Local New York Launches Drive To Place Names on Election Ballot

New York S.W.P. Calls on Workers to Vote First Choice for Shachtman and Paine in Coming Councilmanic Elections

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 8.—New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party today launched a drive for 10,000 signatures to place its two candidates, Max Shachtman of the Bronx and George Lyman Paine of Manhattan on the ballot as candidates for the office of City Councilman in the coming election.

"In running independent candidates of the Socialist Workers Party as 'first choice' on the ballot," declared E. R. Frank, election campaign manager,



MAX SHACHTMAN

"We are not competing with any of the candidates of the American Labor Party who have rejected the support of the Democratic and Republican parties.

To Support ALP Candidates "In fact we are supporting every candidate of the American Labor Party who stands squarely against the Democratic and Republican parties of Big Business. We will campaign for them during the election period.

"If our candidates do not receive sufficient votes to gain

office, then all the votes cast for them will be transferred to the American Labor Party candidates (or whoever is marked 'second choice') on the ballot in accordance with the New York election laws.

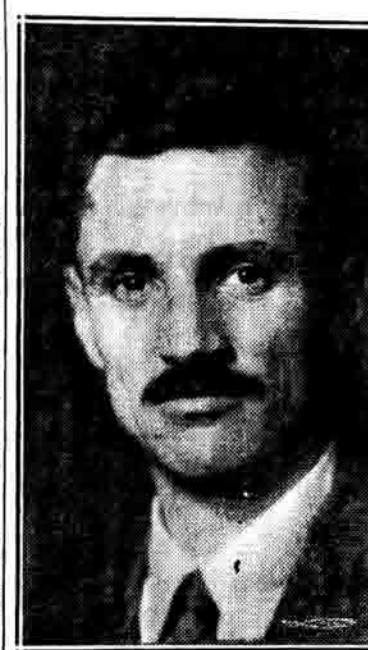
"We stand 100 per cent for independent working class politics. We reject and denounce those candidates who are so weak-kneed, or thirsty for political office, that they betray the interests of the labor movement, and seek help from the war chest of Big Business which finances on the one hand labor spies, thugs, and strikebreakers, and on the other, the Democratic and Republican parties.

Against Relief Slashers "When you vote for a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party you are voting against Democrat Roosevelt and Republican LaGuardia and their slash relief, war-mongering politics.

"When you vote for a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party you are voting against the unwarranted continuance of the depression and in favor of ending the depression by establishing a socialist planned economy.

"Vote for independent labor politics by indicating on your ballot as 'second choice' American Labor Party candidates who are running in opposition to the Democratic and Republican tools of Big Business."

Neighborhood Circulation Petitions have been sent to all branches of the S.W.P. in New York for neighborhood circulation. The whole organiza-



GEORGE LYMAN PAINE

tion is preparing to collect the necessary 2,000 signatures for each candidate in order to place his name on the ballot as a candidate.

The program of the Socialist Workers Party which Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine are pledged to carry out to the full power of the Councilmanic office, if they are elected, calls for the expropriation of the subway, expropriation of the electric power monopoly, a \$20-billion low cost housing program, and adequate relief for those suffering from unemployment.

Major emphasis of the election campaign will be placed on fighting Democrat Roosevelt's and Republican LaGuardia's war program. Huge mass meetings throughout the Bronx and Manhattan as well as other boroughs are planned to dramatize the struggle against war and the struggle against the rising menace of Coughlinism and fascism in America.

Next issue of the *Socialist Appeal* will print the full program of the Socialist Workers Party for the coming election.

## The People Do Not Want to Suffer And Die in War

In the year 1913, on the eve of the first world-wide imperialist war, the nations of the world spent \$2,400,000,000 on armaments.

In the year 1938, according to an analysis just released, the nations of the world spent \$20,000,000,000 on armaments: more than eight times the 1913 figure.

In July, 1914, just before the outbreak of the first world war, there were 5,970,000 men under arms.

Last month, in July, 1939, there were 12,600,000 men under arms: more than twice the number of 1914.

Stop to think, for a moment, of what these figures mean.

The first world war was the most horrible catastrophe in the history of mankind. How much more horrible do these figures indicate that the coming war will be!

Think of the incredible waste of these resources, skills, intelligences, men consecrated, even in peace-time, to the war machine—while tens and hundreds of millions of human beings are in need and want of the products which they could aid in bringing.

Are the peoples of the world going to allow themselves, and civilization, to be destroyed by the war thrust upon them by Hitler, Chamberlain, Mussolini, Daladier and Roosevelt?

If not, the peoples will have to take matters into their own hands, out of the control of the war-makers.

Who will suffer and die in the war?

Not the war-makers. You may be sure that they will be safe and comfortable.

We who will suffer and die must demand and take the right to decide whether that war is worth suffering and dying for.

The war-makers in this country, from Roosevelt to Browder, attack the proposal for a war referendum. They attack it because they plan to lead the people into a war against the will of the majority.

Let the people give the answer to the war-makers!

Let the people vote on war!

Let the people decide!

## Judge Rules Anti-Coughlin Salesmen Can Shout Slogans

Trial Evidence Shows Police Act under Instructions in Hounding Anti-Coughlinites

NEW YORK.—The case against Alyce Carlson heard in Magistrate's court, August 4, was dismissed by Judge Seigel, who made the ruling that anti-Coughlin street salesmen were legally correct in shouting slogans.

During the trial of Alyce Carlson, anti-fascist literature agent, evidence that the New York policemen are acting under instructions to prevent sales of anti-Coughlin pamphlets was brought to light.

Sergeant Orders Arrest At the first hearing, Officer Schnitzges stated that Miss Carlson had shouted statements not printed on the cover of the pamphlet she was selling, and that he had therefore arrested her on the charge of disorderly conduct.

When questioned, Officer Schnitzges disclaimed knowledge of a violation of any statute, but said that he had acted upon the orders of his superior, Sergeant Kelly.

The trial was then postponed and Sergeant Kelly was subpoenaed.

Statements by George Lyman Paine and Max Shachtman, Councilmanic candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, appear on page 2.

naed. Sergeant Kelly's testimony served as the basis for Magistrate Seigel's dismissal of the charge at the next hearing.

This case is further proof of the deep inroads the Coughlin movement is making into the New York police department. Mayor La Guardia's statement whitewashing the police is exposed once more for an open lie and cover-up for the Coughlinites working in the police department.

Why No Coughlin Arrests?

Another victory for the anti-Coughlin forces was won in New Haven in the case of Albert Harde and Ray Robbins, arrested on the trumped-up charges of selling literature without a license. After the Magistrate heard the testimony he threw the case out of court.

"Why don't the police ever arrest Coughlin salesmen?" the Judge asked. The cops in New Haven are lying low after this slap in the face, and the S.W.P. street meetings continue, more and more workers getting acquainted with the fight against Coughlin and their most effective weapon, the Workers Defense Guards.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

## New Mass Layoffs On WPA Speeded

Building Union Head Says WPA Strike May Spread to PWA

NEW YORK, Aug. 7.—With the refusal of Congress to pass the Murray Amendment to the Relief Act, the consideration of which had interrupted mass dismissals of WPA workers on the rolls for eighteen months or more, the WPA Administration gave notice that wholesale firing was to begin again at once, 55,000 workers to be laid off in New York City before August 31.

This almost unbelievable brutality was supplemented by the refusal of Congress to consider the restoration of the prevailing wage on WPA projects.

Lest we forget, both of these provisions, the dismissals of the "eighteen months" and the destruction of the prevailing wage, were dictated by the one billion dollar slash in the relief appropriation made by President Roosevelt in his rec-

(Continued on Page 2)

## MILLIONS OF MEN AWAIT CALL TO WAR

War Postponement Beyond Fall Can Only Be for Short Period

The crisis month of August finds nearly 13,000,000 men under arms waiting for the outbreak of war.

The British reserve fleet of 133 vessels and 12,000 men is opening maneuvers this week in the North Sea that are to last until the end of September, by which time the European politicians figure war will have begun if it's to begin at all this Fall. An army of 750,000 is exercising in England, and British planes are making weekly practice flights to the continent.

German Maneuvers Italy has just completed "maneuvers" near the French frontier. Germany's maneuvers, the most redoubtable of all—with 2,500,000 men engaged—are to begin in the next few crisis-laden weeks.

These are the men and guns being moved across the traditional green tables of the diplomats in the game that is to end sooner or later in a new slaughter of the nations. Last year the situation was much the same and war did not actually break out. There was a climb-down. Instead and Hitler grabbed Czechoslovakia. This Fall war may again be staved off and Hitler may grab Danzig. If so, the issue will only have been postponed again—and only for a brief period.

Main Developments At the present stage of the pre-war diplomatic tangle, the main developments are as follows:

1. In Moscow: The Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations drag their way along, with the French and British negotiators still off at arms length from the ardently desired pact. They

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## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Recently the New York Post carried a long story on the Hotel, Restaurant, Bartenders and Soda Dispensers Unions welding into one centralized group to organize the culinary and hotel services.

The step was hailed as a giant step forward towards industrial unionism of the A.F.L. unions involved. Announcement of the plans came from a reorganization meeting of the New York local joint executive board of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International union and the Bartenders International union, AFL affiliates.

### Too Good to Be True

Since it all sounded too good to be true, we asked a progressive food worker to write us his opinions on the matter. Excerpts from his letter follow:

"The information contained in the Post story is somewhat garbled and there is some misstatement of fact. Firstly, the Locals are not 'pooling' their resources. Instead, the Stalinist controlled Local Joint Board (similar to the district council of the Painters union but lacking to a great extent its authority at present) has assessed all Local Unions two cents per capita for the purpose of instituting a full-time appointed secretary of the L.J.B. and several departments.

"The depression has hit the C. P. despite Roosevelt and they need some sinures for their 'ex-leaders'."

"However, the main reason for this 'new centralization of authority' is the desire of the C. P. to wrest autonomy from the progressively inclined Locals, namely Locals 16 and 677—although according to the constitution they can only affect the former, which is a waiters union and shares jurisdiction with another Local in shops signed by them."

"Significantly enough the Stalinists in proposing the set-up, use the argument that the Brass Rail strike would never have occurred if the L.J.B. had had the power it now pretends to have. (The strike seems lost.) Strike situations invariably embarrass the Stalinist administration for political reasons, and the fact that they're trend stark empty treasuries."

### Trend Against C. P.

"The reorganization is in no respect a step towards 'industrial unionism' as the story states. The Stalinists made a faint towards such organization of some craft locals. If it is attempted by them now, it will not be done voluntarily because it would weaken their position considerably (apparently all they are seeking is a cloak for maneuvers to usurp further control).

"The trend in all the food locals is against them and they face the possibility of being slaughtered at the polls in the coming elections—as they were in Local 677, and to a lesser extent in Local 16 a few months ago—unless they pull something spectacular or diabolical out of their bag of tricks."

### Negro Unionists

Worthy of study for progressive unionists is the material contained in the current Journal of Negro Education, published by Howard University and available at all the libraries, on the question of Negroes in the union movement.

This material is part of a general survey of the status of the Negro in American society (also very valuable insofar as information, etc. is concerned).

A special section is devoted to the presentation of the statistics of the number of Negroes in industry, types of work they do, etc.

Then a brief history of the Negro's role in the American labor movement in the past, his efforts to build independent unions, the policy and practices of the A.F.L. in relation to this problem, and the C.I.O. policy and practice towards the Negro is contained in this magazine.

Along with Spero and Harris' book, "The Black Worker," this material is the best we have been able to find for facts on this vital problem. Unfortunately, the material is too copious to be presented in this column. We can only recommend a reading of it.

## CONGRESS GIVES SIGNAL FOR MASS LAYOFFS

Strike of Construction Workers May Be Extended to PWA

(Continued from Page 1)

ommendation to Congress. Strike Goes On

In an interview given today to the Socialist Appeal, Thomas A. Murray, President of the Building and Construction Trades Council declared, "We're going right ahead with the strike. These people (WPA administration) insist on making fools of themselves. They are losing \$750,000 a week as long as they insist on holding out on the union."

Murray declared, in relation to Congress' refusal to restore the prevailing wage, "We never had much faith in Congress anyway."

Murray went on to say that Section 15B of the Relief Act, which gives Relief Administration Harrington discretion to restore the prevailing wage, gives the union, despite the action of Congress, a chance to affect this restoration.

"If Harrington doesn't come through," Murray said, "there is a very good possibility that we will extend the strike to the PWA projects."

The PWA project workers on which the prevailing wage has been paid up to date, have indicated before their willingness to support their WPA brothers in this fight against the government's attack on union conditions.

## Arrest Guild Pickets for Annoying 'Persons Unknown'

Charged Originally with "Carrying" Signs On Sidewalk, Face New Charges in Court

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

LYNN, Mass., July 30—Three pickets, members of the Lynn Chapter of the American Newspaper Guild were arrested here while picketing in front of a large department store advertising in the paper (the Daily Evening Item) against which the editorial staff is striking, for recognition of the Guild, better wages and a five day week. The men were wearing oil cloth sandwich signs announcing the fact of the store's continued advertising in the struck paper.

James E. Nolan, president of the Lynn Chapter of the Guild, was the first to be arrested. After refusing to stop picketing he was taken to the police station, there relieved of his tie, belt and suspenders and put in a cell. Shortly after he was joined by two other fellow picketers, Herbert L. Schon, local vice president, and Joseph M. Colburn, veteran labor reporter.

All three were booked on violation of a city ordinance prohibiting the carrying of signs or placards on a public sidewalk. They were later released, to await trial.

Prepared the next morning to fight the charges of violating an unconstitutional city ordinance, the men were astonished to find that the charges had been changed overnight. Instead of the ordinance, they were now faced with a most puzzling, if not absolutely unintelligible charge of "Annoyance of Persons Unknown!"

Attorney Samuel Angoff, for strikers, secured a continuance to next week.

## Statements by S.W.P. Candidates for Council

The Labor Movement Must Stop Fascism From Gaining Power

By GEORGE LYMAN PAINE  
Manhattan Candidate of S.W.P. for Councilman

The labor movement must stop fascism from ever gaining power in the United States. Father Coughlin and his allies such as the German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts, the Ku Klux Klan, etc., who hope to establish a fascist dictatorship in America, have not only whipped up a tremendous wave of race hatred against the Jewish and Negro people in this country, but have now openly declared civil war on the labor movement.

It is only a question of time until these organizations begin a campaign of murder against the labor movement as did similar organizations in Italy and Germany.

The labor movement must immediately launch a campaign of independent labor politics. Labor must have its own government in Washington, D. C. Labor must build Defense Guards to protect its own headquarters, its own members, its very existence against Coughlin's "Christian Front" gangsters and similar anti-labor storm troops.

There is no other way to stop fascism from taking over the United States. That is the platform of the Socialist Workers Party. That is the platform on which I stand.

SWP Gives Workers An Opportunity to Vote against War

By MAX SHACHTMAN  
Bronx Candidate of the S.W.P. for Councilman

The decision of the Socialist Workers Party to run a candidate in the Bronx in the coming municipal elections signifies that the workers of that community will have an opportunity to vote this fall for the only militant and consistently anti-war party in the field.

The war danger—literally a life and death matter—is the all-dominating issue of our time. By voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party working men and working women can give the most clear-cut expression to their hatred of imperialist war and of the imperialist war mongers. Such a vote, even on a local scale, will give important food for thought to those who are prepared to plunge the population of this country into a new world disaster.

### ALP Benefits

Voting for the councilman candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will in no way invalidate votes that are cast at the same time for the candidates of the American Labor Party. The proportional representation system that exists in New York makes it possible for the first choice votes, which we hope will go to the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, to be transferred if necessary to the second choice votes, which most workers will give to the American Labor Party candidate.

I am honored by my nomination as one of the standard bearers of the revolutionary Socialist Workers Party in the coming elections. I can only pledge myself to do all within my power to justify this honor by an energetic campaign to bring the platform of our party to the widest possible circle of labor in the Bronx.

## LAUNCH DRIVE TO UNIONIZE WPA WORKERS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

STREATOR, ILL., July 30—Over 500 WPA workers attended a mass meeting called by the Federal Workers League in the City Park to launch the drive for 100% unionization of all WPA projects. Included among the speakers were Albert Gates and Lydia Biedel of Chicago, Ben Martin, FWL leader, John Malone, CIO organizer and Joe Tonielli, of the IWA. The keynote of the meeting was expressed by Martin when he said, "The workers of Streator have learned that their salvation does not lie with either the Republicans or the Democrats; the only place the workers can place confidence is in their own ranks. The solidarity of the working class can and has accomplished the only real gains that have been for labor."

## NEWARK CALLS ANTI-WAR MEET

NEWARK, N. J.—A "Let the People Vote on War" rally, on Sunday evening, Aug. 13, with Murray Weiss as the main speaker, will climax the first two weeks of the anti-war campaign program of the Newark S.W.P. and Yipsels. The meeting will be held in the S.W.P. Hall, 252 Market Street. Admission will be free.

The Newark comrades are also actively engaged in pushing daily sales of the Socialist Appeal on the streets, at factory gates, and house to house, as well as carrying out other aspects of the campaign allotted to them. They're going to meet their quotas in a shorter period and probably exceed them before the campaign is over, at their present rate of activity.

In addition to the "Let the People Vote on War" meeting on August 13, Newark has planned two other meetings for August. James Burnham, on August 20, will speak on "The New Deal Shows Its Teeth." On August 27, E. R. McKinney will speak on "Rights for the Colored Workers!"

## Y.P.S.L. Will Open Summer Camp and School August 11

Camp 3 L's invites all members and friends of the revolutionary movement to participate in its four week program of fun and sports beginning on Friday, August 11.

The New York Division of the Young People's Socialist League is readying its summer camp for a gala opening. The camp is located six miles north of Brewster, Putnam County, N. Y. As the camp circular announces: "nestled in the rolling hills of upstate New York, surrounded by a forest of evergreen and white birch, a modern country home located on 45 acres of land will be the scene of our summer camp."

National Chain When the New York camp opens, the last link in the plan for Y.P.S.L. Camps across the nation will be completed. Camp 3 L's like our other camps in California, Chicago, and Ohio, will feature a regional training school.

The Camp program will include all sorts of sports with swimming and boating facilities nearby. Campfires, outdoor socials, and overnight hikes will highlight the whirl of activities. Study and cultural groups will function regularly.

Rates per week are: employed \$14; unemployed \$8. Per weekend: employed \$4; unemployed \$3.

For further information write to: Camp Director, 116 University Place, N. Y. C.

## BUREAUCRATS WIN ELECTIONS IN FUR UNION

Use Undemocratic Tricks in Fighting Progressive Forces

NEW YORK—Elections for officers of the Furriers Union have just been completed, and the Stalinist leadership re-elected itself by using every bureaucratic and undemocratic trick known to the trade union movement.

Before the election, the United Progressive Furriers, the opposition group in the union, demanded that they be permitted to have watchers at the polls to avoid repetition of stuffing ballot boxes which characterized past elections. The request for watchers was refused by the Stalinist administration.

The progressive group then offered to give up their opposition group if the elections were held in a democratic manner. The Stalinist election committee responded by removing the majority of progressive group candidates from the ballot on the grounds that the candidates were irregular in their dues payments. Every candidate of the United Progressive Furriers group was actually paid up in dues and the Stalinist "yes men" whose names were on the ballot were for the most part "not in good standing" as far as their dues payments to the union were concerned.

A few days before the election, the United Progressive Furriers requested the numbers of the candidates on the ballot so that they could make up their election slate. This request was refused.

Withdraw Candidates

Finally, after the progressives had made every attempt to force an honest election—and every attempt failed—the United Progressive Furriers withdrew from participating in the elections.

It was reported by the administration that 6,300 workers voted in the election. Those opposition candidates whose names remained on the ballot were polled a large section of the votes despite the election boycott. Nathan Kramer, opposition candidate for manager received 750 votes. Another 700 persons who were forced to vote and have their union books stamped to indicate that they had voted did so by casting blank ballots.

Count Own Ballots

To top the whole election off, the Business Agents who were running for office, counted their own ballots.

This bureaucratic election that the Stalinists just palmed off on the membership of the Furriers Union still leaves the union membership with a leadership that has no intention of fighting for improvement of conditions on the job.

## APPEAL ARMY

Article No. 3 in the Press Building Series:  
HOW TO BUILD YOUR APPEAL & NEW INTERNATIONAL SQUAD:

The Appeal squad is a new development in our literature and circulation methods. It is an important step in our propaganda system and great stress must be laid upon it. In our drive to step up the circulation of the Appeal and New International, a large part of our success will depend on the development of these squads of professional salesmen.

The following branches have already tried this with real results to point to: New York City, Chicago, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Detroit and Newark.

ORGANIZING THE SQUAD:

This is the job of the branch literature agent. Selection of squad salesmen should be from unemployed branch members, partly employed members and those who work full time but have a day or more per week to devote to this activity. Also, squad members should be selected from the local Y.P.S.L. unit.

The Squad needs some financing, especially to get going. The salesmen should be given part of the proceeds for their lunches. The Branch can make up the small loss by profits that come from Mass Street sales.

In addition, the Branch should regularly set aside a Press Fund which is to be utilized primarily for supporting such undertakings as a squad of regular, full-time salesmen.

Next Week: Getting subscriptions for our press.

THE SQUAD AT WORK:

All squad assignments should be given out by the comrade in charge who is centrally located at Party headquarters.

Literature-agents should call the squad together for instructions as to what slogans they are to shout, how to handle their papers, etc. Then squad members are assigned to favorable locations and street corners. An accurate record of sales made at the assigned spot must be kept over a period of time. This will soon furnish proof as to which spots are the best "literature spots."

Every squad member must be equipped with an Appeal newsboy apron and an attractive poster which has been furnished by the Appeal poster shop.

One squad member can hold down a corner for several hours. He should keep moving around, shouting appropriate slogans, holding the Appeal open in front of him and selling. If the corner is a busy one, send out two or more squadsmen to cover it. At special times (union parades, union mass meetings, etc.) it is a good idea to send out the entire squad to work together for mass coverage.

The surest way of having your branch quota of Appeals and New Internationals mount is to organize your squad right now. Always be sure to supply the salesman with copies of the current New International.

Next Week: Getting subscriptions for our press.

## WORKERS' FORUM

CATHOLIC OBJECTS TO APPEAL NEWS REPORT

Dear Editor:

In the more than eight months that I have been bitterly engaged as a leader in the Chicago Hearst Guild strike, I have been a consistent reader of your paper. I will say in addition that I considered the Socialist Appeal a newspaper; truthful and fearless. I assumed that what I read in your news columns were factual accounts.

As a newspaper editor whose feeling for the working class is as honest and intense as that of yourself, I admired your excellent newspaper technique. As president of the Cathedral-Chicago Chapter, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, I find little difference between us in approaching the main problem. We both want justice and equity for all workmen. I have no quarrel with the content of your editorial columns; they contain your personal views which are of no more value than my own.

In reading the account of the Socialist Appeal concerning the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee meeting for John L. Lewis here, I find with considerable astonishment that no mention was made of one highly important incident in that meeting and that was the

appearance on the platform of Bishop Shell of the Catholic Church. I cannot conceive that as good a newspaperman as yourself would have overlooked the fact, hence I am forced to conclude that your publishing association is just as venal, specious and subsidized as the Hearst, McCormick, Pulitzer and Ochs gangs. You have more right to enter a propaganda handbill in the postoffice as a newspaper than the other publishers have and that they do so cannot be your defense.

I have no quarrel with your denunciations of Heywood Brown and nothing but commendation for your expose of Father Coughlin, a gentleman with whom I disagree as violently as do you. I think, as a newspaperman, that you should have informed your readers that Bishop Shell was there and then said what you pleased about him in your editorial comment. That is good newspaper work, something I fear your management cannot deliver.

Sincerely yours,  
Harry Cyril Read  
CHICAGO,  
August 4, 1939.

(Reference to Bishop Shell was omitted from the article published in the Appeal for no other reason than that our correspondent unfortunately failed to include it in his report. We particularly regret the omission if it gave the article a misleading tone, as Mr. Read seems to think it did. We welcome the aid given labor by any individual, including members of the church hierarchy. In cases where we disagree with the views of a particular individual it is our custom as Mr. Reed properly suggests, to comment editorially. However, we are surprised that Mr. Read should, on the basis of one instance of reportorial negligence, have concluded that our paper which has known to be truthful and objective has become "venal."—Ed.)

### FROM A COMRADE IN CANADA

Dear Comrade Editor:

Permit me to congratulate you comrades in the United States for having produced such an excellent paper.

The publicity you have given the WPA strike struggles, covering such a large area, is remarkable for a newspaper with modest resources.

Up here in Alberta the workers and farmers have had a double dose of political potage with disastrous results. Already the unemployed are reduced to a pauper status. But there are healthy symptoms of a return to independent working class action with more vigor, determination than ever before.

Wishing you every success.

Fraternally,  
Charles L.

August 1, 1939  
Calgary, Alberta

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## THOUSANDS AT ANTI-WAR RALLIES CALLED BY NEW YORK S.W.P.

Six successful anti-war rallies covering all parts of the city opened the campaign by the New York district of the Socialist Workers Party for a referendum to let the people vote on war.

About 35,000 people all together were reached by these

outdoor mass meetings, five of which took place on Friday, August 4, and one each on Wednesday and Thursday, marking the anniversary of the beginning of the World War.

### Parade Precedes Rally

In Downtown Manhattan, the rally was preceded by a parade from the Party headquarters to the corner of Delancey and Norfolk Streets proceeding through the heart of the East Side. The size of the meeting and the enthusiasm of the workers in the audience which they heard made it the first such meeting in several weeks which the local Stalinists did not try to break up by heckling. One hundred ten signatures for the War Referendum Petition were secured, and over twenty pamphlets sold, in a short time.

The rally in Brownsville had been built up by a parade held the Wednesday before. A third of the meetings took place in the needle-trades market district during the noon hour of Friday. The other rallies were held in the Bronx, Boro Park, and the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

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## Who's Against the War Referendum?

## American Legion Distrusts the People

By HAL DRAPER

The American Legion—its national leadership—is opposed to letting the people vote on the issue of peace or war. It denounces the idea of a people's referendum before any start of armed warfare. And like the others who set themselves against this proposal, the Legion leaders give the show away when they get down to giving reasons.

A war referendum, says National Commander Doherty, would be

"productive of dissension and confusion and in the final analysis result in a divided nation. At best the decision would be a majority one. The proposed amendment implies lack of confidence on the part of our people in their Congressional representatives. This is not in accord with the facts. Other nations would readily interpret it as a sign of weakness." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 10, 1939.)

"To Hell With the Majority"

(1) Mr. Doherty takes for granted that when the United States goes to war, there will be a substantial section of the

people who will be against that war, that there will be a "divided nation" which the referendum would only record. Who will have the majority in this division? Will the majority say "no," or will it succumb to the war hysteria?

Mr. Doherty doesn't care. A capitalist "democracy" doesn't stop its war plans just because the majority of the people are against them. As Doherty's Washington representative, Col. Taylor, pointed out: the expectation of an anti-war vote in a referendum is the best argument against holding any referendum—for these jingos to whom the people are so many cattle.

### A Fascist Warning

(2) A democratic vote would be a "sign of weakness!" Here Doherty repeats the essential argument which is made by . . . the fascists! The fascists say scornfully to the "democrats": "You are weak because you must depend on convincing your people to commit suicide; we merely order them; you must step a little carefully to put your war plans across; we can drive forward without ask-

ing anyone." And Doherty's refutation is: On the war question, at least, there is and can not be a speck of democracy permitted, in the "democracies" any more than in Germany or Italy.

(3) Mr. Doherty is serving notice that when war breaks out, if not before, the regime that will be established in this country will be TOTALITARIAN. Only one point of view—pro-war—could be expressed; for would not a "divided nation" be shown if free speech could be exercised by those against the war? Wouldn't the running of election candidates of an anti-war party provide a partial count of how many oppose the war, and therefore be impermissible?—The American people, says Doherty, will be divided by war; but it will be up to the government to hammer them into an appearance of "national unity" in the same way that Hitler gets his 99 percent votes.

### No Reliance on Bosses!

(4) If Congress really consists of representatives of the people, then its vote on the war should be a reflection of the



# In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

## South American Situation Fraught With Revolutionary Possibilities

(This week's column by Diego Montanez)

Unrest and turmoil continue in Latin America. Chile and Ecuador have just had a little trouble. Mexico had a minor outbreak last week in the rich mining state of Guanajuato and United States diplomatic sources hint that they expect further developments. Information from Brazil indicates that the constant jockeying for control of the government is fast approaching the point of eruption into open civil war. In Argentina the reactionary, pro-British President Ortiz, with the aid of the Stalinists, whips up an anti-German spy hunt. Throughout the Latin part of the continent one finds the same ferment that preceded the sweep of revolts that took place in 1930.

With so many capitalist governments tottering, a splendid opportunity for revolutionary action should exist. But, with the exception of the numerically small sections of the Fourth International, and to a certain extent the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico, the clever smile of Roosevelt and the pro-imperialist turn of the Stalinists have wrought havoc among the labor and progressive movements of the continent.

The situation of the capitalists is complicated by several factors. There are the struggles between the "democratic" and "dictatorial" powers for control of the industries and markets and military bases, the struggles between the U.S. and British capitalists, the struggles of the native capitalists for a larger share of the booty, the fuses occasionally raised by sections of the native capitalists who prefer "liberal" means of ruling, the continual battles between sets of job-hungry officials, the maneuvers of the labor bureaucrats and Stalinists, and under them all the restless stirring of the hundred million workers and peasants.

The fresher bureaucratic government cliques that took power in the wave of revolts nine or ten years ago have become worn out. New and still fresher strata are being pushed forward. In Brazil a large section of the ruling class, in-

cluding many of the army leaders, has grown tired of the inept and unsteady Vargas dictatorship. They are preparing for an attempt to replace it with one more to their own liking. This attempt will be bitterly resisted by the Vargas group, probably to the point of bloody civil war.

In the course of such a war both sides will ferociously turn upon any section of the working class that raises its head. The advanced workers, who supported the large and influential Communist Party in the past, have by now lost all faith in the Stalinist relic that preaches support of the very government that murdered and jailed thousands of its old militants and keeps it illegal even today. Whole masses have voted against the "new line" with their feet. Others, to a surprising and significant extent, have drawn the lessons of the Stalinist degeneration and have come over to the Fourth International.

Though the Stalinist lackeys of the imperialist police "reached the depth of announcing over the Moscow short-wave radio the real names of party members who they knew were opposed to the support of Yankee imperialism" (quoted from the unanimous decision of the Sao Paulo Regional Committee of the C.P.), the Communist organizations in Parana and Sao Paulo (the latter the Brazilian equivalent of New York State), as well as many individual militants, have broken with Stalinism and joined the Leninist Workers Party (Fourth International section in Brazil). Even in the prisons and dungeons of Rio and Fernando Naranho Island where Vargas keeps five to six thousand anti-imperialist fighters, the same process is going on, as new arrivals bring news of Stalinism and the new Fourth International. The Stalinist henchmen now find themselves forced, by the appearance of so many manifestos of disaffiliation by militant C.P. groups, to sign their leaflets: "Communist Party (section of the Third International)"!

The revolutionary, Bolshevik movement in Brazil, inspired by its new gains, has held a congress to consolidate its forces to prepare to move forward to winning the masses of down-trodden, underfed workers and landless peasants for the decisive struggle against the corrupt native and foreign capitalists.

## On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Is there anybody who does not know the story about the sixteen blind men who made a special trip to the Bronx Zoo just to become acquainted with that most extraordinary of all beasts, the elephant? I thought so. Well, it seems these men all walked up to the animal in question and reached out to feel it so that they could determine its size and proportions. As soon as the beast felt sixteen pairs of hands on his hide he turned away and ran for cover leaving the sixteen blind men standing around in a circle. Each had grabbed at the elephant and each thought he knew what the beast looked like.

"It is similar to the snake" said the first because he had felt only the elephant's trunk.

"No, not at all," said the second who had touched the feet, "it is more like a tree".

"All wrong, all wrong," muttered a third, "a beast with ears like that is more like a jackass."

And so every blind man went home with his own idea of what an elephant looks like. And each blind man went about describing this beast to all his friends. You can imagine the result. Today many people are under the impression that an elephant is little different from a seagull.

### Some Can See, But Won't Look

And now we come to the people who can see but who refuse to look. These people go about spreading stories about beast and man which would make your few remaining locks turn a cold, stone grey. As has been said: "There are none so blind as those who will not see."

Now then, unless we are to be in the same boat with the blind men, we must take a good look at the people we want to talk to and about. The blind had an excuse but we have none. If we are to really convince the workers that they are on the receiving end of a baseball bat we must get out and take a good look at them and spend a little time talking with them. Some of us are in for a shock.

Take my friend Thistlethwaite for instance. Here is a guy who has read all the books and newspapers. He can recite the constitution of his union backwards in pig latin. He has a reputation as a crackjack motion maker on the social committee. In other words, a smart guy. But like the hero in the Palm Olive Soap ads he lacks a certain something. And without that certain something his social life is about as gay as a crutch.

He tried everything. He asked his best friends. He even took up physical culture but it was not until he decided to re-examine his ideas with some original research that his life took on a new meaning. Try it sometime.

### Follow an Idea Through

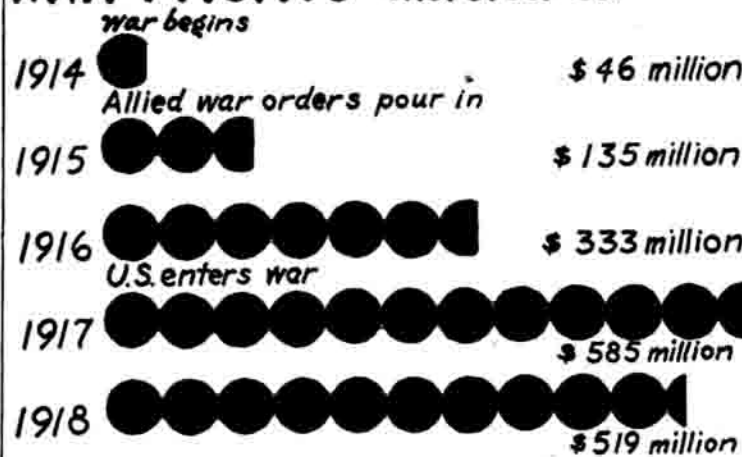
Take some idea which has been politely accepted and never investigated and follow it down to the ground. A good problem and one which has been the subject of discussion for a long time is the composition of the Communist Party. It's not what you think.

If you are under the impression that all members of the C.P. are in full agreement with the line of Holy Joe (better known as Butch) you are showing all the earmarks of a guy who has been living in a tightwad's pocketbook.

Matter of fact, if you take the trouble to really sit down and discuss with rank and file members of the C.P. you will discover that they, for the most part, have some good, healthy instincts. Many are really for this line of democracy and it comes as a shock to learn the real meaning of the "peace and democracy" baloney which Browder & Co. have been slicing. Many really mean it when they say they are against fascism—only they don't understand how to fight fascism. Most of them are not aware of the policy followed by the Stalinists in Germany when Hitler took power. Many are trying to establish democracy in their union and find it hard to understand just why the Stalinists keep stalling and stalling

## Who Won the World War?

### WAR PROFITS—U.S. Steel Co.



"Manufacturers must have reasonable profits to do their duty."  
—Judge Gary, head of Steel Institute, 1917.

## "New Masses" and Father Coughlin

By JOSEPH HANSEN

On July 30 Father Coughlin openly and brazenly declared civil war on the American labor movement when he broadcast a speech entitled "The Call to Action" over a nationwide hook-up of more than 50 radio stations.

Coughlin called on his storm troop organization, which he calls the "Christian Front," to take to the streets and fight "cheek to jowl" and "shoulder to shoulder" with anyone who opposes Coughlinism. "We will fight you in Franco's way!"

Coughlin threatened to establish a "defense mechanism" in America like Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany "such as the world has not seen."

"It is a death struggle!" he declared. "You are either with me or against me."

### THAT IS A DECLARATION OF WAR!

Didn't Hear Him  
How did the heroes of Stalin's Communist Party meet this threat of civil war against the labor movement?

The New Masses, official voice of Stalin's American section, declares in an editorial of August 8, that it didn't hear Father Coughlin's speech, that it couldn't locate any radio station which had broadcasted Father Coughlin's speech, that it couldn't even get a printed copy of the speech (Coughlin mails them out by the hundreds of thousands, postage free) and hence had no way of knowing what Coughlin said in his Sunday speech.

Where were the editors of the New Masses? Studying how their comrade General Miaja sold out the rank and file in Spain to fascism and then scrambled while his passport was still good? Or listening to WHN, 1250 Kilocycles on the dial (announced in Sunday's New York Times radio section) as Father Coughlin told America what he thought of the "non-religious Jews," the "red leaders" of the American labor movement, the "cowardice" of his opponents, and how he would establish the worst fascist dictatorship the world has yet seen!

Judge for yourself. Without having heard Coughlin's speech, without having read it, they considered it dangerous and important enough to disturb the rank and file of the Communist Party and hence to deserve an answer. They declared that Coughlin's "inciting to violence," "the central theme of his speech last Sunday" is not the "persecution mania of dementia praecox!"

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

**HOLD AUGUST 27 OPEN!!!**  
The Friends of the Russian Bulletin will hold an all day outing on Sunday, Aug. 27 at Rye Beach. The boat will leave the Battery at 10:15 A.M. The entire day will be spent at Rye Beach and the return trip will be made by boat, leaving in the evening. The arrangements committee is preparing a varied and interesting program of games, music, swimming, etc. There will be dancing to the music of a first-rate orchestra on the boat, with a Broadway show on the return trip. Tickets are available at the office of the New International at the nominal rate of one dollar. Please make your reservations early.

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

but "a smooth and effective bit of fascist methodology."

The New Masses couldn't find out what stations Coughlin utilizes for his nationwide broadcasts every Sunday in the year and which he publishes periodically in Social Justice! That's a lie! They knew very well what he threatened.

The New Masses got a terrible headache when they heard Coughlin preparing his "Christian Front" to use violence in the streets. They know that the only way to defend yourself from violence is by organizing Workers Defense Guards! But these heroes are the last ones in the world to lift up their fists even in self-defense—much less defense of the labor movement. Like a little toy dog that suddenly decides his own bark is too dangerous, they pulled in tail damn quick.

### A Smelly Proposal

But here's the pay-off—last sentence in the editorial, New Masses' method of fighting America's fascist demagogue who announces to the world that he is taking "Franco's way!"

"It is the first duty of progressives to learn where and from what stations Coughlin is broadcasting and to make their feelings immediately known to the owners."

Make their feelings known to the bosses who are backing up Coughlin with hard cash!

Doesn't that sound sweet and democratic and on your toes, grandmother!

But it smells like Stalinist General Miaja's way of fighting Franco!

## Negro Workers at Phila. Rally Hear SWP Position on WPA, Relief

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
PHILADELPHIA, July 29—At an outdoor meeting attended by 75 Negro workers, S.W.P. speakers exposed the company-union role of the Workers Alliance.

Reuben Plaskett, Negro Newark unemployed leader, received a warm reception when he took the stand and explained the part of Roosevelt as initiator of recent cuts in WPA and as strikebreaker.

Prominent Stalinist whips stood aghast as point by point the treacherous, class-collaboration policy of the Communist Party in the Workers Alliance was unmasked.

Stalinist Tries to Interrupt  
Sterling Rochester, member of the C.P. Philadelphia executive committee, attempted to interrupt a speaker, presumably because a profane word was used. (Really these Trotskyites should be sent to Sunday school!) However, the workers present, intent upon the message of the S.W.P., insisted that the speaker continue.

So interested were the workers, that the meeting did not adjourn until midnight.

**Alliance Members Friendly**  
Plaskett, surrounded by a dense crowd of listeners, turned the reactionary slander of Stalinist questioners into boomerangs. Workers Alliance members directed good political questions at him, and received answers that left them friendly to the program of the S.W.P.

The workers liked the S.W.P. program of a 20 billion dollar Federal Works and Housing Program, of turning all war funds over to the unemployed, of opening the idle factories

## MILLIONS OF MEN AWAIT CALL TO WAR

13,000,000 Million Men Under Arms in War Crazy World

(Continued from Page 1)

have gone as far as to send military missions to Moscow to discuss matters of strategy even before the political pact is concluded. This step, designed as pressure on Hitler and Stalin alike, is regarded as a cover-up for the continuing deadlock of the pact negotiations.

2. In Tokyo: the issue of Japanese adherence to the Italo-German military alliance has again come sharply to the fore. The Japanese have been engaged for three months in undeclared warfare against the Russians on the Mongol frontier. They have so far been reluctant, however, to join the axis alliance for fear of finding themselves confronting Britain, France, and probably the United States, as well as Russia, in war. The Germans, on their part, have been none too anxious to bring Japan in so long as they believe there is hope of "neutralizing" the Russians.

But in the last month the Japanese have come to grips with the British in a determined effort to win a deeper Japanese foothold in the all-important foreign concessions. An anti-British campaign, sponsored by the Japanese, is in full swing.

With Roosevelt's move in revoking the trade treaty, signifying to the Japanese that they will certainly have Yankee imperialism to contend with in any case, the Nippon militarists are pressing for the axis alliance link. The Japanese civilian leaders are angling for a more flexible stand which would leave Japan some negotiating leeway if they do find themselves in the tight spot of facing war simultaneously against all the Western powers and Russia.

**Danzig Seesaw**  
3. In Danzig and Warsaw: the seesaw continues. The Poles repeat and repeat again that they will fight if Hitler lays a finger on the fair face of "Polish" Danzig. The Nazis declare they will fight if Poland prevents the restoration to the Reich of "German Danzig." Neither side wants a war over this issue and Hitler is still angling for another cold coup that will enable him to come before the Nuremberg congress in September with another triumph to present to the starving people of Germany.

under workers' control, and of expropriating the Sixty Families.

One listener shouted: "You can't tell me Roosevelt gave us the W.P.A. We fought for every bit of it."

A member of the Philadelphia Workers Alliance executive committee acted as an "impartial" chairman in a debate between a Stalinist and a Trotskyite. Before long he forgot himself and began asking questions that demonstrated interest in the program of the S.W.P. He left the meeting with a copy of the Appeal in his pocket.

All copies of the Socialist Appeal were sold out before the meeting was half over. Penniless workers asked for free copies.

A large list of promising contacts was collected.

### LET'S ALL STICK TOGETHER

Come on all you fellows Who work on the WPA Let's all stick together And we'll get more pay.

The government's all against us Of this we have no doubt But let's all keep together And victory we will shout.

Colonel Harrington is the man Who says we'll get more hours But if I say no and you say no We will send him to the showers.

WPA striker  
Streator, Ill.

## Stop Fascism In America!

(Continued from Page 1)

### Depression Sweeps Italy

When the great imperialist bandits called off their World War and proceeded to split up the booty, recording the details of this transaction in the Versailles Treaty, the Italian overlords of industry came out at the short end of the stick.

Instead of vast colonies teeming with slaves and wealth which they had expected to chain to their profit machine, they got little more than what was already under their domination when they first ordered the Italian workers and farmers into the trenches.

As a result, the war debt rested unusually heavy on the shoulders of the workers and farmers and they were filled with discontent.

On top of this, the tremendous factories and mills which had been constructed with feverish haste by the big industrialists during the World War in order to rake down as much as possible of the highly profitable war orders, now faced a greatly narrowed market. Factories and mills began shutting down.

### Unemployment swept Italy.

Hundreds of thousands of hungry workers drifted from city to city searching for jobs. Young people found themselves facing a blank and desperate future, without hope of work. And with the pillars of the buying power of the workers thus torn out, thousands of small merchants came crashing down in bankruptcy.

Everybody cast about desperately for some way out of his misery.

Nor were the big industrialists or the big land owners any too happy. Their profits continued to decline. Excepting only their own living standards, they slashed every possible cost to the bone. Nevertheless, profits declined still lower. Goods piled up to the roofs in the warehouses, and still no one came to buy. The capitalists cast greedy eyes on the concessions which the powerful trade unions had managed to wring from them. With all the hunger of a safe-cracker sizing up a small-town bank, they even studied the insurance reserves and the savings of the poor. After all, they decided, the Italian workers and poor farmers were used to starving!

Many of the most clear-sighted workers, small farmers and merchants felt that there was only one way out and that way was socialism. That is, shifting the wheels of industry into high gear under the ownership of all the working people as a whole and producing for the use of everybody instead of the private profit of a small handful of stockholders.

When the strikers began operating the mills and factories in September 1920, all the workers who had been suffering from the depression felt jubilant. It was only necessary to continue and to extend this action. Open up all the idle factories and set the machines to work! Then there would be jobs for everybody, short hours, plenty of food, clothing, and the good things of life.

But the small handful of stockholding families, who had until then owned and controlled the national industries for their own private benefit and who, like similar families in other countries, consider themselves the axis around which the earth revolves, felt a cold sweat break out on their brows. It was necessary to do something and to do it quick. They put their heads together. There was only one way out so far as they were concerned and that was to increase profits by drastically cutting wages. But how break through the trade unions?

At first they tried ordinary strikebreakers—\$10-a-day men who will swing a club on the head of any worker who dares to stand up for his rights, or for a slight extra commission shoot him in the back.

But the entire working class was too strongly united and militant to be overcome by these raw time-worn tactics.

They repulsed this offensive of the bosses. The capitalists saw that there was no way to bring back their profits except by streamlining the attack with cunning and deception. If the throat of the labor movement could not be cut by a frontal swipe, then it was necessary to stick the knife in from behind.

No one was better fitted for this job than Benito Mussolini.

(Continued in next issue)

## 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; \$10.00 for 1,000

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## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilantes and Fascist attacks.

## Roosevelt's Whip

A well-worn argument against a People's Vote on War is the charge that the people would be more subject to pressure and propaganda than Congress is. Is that so?

In December 1937 the Ludlow Resolution for a war referendum was lying buried in a subcommittee of the House. Under the rules, a petition was circulated to take it out of committee. A majority of Congressmen—218—signed the petition, making it effective, with more Congressmen waiting to sign if their names were needed. On January 10 a motion was made to discharge the committee, that is, to permit the House to discuss it. Strangely enough, *this was defeated*, even though a majority had already put themselves on record in favor of a debate on the question.

In the American Magazine for November 1938, Jim Farley explained what happened behind the scenes.

"I spent an entire day on the telephone asking Democratic members of the House of Representatives to vote against bringing up the war-referendum resolution. Many of them had already voted to discharge the resolution from the committee, the first move in the parliamentary skirmish, thus in effect committing themselves to its passage. Some members frankly said they were unable to go along with the administration. Others said they would stand by the administration and vote in the negative. This appeal by telephone had an influence in blocking consideration of the resolution."

Result: the motion to discharge the committee lost by the narrow margin of 21 votes.

How can the masses have confidence in Congress to represent their interests on the vital question of war, when a day's telephoning by Farley carries more weight with the Representatives than does the known desire of the people?

## Reaction Advances

Congress has adjourned, after a session of seven months.

During those seven months not only Congress but the government as a whole, in legislative and executive and judicial branches, has had a perfect record.

Without a single exception visible to the naked eye, every step which the government has taken has been—*reactionary*.

That's something to be proud of, all right; that you can go through seven whole months without a hitch, without a reversal, without even a momentary change of direction.

In November, before Congress opened, Roosevelt gave the lead by starting the firing of the WPA workers. 300,000 hit the street before the opening day of Congress.

But Congress and the courts soon caught up with and surpassed the big chief.

The Faustel and the Apex Hosiery decisions—there the courts showed their stuff.

Cutting down the deficiency relief appropriation, the 18 months' rule on WPA, no new funds for housing—here was Congress going to town.

And President and Congress worked together on the billion cut in relief, the abolition of the prevailing wage, the two billion dollars armament appropriation.

During these seven months, the New Deal was buried. The War Deal, which is also a deal of social reaction, was put in its place.

Roosevelt did his best to keep the lead in the reactionary wave. With his words, "You cannot

strike against the government," he made plain that he is ready to go as far to the right as the Sixty Families demand.

But — as yet — he wasn't going quite fast enough to suit Wall Street, so in the last two weeks the opposition bloc in Congress took things into its own hands, and finished up the first stage of the job.

Who is to blame for reaction's mighty advance?

The Supreme Court used to get the rap a few years ago. But the Court hasn't had much to say this year.

Then the Republican Party. But the Republicans are a minority in Congress, and the Democrats have the Presidency.

Now some people are trying to tell us that John Garner is the real devil.

But look over the record: all factions of both parties, Roosevelt and his administrative appointees together with elected Congressmen both Republican and Democratic have done their share.

But what do you expect?

Why shouldn't both Republicans and Democrats, right-wing and left-wing, all do the bidding of the Sixty Families?

The two parties they belong to are boss parties, and never pretended to be anything else. The Republican and Democratic parties daily swear their loyalty to capitalism, and pledge themselves to preserve and defend it.

The truth is that *we*, the workers of this country, are the ones to blame for the record of Congress in the session just finished.

We are to blame because we turn the government over to the boss parties, and through those parties to the bosses.

We are to blame because we don't take things into our own hands, and build *our own party*.

We are to blame because we sit back and let a boss government run things, instead of establishing *our own government*.

Nobody is going to do our work for us.

If we don't get going now, we will have to start in the concentration camps.

It would be a lot harder and a lot longer that way.

## Defending 'Democracy'

The newspapers are having a hard time explaining away the fact that the great "democracies" are preparing for war against the totalitarian countries by becoming less and less democratic and more and more totalitarian.

In France the Daladier government has contemptuously kicked aside the external trappings of democratic government. Decrees are substituted for laws. Military courts and star-chamber proceedings are substituted for the so-called due process of law. Rigid censorship is substituted for the so-called "freedom of the press." Finally, parliament itself is thrown on the scrap heap and along with it the whole election machinery. There were supposed to be elections this year but for reasons of "national emergency" Daladier has postponed them until 1942.

In Great Britain all the supposedly honored traditions of legality are thrown aside to permit a ruthless campaign of persecution, arrest, and deportation of all Irishmen suspected of sympathizing with the republican cause. Over its own sharp protests—voiced even in the ranks of Chamberlain's own supporters, Parliament was forced to adjourn on the very eve of what were expected to be the most critical weeks of the summer. Chamberlain consoled them with the promise that he would call them back to approve anything he does in the meanwhile . . . i.e., when it will be too late to disapprove.

In this country the spokesmen for the Roosevelt War Deal are providing us with another spectacle of what our lords and masters really mean by this 'democracy' they prate about in their arguments against the simple demand that the people be permitted to vote on the life-and-death issue of war. They are trying to tell us that "democracy" means that we are supposed to put our blind faith in a tiny group of divinely inspired "representatives" voted into office by the skullduggery and lies of the big American political machines!

What are these rulers so afraid of? In France Daladier and Co. have been telling the world that the "nation" is "united" as never before in support of the government's war program. Then why is Daladier afraid to hold an election to prove this support? Why is he afraid such an election will reveal "internal disunity"? Or is it rather that he fears he is not yet able to organize a gun-at-the-throat plebiscite as effectively as Hitler does?

The answer to all these questions is the same. These politicians all know that the "democracy" they want the people to die for is the bunk. They know it is only a fig leaf for the rule of the plutocracies they represent, the handful of ultra-powerful monopolists and financiers who are the real evil geniuses of the war crisis.

They know that a real democracy of the people would never permit them to continue their villainous effort to drive the peoples of the world into a death struggle in behalf of the profits and markets of the super-capitalists. They know that in a real democracy of the masses, of the workers, capitalism itself would no longer exist.

## The Bankers Block Construction-- Blame the Unions, Says New Deal

New Deal Investigators Ignore Real Cause of Crisis In Construction Industry — Shielding the Bankers They Declare Prosecution Aimed at Building Unions

By RUTH JEFFREY

Why the paralysis of the construction industry? Seeking a culprit, Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold has pointed a finger at the building trades unions and has announced forthcoming prosecutions, aimed primarily at the unions.

Arnold's announcement got headlines. But one had to dig and dig, finally to find, on page 26 of the New York Times of July 26, the expert testimony before the Temporary National Economic Committee which thoroughly disproves Arnold's statement to that body.

"If one succeeded in reducing the wages of building laborers of all kinds by one-half," stated Dr. Kreps, of the T.N.E.C. consulting staff, "the net achievement so far as the carrying charges of the house are concerned would not be equal to that of cutting the interest rate from 5 to 4 per cent."

Further and equally damaging testimony, reported in the Appeal of August 1, was evidently considered unfit to print at all, and had to be culled from the hard-headed "Business Week," which doesn't bother to tell its industrial magazine-readers the lies which the daily press hands out.

## FACTORS WHICH RUIN THE INDUSTRY

Three factors paralyze the construction industry. Exorbitant interest rates are maintained by the banks which, of course, have a monopoly on credit facilities. The banks also maintain high prices for the building sites, by their control of mortgage issuance.

A third factor which keeps housing expensive and therefore paralyzes the construction

industry, is the high cost of building materials. And this factor the banks are also responsible for, since the banks control the entire construction industry. This fact is not generally known and deserves some description.

Through interlocking directorates, 24 New York banks hold 6,250 directorships in industries, corporations of various kinds, insurance companies and other banks. Within this network the construction industry is securely held in the control of the banks.

Two banking houses largely dominate the construction companies—Morgan and Rockefeller.

In an arbitration proceeding in June, 1933, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, defending union wage and hour standards against the Mason Builders Association of the bosses, was able to show, in the union brief:

"1. That construction has been one of the many adjuncts of the great banking institutions.

"2. That there is a great network of interlocking directors between banks, construction companies, supply and material companies and between construction companies ostensibly engaged in competition, and that among the banks themselves there is an interlocking relation which makes possible the enforcement of a single policy in any given field.

## BANKS DICTATE WAGE POLICY

"3. That it is and has been possible for the banks, beginning with the great private banking houses and continuing on down through the commercial banks to the construction

companies, to inspire and enforce a wage policy suitable to the banks.

"4. That it would be almost impossible for the construction companies to originate and enforce a wage policy not approved by the banks, under the conditions that have existed.

"5. That in conducting their operations the industry has had to figure, not only on a reasonable profit for the construction companies, but on a multiplication of profits to meet the profit requirements of a structure of layer upon layer of corporations, while wages have been no more than a necessary evil to be hurled in the race for profits."

Wage standards in the building and construction industry have long been under attack by the ruler-banks. The union, in the above-mentioned arbitration, showed that "the Chase National and the National City Bank issued official bulletins demanding wage reductions and denouncing the 5-day week."

The banks, in attacking union standards, not only seek to weaken the unions which challenge their absolute rule, but also seek to use the unions as a scape-goat upon which the wrath of a nation may be expended in such a housing crisis as exists today.

## NEW DEAL DOES BANKS' DIRTY WORK

Thanks to the New Deal Congress, which has supplied to the New Deal Department of Justice the funds with which to hire a staff of 200 lawyers for its September "trust-busting" campaign, the attack upon union wage-scales in the building industry will be taken out of the hands of the over-worked banks and adequately pushed by the government. The trusts which the banks have formed, which make of the construction industry "an island surrounded by profit-taking devices," will sit on the sidelines and watch the fun.

The unions are to be the scapegoat for the housing crisis and paralysis of construction. As for the real causes—exorbitant interest rates, artificially high prices of building sites and construction materials—these the Assistant Attorney General mentioned only to say: "Such remedies are not within the scope of this report." (N. Y. Times, July 8). Within the scope of his report Arnold chose to include only the prosecution of the labor unions.

## A VICTORY FOR FOURTH INT'L IN INDO-CHINA

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

You must be acquainted with the results of the colonial elections of last April 30 in Cochinchina (Cochin-China). Despite the shameful coalition of the bourgeoisie of all types and the Stalinists, we have won a shining victory.

We went to battle, the flag of the Fourth International widely unfurled. Our victory is one of all the Fourth over the bourgeoisie, naturally, but above all, over their social-democratic and Stalinist agents. We have faith in the final victory of the proletariat, that is, in the victory of the Fourth International.

This faith you have imparted to us. Today, more than ever, we understand the importance not only of the program of the Fourth International, but also of your struggle of 1925-28 against the theory and practice of socialism in one country, of your struggle against the peasants' international, the anti-imperialist league and other show committees, Amsterdam-Pleyel and others.

In these days of hope engendered by our recent victory, we think of you, of the moral and physical sufferings that you and your comrades have endured. We want to say to you that even in this remote corner of the Far East, in this backward country, you have friends who agree with you, comrades who struggle for that to which you have devoted your life, for socialism, for communism!

Our affectionate, Bolshevik-Leninist salutations.

Phan-van-Hum  
Tran-van-Thach  
Ta-thu-Thau, and  
the group La Lutte  
May 18, 1939

## CIO Unionmen Back AFL In Colorado PWA Strike

By J. T. MALLEY

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
DENVER, Colo., Aug. 3—Hell broke loose yesterday at the site of the Federal government's Green Mountain Dam Project near Kremmling, Colorado, high in the Rockies, and about 150 miles west of Denver, when six union pickets were shot, one seriously wounded by the county sheriff's "deputies," who are busily engaged in maintaining "law and order" at the struck project.

On July 12, five unions, affiliates of the A.F.L., including the operating engineers, the plasterers and cement finishers, the bridge and structural iron workers, and the hod carriers and laborers, struck for the closed shop, and union recognition. The Warren Construction Co. of Chicago, contractor on the project, has consistently

refused to recognize the unions. The strike was declared illegal under the laws of the state which require that 30 days notice be given the State Industrial Commission before the men down tools. IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE LAW WAS DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL BY A COLORADO COURT A FEW YEARS AGO.

Things remained peaceful until August 1 when a "back to work" movement of 200 men composed almost entirely of local business men and farmers smashed the picket lines and took over the project camp. Sheriff John H. Lee, who is fast becoming the "darling" of the local vigilantes and the Warren Construction Co., immediately deputized all of the "Committee of 200," declaring "I am deputizing the men who want to go back to work because I feel they have a right to work and I mean to hold the camp for them."

The strikers immediately called to Denver for reinforcements where 600 men had walked off local PWA construction jobs in sympathy with the strikers. 60 Denver sympathizers were enroute to the dam site in automobiles when they were repulsed from barricades erected near the project by the

local vigilante "Committee of 200," who fired on the sympathizers, hitting two. Four pickets had been shot by them earlier in the day, one shot in the head.

The "Committee" demolished most of the phones in the town to prevent the strikers from getting outside help, and they were maintaining a strict censorship over the remaining phones in town. Having shot off their faces and their guns, the Committee has succeeded in getting the governor to declare that a state of "Insurrection" exists in the county.

As usual the Sheriff declared that the strikers had fired the first shots. But all the strikers and sympathizers had been searched twice in the last two days by the vigilantes and no weapons had been found.

The CIO United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, through Reid Robinson, international president, issued the following statement: "We of the CIO Miners and Tunnel Workers Union (affiliate of the UMM&SW) have every reason to know that the State Industrial Commission, is a primary cause of vigilantism and industrial disorder in this state, acting as a strike breaking agency instead of attempting to bring about genuine bargaining.

"In this issue we stand shoulder to shoulder with these AFL victims of officially condoned brutality and terror.

"We hold Governor Carr, the industrial commission and the sheriff who deputized and armed the strikebreakers jointly responsible for what has happened at Green Mountain and for any further violence that may occur.

Call One Day Stoppage  
"In line with this attitude our local union, Colorado Tunnel Workers at Idaho Springs, operating under contract on the Williams Fork tunnel, will call a one-day strike to protest this flagrant violation of the fundamental rights of Colorado labor and this return to a regime of bloodshed instead of fair dealing."

To stop this "flagrant violation of the rights of labor," to smash this growing vigilante and fascist movement there is only one solution which the labor leaders and the rank and file must adopt or perish, they must organize Workers Defense Guards to protect themselves against another and more Green Mountains.

The strike, involving about 500 men, will continue until it is settled to the satisfaction of the men.

## Their Government

By James Burnham

Of all forms of politics, "centrism" is the lowest. Centrism in politics is the equivalent of hypocrisy in personal morality. The centrist, without a firm program or clear perspective of his own, tries to make a career out of playing the left wing against the right. He talks big and acts little. Today he is a radical and tomorrow a conservative. His words never correspond to his deeds.

In confused times, the centrist can for a while make most people, including himself, think he is God Almighty. But, as the lines get drawn more sharply, every centrist meets the same fate: he is first squeezed and then crushed between the right and the left: He squawks and yowls a bit, and then either capitulates or gets thrown into the junkheap. As a matter of fact, he usually ends up in the junkheap even when he capitulates, since both right and left have only contempt for him.

## Roosevelt as Centrist

In relation to boss politics generally, and specifically in relation to his own party, Roosevelt is a centrist. He is an outstanding, shrewd and brilliant centrist, true enough, but not all his qualities exempt him from the operation of the general laws of his kind of politics.

Basing himself upon wide mass support among the people, he has tried to raise himself above the factional struggle within the Democratic Party. He has thought that, with the help of Farley and the party's center, he could mediate between and reconcile the right wing (Garner) and the left (John L. Lewis).

While always serving the interests of the right wing in major matters, for five years most of his speeches and some of his acts were designed to appease the left. In the confusion of 1933-38, this worked well enough; but times have grown harder, the crisis sharper, and the right wing more definite in what it wants, so that the right now demands an end to playing around.

After getting a taste of the right wing whip in the defeat of the Supreme Court expansion plan, the first bill for Executive reorganization, and the failure of the "purge", Roosevelt—who, like all centrists, is a coward—was willing and anxious to buckle down.

From last November on, he has tried to prove to the right, in action, that he is ready to do their bidding. He began the drive against the unemployed. He set the shamefully low figure for the new WPA appropriation. His man, Harrington, demanded the end of the prevailing wage. He appointed the right-winger, Lelerson, to the Labor Board, and compelled the Board to alter its rules in favor of employers. He revised taxation along the Wall Street lines. He appointed McNutt, the Hoosier Hitler. He announced to the world that "You cannot strike against the government". He stopped the sniping at the private Utilities.

In other words, Roosevelt abandoned the substance of the New Deal, insofar as the New Deal meant those social concessions to the masses which were the stock-in-trade of the Democratic Party's reformist left wing.

## The Ungrateful Right Wing

Having thus given the right wing virtually all it demanded, having done its dirty work for it (as is the universal custom with centrists), Roosevelt doubtless expected a little gratitude. He must have felt he had the "right" to some party harmony and a few minor face-saving bills to patch up his record with "the people". He sent along to Congress his fake "spending-lending" bill, which didn't amount to a pinch of snuff anyway, and a bill for increased authorization for housing loans (though the present authorization is by no means used up by his small-paced housing program).

But when a right wing gets going, it develops a prodigious appetite. And it delights in humiliating a centrist, as well as defeating him, in order to teach him a few lessons for the future.

Roosevelt's capitulation, far from pacifying the right wing, only hardened it. The bloc with the Republicans was, in the last weeks of the session, solidified into a working majority, and the President was mercilessly pounded with one sharp blow after another. Not only were all of his proposals thrown out of the window, but the Hatch Bill, planned to weaken his influence on the Party machinery, was thrust down his throat. Roosevelt, cutting the same contemptible figure as all centrists under the same circumstances, could do nothing but sit back impotently; and, in spite of whining complaints to the press, did not have the guts even to veto the Hatch Bill.

Meanwhile the miserable left wing of the Democratic Party, whose whole policy boils down to "put faith in Roosevelt", tried to cover its own bankruptcy with a rhetorical demonstration: John L. Lewis' denunciation of Garner.

## What's Left for Roosevelt

The session of Congress just ended has written fins to the New Deal chapter. The New Deal has gone, and no one has the power to summon it back. It went, basically, because its socio-economic function in the United States was finished; and this was reflected by the political collapse of its previous supporters, and the rise to control of its opponents.

If the internal situation were all that had to be taken into account, we could now say that Roosevelt would have finished his important part in U.S. politics and would be on his way out of the picture—except perhaps for window-dressing in the future.

One element of Rooseveltism, however, remains, and this is enough to take precedence, by itself, over all the rest: his war. On the issue of foreign policy and the war, Roosevelt remains the first and authentic spokesman for U.S. imperialism. "The Great Reformer" is as dead as the decaying remnants of the sloppy pseudo-reforms of his New Dealism. What remains politically alive is only the chief War-Monger.

In a recent issue of the Socialist Call, organ of the Thomasite Socialist Party, the legend, "Stalin's office boy," appears under a picture of David Lasser. We always thought that Lasser was Thomas' office boy. Just shows how we don't keep up with the news.

## THE WORKERS ALLIANCE

A meeting on the St. Paul capitol steps voted unanimously to support President Roosevelt and his efforts "to give the workers and unemployed a decent relief bill."