

Give to the Anti-War Party---\$10,000 Fund Drive

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!

Socialist Appeal

BUILD WORKERS'
DEFENSE GUARDS

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

VOL. III, NO. 62

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1939



3c a Copy

STALIN GIVES HITLER GO-AHEAD SIGNAL!

Enlist in the SWP To Fight Against Imperialist War

International War Crisis Spurs National Campaign of S.W.P. for a People's Vote on War as an Answer to the War-Makers

By HAL DRAPER
Secretary Campaign Committee

"OUTLOOK BLACKEST SINCE 1914" headlines the New York Times. It is referring to the immediate prospect of war. Our Party has a modest qualification to make. The outlook for the future cannot be reckoned only in terms of the jockeying of the two imperialist alliances.

There is a THIRD power in the world—the revolutionary working class. Its voice is weak now, but IT WILL BE HEARD—as it was in 1917 and 1918 when it spoke out with the million-tongued voice of the masses and changed the course of world history.

That is why our Party anticipated the present war crisis by launching a National Anti-War Campaign on August 1. That is why our recent National Convention took as its key-note the struggle against war. As the war-makers mobilize their armies, so we must mobilize ours. Our Party is the Anti-War

Party. We say that not as a boast but as the statement of a responsibility. No one is seriously competing with us for the possession of that dangerous post.

To the worker who reads the newspaper headlines with growing dismay and fear, we say: HERE IS YOUR PLACE IF YOU WANT TO ENLIST IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR!

The Anti-War Party presents an Anti-War Budget of \$10,000. That is one-hundred-thousandth of the last Roosevelt pro-war budget. Your money's worth for this sum is the building of a fighting force such as did NOT exist in 1914—AGAINST WAR.

In answer to the war moves of the rulers, the Anti-War Party calls for a mass campaign around the slogan "LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR". Rally the masses, who want peace, against the behind-the-scenes maneuvers of the boss

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Democracy Begins at Home, Mr. Roosevelt!



Hitler-Stalin Alliance Which Shocked World Capitals Was Predicted by 4th International

Hitler Germany's announcement Monday night that secret negotiations with Stalin were culminating in a "non-aggression" pact between Hitler and Stalin came as a thunderbolt to the European chancelleries, the "Peoples Fronters", the imperialist lackeys of the Second and Third Internationals—but it was no surprise to the Fourth International.

We predicted this publicly more than ten months ago! "Trotsky predicts Stalin will now seek an understanding with Hitler" was the headline in the Socialist Appeal, October 8, 1938.

Commenting on the Munich pact, Trotsky wrote then:

"The collapse of Czechoslovakia is the collapse of Stalin's international policy of the last

five years. Moscow's idea of 'an alliance of democracies' for a struggle against fascism is a lifeless fiction. . . .

"The terrific blow at the international position of the U.S.S.R. is the pay-off for the continuous bloody purge which beheaded the army, disrupted economy and revealed the weaknesses of the Stalinist regime. We may now expect with certainty Soviet diplomacy to attempt rapprochement with Hitler at the cost of new retreats and capitulations which in their turn can only bring nearer the collapse of the Stalinist oligarchy."

Predicted Stalin's Move

Speaking at the Hotel Center, October 9, 1938, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, said:

"What, in the post-Munich world situation, can be the next steps of Stalin? Some naive people predict a new turn to revolutionary policy on the world arena. Some Stalinist workers, I have no doubt some of them sitting in this hall tonight, cherish this hope of a return to revolutionary activity. They see what they want to see. Many of them are so sick of waving the American flag, and are so hoarse from singing the Star Spangled Banner, that they want to believe it was all a super-clever revolutionary maneuver to deceive the capitalists."

"Now that the policy has failed so miserably, so catastrophically, they want to believe that there will be a return to revolutionary activity on the part of Stalin and his clique."

"Illusion! These people have long since passed over to the other side of the barricades, their hands are red with the blood of innumerable revolutionaries. In Russia, in Spain, in France, in Switzerland, in China, in the United States—on a world-wide scale, they have established themselves irrevocably as the hangmen of the revolution."

"Stalin's next move will be a diplomatic approach to Hitler, and Hitler, in turn, will talk business. But not on the basis of abstractions, shibboleths, or 'principles'—Hitler's principles are as false and phony as Stalin's."

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The Silence of The Tomb

When the news flashed over the world that Hitler and Stalin had signed a pact, a member of England's government cried out, "My God!"

Wires burned. Radio flashes shot across the seven seas.

Giant presses roared, rolling out shrieking headlines. Newsboys yelled, "Extra!" on every street corner.

But the Daily Worker, Stalin's official organ in America, was as silent as a corpse.

Harry Gannes and Earl Browder were reported busily digging turnips in Mike Gold's garden.

The elevator operator in the Communist Party headquarters in New York reported he was "confused."

But none of the party's first-grade yes-men could be unearthed for comment.

An Urgent Call--And A Warning

At the very moment that the War Referendum Campaign is getting more steadily underway and the drive for a \$10,000 fund for the Party organization and press is in motion, the solvency of the semi-weekly Socialist Appeal is endangered.

There has been a natural falling off of revenue accruing from bundle payments during the summer. This slack could have been overcome even during this period, but many of the larger organizations of the Party in various parts of the country have been concentrating heavily on other aspects of the War Referendum Campaign, and have neglected to pay for their bundle orders of the Socialist Appeal.

Payments Must Be Made!

Several hundred dollars in bundle payments are outstanding and the printers insist on immediate and substantial payments. Party branches and Appeal agents must immediately send in substantial payments on their bundles in order to insure publication of the Socialist Appeal in the coming weeks.

Out of necessity the management of the Socialist Appeal announces that it will be forced to cut off delinquent agents from receipt of their bundles of the Socialist Appeal, unless payments are sent in immediately by Air Mail. The various agents and Party branches are being informed directly of the critical situation. What is stated above in respect to the Socialist Appeal applies equally to the New International. Rush all funds to the Socialist Appeal and the New International at once to:

116 University Place
New York City

WORLD POWERS MOBILIZE AS WAR THREATENS

Crisis Reaches New Intensity as Hitler Presses Demands

As the man-power mobilized by the European nations last week reached the 10,000,000 mark, Hitler forced the general war crisis to a new intensity by effecting a military encirclement of Poland from three directions, and augmenting his original demand for Danzig with demands for the Polish "Corridor" and other sections of Poland.

The press and the diplomats did not hesitate to call this the most serious international crisis since 1918. The "September crisis", freely predicted for months since the Munich settlement, appears to be maturing.

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ANTI-WAR FUND SCOREBOARD

\$10,000 FUND DRIVE

Branch	Quota—50% by Sept. 15	Paid	Percent Paid
Calais	\$ 5.00	\$ 5.00	200.00
Rochester	50.00	20.00	80.00
Lynn	100.00	23.00	46.00
St. Paul	200.00	46.00	46.00
Newark	350.00	68.50	39.14
Flint	20.00	3.00	33.33
Cleveland	200.00	30.00	30.00
Boston	400.00	54.00	27.00
Gardner-Fitchburg	15.00	2.00	26.66
Kansas	15.00	1.50	20.00
Detroit	50.00	5.00	20.00
Minneapolis	1100.00	50.00	9.09
Reading	10.00	1.00	20.00
St. Louis	100.00	10.00	20.00
Chicago	530.00	40.00	15.09
Minneapolis	1100.00	65.00	11.82
National Office	3400.00	120.00	7.06
New York	2200.00	50.00	4.50
Akron	100.00	00.00	.00
Allentown	50.00	00.00	.00
Baltimore	10.00	00.00	.00
Cambridge	5.00	00.00	.00
Columbus	15.00	00.00	.00
Conneaut	5.00	00.00	.00
Danbury	10.00	00.00	.00
Denver	20.00	00.00	.00
New Hampshire	5.00	00.00	.00
East Chicago	20.00	00.00	.00
Evansville	5.00	00.00	.00
Fargo	10.00	00.00	.00
Fresno	10.00	00.00	.00
Hartford	5.00	00.00	.00
Indianapolis	5.00	00.00	.00
Lexington	10.00	00.00	.00
Los Angeles	400.00	00.00	.00
Louisville	10.00	00.00	.00
Marston Mills	5.00	00.00	.00
New Haven	40.00	00.00	.00
Oakland	80.00	00.00	.00
Omaha	10.00	00.00	.00
Philadelphia	100.00	00.00	.00
Pittsburgh	10.00	00.00	.00
Plentywood	5.00	00.00	.00
Portland	5.00	00.00	.00
Quakertown	20.00	00.00	.00
Ridgefield	5.00	00.00	.00
Sacramento	20.00	00.00	.00
San Diego	10.00	00.00	.00
San Francisco	100.00	00.00	.00
Seattle	20.00	00.00	.00
South Bend	10.00	00.00	.00
Texas	20.00	00.00	.00
Toledo	40.00	00.00	.00
Washington	40.00	00.00	.00
Woonsocket	5.00	00.00	.00
Worcester	20.00	00.00	.00
Youngstown	50.00	00.00	.00
Yellow Springs	5.00	00.00	.00

N. Y. Anti-Fascist Protest Sends Coughlinites Scurrying for Cover

WPA Measured In Human Lives

The WPA rolls in New York City reached an all-time low today of 105,000.

This is not only the lowest figure since the start of the WPA program in 1935, but the lowest figure since the piddling CWA works program of 1933.

36,000 WPA workers have been laid off in New York City in the last weeks.

39,000 more are to go. 16,000 AFL mechanics who have been out on strike have been dismissed.

What do these statistics mean in terms of human life?

"The postman delivered a WPA pink slip to 44 Bradhurst Avenue Saturday morning."

"It was for Mrs. Laurie Smith, forty-five, a Negro who took one look at it, realized that she had lost her work-relief job, then took a revolver out of a drawer and killed herself."

S.W.P. Holds Union Square Meeting Despite Drenching Downpour—Retreat of Fascists Seen as Demoralizing Effect on Ranks

By JOSEPH HANSEN

The anti-fascists of New York succeeded last week in answering the fascist threat to march August 19 on Union Square with a mighty roar of protest which sent the Coughlinites (Christian Mobilizers, the Nazi Bundists, the Silver Shirts, and other assorted storm troopers) scurrying for cover.

Because of the immense response in the New York labor movement to the call of the Socialist Workers Party for a counter-demonstration in Union Square, first Father Coughlin and then the organization he sponsors, the Christian Front, "repudiated" the fascist parade. And then Father Coughlin himself, by long distance telephone, was forced to call off the projected march officially.

The ranks of the fascists were thrown into confusion and consternation. A feeling of self-confidence and power swept through the ranks of the labor movement. This is the way to

conquer fascism—by militant action in answer to every provocation!

Meeting in a drenching downpour which had begun early in the morning, Edward R. Frank, organizer of Local New York took the speakers' stand Saturday, August 19, at 4:30 P.M. in Union Square and stated that the anti-fascists of New York had succeeded in stopping this provocation of the Coughlinites. "We promised to meet in Union Square in protest against the fascists. We carried out our promise. Now because of this terrible rain, it is obviously impossible to continue with our scheduled list of speakers. We are therefore postponing our demonstration."

It was reported that 7,500 police had been mobilized because of fear the Coughlinite threats would lead to violence. Approximately 4,000 were assembled in Union Square and in nearby basements and park-

(Continued on Page 3)

MASS MEETING This Friday, August 25th, 8 P. M.
HOTEL CENTER HALL 108 West 43rd St. NYC
The Truth Behind the Stalin-Hitler Pact
Will There Be War Over Poland?

Speakers:
James P. Cannon
National Secretary, S.W.P.
Max Shachtman
Editor, Socialist Appeal
Chairman:
James Burnham
Editor New International
Auspices: LOCAL NEW YORK, S.W.P. (4th International),
ADMISSION 25c

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

NEW YORK CITY—A real indication of how the members of the International Typographical Union stand on the question of labor unity was furnished this week-end by "Big Six" as Local 6 of the I.T.U., the largest unit in the I.T.U., is known.

A special resolution was adopted at a membership meeting urging the I.T.U. to defy the AFL executive council on the issue of assessments levied for a war against the CIO.

Only last week William Green, president of the AFL, announced the suspension of the I.T.U. for its refusal to contribute an assessment to the AFL "war chest."

Issues Involved
For two years the I.T.U. has persistently refused to collect this tax of one cent per member, which would amount to \$22,000, and turn it over to the AFL executive council.

At the last convention of the AFL the seating of the I.T.U. delegates was a hot issue because of its stand on this question but a compromise was worked out which simply postponed action on the question.

The AFL council precipitated a crisis on this problem last week because the I.T.U. is holding its national convention at Fort Worth, Texas now and the council hopes that the policy of the I.T.U. can be changed.

The purpose of the Big Six resolution is to crystallize national sentiment within the I.T.U. for a "Don't fight the CIO" attitude.

There is another and just as fundamental issue involved in the dispute between the I.T.U. and the AFL executive committee. The right of autonomy.

Elmer Brown, newly-elected president of the Big Six, pointed it out in a prepared speech given before the union voted on the resolution.

The AFL does not have the right to levy an assessment on the printers because the union is an autonomous affiliate of the AFL, according to the view of the I.T.U.

"The AFL has been exercising authority never intended by the membership of the AFL. I could never agree to submit to the policies advocated by the AFL."

"Nor would I ever recommend that my union submit to the dictation of the executive council of the AFL. To do so would destroy the autonomy of the International Typographical Union."

"It is my opinion that this suspension was timed for one purpose only: that the reactionaries within the executive council of the AFL had hoped that by suspending the I.T.U. on the eve of its convention they would intimidate us. They can suspend us, they can fight us, but they can not intimidate us," Brown declared.

Danger of Split
If the I.T.U. nationally follows its present line and refuses to pay the assessment, many new complications will develop in the AFL internally.

Automatic suspension from Central Trades and Labor Assemblies might follow. And the relationship of the I.T.U. to other unions in the Allied Printing Trades Councils becomes a new headache.

For which the main responsibility will rest on the AFL executive council because of its intransigent attitude toward the autonomy of the I.T.U.

Naturally, the stand of the AFL executive council tends to throw the I.T.U. into the arms of the CIO, especially if all the complications develop.

Meanwhile, progressives within the AFL have a job on their hands to prevent a split in local bodies because of the suspension of the I.T.U.

A REQUEST

All available copies of Vol. 3 No. 9 of this year's Appeal are needed for purposes of binding.

We would appreciate it if Appeal readers would send in as many copies of this issue as they may have available.

YOU ARE INVITED to join the Labor Bookshop Circulating Library. Hundreds of titles. Latest novels, Marxian classics, books on Economics, History, etc. Lowest rates in the city! 15c per week. Join now! 116 University Place.

Stop Fascism In America!

Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN

(FIFTH INSTALLMENT)

For years certain German industrialists, who pondered very deeply over what had happened in Italy, kept a few promising politicians of the lunatic fringe well-fed and noisy enough to attract a skeleton even of thugs and bigots to their banner.

Principal among these capitalist politicians—he had taken over similar groups—was Adolf Hitler, an obscure moocher of the Vienna cafes and pool halls who considered himself a hot-shot hair-splitter when the boys in the beer joints untangled their tongues and warped views on life. He had served in the World War, claimed to have been a housepainter for a few weeks until the painters' union ran him off as a scab when he refused to take out a union card.

A Catholic, he admired the organizational methods of the Roman Church very much, even studying them carefully, according to his own admission. (*Mein Kampf*, Hitler's Autobiography, p. 682.)

Adolf Hitler was well-liked by the more astute of Germany's capitalists. They talked about him in their exclusive clubs, studied his program, listened to him orate, watched him in action.

So far as they could judge, Hitler had all the marks of a German Mussolini.

He swung a powerful salute, combed his hair down over his forehead in a forelock. When he spoke, the veins in his forehead and neck swelled out like knotted cords. He dubbed himself *Der Fuehrer*.

For years he had been whacking away at constructing a national scapegoat. In private conversations with Big Business men, he washed off the circus paint and spoke very coolly and precisely about what he could do for them and by what organizational and tactical methods.

Let it not be misunderstood for one moment that Adolf Hitler was a representative of Italian Fascism. He was not.

Hitler admired Italian Fascism. He spoke well of Mussolini. But he was not an agent of Mussolini.

HE WAS AN AGENT OF BIG BUSINESS.

It is true that Hitler, like Mussolini, advocated a CORPORATE STATE.

But his was a German movement. He didn't call it fascism.

He called it NAZISM.

Hitler Grinds out Promises
Few demagogues in history gave away brighter promises than Adolf Hitler. He not only promises everybody the fulfillment of his dream, but he painted new dreams to embellish the old.

First he talked the situation over with the big industrialists such as Thyssen, the steel magnate. They settled very easily, quickly, and amicably between themselves the question of just who would own the national industries and just what would be done about preserving PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Then with Big Business pumping money into his treasury, he started automobiles, radio stations, and airplanes going in a propaganda campaign super-colossal enough to make a Hollywood press agent bite his lip.

Der Fuehrer promised that all the war profits would be confiscated.

Der Fuehrer promised that all the trusts would be turned over to the state.

Der Fuehrer promised that everybody would "share in profits."

Der Fuehrer promised that all old-age pensions would be generously increased.

Der Fuehrer promised that all the department stores would be divided up among small merchants.

Der Fuehrer promised that the land would serve "communal purposes" and no interest taking would be allowed if it meant foreclosures.

Der Fuehrer promised that education would be made available to the children of poor parents.

Der Fuehrer promised that the state would protect health.

Der Fuehrer promised that a people's army would replace the regular army.

Der Fuehrer promised that the viewpoint of "positive Christianity" would be taken.

Der Fuehrer promised to end all unemployment.

But all these promises constituted only run of the mill filler in his program. More important was his scathing attacks against the Versailles treaty which had humiliated Germany, forced her to pay reparations, taken away her colonies, crushed her armed might, split her people among different border nations.

All this *Der Fuehrer* promised to rectify immediately.

Then—most important of all for his strategy—he utilized these grievances as a springboard for a poisonous and relentless attack against racial minorities in Germany, who, he said, were the real cause of the economic ills rocking the land.

The Art of Constructing a Scapegoat

How to divert the rage and desperation of the people away from the real cause, the capitalists, to some scapegoat?

That was the crucial problem facing *Der Fuehrer*. "A number of essentially different internal enemies must always be regarded as one in such a way that in the opinion of the mass of one's own adherents the war is being waged against one enemy alone. This strengthens the belief in one's own cause and increases one's bitterness against the attacker." (Adolf Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, p. 153.)

The Anti-War Campaign

WAR CRISIS SPURS PARTY ACTIVITIES

(Continued from Page 1)

government in Washington! While the trenches are being prepared for the cannon-fodder, Roosevelt denies the people the right to decide on the most vital issue before them.

MINNEAPOLIS
Minneapolis carries the War Referendum Campaign onto the air waves!

Station KSTP (NBC) has agreed to carry the program provided that an opposition speaker has equal time. Other local stations are still to be heard from.

The branch Radio Committee has the following advice to offer other sections that wish to go and do likewise: "It would seem that the way to get radio time is much like the way to get an Appeal sub—ASK FOR IT!"

At the same time, \$15 is sent in for the Anti-War Fund, and the organizer reports that 2200 Socialist Appeals were distributed by 16 comrades on Sunday, August 13 to workers' homes. A good anti-war meeting was held on the campus of the University of Minnesota by the Socialist Club, and the program of open-air meetings is in full swing, with two such meetings held during the past week.

GARDNER-FITCHBURG
On Sunday, August 13, the branch held an outdoor meeting at which speeches were made in both Finnish and English.

We are also in receipt of the "Co-op Informer", published by the United Cooperative Society in the locality, which has a strong Finnish cooperative movement. This issue is Vol. I, No. 1 and contains a discussion article on "Cooperatives and War" which comes out strongly in favor of giving the people the right to vote on war. "Every cooperative should discuss this vital question," it adds.

OAKLAND
The branch across San Francisco Bay comes through with a report which is late but welcome. Writes Organizer Bill Morgan on Oakland's campaign activities:

"1. A weekly outdoor meeting with full branch mobilization and sale of Appeals, pamphlets and circulation of petitions. This is something new here and we are pioneering.

"2. Indoor mass meeting on Sept. 15.

"3. Assessment of \$1 on each branch member, and circulation of collection cans at street meetings; house-to-house work every Sunday and at union meetings, etc.

"4. We will immediately purchase our full quota of pamphlets with the aim of increasing the quota before the campaign is over.

"5. Each comrade is responsible for securing one Appeal sub. We have about 18 comrades and so ought to double our quota on this.

"6. We expect to increase our Appeal bundle order by 15 within a week (our quota is 10).

"7. The branch Executive Committee is in full charge of the campaign and each member is heading one or more of the sub-committees—pamphlets, petitions, etc."

OK, Bill. Now some cash—ON THE LINE...

ST. LOUIS
The St. Louis local held an outdoor social affair on August 12 and sends in the proceeds (\$10) for the Anti-War Fund. Other social affairs are planned.

A local membership meeting of the two branches was held on August 15 and a thorough discussion of the campaign plans

Before he began propagandizing, there was very little prejudice in Germany against the Jews, as Hitler himself points out in *Mein Kampf*. (He counts it as one of his supreme achievements to have whipped up one of the greatest and most bloody pogroms in history against these unfortunate people. Hitler remarks that his audiences were astonished at first and refused to believe him when he declared that the "Jew" was their enemy.

But the people were suffering so terribly from hunger, the democratic capitalist government gave so little relief, that they were willing to turn to almost anyone who promised a positive program and was clearly headed in the direction of action.

When Hitler saw the oppressed layers begin to fall for his line, he rejoiced. He knew that it would lead inevitably to the major objective, smashing the labor movement through splitting the oppressed into two camps, those whom he dubbed "Jews" and those whom he dubbed "Gentiles," who would then tear at each other's throats until one fell; and the other, exhausted by the struggle, could not ward off the axe of the capitalist executioner.

(Continued in next issue)

was had. "We are practically certain to have our \$50 in by September 15," writes the branch secretary, Comrade Burbank. The pamphlet will be sold on the downtown streets.

CHICAGO
Chicago lifts itself out of the 00.00 class in the Anti-War Fund drive, and Organizer Al Gates reports on progress:

"1. A city campaign committee of five has been set up to organize the campaign in Chicago.

"2. A campaign bulletin has been mailed out to all members, including specific quotas and assignments for each branch. Each branch has assigned comrades to take charge of the work in the locality. During the period of the campaign, each branch is instructed to put it as the first item of the agenda at every meeting.

"3. During the campaign, each branch is to hold at least one indoor meeting, and at least one street meeting a week, as well as one money-raising social affair for the Fund.

"4. Chicago sets itself a recruitment quota of 10 new members by September 15.

"5. The South Side branch reports 50 pamphlets sold, an increase of the Appeal bundle order from 17 to 25, and TWO NEW MEMBERS RECRUITED."

READING

"We are carrying our campaign directly to the workers with a house-to-house campaign," writes the Reading branch. "Quite a number did not sign the petition because they felt it would not have any effect on Congress, but they bought our pamphlet and told us to come around later."

We can tell the Reading comrades that it is NOT true that Congress would pay no attention to petitions. Even if it does not affect their vote, they get plenty worried by the evidence of the mass feeling on this question. At the Senate hearings on the war referendum which were held last May, the most frequent reference was made to the available testimony on the popular demand for this measure. In any case, the petition is a means of bringing the question forcibly to the attention of the workers.

"We are getting much experience doing this work," continues Reading, "and I believe we will win members to our ranks."—This hits the two main organizational objectives of the campaign, aside from its goals in political agitation and action. These are: the training of the party in mass campaign activity, and recruitment.

Success along these lines means an important step forward toward a campaign party of mass agitation and action.

LYNN, MASS.
We are anxious to print new ideas in methods of work which have been developed by individual branches, and here is one from Lynn. The secretary writes:

"Please send us about 50 more petitions. We are experimenting on a form of chain letter with the petitions besides the routine house-to-house canvassing which, though very slow, is very fruitful."

That is all we are told but we would like to hear more about this experiment and its results, as well as any other projects which branches have developed.

TOLEDO... promises \$10 in the next mail and asks for more petitions because their sheets are all filled out... Suggests another pamphlet on war.

DETROIT... has sent in for three successive orders on the pamphlet "Let the People Vote on War", to the tune of a 470 total. This brings them over their assigned quota of 450.

PAMPHLET DRIVE... Pioneer Publishers reports that pamphlet orders already sent out to the branches now amount to over 8200.

SUBS COMING IN BUT BIG CITIES NOT UP TO PAR

The drive for 400 new subscriptions to the Socialist Appeal moves ahead slowly at the moment. Since the report published on August 18, 16 new subscriptions have been sent in and eight renewals. They are as follows:

New Subscriptions
Omaha 2
Flint 1
St. Paul 6
New York City 4
Newark 1

Renewals
Oakland 4
Cleveland 1
Syracuse 1
Oregon 2
South Bend 1

This makes a total of 73 new subscriptions and 18 renewals since the start of the campaign. The major cities, as can be observed, have yet to bring in the expected results.

Street Sales
Comrade El B., Literature Agent of San Francisco, writes in an optimistic mood in regard to increased sales of the Socialist Appeal. She says:

"Though we are starting street sales on a small scale now, already the results open up simply swell prospects. I'm very enthusiastic and encouraged. A YPSL comrade and I tried it, she with Challenges, with Appeals, and in 45 minutes we had sold out. The next time we sold out quicker. Without any doubt at all we will have to increase our order shortly."

Well Received
The Literature Agent from Baltimore writes of their difficulties, but nevertheless they are doing their best. They sell four Appeals a week on the newsstands and four New Internationals a month. "Especially among the unemployed, where I am unable to sell them (because of unemployment) they get a good reception, particularly with the Negro militants."

Tarmo Hannula of Gardner, Massachusetts reports that Gardner will aim for at least four new subscriptions besides the renewals and an increase by five of the regular bundle order by the end of the campaign. Since there are too few comrades in Gardner to form a regular branch of the Party, no quota, therefore, was assigned and these new subscriptions and increased sales of the paper would be a complete gain.

Flint, Michigan states that the quota set for the Appeal is very reasonable, and in fact that it will go over the quota. Jules Geller declares that, "Sales already in the past two weeks have been cleaning out our bundle order."

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

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SPECIAL!

Pre-Publication Offer... \$3.50

STALIN

by Boris Souvarine

Publication date: September 18th. 704 pages. Price on publication will be \$4.50.

By arrangements with the publishers a limited subscription edition of this important book will be published at a special pre-publication price of \$3.50. Orders for this edition will be accepted only until August 31st.

Labor Bookshop

116 University Pl., N.Y.C.

APPEAL ARMY

A check of the subscriptions to the Socialist Appeal shows that a total of 550 subscriptions in the main cities have not yet been renewed. This is an unusually large number, and one of the most immediate and pressing tasks of all supporters of the paper is an immediate canvass to obtain renewals of these expired subscriptions.

This is a quite feasible task, and if undertaken immediately would mean a substantial revenue for the Socialist Appeal, which is so urgently needed today.

In a good many instances it is simply a matter of neglect on the part of comrades in the Party branches in visiting former subscribers.

The following is a list of the current and expired subscriptions to the Socialist Appeal:

City	Ex-pired	Current
Berkeley	2	10
Fresno	3	9
Los Angeles	14	63
Oakland	3	9
Sacramento	4	5
San Francisco	10	22
Denver	0	2
New Haven	2	11
Washington, D.C.	12	18
Chicago	50	18
East Chicago, Ind.	1	3
Evansville	3	4
Kansas	1	8
Louisville	0	5
Baltimore	1	6
Boston	8	41
Lynn	10	28
Detroit	15	30
Flint	0	4
Minneapolis	41	119

St. Paul	20	41
St. Louis	7	21
University City	0	4
University City, Mo.	0	4
Newark	5	35
Paterson	2	7
New York City	328	340
Rochester	8	11
Akron	11	26
Cleveland	8	23
Columbus	0	5
Toledo	0	10
Youngstown	2	16
Allentown	0	2
Philadelphia	8	51
Quakertown	0	4
Houston	0	4
Seattle	0	5

Totals 550 1,106

All branches have in their possession the names and addresses of all expirations. Within the next week all branches are urged to make a canvass of the 550 ex-subscribers.

In view of the large number of renewal subscriptions which are outstanding, the management suggests that each branch appoint at least one comrade to direct the work for subscription renewals. Large locals should appoint a committee of three for this purpose. Also, all locals should utilize a card index system for current subscriptions, expired subscriptions, and also all contacts. Likewise it is imperative that the closest collaboration be developed between the Party and YPSL literature agents and organizations in the sale and distribution of the Socialist Appeal and the New International, particularly in the subscription campaigns.

WHAT THE N. Y. PARTY DID TO SPIKE THE COUGHLIN PARADE

Anti-fascists throughout the country may find it profitable to study the work of New York's SWP branches in the fight against the still-born Coughlin parade of August 19.

First to be congratulated for a splendid job are the Bronx SWP and YPSL branches, whose members worked night and day for the ten days prior to the scheduled parade.

Roving Street Meetings
Among their activities: eight roving street corner meetings were held in various sections of the Bronx, Monday, Aug. 14. The next night ten similar meetings were held on different corners.

By Wednesday, telegraph poles in the Bronx were adorned with notices for the counter-demonstration against the Coughlinites at Union Sq. Wednesday night the comrades continued holding one successful street meeting after another, and one delegation distributed the counter-demonstration leaflet right at a Coughlin fascist meeting at Fordham Road and Valentine Ave.

Crowds Applaud Parade
Thursday night the comrades held a parade up Tremont Ave. to the applause of the crowds on the street. They shouted slogans, distributed leaflets again in the thousands, and finally ran a street meeting which was attended by hundreds of anti-fascist workers.

Friday the Bronxites topped off their campaign by holding a torch-light parade through the streets of the Bronx. The parade started at Tremont and Crotona, marched to Southern Boulevard, and then back on Tremont to Prospect where a tremendous street corner meeting was held. Saturday morning, August 19, the comrades reported at 7 a.m. for final leaflet distribution.

Money Donated
More than \$50 was donated by anti-fascists attending the Bronx street meetings. Two friends in the South Bronx, supposed to be a Coughlin stronghold, contributed an additional \$25 to advance the campaign. One young Negro insisted on taking leaflets for his friends and paying for them. Scores of others asked for leaflets to give their shop and union mates.

One cab driver, seeing a number of Ypsel comrades carrying their banners and leaflets from West to East Bronx for their night's activity asked them to hop in and he donated a free ride to aid the anti-fascist fighters rush their message to the Bronx workers.

Same All Over City
Following the splendid example of the Bronx were the party branches and Ypsel units all over the city. The Lower East Side and Downtown Branches started off with a bang last Saturday night when they held a march from Second Ave. and 7th Street, down Second Ave., over to Avenue B, and then across to Delancey Street. They

carried banners against the Coughlin fascists, distributed thousands of leaflets and ran tremendous street meetings all along the line of march. Generous donations were made by audiences.

Cellar Clubs Visited
The comrades visited the numerous "cellar" clubs, organizations of Jewish workers, etc., to get them all out to stop the Coughlinites from getting to Union Square.

The Upper Manhattan branch of SWP and the YPSL units covered the entire district from Columbus Circle to 181st St. with leaflets and street meetings.

C.P.ers Impressed
In Brooklyn, similar activity was carried on. Boro Park reports tremendous street corner meetings at 13th Ave. and 46th Street. Thousands of leaflets distributed. Generous contributions. Organizations visited. C. P. members indicating their support of the SWP's anti-Coughlin fight.

In Brownsville, long a center of the Communist Party, the comrades were greeted with applause by the workers for the struggle against Coughlinism. C. P. members promised to be out to stop the Fascists from getting to Union Square.

In Jamaica and in Astoria, leaflets distributed by the thousands. Signs placed in store windows, meetings held, money collected. Appeals sold. Both branches were on their toes all during the week.

Last Friday the Downtown branch hired a horse and wagon early in the morning, covered it with huge signs calling for the counter-demonstration to the fascist march, and toured the entire lower Manhattan section until nightfall.

Hundreds of persons gave their names to party branches throughout the city for more information about our organization. Every day several letters arrived in the city office with

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

West Indians Will Fight—

At Home, against Own Oppressors

At Great Britain finds herself involved in a war as a result of the present European crisis, she can expect little assistance from her colonial subjects in the West Indies.

This opinion was expressed here by E. V. Allen, one of the twelve Negro legislators in the Jamaica legislative council, in an interview with the *Pittsburgh Courier* of Aug. 19. "If England is drawn into another war in Europe, it is my opinion that the people of the West Indies will refuse to fight," he said.

"The government has shown no interest in the people's problems and the people would have no interest in theirs. The average Englishman who is sent out from Great Britain has no interest in the islands except to draw his salary."

Least some New Deal enthusiasts interpret such a stand as even in the slightest indicating preference for the benevolent imperialism closer to their shores, the Jamaica legislator specified:

"In spite of anti-British feeling, however, the average West Indian would not welcome the annexation of the islands by the United States. They would even prefer an independent status to this."

We assume that the "even" in the last sentence was merely giving point to the immediacy with which the people of the islands would like to get rid of British rule. Their official representatives, at present still moderate and not quite revolutionary in their perspectives, regard independence in this day of rapacious imperialist appetites as quite a risk.

While the West Indians are quite firm in their opposition to war for the salvation of the British Empire, they are nevertheless not at all inclined to be pacifists. They carried on militant, fighting strikes in Jamaica last year. Mr. Allen reports that as a result of these struggles, some improvement in economic conditions has taken place.

"Prior to this (the 1938 'riots')," the interview quotes Allen as saying, "the average laborer earned only about 35 cents a day. Since the 'riots,' the average wage has risen to 50 and 60 cents a day, but this is still too far low for decent existence. . . . What we really want is an improvement of economic conditions in our present status."

And, if last year's strikes are an indication, the West Indians know that they can achieve that by fighting. The interview may be summed up simply: If the Negro people of the islands are going to fight, it will not be in an imperialist war for Great Britain but in

a struggle against the British oppressors.

No wonder the great "democrats" in Downing Street are so hot for peace and appeasement! They know that the last word will be with the colonial masses at present under their thumbs.

Hathaway Is Not the Only Stalinist Convicted as Slanderer

Recently the Stalinist press kicked up quite a fuss about the trouble Clarence Hathaway, editor of its New York rag was having as a result of a libel action brought against him by the widow of a Minneapolis publisher. It seems that Hathaway was beset with more such libel suits and that they were all just one grand "Trotskyist" plot. But the real truth of the matter is that these boys are crawling with an old Stalinist affliction called slander, which even the courts of the "democratic" governments they support cannot fail to recognize as such.

A case in point is that of Anton Ciliga, former Yugoslav member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, who recently brought a libel suit against the Stalinist "International Press Correspondence" (Inprekor) in Paris. Ciliga, who broke with Stalinism after a plucky escape from G.P.U. jails in Russia, wrote a book about his experiences under the Stalin regime. A reviewer in the "Inprekor" denounced him as a Fascist spy—the usual "answer" that these people have for any critic whose arguments are based on fact and hard to refute.

In court, the "Inprekor" editors were required to present proof for their charge. And what was their proof? Ciliga was guilty of living in exile on an Italian passport!

Of course, Ciliga was able to prove that he had lived on an Italian passport not only in Russia from 1926 to 1936, but that he possessed such a passport while actively directing the Yugoslav Communist movement from the day he joined it. He was a Yugoslav by descent and upbringing, but had been born on Italian territory and consequently required an Italian passport during his sojourn in all other countries.

Numerous socialist and liberal emigrants from the Fascist terror testified in his behalf. The Stalinists were clearly exposed as the slanderers and defamers they actually are. As a result of the verdict they have had to publish a retraction in their own press and pay for the cost of publishing the verdict in two other papers. It takes a long time to catch up with Stalinist lies. But even the Hathaways and their ilk should not be surprised by now when they are finally caught red-handed.

N. Y. Anti-Fascist Protest Sends Coughlinites Scurrying for Cover

(Continued from Page 1)

ing lots, the rest being scattered on the line of march which the fascists had announced.

Sequence of Events

From the time that Coughlin first broadcast his notorious "Call to Action" over a nationwide radio network on July 30, in which he announced that his Christian Front intended to fight the labor movement "in Franco's way," and that the only flag of the "reds" which he would respect was the "white flag of surrender," until Saturday afternoon, August 19, event followed event in rapid and dramatic succession.

The *Socialist Appeal* had already warned the labor movement of Coughlin's projected threat, before leaflets began flooding New York announcing that an "anti-communist parade" in "manifestation of Christianity" and in behalf of "Social Justice" would march on Union Square August 19. The handbill lauded Father Coughlin and announced that the parade commander was "Lawrence J. Gilpatrick."

Coughlin Prepares Alibi

Coughlin's magazine, "Social Justice," at the same time carried an announcement on the editorial page reading, "The management of the magazine disclaims and disavows any and all responsibility for any act or demonstration on the part of individuals or organizations posing as being under the direction of Social Justice magazine." This announcement merely provided an "out" for Coughlin should the parade prove a failure or end in bloodshed.

The August 14 issue of "Social Justice" carried a vicious attack against the RELIGIOUS JEWS—a further development of Coughlin's line which served to incite the ranks of his storm troopers against racial minorities in preparation for Saturday's projected parade.

In South Bronx, the followers of Coughlin staged a series of riots in preparation for their march on Union Square. They intoxicated themselves with demagogic speeches, threats against racial minorities, and wild boasts about their prowess and the "cowardice" of the anti-fascists.

Counter-Rally Called

On August 11, the Socialist Workers Party called for a counter-demonstration to the fascist parade, and began distributing 200,000 handbills, organizing preparatory rallies and parades throughout the metropolitan area. Night and day, the struggle on August 19 was prepared. All workers' organizations were called upon to unite in face of the common enemy, and a registered letter—later when no reply was received, a telegram—was sent to the Communist Party asking for a United Front against Coughlin on Saturday.

The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, one of the oldest working class organizations in the country, announced its support of the anti-fascist rally.

On August 15, the Civil Liberties Union called on the police to "forestall any violence" although only the fascists had threatened violence and the Socialist Workers Party was calling on the workers to rely upon themselves for protection.

On August 17, 250 members of the American Jewish Alliance, an organization dominated completely by the Communist Party, petitioned Mayor LaGuardia at City Hall to take action against the Coughlinites and Christian Front—with no result, of course.

Newspapers began printing stories about the projected march of the fascists and the call of the Socialist Workers Party for a counter-demonstration.

The State convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting in New York City on August 17 passed a resolution condemning Coughlinism.

Nazis In Parade

In the August 17 issue of "Deutscher Weckruf," official organ of the German American Bund, a notice appeared in German ordering all storm troopers of the New York Division out for the Saturday parade, thus clearly showing that Fritz Kuhn, personal representative of Hitler, was one of those in back of the parade side by side with Coughlin.

Previously B. Z. Goldberg, editor of the Jewish Day, and Alexander Hoffman, General Manager of Cleaners and Dyers Union, Local 239 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, called for militant resistance to the Coughlinites. Mr. Hoffman asking the union membership to "return blow

for blow the attacks of Fascists and Coughlinites."

Coughlin saw the direction of the wind and began pulling in his ears. On Tuesday he utilized the editorial statement in "Social Justice" to "repudiate" the parade. This was to keep his own skirts legally clean over possible bloodshed committed by his followers. In the next issue of "Social Justice", however, he stated that there was no law to prevent the paraders from carrying banners with his picture and placards lauding "Social Justice."

Parade Kommandeur Lawrence J. Gilpatrick, the 19-year-old youth who applied for the parade permit, stated on August 17 in answer to Coughlin's "repudiation": "I understand Father Coughlin. There was a reason for this statement and I approve of it."

Father Coughlin was forced to retreat another step as the storm grew more threatening. His Christian Front organization "repudiated" the parade. Despite these two "repudiations" by the parade backers, Gilpatrick expected, he said, 30,000 to march on Union Square on Saturday. The Coughlinites launched a series of beatings and stabbings in the Bronx.

Workers Prepare to Fight

The wrath of the workers at the threat of violence and bloodshed in the streets of New York mounted steadily. The Socialist Workers Party sent out special editions of its handbill into Harlem, calling on the Negro people to demonstrate against fascism with their own banners and organizations. Everywhere in the city, workers prepared for August 19.

Coughlin felt the cold hand of defeat closing down on the fight he had scheduled against "Jew York." Over long distance telephone on the night of August 17, he ordered Gilpatrick to call it off. Gilpatrick did as his fuhrer commanded and issued the following statement to the press: "Lawrence Gilpatrick, in behalf of request of Father Coughlin, I withdraw my parade application and will spend my future in the distribution of Social Justice magazine."

Many Fascists Demoralized

The effect of this retreat was highly demoralizing to the ranks of the Christian Mobilizers, Christian Front, Bundists, etc. On Friday night, August 18, Coughlinite speakers in Columbus Circle stated bitterly and quite openly that "some where someone sold us out to the Jews and Communists." In Donovan's Hall, on West 59th Street near Columbus Circle on the same night, Coughlinite speakers threatened to march on Union Square Saturday de-

spite "LaGuardia and all his police and any other orders to the contrary." At first these speakers called on their ranks to pay "no attention to misleading reports in the papers. The parade will be held as scheduled."

After the first shock of defeat among the fascists, charges flew in every direction, cowardice, bribery, sell-out—no accusation was too bitter to express the frustrated rage of these rank and file Coughlinites. "Who are these people in the Socialist Workers Party?" they demanded. "We're going to march even if Coughlin is against it." There was argument as to where to obtain arms.

On Sunday Father Coughlin took an apologetic tone in his nationwide broadcast and attempted to counteract the devastating effect this setback caused to his prestige. He attacked the Christian Mobilizers as using the wrong tactics. He called for the organization of the "Christian Front" in every town and village in the country in preparation for "another day."

Communists Discuss Question

In the Communist Party, the rank and file likewise are bitterly discussing the silence of their leaders over the call of the Socialist Workers Party for a United Front between the two parties against Coughlin. The dependence of the leaders of the Communist Party upon the police and LaGuardia is felt by the rank and file as the same blind cowardly dependence which in Italy and Germany resulted in the victory of the fascists. Many of them are worried that the successful tactics of the Socialist Workers Party in fighting the fascists are not adopted by the Communist Party and especially that the leaders of the Communist Party failed to so much as answer the call for a United Front. Not even special spokesmen from the N. Y. County Committee, sent out to every branch to "explain" the leaflets and the United Front call of the Socialist Workers Party, have succeeded in allaying this indignation.

Father Coughlin will now attempt to consolidate his ranks for a new provocation, to talk them out of their disappointment and prime them for a fresh move. One defeat will not stop him. The anti-fascists must now follow up this victory with the organization of Defense Guards in every union local and, above all, press for a broad united front. The way to fight fascism has been demonstrated. Now is the time to organize effectively to stop Father Coughlin's next attempt at violence.

Flint CIO Council Opens Labor Party Discussion

Stalinists Fail to Table Resolution for Independent Political Labor Action

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FLINT, Mich.—A lively discussion on the question of Independent Labor Political Action as opposed to past policies of endorsing Democrats or "good men" unaffiliated with labor, was put on the agenda of the Flint labor movement by action of the CIO Council here, at its meeting Sunday, Aug. 13.

The Council, representing all the locals of the UAW-CIO in Flint, voted to send a resolution calling for independent labor action on the political field, and condemning the past policies of endorsing Democrats or Republicans, to every local union and shop for discussion.

Efforts by Stalinist members of the Council to table the resolution met with failure. Although the Council did not itself take a vote at its meeting on the labor party question, it recognized the necessity for initiating a discussion on the problem, and the resolution, which condemns both old boss parties, will therefore be sent for discussion to the rank and file of the locals. After all shops and locals have seen the resolution and discussed it, it will be brought back to the CIO Council for a vote.

A militant resolution calling for an independent labor party on a nation-wide scale, and for independent labor political action in Flint and throughout Michigan, was passed recently at a meeting of the WPA Auxiliary of the UAW-CIO here. This discussion is dragging every Stalinist out of his hole, into the open where union men

can see who they are. With anti-Roosevelt sentiment spreading through the plants, even the Stalinists hesitate to flatly oppose the idea of a labor party, and they are forced to couch their opposition in the most ambiguous of terms. Their method recently has been to say they were for the labor party in principle, but concluding that "now is not the time," and "let's wait and see what Lewis does."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE FRIENDS of The Russian Bulletin is to hold a boat-ride and picnic on Sunday, August 27. The boat will sail from the Battery at 10:15 a.m. going up Long Island Sound to Rye Beach. There will be dancing aboard to the music of a first-rate orchestra. At Playland, in a section reserved for the Friends of The Russian Bulletin, we will picnic all afternoon, a full program of sports, games, music, swimming, and fun galore being arranged. The return trip will be made on an evening boat, with a Broadway show to be offered, followed by dancing. Tickets are available at the National Office at the nominal price of only one dollar. Make your reservations immediately before the limited number of tickets are exhausted.

At Your Service
THE APPEAL
POSTER SHOP

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Chauvinism Must Be Driven Out

Negroes are held in subjection chiefly by three powerful imperialist nations—France, Great Britain, and the United States of America. It follows inevitably that racial chauvinism is a social characteristic in all these countries. Each imperialist power, however, has its own special type of chauvinism, based on its national peculiarities. What is important for us is that each specific type is faithfully reflected in the revolutionary movement of each country.

Talk intimately to an American Negro who is disillusioned with the Communist Party. Mingled with his disgust at the political degeneration of the C.P., will be a melancholy tale of personal insults, social discrimination, and similar conflicts springing directly out of the race relationships prevailing in capitalist America. Yet he has to admit that, when one looks back over the last 25 years, it is in the militant working class movement and particularly in its revolutionary wing that the greatest progress has been made towards real political solidarity and social equality, in association between members of the races.

Chauvinism in personal relations is not, to the politically-minded Negro, the main grievance. What he objects to more is a political attitude which, as always in our movement, can best be understood from an international approach.

In Great Britain and in France there are a few Negroes in the revolutionary movement. Social antagonisms such as those which take place in America are conspicuously absent. Not only the French revolutionaries but French bourgeois society on the whole displays a remarkable absence of racial prejudice. Even in England where race prejudice is very strong, personal relationships between white and colored revolutionaries are exceptionally good. Little trouble ever arises about Negro or other colored comrades staying in the homes of white revolutionaries, slighting of Negroes and their friends at socials, etc. There the radical movement in England differentiates itself sharply from English bourgeois and petty-bourgeois society which was the most race-conscious in Western Europe before the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933.

British Chauvinism and the African Revolution

Yet the English revolutionary movement is eaten to the marrow with a most dangerous anti-Negro chauvinism. An English revolutionary, in thinking of the colonial revolution, thinks always of India but very rarely of Africa. India has produced world-famous leaders, like Gandhi and Nehru. India has a great history, a great cultural heritage. The Indian masses have many achievements to their credit in recent years, and these are widely known. An English radical has no difficulty in conceiving of a great revolution in India. This does not make him like Indians more. Quite often, English men and women admit that they find it easier to get on with African and West Indian Negroes than with many Indians.

But this same Englishman, who when he wants to go to the pictures or to a dance or to go camping, calls up his Negro friend instead of an Indian, finds it hard to think of an African revolt. He speaks always of the English revolutionaries winning power in England and then "granting" freedom to Africans. He has accepted almost completely the evaluation of Negroes propagated by British imperialism. He sees Africans as incapable of independent action on a large scale, unable to organize a revolutionary struggle, to seize the power and hold it. In other words, he sees them essentially as the bourgeois sees them. The African for him is the revolutionary white man's burden.

In the French revolutionary movement, the situation is different. The French used hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the last, and are preparing to use millions in the coming war. Many Negro divisions come to France for training. The French bourgeoisie popularizes its African as well as its other troops. However ignorant a French revolutionary may be about Africa, he cannot see armed and highly trained African troops, officered by Negroes, without realizing their enormous revolutionary possibilities. Further, he sees Negro deputies in the French parliament. Negroes have been cabinet ministers, generals in the French Army, high officials in the civil service. It is therefore far easier for a French revolutionary to take the African revolution seriously. And the French Communist Party did some good work among the African troops in the old days when the Communist Parties were revolutionary.

Not dissimilar in their social approach to individual Negroes, the revolutionary movements of Britain and France are wide apart in their conceptions of the African revolution.

American Marxists and Bourgeois Ideas

The American Marxist is much closer in this to the English than to the French revolutionary. It should not be so. The Negroes have a great revolutionary history in America. Here is one revealing incident.

During the Civil War, an independently organized detachment of free Negroes in the South fought for the Confederacy. When the Confederacy was defeated in their state, they joined the North. They were ready to fight with the Devil against God or with God against the Devil. All they wanted was a chance to show that they were men. The Negroes, once they see a way out, will do the same today.

The Garvey movement is one of the most remarkable political eruptions that has taken place in America during the last quarter of the century. Most American revolutionaries treat it with an extreme light-mindedness. Merely backward Negroes misled by a demagogue. For proof? No serious study of the Garvey movement exists. "The Negro 'accepts'." The white proletariat will have to emancipate him." The Negro is seen always at the tail of the revolutionary movement. In other words, like the British and French revolutionaries, the American revolutionaries function mentally pretty much within the limits laid down by the American bourgeoisie. It was the Communist International which held the American C.P. by the scruff of the neck and made it take the Negro question seriously.

Yet even in the revolutionary days, the C.P. still saw the Negroes as a tail to their own movement. The C.P. conception was that the white revolutionaries had a "duty" to the Negroes. You might as well say that a man has a "duty" to save himself from drowning. The class-conscious white workers have to realize the vast importance, the absolute necessity of having the millions of Negroes with them, of realizing that the place of the Negroes is in the front of the struggle. We of the Fourth International have now raised this question to its full status theoretically. What we have to do now is to make this conception a part of our mental equipment. But to do this we must break absolutely with bourgeois ideas about the Negro. The bourgeois lies about the Negro's past. He lies about the Negro's present. He lies about his future. He manufactures a fake science to prove the Negro inferior. He manufactures a fake Negro to justify his oppression of the real Negro. The bourgeois not only lies himself but is the cause of lies in others. He has managed to instill quite a substantial portion of his own lies about Negroes into the minds of Negroes themselves. We as Marxists have to repudiate and denounce on every occasion all that the American bourgeoisie so pertinaciously circulates about Negroes.

And having broken with bourgeois ideas we must vigorously create our own, for if we do not, bourgeois corruption will come pouring in on us again. So conscious and complete a break with American bourgeois ideas about Negroes has never been made in America before. In the old revolutionary days the C.P. went a certain distance but stopped short, and its rapid degeneration prevented its complete theoretical emancipation. Only a Marxist party can even attempt it. Determinedly carried through, such an ideological approach is the real beginning of the gigantic upheaval which will lift not one or two but the fifteen millions of Negroes to their rightful place in American society.

A Review of the Developments Leading to the Actors' Dispute

By S. J. WIDICK

National Labor Sec'y SWP

Behind the fanfare and dramatic highlights of the present dispute of the actors and stagehands is a deeply-rooted and profound crisis in this section of the AFL, which has finally flared into the open. A review of the developments will explain the significance and scope of the crisis and answer the question so many unionists have asked: What's it all about?

The AFL has two main organizations in the theatrical and entertainment world. The technical workers are affiliated to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, usually referred to as the stage hands union. Motion picture operators, etc., are part of this set-up.

The actors are members of one of the various unions chartered by the Associated Actors and Artists of America, known as the Four A's. Hollywood stars, for example, are members of the Screen Actors Guild, while the night club performers, vaudeville actors, etc., were in the American Federation of Actors, the union whose internal frictions brought the crisis to a head.

Broadway stars and actors are in the famous Actors Equity Association, affiliated to the Four A's. Radio stars are in the Federation of Radio Artists, also of the Four A's. RACKETEERS SEEK A WAY TO MUSCLE IN

The stage hands unions have a long history of organization. About 60,000 skilled workers are members of the various organizations within the I.A.T.S.E. Total strength of the Four A's unions is around 30,000.

The history of the I.A.T.S.E. unions has many black chapters in it. George E. Browne, international president of the I.A.T.S.E. has as one of his chief aides, William Bleff, a Chicago associate of Al Capone. Another big shot is John P. (Big) Nick, a vice-president, who is under indictment on an extortion charge. He is charged with having chiseled \$20,000 from St. Louis employers in return for a guarantee that the stage hands union would not ask for wage increases.

In Hollywood, Bleff is under investigation for an alleged payment of \$100,000 by film producers to him in return for guarantees similar to those Nick was supposed to have made.

Within the I.A.T.S.E., Bleff,

Nick and similar elements have been urging the union to take over the jurisdiction in the actors union fields, that is, the Four A's jurisdiction.

To put the matter bluntly, since 1937 these Chicago boys have been seeking a way to muscle in on the rich and lucrative actors union field.

WHITEHEAD RULE STIRS RESENTMENT

The fight within the American Federation of Actors in New York City, an affiliate of the Four A's, gave the Chicago boys their chance, they thought.

Ralph Whitehead, executive secretary of the AFA, has long been under rank and file criticism. The AFA grew quickly in the early NRA days and obtained some contracts. But Whitehead was a ruthless dictator of the union, rank and file participation in obtaining contracts was excluded, and temporary agreements very damaging to the interests of the rank and file were made.

Resentment reached a new high this spring when an agreement was arranged between Whitehead and Billy Rose, of the New York World's Fair Aquacade. Chorus girls rehearsed for weeks without pay, union leaders were fired, wages were poor. These conditions, combined with reports that Whitehead was using union funds for personal use, brought ugly rumors and Whitehead asked for an investigation in self-defense.

He was found guilty, after a couple of hectic union meetings in which he and Sophie Tucker, the president, sought vainly to win back the rank and file. When Whitehead and Tucker refused to abide by the decisions of the Four A's, the parent body, the charter of the AFA was yanked, and a new provisional charter was given in this field to the American Guild of Variety Artists, headed by Eddie Cantor.

Whitehead, Tucker and others then made a private deal with Browne, president of the I.A.T.S.E. who gave them a charter without either consulting the stagehands or even his own executive board.

The fact that Joseph Padway, general counsel of the AFL, represented Whitehead during this controversy gave credence to the rumor that the AFL executive council intended to aid the stage hands union invade the actors field.

It was this situation which aroused the Hollywood and Broadway stars, who knew too

much about the role of the Chicago boys to submit to the invasion without a desperate struggle.

In a series of brilliant publicity moves which exposed completely the hatched-up plot, Hollywood and Broadway stars went to bat before the executive council on the question. In the matter of jurisdiction, they easily proved by previous decisions of the AFL that the Four A's and not the stage hands union had jurisdiction in the actors' field. They threatened to split from the AFL rather than lose their fundamental right of autonomy.

For five hours at the AFL council meeting, Ralph Morgan president of the Screen Actors Guild, Lawrence Tibbet, Frank Gilmore, president of the Four A's, Kenneth Thompson, executive secretary of the Screen Actors Guild and other prominent Four A's union leaders blasted away at the crude attempt of the I.A.T.S.E. reactionary leadership to raid the actors' field.

PROGRESSIVES WIN FIRST SKIRMISH

The C.I.O. is already in the picture, claiming a membership of 5,000 in a stagehands and technicians union. If the dispute between the Four A's and the I.A.T.S.E. culminates in a strike, the C.I.O. naturally would assist the Four A's, and perhaps break the hold of the I.A.T.S.E. in its own field. What has been accomplished so far?

The AFL executive council was unable to take away the autonomy of the Four A's. This is clearly a victory for proponents of democracy within the AFL.

The under-paid, badly exploited chorus girls and night club performers have a fighting chance of building the American Guild of Variety Artists into a militant union which will be able to alleviate their terrible conditions, thanks to the solidarity of the Hollywood and Broadway stars.

The Chicago boys have met with another rebuff in their persistent efforts to chisel in the rich actors' unions.

Of course, the main struggle between the progressive elements and the reactionary elements in this section of the AFL is by no means over with. The first major skirmish, however, was won by the progressive tendencies. That is important because it gives real hope for the final outcome of the struggle.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 62

August 25, 1939

Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-5547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 5 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$2.00 for one year.
"Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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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.

12. Full Social, Political And Economic Equality For the Negro People

Today the Socialist Workers Party takes a further step in the elaboration of the program for which we fight TODAY. We add to the eleven demands we carry under our editorial box, a twelfth: full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people.

Its previous omission has not been accidental. Our fundamental program, the principles of socialism, demand a resolute and uncompromising revolutionary struggle for the rights of all the oppressed, and none in America are more oppressed than the Negro people. But our party, lacking the resources to engage in this task, hesitated to proclaim as one of our immediate objectives and tasks the struggle for Negro rights.

That period is now over. The Negro question has become and will continue to be one of our main fields of activity. Our press reflects the activities already undertaken by our party. The demand therefore is today no mere pious wish or gesture, but a slogan for immediate and continuous action.

Second to none in importance is this demand for the destruction of the centuries-old oppression of the Negro people. It is not a task for specialized sections of the party, but for the whole party. The struggle for the rights of the fifteen million Negroes in this country is indissolubly bound up with the fight for the emancipation of all the oppressed.

Seventy Indicted

About seventy WPA strikers and labor leaders of Minneapolis were indicted August 18 by a Federal grand jury.

Their names will not be known until they are all rounded up and arrested.

They were indicted under section 28 of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law—an obscurely-worded provision which makes it a crime to "interfere" with WPA projects in any way.

Their "interference" was, of course, the WPA strike for the prevailing wage.

"You can't strike against the government," said Roosevelt, and Attorney General Murphy convened this grand jury to put teeth into Roosevelt's edict.

The trials will take place at the opening term of United States district court in Minneapolis, which begins September 26.

Two years imprisonment or \$2,000 fine or both are the penalties provided by the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law.

If the Roosevelt administration can successfully carry through its prosecutions and get convictions in Minneapolis, it will undoubtedly then seek to secure convictions against the building trades union leaders in New York, Chicago and elsewhere, who are still conducting WPA strikes.

The fight to defend the Minneapolis unionists against this frameup is, therefore, the fight of the entire American labor movement. In Minneapolis, the Central Labor Union, central body of the AFL unions, will lead the fight. It should receive, not merely the moral support, but the most direct collaboration of unions everywhere, in the fight to prevent the Roosevelt administration from railroadizing seventy union men to jail.

This fight is not only a problem. It is also an opportunity. An opportunity for the American labor movement to establish, once for all, the fundamental right of American workers to

strike, whether in private industry or on public works projects.

This fight also gives American labor the opportunity to tear away the veil of secrecy from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose under-cover men gathered the "evidence" for the indictments. The F.B.I. is today, as it was during the post-war years, a strike-breaking agency.

These government spies are known by the term "agents-provocateur," the malodorous French word which has become part of all languages, to describe the government agent who disguises himself as a striker and himself does or incites others to do things which serve to justify governmental repressions.

Under Attorneys General Palmer and Dougherty, the F.B.I. agents were notorious for their role as agents-provocateurs. The authoritative Encyclopedia for the Social Sciences says that "by themselves committing actual crimes of violence attributed to radicals . . . the agents of the bureau kept the country conscious of their services."

Their role became so scandalous that, under Attorney General Harlan F. Stone, orders were issued to abolish the political-police function of the F.B.I. The general impression was that this had been done—until the Minneapolis WPA strike revealed that Attorney General Murphy had re-created the political-police function of the F.B.I.

In one of those rare slips which reveal the cesspools underneath us, the Minneapolis Daily Tribune of July 24 published a story headed, "F.B.I. agents who posed as WPA riot pickets to testify in inquiry." The story itself revealed that, "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."

Able attorneys of the trade unions can, in the course of this trial, determine what these agents, posing as pickets, did to provide the police with a pretext for firing on the strikers.

Cultural Note

"The former president of the University of California, Maj. Gen. David Prescott Barrows (retired), brought fifteen hundred members of the American Legion to their feet cheering when he declared at a Legion luncheon:

"To all Communists I deliver this message from the American Legion—if you start any rough stuff such as you did in Europe we shall kill you first!"—San Francisco News, Aug. 15.

Confidentially

The Kiplinger Washington Letter is a confidential news service for business men.

Under date of August 12, it undertakes to give the "low-down" on the new War Dictatorship Board which was announced on August 9. Here's what it says:

"Business men who have something to make, or something to sell, or who want to know what their jobs would be in case of a U. S. war, will establish working relations through this Board . . . in due course. There's no need to rush into correspondence now. We shall advise later. "Note personnel of new Board—non-political industrial leaders, Stettinius, Gifford, Pratt, Gen. Wood, plus Compton of Mass. Tech., plus Moulton of Brookings Institution, plus Col. Rutherford of the Army. It's honest-to-goodness, not a piece of New Deal political scenery. Highly confidential dealings with it will be entirely 'safe.'"

"Other members will be added later to make it representative of all essential industries, like War Industries Board in last war.

"Stettinius, 39-year-old head of U. S. Steel, top man of new Board, is in line to be the 'civilian dictator of industry' . . . if war comes."

Fall Frolic

DANCE & ENTERTAINMENT

Saturday, September 16th at 9 p.m.

at the IRVING PLAZA BALLROOM

(newly re-decorated)

- Professional Entertainment
- Swing Band
- Refreshments

Boxes Reserved for parties of 6 or more

Tickets 75c On Sale at S.W.P. office

Stalin, Hitler Become Allies by New Treaty

(Continued from Page 1)

in's. Hitler will demand, and Stalin will offer, concessions, concrete and tangible.

"A breach in the foreign trade monopoly, which will immediately undermine Russian industry and prepare its collapse? A slice of the Ukraine, as a beginning of the dismemberment of the Soviet Union? To show good faith on the part of Stalin, a new trial, perhaps, new killings? Litvinov's head, as the scapegoat for the discredited policy of alliances with the capitalist democracies? Or, proceeding to a drastic solution of the real conflict between the Soviet Union and all the imperialist countries, will Stalin move to a direct attempt to restore private property and open up the Russian market to foreign exploitation?"

"These are the questions which can constitute the only possible basis for rapprochement between Hitler and Stalin. Fantastic, you say? No, the whole course of Stalin has been leading straight to this end. . . . Stalin and his clique, long ago, turned their backs on every hope and prospect of world revolution. The bureaucratic caste is concerned only with self-preservation at any cost." (Socialist Appeal, October 15, 1938)

Turn Was Imminent

Commenting on the strange silence of Stalin on Hitler's November 10, 1938 pogroms against the Jews and the refusal of the Soviet Union to open its doors to the refugees, the Socialist Appeal of December 3, 1938 dismissed the lame explanation offered by V. J. Jerome in the Stalinist Daily Worker, and said:

"The Jerome alibi is a gross fraud. He dares not and cannot tell the real truth. For, while the Stalinist parties abroad still go on the old line of urging the democracies to make war on the fascist powers, Stalin is already preparing the new line: rapprochement with Hitler, if Hitler will only agree.

"That is the explanation for Stalin's silence on the question of opening the doors of the Soviet Union to the refugees. Hitler does not approve of anyone opening the doors to the Jews, and Stalin woe Hitler.

"Members of the Communist Party! You cannot believe our explanation, cannot accept it? Then ask your leaders for a more plausible explanation than that of V. J. Jerome and the Daily Worker:

"Why does Stalin not open wide the doors of the U.S.S.R. to the refugees from fascism?" Stalinists Attacked Grynspan A revelatory indication of the direction in which the Stalinists were traveling was the attack of Humanite, organ of the French Communist Party, against Herschel Grynspan, the Jewish boy who shot a Nazi official. On November 9 and 10, 1938, Humanite linked Grynspan with "agents of the Gestapo", saying: "The police know as surely as we do that young Grynspan was in constant relation with the Trotskyist circles, which swarm with agents of the Gestapo" (Nov. 10) and raised the question "what shady role might have been played by an agent of the Gestapo introduced into the Trotskyist circles of Paris which Grynspan frequented." (Nov. 11).

Commenting on this foul attack on Grynspan, the Socialist Appeal, December 17, 1938, pointed out:

"At a time when even conservative writers put all emphasis on pointing out that the Hitlerites were only reaping the

fruit of their vicious anti-Semitic campaign, and that the real responsibility for the crime rested on the shoulders of the Fascist bureaucracy, the Stalinist press leaped in to throw the mud of suspicion on the young Jewish martyr."

Silent on Duranti Dispatch In the Socialist Appeal of December 31, 1938, Felix Morrow wrote:

"Step by step, in their course of making peace with the surrounding capitalist world, the Stalinist clique degenerated until their political methods have become indistinguishable from those of Hitler. Nor, is it clear, will Stalin hesitate at employing anti-Semitism. Walter Duranti, Stalin's official spokesman, has indicated that in his now-famous dispatch of October 11, 1938, to the North American Newspaper Alliance, predicting a rapprochement between Stalin and Hitler; after all, Duranti pointed out, 'Stalin has shot more Jews in two years of the purge than have been killed in Germany.' Despite widespread comment in the labor press on this extraordinarily cynical remark, the Communist parties nowhere have repudiated Duranti's statement!"

The same issue of the Socialist Appeal carried a story headlined, "Soviet Press Gives scant coverage to Nazi pogroms", which analysed the chief Soviet papers during the week following the November 10th pogroms in Germany, and

showed that the Soviet press hardly touched this question even in its news reports.

German Stalinists Wanted Pact In line with Stalin's search for a pact with Hitler, the illegal Communist Party of Germany proceeded, in February, 1939, to propose such a pact in nationalistic terms aping those of Hitler. This was pointed out by the Socialist Workers Party's theoretical organ, the New International, May, 1939, which quoted the following revealing paragraphs from an article in Die Internationale, organ of the German Communist Party:

"The idea of an alliance with the Soviet power which the C.P.G. proposes in sharpest contrast to the Hitlerite foreign policy, and which is independent of whether Germany is socially or capitalistically organized, is being shared more and more by all Germans who want to live in peace with the Soviet Union." (Die Internationale, No. 1-2, 1939, p. 77).

Commenting on this nationalistic declaration of the Communist Party of Germany, we then said:

"The demand for an alliance with the Soviet Union, posed 'independently' of the internal regime of Germany, that is, independent of the question of whether German fascism remains in power or not, can have no other meaning than that of a promise to support the foreign policy of German imperialism if it comes to an agreement with Stalin."

Fowers Mobilize; War Crisis at New High

German Demands Raise International

Tension to Highest Pitch Since 1918—

People Fear Outbreak of War

(Continued from Page 1)

ializing with increasing rapidity. In spite of rising domestic business, and high profit reports for the first six months of this year, the Stock Market slumped badly in reaction to the European outlook.

Army in Slovakia

Hitler's latest move has been to order the German army to take "military possession" of Slovakia, which the Munich deal had established as a nominally independent state under German "protection". Slovakia extends as a thin wedge for 200 miles between the southern border of Poland and the northern border of Hungary; by this step, Germany directly threatens Poland's southern industrial areas, and at the same time has put a heavy squeeze on Hungary to keep firmly in line with Berlin.

Soviet-German Pact

At this critical juncture, the day after the military occupation of Slovakia, the Soviet Union officially announced a new trade and credit agreement with Germany. By this pact, Hitler in exchange for German credits will be enabled to buy much needed raw materials in the Soviet Union.

The next day came the announcement of the Hitler-Stalin "non-aggression" pact. With Hitler surrounding Poland on three borders, and his new ally, in accordance with "non-aggression," refusing to supply Poland with food and oil during hostilities, Hitler has only to seize Danzig and the Corridor—and Poland, cut off from all supplies, is Hitler's to dismember at will.

But can England permit Hitler to do so?

People Fear War In the present tension, a small spark, in any of a dozen

hot spots, is enough to touch off the outbreak of world war.

In the United States, the growing fears of the people are brought out by the latest Gallup poll. This showed that 76% believe that the U. S. would be involved if a European war breaks out. Two years ago, the figure was only 38%. The Gallup release stressed that this poll was designed to measure the people's fears, not wishes.

As if to underline these fears, the past week witnessed the largest peacetime army ever formed in the U. S. for military maneuvers, for the purpose of conducting "war games" in New York State and Virginia. The press reports raised the usual scare about the "vulnerability" of Washington and New York to the attack of a foreign army which has theoretically landed on the coast. Washington also announced the handing out of the largest amount of war munitions orders during peace time.

Anti-War Drive Timely

The growing crisis underlines the timeliness of the current anti-war campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, and the fears of the masses expressed in the Gallup poll drives home the speed with which the demand for a people's referendum on war must be pushed.

While the press reports are filled with the maneuvers of the rulers and diplomats on the world scene, we must emphasize that the masses of people must take their destiny into their own hands.

This demand is the first step in the fight to mobilize the masses against American involvement in the European crisis.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR! Only the people have the right to decide!

WORKERS' FORUM

YES, SOME PEOPLE ARE A FUNNY LOT

Editor:

"People," my father used to say, on practically any occasion, "are a funny lot."

This arresting thought was brought to my mind again by the experience of one of our comrades who was soliciting a signature for our anti-war petition. The following conversation took place:

"I have a petition here supporting a referendum on war. It's a—"

"I don't wanna sign it!"

"Aren't you opposed to war?"

"Sure I'm opposed to war. A thousand per cent opposed to it. In fact, I'm so opposed

to war that I don't wanna have anything to do with it or anything connected with it. That's why I won't sign your petition."

Father was no dummy. Comradely yours,

B. L. Akron, Ohio August 14, 1939

What's happened this week in your union, shop, street, city, that you would want other workers to know about? For every direct story we get about the life of the workers, there are a thousand that Appeal readers fail to send us. Why don't you tell other Appeal readers what you know? Send YOUR letter TODAY to the Workers Forum.

Their Government

By James Burnham

No front is neglected in the ever-hastening preparations for the war. While, last week, the nations were turning out new armaments at the rate of two billions of dollars worth a month, and additional millions of men were being mobilized in Europe, Columbia University, second richest of this country's educational institutions, was doing its bit in the moral make-ready.

Under the direction of Dean Russell of Columbia's Teachers College (the most influential school of education in the United States), a three days' "Congress on Education for Democracy" was held and immensely publicized in the press. Some 400 "delegates" of various organizations were present, and several thousand others attended the sessions.

The meaning of the Congress was well symbolized by its leading guest and by the chairman of its key session, the huge banquet held at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, elder statesman of Britain's Conservative party, was the guest. Winthrop W. Aldrich, head of the country's largest bank, the Chase National, was the chairman.

Such Congresses, however, are never complete without their "left decoration". To their shame and disgrace, this was prominently provided by Ernest Bevin, one of the chiefs of the British Trades Unions and the British Labor Party; Charles Beard, America's leading liberal historian; Norman Thomas, whose picture the Times wisely featured; and William Green, who sent an effusive message from Atlantic City.

Democracy of Baldwin and Aldrich

The dozens of speeches at the sessions were studied with some of the biggest generalities on record. Simple facts and concrete details were beneath the scorn of these master-minds. Here were to be found only "eternal truths": freedom and liberty and conscience and God. "If civilization is to avoid overwhelming damage," bleated President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, "and perhaps ruin for centuries, there is something to be done which must be done now."

No one, of course, was so indiscreet as to mention just what it is that "must be done now". But they did not need to put it into words. What must be done, the whole Congress implied and prepared for, is to go to war against the Axis powers.

The most farcical performance of the whole three days was the speech of the Ambassador from Poland, Poland, giving its lessons to the people—on democracy! Poland, land of eternal military dictatorship, pogroms, suppression of minority rights, everlasting violence against the labor movement, telling just how and why we must "fight for democracy!"

But it should not be imagined that this Congress was a trivial affair or a joke, or that the time, energy and money spent on it was wasted. Congresses such as these, and the permanent organization which issued out of it, are an indispensable part of imperialism's preparation for war.

It is particularly significant that Teachers College sponsored this Congress. Imperialism prostitutes everything in society to its ends, and firm control over the educational system, with the educators' vast influence over the moral and intellectual climate of the public, is essential to its plans. It must be confessed, alas, that the big shots of the teaching world do not need much urging to fulfill their prostitutes' role.

The people would never accept the war if they knew one-half of the hideous, vicious truth about it. Therefore the "leaders of intellectual and cultural life" have got to manufacture lies attractive enough to make the masses willing to die for the Sixty Families and their counterparts in the other great powers.

Democracy that the Congress Forgot

The gathering was entitled a Congress on Education for Democracy. Now I will be the first to grant that the world is very much in need of education for democracy. A Congress in this country might well devote its serious attention to the subject.

Spokesmen from the United States could easily compose most eloquent speeches explaining how U. S. imperialism murders democracy through its military dictatorship in Puerto Rico, and could raise the democratic demand for the independence of Puerto Rico. They could tell how the ten million Negroes of the South are deprived of all democratic rights, and herded in squalid, disease-ridden ghettos; and demand full political, economic and social rights for the Negroes. They could analyze the M-Day plans of the U. S. government, already in their first stages of setting up a totalitarian military dictatorship.

The Polish speaker could discuss the endless crimes of the Polish landlords, industrialists, politicians and generals against democracy.

The British delegates would not have to search far for material. They could tell the story of Ireland. They could show by what devices an imperialist handful keeps 350,000,000 Indians ground into the earth—and might even make clear that democracy, genuine democracy, means immediate freedom and independence for India. They could give the simple facts about Palestine, Ceylon, South Africa. . . .

And they might, all of them, show why, if a war involving all of mankind threatens, the peoples themselves are not given the right to decide whether that war is worth fighting.

But such a Congress on education for democracy would not be called by Dean Russell, nor would its delegates comprise the glittering figures of the Earl of Bewdley, Winthrop Aldrich, Ernest Bevin, or Charles Beard. It would be a congress which would have to name these liars and hypocrites, these pimps of the spirit, as among the most vicious of the enemies of real democracy. The struggle of the masses for democracy must recognize in them and their Congresses a corrupt and degraded instrument of the enemy.

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
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I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the Socialist Appeal. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

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