Who Is Coughlin, What Is His Program, How Did He Rise?

Aided by Big Business, America's Number One Fascist Rose from Obscurity to Lead a Movement

By JOSEPH HANSEN -

Father Coughlin: Fascist Demagogue

Capitalism is Bankrupt

One of the surest signs that a social system is mortally sick is the existence of a large body of permanently unemployed workers. Greek civilization toppled amidst the frenzied despair of her unemployed. The broken pillars of the Coliseum in Rome still stand as a monument to the tyrants of the mighty Roman Empire who vainly attempted to trick the hordes of unemployed out of their hunger. During the death agony of feudalism, all Europe was wracked by wandering bands of desperate and starving unemployed. American capitalism is mortally sick.

For ten years, since 1929, capitalism has cast off an increasing number of people whom it can never employ, whom it cannot even feed—despite the fact that the land is bursting with food and crops are rotting on the ground.

Each year an estimated 500,000 youth reach employable age and are thrown into the ever-swelling ranks of the unemployed. These hungry, ill-clothed Americans number now almost 17,000,000—a colossal figure!

At first they listened to the promises of Roosevelt's New Deal and these promises sounded good. He was going to feed them, clothe them, give them jobs and security.

Now they know that he lied. Now they know that he cheated them, that he had nothing to give them but in-

The unemployed stand for the moment, uncertain what road to take next. They are starving in the richest country in the world. Warehouses are crammed to the roof with goods. Billions in gold lie idle in the banks. Factory gates are shut. Machines are silent. Crops are plowed under.

Using the LIE that private industry will provide jobs, Roosevelt's slash relief program hurls fresh million after million of Americans into the streets. There they may eat garbage-if they can find any left in the garbage pailswhile they hunt for a job in private industry.

All about them they see incalculable wealth monopolized and enjoyed by a miserable handful of parasitic stock-

The unemployed go hungry.

They are bewildered, but one basic truth they do understand: This situation is intolerable.

They are ready for action. No more postcards to Congress! Already they feel in their minds the thing that is coming . . . revolution . . . three square meals a day . . . clothing . . . a decent home . . . plenty for all . . .

Democratic capitalism is doomed. Coughlin knows it.

Big Business knows it. Roosevelt knows it.

Everybody knows it but that wooden skull minority composed of John L. Lewis, William Green, Earl Browder, an idiot or two, and a handful of old maids of both sexes who were left over from the last century. This minority still believes that democratic capitalism will continue indefinitely to punch its meal ticket!

In America apt students have watched the rise to power of Mussolini and Hitler. They understand that only one road is left open to capitalism that has become sour and rotten with old age. In Italy Mussolini called it fascism. In Germany Hitler, called it Nazism. We do not yet know what name a similar movement in America might bear. Perhaps in America it will be called—Social Justice.

What Is Fascism?

Fascism is a combination of two things.

First, it is a wide mass movement of farmers and small business men who face bankruptcy, of youth denied a future under capitalism, of sections of the unemployed. All these layers of the oppressed who are seeking desper-. ately to put their hands on the surrounding plenty become hypnotized by the silver-plated promises of a demagogue who regiments them into blindly obedient shock troops.

Secondly, it is financed and controlled by the very capitalists who above all are anxious to keep the revolutionary violence of the masses from turning against them. In America-the DuPonts, the Morgans, the Rockefellersthe Sixty Families.

To the rank and file followers of fascism, at first it seems a genuine revolutionary way out of their misery. They discover the truth too late.

The capitalists provide the money. The dictator provides the powerful slogans, the stirring names, the demagogic program, the organization, the lieutenants, and the oratory.

Father Coughlin's Real Program A few years ago it was very difficult to prove that Father Coughlin was consciously plotting to build a fascist movement in the United States. But now he has come out more in the open. He has had time to make slips in his public and private utterances. It is only necessary to read

his speeches and his magazine Social Justice with a little care to discover Father Coughlin's REAL program. Only one month before he launched the National Union for Social Justice he said to Paul Weber of Hearst's International News Service (Detroit Times, October 10, 1934):

"I am devoted to capitalism." Among his sixteen points for Social Justice he calls for the preservation of private property.

Devotion to capitalism and preservation of private

property—this is the holy Bible of fascism.

On March 13, 1938, in a broadcast over his network, Coughlin urged the establishment in the United States of a "corporate state," which is the gilded way of describing (Continued on Page 2)

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Fascists Wreck N.Y. Labor Hall



W.A.A. ENDS **BUSY WEEK** OF LOBBYING

Congressmen

—and Inaction

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) WASHINGTON - Sponsored Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, the "Right To Work Congress" ended its sessions here June 10, after one week with the feeling, as expressed in the Daily Worker of Sunday June 11 by George Morris, that "The Job Congress is the greatest mass lobbying ac tion that has ever been carried

That the Workers Alliance met in Washington not to fashion a fighting program to meet the needs of the unemployed about it? but to curry favor from the New Deal is best expressed by Herbert Benjamin, secretary treasurer of the W.A.A., who stated that "Few actions of the unemployed have been so fruitful as this Congress. I think that at no time have so many

Congressmen been visited." Far from preparing the nation's unemployed and relief workers for militant struggle in their own behalf, the Workers Alliance Washington con-

Twin City Workers Showed the Way to Set Record for Viś- Fight W. P. A. Cuts | Compelled to leave the neighborhood by the hundreds of anti-fascists who confronted them, the fascists returned, at night, Appeals could be distributed | Record for Viś- | Fight W. P. A. Cuts | Compelled to leave the neighborhood by the hundreds of anti-fascists who confronted them, the fascists returned, at night, Appeals could be distributed | Position of the Socialist Workers Party that they donated money so that Socialist The Coughlinite hooligans were held at bay by the Labor De-

Seven months ago, in November, 3,350,000 men and women headquarters they found.

were employed on the W.P.A. rolls. At that time the New York Times' authoritative business ac-

ivity index stood at 94. Today that index stands at 86. And today the Roosevelt Administration has cut down the

W.P.A. rolls to 2,500,000. While business activity—and jobs—fell by nearly one-tenth, Roosevelt was firing 850,000 W.P.A. workers on the pretext that there would be jobs waiting for them in private industry. He lied. Those workers, fired from W.P.A., are roaming the

streets looking for non-existent jobs, eating if at all on the miserable hand-outs of local home relief. But that isn't the worst of it. On April 27 Roosevelt sent a message on relief to Congress, recommending an average of 2.000,000 on W.P.A. rolls during the fiscal year which begins

W.P.A. if Roosevelt has his way. What are you unemployed and W.P.A. workers going to do

July 1. That means another 500,000 are to be thrown off the

bout it?
Last week the workers of Minneapolis and St. Paul showed the Irish Revolutionists Break way. Five thousand of them closed up W.P.A. projects in a oneday demonstration and, in trucks provided by General Drivers Local 544's independent truck owners' section, they descended With Stalinism, Form Club upon the various relief authorities and presented their militant demands. In a word, they demanded a job and a decent living for every worker.

If the stirring demonstration in the Twin Cities were repeated in only twenty other cities, ears now deaf in Washington would be impelled to hear. Fighting demonstrations in the streets are the only road to W.P.A. jobs, the only language that the Roosevelt War Deal can be made to understand.

That is the concrete task now facing the progressives in the unemployed and trade union movement everywhere: to organize clave disgraced itself by grant-demonstrations against the W.P.A. and relief cuts. On however ing Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt modest a scale, demonstrations should be organized wherever an honorary membership after they are at all possible. Millions of workers are waiting for a she had stated to the press that lead; the progressives have only to prove by action that they are ready to lead these workers in the fight against starvation.

"Freeing" of Mrs. Rubens Opens New Chapter in Case

Reporters, American Embassy Officials Unable to Find any Trace of Her

By NAT LEVINE

a Moscow court last week when of the missing Russian secret legally entered the Soviet Un-Krivitsky, former head of the ion on a false American pass-

The charge was an after-The latest chapter in the G. thought, merely following the P.U.-staged drama of the Rob- already-established fact, for inson-Rubens case unfolded in which three American Stalinists were recently convicted in Mrs. Ruth Marie Rubens, wife Federal Court in New York, that Rubens supervised a passagent, A. A. Rubens, pleaded port forging ring. Rubens was guilty to a charge of having il- recently identified by Walter

Soviet Intelligence service in (Continued on Page 4)

A Tribute From An Enemy

"The only sections of the Left who can consistently oppose the Government's plan (for conscription) are the Trotskyists, who regard all wars as capitalist plots, and the Lansburyites, who would not fight on any provocation."

(From the "Evening Stan dard", Lord Beaverbrook's paper, April 27, 1939). Bridge to Hyde Park in com-

Join the Socialist Workers Party

SCHOOL OFFICE

Raid Marks Stage in Rise of Fascist Movement in U. S. A.

Fascist hoodlums broke into the Debs Labor School, 114 West 14 Street, New York City, and wrecked the entire office, bilizing the labor movement sometime after midnight Sat-

It was the first recorded instance of fascist gangsters breaking into and destroying a the Union Square area, tradiworking class headquarters in tional labor and Jewish neighthe United States, and marks a borhood, shouted their antistage in the speedy rise of the Semitic slogans and stabbed a

As they entered the building,

bor school's sign in front of the School, was stabbed, necessitatdoor, cracked open the lock on the school door, and proceeded against insults levelled at Jews to destroy everything in sight. by Coughlinites selling "Social apart, their parts strewn about the room. Plush chairs were the furniture was broken beyond repair. The posters decorating the walls were torn

that were kept in the office in the hands of the fascists.

vengeance on the first labor

The Debs Labor School is opthe entire floor was flooded. Firemen discovered the wreck-

The second of James P. Cannon's discussion articles on problems confronting the

rusted with the Popular Front-

Connolly Club, a Stalinist

ly infuriated with the call of

the Connolly Club for unity

with De Valera, the members

of The Friends of the Irish Re-

public have organized on a pro-

three months old, indicates con-

towards a consistently revolu-

tionary position under the lead-

ership of chairman Murphy

Commemorate Martyrs

On May 14, the Friends held

and secretary McDermott.

siderable unclarity on some land's

a parade from Hammersmith sell literature.

nolly Club had turned down a members are joining.

imperialism and Stalinism.

of the Irish Republic. Especialits hostility.

WRECKING GANG Thugs Stab Worker; SMASHES DEBS SWP Branches Hold Anti-Coughlin Rallies

BUILD WORKERS'

DEFENSE GUARDS

Knife Teacher Who Speaks Up against Anti-Semitic Filth

The urgent necessity of moagainst the Coughlin Fascists was brought home to New protesting school teacher.

Samuel Applebaum, a French the fascists ripped down the la- teacher at New Utrecht High ing seven stitches to close the were broken Justice" on Fourteenth Street.

Party Answers Fascists

As soon as the news was slashed to bits while the rest of brought to the nearby Socialist Workers Party headquarters at 116 University Place, party and youth members speedily mobilized in a counter-demonstration down. All the files and records against the Coughlinites. They were joined by hundreds of more than a hundred copies of were ripped up and destroyed. workers on Fourteenth Street. It is believed that some of the The Coughlinites quickly left than an hour and a half. more valuable records are still the neighborhood, while S.W.P. spokesmen set up a platform The wrecking gang, it is be- and addressed the workers on heckling of the Coughlinites ieved, belonged to the Cough-the necessity of uniting to build drowned out several speakers, in organization which earlier Workers Defense Guards the mass meeting continued for the same day for the first time against the fascist menace.

invaded the Union Square sec-

of S.W.P. forces were success-Department Store. Over 100 organized anti-fascists. copies of the Socialist Appeal age after an alarm had been were sold at Macy's and anoth-

united front offer with the epi-

people joined in the parade,

joined the meeting in the Park.

A resolution attacking the ex

for the formation of a Revolu-

tionary Socialist Party in Ire-

unanimously by the audience.

ation of the martyrs of Ire-

The demonstration, led by a

der, then marched down Edge-

ware Road where a meeting

Small as these militants are

was held to collect funds and

revolutionary

coming party convention appears on page 3 of this issue.

Call for Organization of Revolutionary

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) united front offer with the epi-LONDON. — Thoroughly dis-thets "Trotskyists," about 100

sm and bureaucracy of the and many times that number

of Irishmen living in England, by the Stalinists, tried to dis-

Though the program of the The audience then observed a

organization, which is now minute's silence in commemor-

points, it appears to be turning struggle in 1916 which was fol-

memoration of the execution of in numbers today, they are

imperialists. Though the Con- rapidly becoming known. New

Huge Meeting Protected by Anti-Fascist Labor Guard

Augmented by a detachment of the Anti-Fascist Labor Defense Guard and actively asanxious to fight against the fas-York's workers on Saturday cist gangs of New York, the when the Coughlinites invaded Bronx Branch of the Socialist Workers Party successfully demonstrated in the Fordham Road District of the Bronx, a major stronghold of the Coughlin Fascist gangs.

Despite police interference and organized heckling from a large contingent of Coughlin Fascists, led in their disruption frocked Catholic priest who sat directing them from a parked tine Avenue and Fordham Road. At least 1,000 were in

the meeting. Standing only a few paces apart from Coughlin's "Social Justice" hawkers, squads of Socialist Appeal salesmen sold the anti-fascist paper in less

Coughlinites at Bay

Although the organized Several persons who had of the fascist provocations. tion and stabbed a Jewish joined in the anti-Coughlin Hundreds of workers saw for demonstration were so apprectiative of the action of the Soposition of the Socialist Workit is believed, to wreak their free to interested workers. Ov-fense Guard while speaker after er 100 Appeals were sold here. speaker shot stern barbs at the Meanwhile two mobilizations fascists. The effective protective ring about the platform erated by the Socialist Party. fully challenging Coughlinite stopped the Coughlinites from-Before they left, the fascists domination of Times Square rushing the speakers, although turned on the water faucets and and 34th St. corner of Macy's they clearly outnumbered the

stationed among the Coughlinturned in by an unidentified er sixty at Times Square in ite hecklers that the fascists short order. The Socialist Ap- attempted at various times peal salesmen, shouting anti-throughout the meeting to orfascist slogans, were set upon ganize a rush to the speaker's several times at 34th Street by stand. That they were frus-Coughlin thugs, but the sym-trated speaks well for the adepathetic crowds rushed to the quate protection afforded the defense of the anti-fascists meeting by the Labor Guard.

Parade Follows Meeting After the meeting disbanded, the anti-fascist workers staged a parade along Fordham Road, then went to the Bronx headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Thousands of workers along the route of march heard the band of over a hundred workers shout, "Down with Anti-Semitism," Socialist Party in Ireland at Demonstration the Labor Defense Guards,

At the headquarters of the S.W.P., two militant Italian workers joined the party.

Max Mont, organizer of the Bronx branch, announced that the successful demonstration tooge outfit composed mainly A small hooligan element, led attests to the future successes of the workers against the fasgroup of members have split rupt the meeting, but retreated in the Fordham Road district is away and founded The Friends after the audience manifested planned for the immediate fu-

ploiters of Ireland and calling Brooklyn Businessman Gives S.W.P. Lesson gram clearly against British land was read and adopted In "Americanism"

The workers of Boro Park had an excellent example of Friday night when the Socialist Workers Party and the Y.P.S. lowed by resounding cheers. L. were holding their customary open air meeting at 46th band in defiance of police or- St. and 13th Avenue in Brook-

The meeting was repeatedly interrupted and heckled by Raphael Raymond, executive secretary of the Boro Park Chamber of Commerce and ed-James Connolly by the British showing fine activity and are itor of the Boro Park Herald.

This patriot demanded that the (Continued on Page 3)

Party Members Discuss Problems of National Anti-War Convention

In the Labor

By B. J. WIDICK =

With lengthy negotiations dragging into a state of ineffectiveness, the Teamsters' line for final acceptances or rejection of their proposed conthis area, Edward Murphy, international representative of the union, announced.

Action in establishing the deadline of June 17 was taken pending war. by the Ohio Highway Driver Council at a special meeting held last week in Columbus, O.,

Speaking for the council, Murphy stressed the fact that magnetic than the speaker. The stressed the fact that the speaker was doing to the council, in agreement with the speaker. The speaker was doing to the council, in agreement with the speaker. The speaker was doing to the council, in agreement with the speaker. The speaker was doing to the council, in agreement with the speaker. The speaker was a speaker with the speaker was a speaker with the speaker. the proposed contract was in line with other wage agreements for the same type of employment in other sections of same companies operate, and that further delays would be unreasonable.

The proposed contract in no way varies from other similar thought, it struck me that this agreements and there is no real reason why the employers should not sign it, Murphy add-

Terms of Contract

Demands made upon the employers are only that a pay rate of approximately 75 cents an the party organizational probhour be established; pay for lem. After having adopted a over-the-road drivers is to be policy calculated to jerk us out based on a mileage basis of of our isolation, we have thus 31/2 cents per mile for single far neglected, except for occaunits, and 41/2 cents a mile on sional stabs at it, to adopt the double units, and the straight attitudes and organizational 75 cent per hour rate is only steps that such a policy necespaid when the trucks are halt-sitates. The fault lies with all ed for checking, spotting, of us and no section of the breakdowns, etc.

a single unit driver would have leadership. But certainly one to average 22 miles per hour to of the first places to correct the receive 75 cents under the fault is in the leadership; for "rolling" rate—a difficult task the ranks will succeed in makwith the huge single and dou- ing the turn towards mass agible trailer outfits.

own equipment, the proposed before. Let no one misunderagreement sets forth that in ad-stand. I think that by and dition to the amount he re- large we have a pretty good ceives for operating this equip- group of individuals leading the ment, he also be paid at the party. We have in our top union rate

drivers be permitted one off writers any group was ever the sticks of a prominent party day in every seven days and blessed with. The trouble is that no driver be called upon that, as this cadre conceives its to work more than 60 hours in duties, its sole business is to any one week period, according formulate policy and run party to Murphy. Establishment of institutions. I do not wish to seniority rights is included in minimize these important functhe terms.

in Ohio were represented in the suffices for our present needs. Gouncil through representa- What our party needs most tives of their unions when the now is a popular leadership. contract was proposed and the Our leaders have to consider,

truck drivers officials present S.P., what Coughlin does for at the council meeting were: his movement, what Roosevelt Paul Lave, secretary and busi- did for the New Deal. Even ness agent Akron Local 348; B. Norman Thomas understands V. McGriff, business agent of this particular function of lead-Cleveland Local 407, who is al- ership. Our leaders must popuso president of the Ohio High- larize our program and popuway Drivers Council: Harry larize themselves. The two Card, business agent of Toledo things go together, for without Local 20, who is secretary of a popular leadership we can the Council; and the following never hope to popularize our members of the Council's ex- program. Mr. Average Citizen ecutive board which includes of the U.S.A. is no theoretician. Lave, David T. Finn, business He never considers any proagent of Dayton Local 957; gram apart from the promi-Leonard Newmaker, president of the Columbus Local 413; He is John Grisby and has de-Sam Butcher, business agent nied being a spy. of Cincinnatti Local 100, and Thomas Oakes, business agent troduced, however, that Percy of Canton Local 92, and presi- Booth, former corresponding is happening in the organizadent of the Canton Federation secretary of the Akron Central tion. The result is, for examof Labor.

In general this development Machinists Union, and later vention which occurred under follows along the lines of the very active in Goodyear Local, Over-the-Road contracts which U.R.W.A., was on the payroll the top cadre only dimly were negotiated in the nine- of the spy agency. Booth is re- aware of this important event state area during the past year ported being in California now. in our party life. under the direction of a special Teamsters' committee set up dent, business agent and onein that section of the country time secretary of the A.F. of L. with official sanction of the International Union.

On Labor Spies

Unionists throughout the country should pay the closest the Diamond Match Local sion complacently giving orattention to the latest public Union and in the Barberton ders. concern spies in labor organiza-

Goodrich Local, United Rubber a confession of the chief direct-Red Army in 1917, he could Workers of America, was ac- or of the Corporation's Auxil- have done as many generals cused in the report of being an lary, and the names are taken do-stay behind in an office agent of the Corporation's Aux- from the 1935 payroll of the and issue fine ukases. Fortuniliary Company of Cleveland. company.

On Leadership-What A sky conceived his duty otherwise. Wherever the front was weakest there you would find Farty Must Overcome Rank and Filer Thinks

By BEN LIEBERMAN

Our Transition Program im- it. plies a drastic change in our habits of work and organizaare some comrades who doubt Last summer, for instance, the over a period of five months that we can do this, whatever our efforts, given the present period of world reaction. Such Unions in Ohio felt forced this pessimism is dangerous to us. week to set an absolute dead- For to use the defeats of international labor as an excuse for reconciling ourselves to a lack tract by employing truckers in of growth is to doom ourselves able. What took the ginger out seriously consider the problem, to extinction in advance. The time is short—what with the startling rise of fascist tendencies in the U.S., and the im-

at which Comrade Shachtman speakers. "Write in the names made a brilliant speech. One of X and Y, true representatives from all parts of the could see people in the audius before, nodding their heads Y?" at which point our speak-Yet all Shachtman was doing was talking the Transition Pro- N. Y., comrades X and Y do gram—and it all sounded so simple. For the first time I the country through which the realized that in these Transi- fore the masses as their leadtion Demands, we really had the elements of about as popular a program as one could wish for. Then as an afterwas the first time in the year ing, and an opportunity for or so of its existence, that I prominent party leaders to had ever heard a prominent popularize themselves and the party spokesman deliver a spech centering around this Transition Program.

The Key Question

And in this lies the nub of party is blameless, whether However, Murphy points out, amongst the ranks or in the tation only when the leadership Where the driver owns his itself makes that turn and not cadre some of the best political It seeks to guarantee that all | brains, orators, agitators and | tions; but such a narrow con-Around 30,000 truck drivers ception of leadership hardly

as part of their job, to do for Among the prominent Ohio us what Debs did for the old

William O'Neil, former presi-Retail Clerks Union was also named. He skipped town two years ago with a large sum of union funds and went to Penn-

sylvania. H. D. Hanna, prominent in the Akron area, the La Follette morale is a leadership prob-

nent spokesmen who personify

A Lost Opportunity

As things stand today our leadership is a purely internal ion. Its adoption signified that one. Only party members and is no longer sufficient for us close sympathizers are aware to reach the few thousands we of its existence. What is more, New York section of the party ran an election campaign starring was that it was a write-in campaign; but this was unavoidcomrades in the ranks were tives of independent labor acence, who had never heard of tion." "And who are X and rassed, for to the workers of not mean a thing. After all those who expect to appear beers have to at least be seen and heard by these same masses. Naturally, the campaign was a dud. The effect upon the ranks was devastatparty missed.

Stump the Country! Now by a popular leadership.

do not mean that every comrade in our top cadre has to become an agitator. Obviously that is silly. But a certain section of it has to devote itself to becoming just that. These comrades have to stump the country like Debs or Haywood did. They must do what Coughlin does all the time—speak to the masses. True we can't use the radio. But certainly frequent tours can be arrangednot the usual haphazard kind we get once in a blue moon. but carefully planned ones. with a campaign manager, appropriate literature, and a sound truck going along. The effect upon the membership of such action would be invigorating to say the least. Imagine what a serious election campaign in which some of our leaders played an active role, speaking night after night, using sound equipment, would mean for New York. Consider the effect upon a branch out in spokesman coming to stay a few days, speaking at several meetings, attending a branch meeting, getting acquainted with the comrades' needs. Think of what it means for the youth to have someone like a Debs or a Haywood to look up to and emulate. And what effect would such actions have on our press. "Social Justice" sells because it is Coughlin's paper and every one has heard of Coughlin. Who has ever heard of our leaders or our party? When the names of our eaders become known to thousands of workers, when workers will see and hear our leaders, then we will really be able

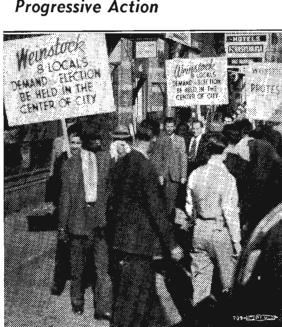
o sell the Socialist Appeal. Leadership whch conceives ts functions solely in terms of policy making and institution running has other drawbacks besides not providing popular figures. It tends to develop a lack of organization mindedness and create a hiatus between itself and the ranks. As things stand today, posts are staked out, each one runs his Conclusive evidence was in- particular institution, and no one knows too much about what Labor Union, an officer in the ple, that the N. Y. district conits very nose, could go by with

Leaders Must Inspire

When such things happen, the ank and filer cannot help but feel, perhaps wrongly, that the top cadre is only casually interested in what goes on in the ranks. He feels that with the big task ahead of us, it is not enough for leaders to sit in ses-Leadership has to infindings of the La Follette Civil Central Labor Union was de-spire. It must be alive to what Liberties Committee which clared to be a paid spy. He is the ranks think. It must really were released on June 11. They reported to be in Michigan now. lead. If morale is low, it never In listing the spies active in pays to blame the ranks, for A prominent member of report says they are based on lem. When Trotsky headed the ately for the revolution, Trot-

him, inspiring the ranks to treliving example of what a revolutionary leader, who is serious

about his business, has to be. That an orientation on the part of our top cadre towards popular leadership, mass agitation methods and organizadifficulties, is obvious. Not all it makes but few attempts to c. them are capable of being bundreds of thousands. There break its introverted habits. mass agitators, some are poor administrators. must of them are already pretty busy men. two prominent party But these difficulties are alspokesmen as candidates. A ways put forward as excuses bad feature of the campaign for not even tackling the problem, and that is wrong. The first thing is for our leaders to of the campaign as far as the and to adopt such an orientation for themselves as crucial concerned was the fact that the for the party. That the memcandidates never made any bership will respond is certain. campaign speeches. "And The fact is that whenever our May Day, New York City whom should we vote for?" the leaders have stepped out in this held an outdoor demonstration workers would ask our outdoor direction response was enthusiastic-witness the Madison Square demonstration and its effect all over the country, and



Painters demonstrati n g outside the offices of the New York District Counof the Painters Un-Wednesday evening, test against Weinstock's plan to hold

the coming elections the Stalinist 'concentracamp'' Harlem. The progressives want scheduled for June 24, to be

Who Is Father Coughlin, What Is His Program?

(Continued from Page 1) Mussolini's fascist state.

"A corporate state in which parties would be abolished and the President would be chosen by a House of Representatives elected by occupational classes was proposed Sunday by Father Charles E. Coughlin." (United Press dispatch in the New York World Telegram March 14,

But he has been more frank even than this. In a signed article in the February 13, 1939, issue of Social Justice (page 7) he declared:

'I am beginning to understand why I have been dubbed a 'Nazi' or a 'fascist' by the Jewish publications in America; for practically all the sixteen principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany." Like all true fascists he is bitterly opposed to the great majority taking power and favors the rule of a small minority—the capitalists. In an editorial in Social Justice

(February 20, 1939) he stated: "The principle of mere 'majority-ism'—sometimes called democracy and sometimes Bolshevism-is not enough. The popular fallacy is that '50 million Frenchmen can't be wrong.' As a matter of experience and historic fact, 50 men are much more likely to be right than

In this case Coughlin can add TEN to his fifty men and make it the SIXTY FAMILIES.

During the 1936 election campaign, Coughlin clarified his position still further in an unguarded moment. In an interview at which Dale Kramer, former national secretary of the National Farm Holiday Association, was present, Coughlin stated that "Democracy is doomed" and "I take the road to fascism." (Coughlin, Lemke and the Union Party, by Dale Kramer.)

(To be continued in next issue)

Do you want to see this series of articles on Coughlin published in a popular pamphlet, at a low price, for mass distribution? Pioneer Publishers is undertaking to get out a large edition immediately—IF it receives contributions from all friends and comrades to make it possible. Readers are urged to send contributions for the Coughlin pamphlet to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City.

mendous efforts, showing by example and self-sacrifice—a living example of what a revo-

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE CALIFORNIA STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S.W.P.

"The progress and revolu- fore ourselves the tremendous tionary maturing of our party task of the revolutionary party several."—R. D., literature in the last few years can best in this country, it was to be tion mindedness is fraught with be gauged by the adoption of expected that every weakness, the Transitional Program as every habit of routine inertia the point of departure for the inherited from the past isolated solution of the problems of the existence would stand out in American revolution. Of equal bold relief. Precisely at this importance is our active partic- time, when the party has pation in the formation of the launched itself on the road of 4th International, our pan-direct struggle for influence American work, our aid to foreign sections, the steady antiwar agitation, the marked improvement in the agitational character of the Socialist Appeal, the tremendous achievement of a twice weekly and the anti-fascist demonstrations. All this testifies to the fundamental ability of the political leadership of our party and to the revolutionary internationaldiction between the enormous ism and devotion of the membership

2. In adopting the concepthe twice-weekly Appeal cam- tion of the Transitional Program, in posing sharply be-

over the majority of the working class do we feel the insupportable weight of every weakness in the party structure and activity. A party that has the courage to pose great tasks for itself must also have the courage to ruthlessly overcome all habitual, organizational weaknesses that stand in the way of carrying out these tasks. 3. To overcome this contra-

political responsibility of our training, the tendency to confine ourselves to routine agitation and our lack of energy, alertness and self-sacrifice in EXTENDED: the day to day activity, is the central organizational task of the party in the coming period. With our correct program and the organization geared to the then have the instrument to overcome the great contradiction of the political backwardness of the American working class and the maturity of the objective factors for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

4. Some comrades recoil before the immensity of this problem and choose the road of desertion. This road can lead nowhere. It is the "solution" of prostration and fear before difficulties.

5. For serious revolutionists, the party's weaknesses in the elections, structure, leading personnel which are and activity in the past year the light of a united conception of the party's task. In comradely and loyal collaboration bottom must systematically and energetically root out every one of these weaknesses. However, utilization of the criticism of our national lead-Political Committee is an activity incompatible with Bolshevik inner party practice. It is his spirit that we list those features of the party's work which merit serious criticism. 6. It has been recognized over and over again that the main task of the party is the penetration of the trade unions. This understanding was summed up in the slogan "90% unions." The simple fact that in auto informed on changes in 1940 elections." every point in the party's program from the struggle against war to the struggle for a Labor Party is dependent upon the degree of party entrenchment and influence in the trade unions, should indicate that in this sector the maximum of national leadership and direction as well as organizational efficiency should exist. It is not the aim of this resolution to examine the party's policy in different trade union situations or on the whole. What is pertinent to the problem we are dealing with is the absence of a functioning Industrial Department during the past period. To our knowledge such a Department does not exist to this very day. As a result of inadequate financing the Labor Secretary has functioned sporadically. Correspondence on vital questions of national trade union work was conducted very poorly and at times not at all. The formation of national fractions proceeded painfully and without direction from the Political Committee. During the crisis in the auto union, the party experienced an internal crisis that was characterized by the absence of any firm di-

THE BRANCHES AT WORK: | stated they need more time to

more subs and hope to send in til July 1. agent of the Toronto Fourth Internationalists.

purpose of getting renewals and at the same time are trying for new subs. L. Schlosberg is still Boston's Ace subgetter. He won the sub-drive Prize and now leads with four "Street sales of the Appeal

are going o.k. Four times each week, Saturday night mobilizations in the streets, street meetings, etc. Our branch not over by a long shot and passed a motion that every member give one night to sell- from the branches. Liquidate has worked very well. Those tion! comrades exempt for one reason or another must sell 3 Apparty and its lack of Bolshevik | peals each issue." J. T., Boston Appeal agent.

RENEWAL CAMPAIGN

Since many branches have quest.

"During the coming week we finish up on their renewal camare making a special drive for paigns we are extending it un-

So far the results have not been up to our expectations. A total of 50 renewals has been obtained in about 3 weeks time. Our comrades are following The branches can do lots betup former subscribers for the ter and have 2 more weeks in which to prove it.

STATEMENTS IN MAILS:

This week each branch and Appeal agent will receive the regular statement itemizing his 🔍 Appeal bill.

We are depending upon a prompt payment in all cases. Our financial difficulties are we expect a steady response ing Appeals on the streets. This all back debts by the Conven-

> NOTICE: Please make all checks, money orders, etc., payable to the SOCIALIST AP-PEAL. Do not make them out to the manager or editor of the

N. Y. PARTY AT WORK

agitation against the growing cialist movement of New York menace of Father Coughlin and City. his fascist movement.

Sales of the Socialist Appeal er the previous period and we Square and other main thorcan state definitely that our oughfares of the city. Socialist message is reaching hundreds more workers in New sexes, let the cowards and the York than at any previous per- chicken - hearted snivel and

of activities, including numerings, mass sales of the Social- no means reconciled to the rise must be critically examined in ist Appeal and distribution of of fascism in America. thousands of anti-fascist handbills. Last week they invaded the entire party from top to Socialist message, thus carrying the anti-fascist fight right into Africa.

Results thus far: The Bronx branch is beginning to root itself in the Bronx community ership in order to create bitter the sales of the Socialist Appeal and hostile relations between have been greatly increased, our local organization and the several new members have been recruited into the party within the last two weeks.

The Boro Park branch has which the latter has come off against the government. second best.

The other branches are large open air meetings, estab-

rection from the Center and complete failure to keep all party policy.

We propose:

Committee be the formation of

Secretary who shall be a member of the Political Committee, and a Field Secretary. The Executive Secretary shall maintain constant contact with all spond on the current problems and convey the line of the P.C. to the localities. The Field Secretary shall be sent to all vital points in the trade union situation either to establish Bill provides for less W.P.A. connections for the Party or aid the party fractions in the last general election. The Cassituation.

(c) The Industrial Department shall issue a regular Bul- three million W.P.A. jobs, letin containing information on party activity in different unions, analysis and estimation of the general trade union situations, exchange of experiences in trade union work. Directives on campaigns the party is carrying on within the unions, etc. (d) The immediate formation of national fractions with a fraction secretary in every un-

ion feasible. (e) Adequate financial provisions must be made from the very first for the efficient functioning of the Department and its personnel. This work must demonstrations in the cities be carried on well even if we and towns back home. The must sacrifice other important projects. It must not be thought that we do not recognize splendid trade union work that has been done during the past period under the guidance of the national leadership. Many examples can be given. However, the crying lack was and remains the absence of national co-ordination and direction.

(Continued in next issue)

paper. Please observe this re-

Throughout the last weeks, lishing themselves in their lothe party in New York has cal neighborhoods, gradually been conducting a widespread gaining recognition as THE So-

Meanwhile mass sales of the Socialist Appeal are going full have increased appreciably ov-steam ahead in the Times

Let the old ladies of both weep; our anti-Coughlin cam-The Bronx branch has been paign has demonstrated to us conducting a variegated series that we are on the right track, that the workers of New York ous indoor and outdoor meet- are by no means licked and by

With the anti-Coughlin campaign, which we will continue the Fordham area with their and extend, our party in New York has hit its true stride!

(Continued from Page 1) with this understanding and in had several tussles with the logovernment employes (W.P.A. cal Chamber of Commerce in workers) had no right to strike

In full agreement with Mrs. Roosevelt that W.P.A. workers swinging into line, holding cught silently to accept the New Deal-engineered dismissals, the Workers Alliance "Congress" spent most of the sessions palavering "to keep the New Deal of our activity in the trade sections of the party workers in the White House after the

Businessmen's Slogan

The keynote of the conven-(a) That one of the first tion, hoarsely sounded by Davtasks of the incoming National in Lasser, was "to promote business recovery." It sounded a National Industrial Depart-like a businessmen's gathering. The promotion of a fighting (b) The Department should program for more adequate rébe headed by an Executive lief and better housing went wholly unmentioned. The sole effort made by the W.A.A. convention to secure more adequate relief was confined to a ene-week · lobbying campaign, trade union fractions, corre- during which all available Congressmen were asked to be indulgent enough to vote favorably on the Casey-Murray Bill. In the matter of more ade-

quate relief, the Casey-Murray jobs than existed prior to the ey-Murray Bill provides for the maintenance of an average of which is 350,000 jobs less than existed in November, 1938. Conscious betrayers of the

hungry masses whom they mislead, the Stalinist organizers of the "Right To Work Congress" had simply brought 1200 delegates here to befuddle them into thinking that something had been done by coming here. But the business of sitting and listening to windy speeches, walking around Washington and sitting in Congressmen's offices. was a deliberately-planned substitute for the necessary street "Congress" was simply a runaround, and worse than useless.

Boston, Mass. Benefit Supper for the Socialist Appeal

FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 6:30 p.m. Byron Hall, 6 Byron St. Admission, 49 cents

MASS MEETING

Greet The Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party! Hear The Internationalist Position on War!

Chairman: JAMES P. CANNON

Reporter for the Political Committee: MAX SHACHTMAN

Speakers: V. R. DUNNE of Minneapolis, GENORA JOHNSON of Flint, GLEN TRIMBLE of San Francisco, GEORGE CLARKE of Detroit, REUBEN PLASKETT OF NEWARK, NATHAN GOULD, National Secretary Y.P.S.L.

> FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 8 P.M. Irving Plaza, Irving Place at 15th Street **ADMISSION 25c**

By Paul G. Stevens =

Are Our French Comrades Facina An "Espionage" Trial?

Last week we gave several instances of the wave of persecution unleashed against the anti-war forces in France and its colonies. As a result of the rebellion among the soldiers of the Maginot Line against the indefinite retention of the reservists, which we reported in this column, the persecutions have multiplied. In addition to numerous local headquarters, the central offices of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party in Paris have since been raided twice. Similar raids have been made on anarchist and syndicalist centers throughout the country. But more startling than all these incidents is the case of our comrades Steve and Rigal, young militants of the French section of the Fourth International.

Steve and Rigal have been held incommunicado since their arrest several weeks ago. They were arrested for anti-militarist articles appearing in our press and all efforts to see them up to the present have been unsuccessful. In the name of the coming war for "democracy", the most elementary democratic rights are thus being abrogated even before the outbreak of hostilities. Outrageous as this procedure is, the rumors being spread about the case are even more alarming. As in the case of the rebels in the colonies, according to certain sources, the government is going to try the revolutionary anti-militarists under charge of "conspiring with foreign powers."

If the frenzied lynch-agitation of the Stalinist Humanite and its parliamentary expert on military affairs, Gitton, are any indication, a frame-up espionage trial against Rigal and Steve is being cooked up behind the scenes. Already the recruiting sergeants for imperialist war in the ranks of the French labor movement are every day hatching amalgams in their press between the P.S.F. (Colonel La-Rocque's Fascist French Social Party) and the "Pivertists-Trotskyists" in preparation for frame-ups.

Of course, our French comrades are not being intimidated by this campaign. They are carrying on their anti-militarist work with even greater vigor than before. But the whole revolutionary movement of the world must stand ready to aid them against the frame-ups and persecutions which French "democracy" and its Stalinist and reformist agents are hurling at them.

Revolutionary Socialists of Ceylon Mark Important Advances

Among the signs of revolt against British war preparations in the colonies, we recently cited the struggle of the Socialist Party of Ceylon. As we pointed out at the time, this party has consistently opposed "collective security" and at its recent national conference

adopted a resolution on war which affirmed the revolutionary class struggle as the only means of fighting against war.

That the Ceylon masses have responded to this policy is attested to by the fact that the party has since elected two members to the State Council and combined its parliamentary activity with powerful street demonstrations in Columbo and other towns. The Ceylon Socialist Party celebrated May Day by converting its weekly paper into a daily. Our heartiest congratulations and warmest greetings of solidarity to the revolutionary socialists of ident Roosevelt completely gist of the opinion of the Na-

Unspeakable Stalinist Attacks Against Revolutionary

The Stalinists in France are leaving no stone of Winship. The people of Puer- freedom from Wall Street opunturned to make life as miserable as pos- to Rico will long remember the pression cannot be attained by sible for the revolutionary Spanish refugees cold-blooded massacre of un- being shifted from military to who have found a precarious and temporary armed paraders, men, women naval control or by the removal asylum in that country. Because of the rev- and children, on Palm Sunday, of any individual or group of elations of these refugees, which exposed the 1937, in the city of Ponce at the individuals, but only by smashcounter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin in direct instigation of Winship, ing completely the grip of Spain, the G.P.U. agents are redoubling their whom Roosevelt appointed and Yankee imperialism." efforts to silence these opponents by even kept in office for five long more despicable methods than they have em- | years. ployed hitherto.

These assassins of Erwin Wolf, Nin and Union, mild and respectable ment, said: Moulin now have the unmitigated nerve to ac- though it is, uses unusually cuse Spanish anti-Stalinists of plotting the as-strong language in characteriz-with Pineiro's statement. The sassination of a Stalinist deputy, Andre Marty! press. They have taken it directly to Albert not so long ago characterized as the arch-Faslists of their opponents among the refugees, discharged or disciplined for and hold them for trial.

The bloodhounds of the Kremlin hope by this means to cover up their crimes in Spain. They will hardly succeed. As with their other crimes, here too truth is on the march.

An excellent account of the civil war in Spain, submitting its experiences to the searchlight of Marxist analysis, has just been published by our French comrades in a special issue of their theoretical review, Quatrieme Internationale. The pamphlet is entitled L'Espagne Livree: Comment le Front Populaire a ouvert les portes a Franco (Spain surrendered: How the People's Front Opened the Gates to Franco). The author is M. Casanova, one of the leaders of the Spanish section of the Fourth International, whose miraculous escape from Spain was related in the Appeal last March. Pioneer Publishers is planning to publish it in English soon. Its appearance is another important blow directed against Stalinism and will be invaluable in educating the cadres of the new revolutionary international.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Timothy O'Toole is a carpenter by trade and a damn fine carpenter at that. One day he was hired by Mr. Murphy who was putting a new roof on his barn. Mr. Murphy and Tim divided the work to make things a little easier. Mr. Murphy used a small pick-ax to rip off the old shingles and Tim followed him with a nammer and nails and put on the new shingles. It was not an easy job because the roof was as slippery as ice and every once in a while one of them would start to slide down the slope where there was a fifteen foot drop on to a great big pile of manure which Mr. Murphy was collecting for the farm.

Whenever one would slip the other would reach out and try to hold him back. This happened several times without dire consequences until Mr. Murphy happened to hit a loose board which banged Timothy in the shin which is a very tender place and Timothy began to slide down the slippery roof like a special delivery letter in a mail chute in the Empire State Building.

Quick Watson! My Parachute!

Frantically Timothy reached out like a drowning man and tried to grab at everything in sight and just in the nick of time got a firm grip on the seat of Mr. Murphy's overalls. Then they both went bumping and slipping down the roof until they hit the gutter pipe. Timothy went over the pipe and for an instant hung in mid-air by virtue of his powerful hold on Mr. Murphy's posterior.

Mr. Murphy, being a foresighted man with great physical strength, managed to retain his pick-ax which he at once used as a skyhook and hung onto the gutter pipe like a passenger on the Lexington Avenue Express hangs on to a strap in the rush hour.

They made a great picture, the two of them, with Mr. Murphy hanging on the pick which was caught on the gutter pipe and Timothy hanging on to Mr. Murphy's seat. They dangled in the air, swinging to and fro as gracefully as a couple of aerial acrobats except for the expressions on their faces and the way their heels whirled about in space.

After a while, there being no one in sight to bring a ladder, they became tired. Especially Mr. Murphy who was fat and not used to having a one hundred and sixty-five pound man hang on his rear end while he was dangling on the end of a pick-ax. "Let go me pants you idjut!" he howled. But Timothy was nobody's dope and he just said nothing and hung on like glue.

Finally Mr. Murphy could bear it no longer. His pants were in severe danger of becoming separated from his person and his arms were too tired to hang on the pick. He looked below at Timothy and shouted, "Let go me pants or I'll hit you with the pick!"

Don't Lead with Your Chin

There is a moral to this story. Timothy learned it very well that day. Mr. Murphy learned it especially well. And everyone else should consider it carefully. If everyone learned it there would be much less trouble in the world today.

Years ago in Pennsylvania the bosses used to divide up the various nationalities and religions so that whenever they decided to cut the pay they could blame it all on some other group of workers. The Poles were sore at the

Germans and the Germans were mad at the Puerto Rico but to other spe-Irish and so it went. The Catholic workers cial and difficult assignments form, the editor made the lywere told that the Protestant workers were that you have had previously. ing statement that the crowd fight each other. One day the workers got equipped you for the Governboss had to figure out a new way to keep the

workers fighting among themselves. And when workers fight workers the boss wins every time. He can't lose when the workers are divided. When one worker kicks the in which you carried through fellow next to him in the shop he doesn't realize that the fellow on the other side will soon

It works the other way around when workers cooperate. If a fellow who is better paid and has better conditions helps out the fellow we have known each other and ican rallies." who is not so well off or who is not so skilled, then both are helped. If the average wage future. level can be raised to the point where all the guys in the shop are making a decent living then the higher paid worker is just that much better off. And on the other hand when there is a large number of underpaid and overworked men on the job the fellow who is a little better off is in constant danger of being cut or fired. And when the skilled and unskilled, the better paid and the underpaid, stick together the boss is hogtied to maintain higher pay and good conditions. It works like that every time.

The Old Army Game

I once worked for a boss who took me aside after the second day on the job and said, "Look here, you are a nice American fellow and a gentile and you will go a long way in this business if you just keep away from all the Wops and Jews and Swedes and stick to me." I didn't answer him but he must have figured I fell for his lie because he went on to say how all the others were no good, etc.

The very next day I happened to overhear him telling another new man on the job the very same thing only this time he was praising the Swedes. He said, "Look here, you are a nice smart boy and if you mind your own business and keep away from the Irish and Jews and the Wops and you stick along with me you will be all set." And after all the guys in the shop got together we found out he had tried to pull the same thing on every one. To one he would praise the Italians and to another he would knock the Germans or the Jews or the Swedes. But we got wise to this little trick when we found that each guy in the shop was getting a different wage and had been promised a promotion if he would keep his ears open and stool on the others. We

fixed that boss, believe me. You may think you are saving your little job or are fixing things nicely for yourself if you reach down and take a swing at the guy below or alongside but what you are doing is nothing more or less than greasing the skids

for your own exit. When things get tough it is time not to fight with your fellow workers but to gang up on the boss with a few immediate demands and a bunch of brand new picket signs all ready in case. That is the way to ease up the tension on the job and it works every time. If you don't believe me, try it out sometime. You'll be surprised.

In the World of Labor Admits Brutal Puerto Rico Rule

F.D.R. Reveals U. S. Role—Cannon Seconds Pineiro's Call for Independence

By DIEGO MONTANEZ

Blanton Winship, his infamous ment of the new Governor, Ad-Governor of Puerto Rico, Pres- miral William D. Leahy. The gave away the contentions of tionalist Party was contained in the Stalinists and their Con- the statement of Lorenzo Pingressional pet, Vito Marcanto- eiro Rivera, their U. S. Secrenio, that the President is not tary-General, that: "The Puerto responsible for the brutal rule Rican people know that their

ing the administration of this Socialist Workers Party, Unit-"Under his administration freehave repeatedly been denied, courts of law have been used have every reason to sympa-American colonial rule."

Winship, as printed in the New | Street-White House gang of op-York Herald-Tribune of June 7, pressors." follows in full:

'My Dear Governor Winship: nation of June 3, 1939, which I Gives S.W.P. Lesson accept, knowing of your desire to be relieved as soon as con- In "Americanism" venient. As I have already indicated to you, Admiral Leahy will be able to assume the governorship on Sept. 1 of this year, subject, of course, to his confirmation by the Senate. Therefore, the arrangement of your time as outlined in your letter will fit in satisfactorily.

"I am sure that you already know of my high regard for you personally and officially, the street corner meeting. Afbut I can not refrain at this ter denouncing the "Trotskytime from expressing my ap- ites, the real Bolsheviks, repreciation of your long and distinguished career in the service eign agitators", and invectives plies not only to your work in flag from the left instead of the moment in the history of the it is significant that Raphael of unique and unprecedented cheers hoodlum actions. gravity. I am proud of the way

express my best wishes for the

Very sincerely,

headed by Roosevelt. Both the Germany.

A FULL DAY'S OUTING AT THE BEACH!

SUNDAY, JUNE 25th

Restricted beach: Swimming, sun bathing,

tennis, handball, baseball, croquet, etc.

2 EXCELLENT HOME COOKED MEALS

(dinner and supper)

Entertainment, Dancing, etc.

SEA VIEW MANOR

4909 Beach 49th St., Brooklyn

SUBSCRIPTION \$1.50

Reservations are limited in number and must be sent in

ahead of time, no later than Thursday, June 22, 1939. Send

reservations and remittances to E. R. Frank, 116 Univer-

Arrangements have been made to leave by boat from the

Battery for a forty-minute ride to Seagate for 15 cents.

MAKE THIS DATE A MUST!

The grounds can also be reached by subway.

sity Place, New York.

S.W.P. and the Nationalists are In a public letter to General equally opposed to the appoint-

secretary of the S.W.P., com-The American Civil Liberties | menting upon Pineiro's state-

"I have received your resig- Brooklyn Businessman

(Continued from Page 1) cop on the corner stop the meeting and the meeting was ordered closed for 15 minutes. The meeting was successfully concluded in spite of the policeman's interference.

A few days later Raphael's paper, the Boro Park Herald devoted its entire front page to ceiving their orders from forabout the Party for flying the right side of the speaker's plat-

Approves Thuggery

"The crowd cheered when this most arduous task in the they started to tear down the interest of the people of Puerto platform", he wrote. "This is the way real Americans of "May I thank you for your Boro Park should still voice "Moral Rearmament" loyal support during the years their disapproval of anti-Amer-

Rapháel's super-patriots on by no means the "main ene- not spare these "Americans" of the Puerto Rican at the head of the Chamber, the Wall Street Government|spare Jewish "patriots" in|

Before the Party Convention

Blast a Way Forward With a Program of Party Expansion

By JAMES P. CANNON _

The question of war, which leads directly to the question of revolution, confronts every workers' political organization with its supreme test. It is as clear as day and nobody any longer denies that capitalism, which has overstayed its time as a social and economic system, is about to inflict upon humanity another world-wide military explosion.

It is self-evident that America, the greatest and most rapacious imperialist power, will be directly involved in the war, as it is already involved in the diplomatic maneuvers which precede and prepare it. Irreconcilable opposition to the war is the pre-requisite for the development of a revolutionary struggle to end the war with a workers' victory. As the only party in the United States whose opposition to war is taken seriously either by itself or others, we have to consider now the practical ways and means to make our opposition effec-James P. Cannon, national tive and emerge from the revolutionary crisis, which will inevitably ensue from the war, at the head of the revolting masses. This question will of necessity dominate our forthcoming an-"I am in complete agreement ti-war convention from beginning to end.

But what does it mean to begin now to prepare an effective opposition to the war? Ob-Nor do they confine the accusation to their 'loyal supporter' of F.D.R.: ed States section of the Fourth viously it cannot be done by a passive waiting International, and the Partido for war to break out. On the contrary it means Sarraut, Minister of the Interior, whom they dom of speech and assembly Comunista Independiente, our to gear up all our work to a speed and intenbrother party in Puerto Rico, sity which breaks completely with the snail'scist in France. Furnishing him with lists upon teachers have been summarily stand for the immediate and pace movement of "normal" and peaceful unconditional independence of times. That is the gist of our problem. Unless they have demanded that he round them up their views, violence by the Puerto Rico and all other coun- we solve it we are lost. The trouble with us, militarized police has resulted tries that are under the yoke the mortal danger that confronts us, is that in deaths and in injuries run- of imperialism. The working our revolutionary anti-war program may rening into the hundreds, and people of the United States main on paper. We have repeated again and again that the fight against war is not a specas instruments to support thize with the struggle of the ial task to be accomplished by some sort of Puerto Rican masses against sleight-of-hand. If war is only the continuation The President's letter to the common enemy: the Wall of politics by other means, then the revolutionary struggle against war is the multiplied extension and intensification of revolutionary agitation and organization. We must prepare for war by building a stronger party and reshaping it for war conditions. And we must make haste and perform miracles of energy in the brief time left to us.

Old Methods Outmoded

The social crisis of capitalism is unfolding at such hurricane speed, with a world war on the order of the day, that the slow, modest growth of past times, the patient enrollment and education of new recruits, one by onethe only thing possible in our preparatory years—is fatally inadequate now. We must drive ahead; everything must be done in a

hurry and on a many times multiplied scale. Fortunately, we are ready for such a radical transformation of the nature of our work and activity. In cooperation with our co-workers of the Fourth International we have worked out the program. We have educated cadres who constitute the skeleton of a national organization. We are ready, prepared by the past, to drive forward and become a proletarian power if we have the will to do so.

This we can do without undue strain. In our ranks we have great reservoirs of untapped and which so remarkably tried to stop the meeting by energy. We are not tired; nobody in our orwise to this racket and they organized regard orship of Puerto Rico. You took surging forward to tear the ganization has hurt himself very much yet. less of nationality and religion and then the office there at a most difficult speaker from the platform. Alothers, and have made sacrifices which astound the other parties of half-and-half policies and half-and-half people. But we are not like the others; we aim to conquer the world. We need to put the party now on a war footing and move ahead by a forced march. We need to break with the habits of conservative routine and blast our way out of isolation by a bold and ambitious program of expansion.

Our anti-war convention must give the signal for a "moral rearmament" of our own, in the Chamber of Commerce of the sense of transforming our more or less Boro Park haven't the sense to placid, easy-going propaganda circle into an FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT" realize that the hoodlum ac- army on the march; an army whose disci-Admiral Replaces General tions that they are encouraging plined militants are determined to conquer This letter serves as added are setting in motion the forces and who shrink back from no endeavor and proof of the statements made of fascism. The Chamber of no sacrifice. We must aspire to build such a both by the Socialist Workers Commerce members are, for party as Lenin built, and to adapt to the con-Party and the Puerto Rican the most part, Jewish and when ditions of America his concept of professional Nationalists that Winship was the fascist axe falls they will revolutionists who live and work all the time for the party and with the party. The convention, in calling for such a transformation. people, but merely a tool of just as the fascists did not should implement it by setting concrete tasks which, by their very nature, will operate to hasten the process.

Up till now, for explainable reasons, we have been a party primarily of literary propagandists and critics. On the organization side we have been woefully weak, and we have made only a few feeble experiments with mass organization. This lop-sidedness, which had its justification in our days of preparation, must be corrected now by a drastic shift in emphasis. Propaganda, which Plechanof defined as the dissemination of many ideas to a few people, must be counter-balanced by a ten-fold increase in agitation work, which he defined as the spreading of a few ideas to many people. That is the true meaning of our transition program. To accomplish this in a few months' time—that is all we can allow for the change —we need a concrete program of expansion as follows:

The Three-a-Week Appeal

1. On the literary front: Change the Appeal to a more popular paper and publish it three times a week as the necessary next step on the road to the Daily Appeal.

2. On the organization front: Draft twenty

more qualified comrades to work at full time for the party. One each should specialize in and direct Trade union, unemployed, and Negro work on a national scale. The others should be assigned to work in the field-at least one full-time organizer in every important district or center where we have party organizations and a few men roaming the field to organize new branches and develop new activities.

3. Agitation: Regular speaking tours by party leaders at intervals of not more than two months.

4. Finances: Raise a special fund of \$10,000 to finance the foregoing undertakings.

This program, so modest in comparison with the magnitude of our task and the limited time at our disposal is, of course, only a beginning. But once it is fairly in operation it will produce the new means and possibilities for further expansion. It should be realized within a period of three or four months after the convention.

There is no doubt whatever that we can realize the program in full without any real strain on the resources and energies of our members and sympathizers. To be sure, any other party of comparative size would be flabbergasted by half these demands. But again we are not like the others. We set ourselves tasks which are in some degree commensurate with our great aims and the quality of our militants. The demands of this expansion program will appear as child's play compared to the real tasks and sacrifices which are yet to come, and for which the minor efforts and sacrifices of this expansion program will help to prepare us.

Our convention, I venture to say, will not stutter over the sacrifices this program entails; more likely it will ask proof of its practical feasibility. From this standpoint I will discuss the question here briefly.

Isn't it foolhardy to undertake a three-aweek publication when the two-a-week is admittedly in serious financial difficulties which, only a few weeks ago, threatened its suspension? No, it is not foolhardy, but on the contrary is entirely feasible. We need the paper three times a week in order to get ready for the Daily which will be on the agenda tomor-

The twice-a-week Appeal is already four months old. It is an inestimable weapon, as all recognize. We strike now twice as hard and twice as often and we distribute approximately twice as many papers as before. The only trouble is a very small one. Naturally, we operate on a close margin. Some of the branches became careless in the payment of their bundle order accounts. Quite a few have been too sluggish in getting subscriptions. Remedy these defects-and the convention, by its authority, undoubtedly can and will remedy them—put a stop to horse-play about the payments for bundle orders, and increase the subscription list by only 1,000 by the mandatory assignment of quotas, and the twice-aweek Appeal will be financially stabilized. The decks cleared for the next necessary stepthe three-a-week Appeal.

Half for Organization Work

We will, of course, require a reserve fund first period. One-half of the \$10,000 fund should be allocated to this purpose. The other half should be spent exclusively on organization work as outlined above.

Ten thousand dollars is quite a sum of money for a small organization of poor people to raise at one time. But the rank and file of our organization have shown in the past that they are capable of responding with enthusiasm and sacrifice every time real needs and serious tasks are presented to them in a rational fashion. The 100% achievement of the quotas for the twice-a-week Appeal and the simultaneous collection of the international fund should be eye-openers to those who doubt that our militants are ready to take a step forward and to pay for it, if necessary, with their own skin.

The whole party is dissatisfied, and properly so, with the way our organization work lags behind the literary propaganda. Part of the difficulty can be attributed to individual delinquencies which may or may not be corrected in the coming months. But a convention discussion on this level and a chorus of recrimination cannot yield anything very valuable. That would be simply nibbling at the problem, anyway. We need not merely an adjustment here and there—although that will be useful—but a drastic, wholesale reconstruction of our conceptions and methods of organization. We must have done with amateurism and the lackadaisical organizing methods of a propaganda sect that does not contemplate big actions. We need a bigger staff, not only in the center but also, and especially, in the field.

We have the qualified people to make up such a staff, young militants who have received their political education in our incomparable school, who balk at no sacrifice and are ready for any assignment. At the same time the party has reached the point where it needs and must have their undivided labors. The three-a-week Appeal and the augmented staff of organizers can soon lift the party higher and prepare it better for bigger things to come.

The convention will mark a real step forward if it adopts a program of expansion along these lines.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

FURNISHED ROOM to rent. Large or small. Nr. 8th Ave. and B.M.T. Rent very reasonable. Address all replies to S. Stanley, c/o Socialist

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eatentown, N. J. Tennis, Swimming. Ping-pong. Plumbing. \$2.50 per day. \$14 a week. Car leaves every Friday at 7 p.m. from 58 E. 4th St. to

Camp. Make reservations. please! You may also pitch your tent at Seven Oaks. We equip it and you can have use of Camp Kitchen. \$20 for the summer. Phone: Eatentown 515.

FRIENDS OF THE Russian Bulletin-We are getting together again for a swell time on June 17 at 9 P.M. at 321 Second Ave. Singing, dancing and refreshments. A special movie of the Fair and New York street scenes will be

shown. You may bring your friends along.

REMOVAL NOTICE Dr. Paul Luttinger announces the removal of his office to

1684 Grand Concourse, Bronx cor. 173rd Street
Office hours: 1-2 and 6-8 Phone: TRemont 8-2126 8th Ave. Subway-Train Cto 174th St. or Lexington-Woodlawn to Mt. Eden (173rd)

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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
- 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
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- 6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 7. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- 9. No secret diplomacy.
- 10. An independent Labor Party.
- 11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Alarm Signal

The fascist raid on the Debs Labor School in New York City is an alarm signal to the whole labor movement.

To our knowledge, this is the first labor headquarters in the United States to be invaded and wrecked by a fascist gang which was, we have no doubt, of Coughlinite inspiration.

The style employed is not new. It is typical of the methods employed by the fascists, in Italy and in Germany, when they launched an audacious offensive to smash labor and all its organizations. That's how Mussolini and his Blackshirts began the campaign which brought them to power. They started with the smaller headquarters of the trade unions and the labor political parties. They entered the unprotected halls and wrecked everything in sight. They sought thereby to intimidate the workers, to imbue them with the feeling that the reactionary tide could

It would be a catastrophic error if American workers were to let an occurrence like the smashing of the Debs School hall go by without reflecting deeply-and acting immediately.

The raid cannot, must not be waved aside as an accident. It is an audacious trial balloon sent up by the fascist mobsters in this country. They are waiting to see how it is taken by the workers of New York and elsewhere. If there is no aggressive reaction to their brutal provocation, they will deliver a stiffer and more insolent blow

What will it be next time? It is not hard to judge-for Germany and Italy give us the opportunity to tell in advance what steps the fascists in this country will seek to take.

First a small, obscure labor hall, conducted by the Socialist party. A few hours before that raid, the stabbing of a man on 14th Street—not a hundred yards from the headquarters of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers

Tomorrow and the days thereafter—the halls of the trade unions, the meetings of the trade unions, the very life of the trade unions will

UNLESS-

Unless the workers of the United States wake

—to learn the lessons from Europe;

-to a realization of the growing danger in

-to a realization of their own enormous strength and power. The fascists are growing. They are becoming

bolder. But faced by a militant working class movement determined to smash them, they wouldn't amount to a bag of empty peashells. They would vanish like so much filth before a storm. They would scurry for the holes from which they came.

In Italy, in Germany, in Austria, fascism triumphed because the workers were not prepared in time to fight. When they finally did fight, as in Austria, it was after the fascists had already gained the upper hand as a result of the previous indifference and paralyzing influence of the la-

Shall we wait, like animals in a trap, until the monstrous beast of fascism is strong enough to snap his jaws around our throats?

Or shall we mobilize our vast power now, while there is still ample time, before our halls are smashed, our papers suppressed, our best

fellow-workers stabbed or beaten to a pulp?

The first step in the mobilization is the building up of the WORKERS DEFENSE GUARD, the fighting arm of the unions and of every other workers' organization, their shield from fascist gangster attacks.

Every minute's delay is like another weapon presented to the fascists.

Act now — don't wait for the concentration

"The history of the human race is an unfolding record of mankind's endeavor to grasp the meaning of substance and supply and thereby acquire a sufficient supply of something to meet his needs and demands," says Judge Frederick C. Hill, Christian Scientist. "Religion has been an important factor in the affairs of mankind, and from canonical writings the fact is disclosed that substance and supply are to be found in the mental realm, and not in the material world." Just another way of saying what Joe Hill said first, and a damn sight better and plainer: "Work and pray, live on hay; you'll get pie in the sky when you

Briggs Strike Victory

The great victory won by Briggs Local 212 of the United Automobile Workers, reported in detail in the last issue of the SOCIALIST AP-PEAL, may very well prove to be a turning point in the fortunes, not only of the automobile workers, but of the labor movement in gen-

In auto, it is an advance which puts the entire international union in a position to go over to an offensive fight against the auto barons all along the line, and puts an end to Homer Martin's pretensions of having delivered any significant section of the auto workers to the

In the general labor movement, it signifies following on the heels of the victory of the United Mine Workers—a healthy contrast to the critical situation in which the C.I.O. found itself a few months ago. The two victories together mean that the C.I.O. has again gained the upper hand in the labor movement, and since the C.I.O. unquestionably represents the most progressive movement, that is all to the good.

It is no surprise to find that the Stalinist press managed to report the Briggs strike without a single mention of the local which led it or of its president, Emil Mazey. Instead the Stalinists dwelt on quotes from pro-Stalinist elements in the union who had little or nothing to do with the strike and the victory.

But it is something of a surprise to find that the "C.I.O. News", June 12, devotes only a onecolumn head on page 2 to this great victory, and that the story fails to mention the local or its leadership. That treatment of this story is probably to be explained by the name on the masthead of Len De Caux as editor and publicity director—a Stalinist stooge. Thus the significance of the Briggs strike is sacrificed by him for factional reasons. That is the kind of disservice which Stalinists and their stooges render the labor movement.

The Briggs victory was the achievement of a local led by anti-Stalinist progressives. Militant action freed from Stalinist poison-that is the road to union victories.

Republicans

The United States has seen few sights more sickening than the exhibition of toadyism given by officials of the republic—Democrats and Republicans, in high position and low—during the visit of the British King and Queen.

The parasitic royal couple is the daily beneficiary of as vicious a system of murder, pillage, exploitation and oppression as can be found anywhere on this globe. Every gem in the royal treasure-trove is stained with the blood of British imperialist conquest and extortion. There is not an inch of the crown's power that is not maintained by machine-gun and bayonet. Slaves of all colors, numbering more than a fourth of the world's population, are kept under the heel so that this pair of useless grinning anthropoids and their retainers may continue to rule a monarch's throne.

Is there a Fourth of July celebration where the Democratic and Republican politicians fail to extol the countless virtues of our Great Republic, to point out our emancipation from England and the monarchical system?

Yet all of them joined in the obscene, humiliating rush to grovel before Their Majesties. In New York, school children were commandeered to greet the King and Queen, like the serfs of old who welcomed home the returning lord of the manor. In Washington, Senators and Representatives—to say nothing of their women folk -drooled with delight at the touch of the royal hands. Some of them made a living for a day by allowing their hands to be touched by those not fortunate enough to have touched the King's

It goes without saying that the capitalist press -including, need we add, the Daily Workerwas not outdone in servility and bootlicking by the statesmen.

A Quaker's Testimony on Life In the Land of Franco Fascism

Quaker Relief Representative Tells How the Fascists Stole Food Destined for Starving Children, How They Are "Reconstructing" Spain with the Aid of Lies and Terror

By DOROTHY WILLIAMS | to eat. The idea was to put the little water to drink. They were

en recently by Alfred H. Cope starvation." of the American Friends Service Committee, the internaif anything, he has erred on the 'Please don't overstate anyboth sides as I can.''

Since the early days of the Civil War the Friends' International Commission for Assis-Spain, with which Mr. Cope where the food will go." was connected, has been en- THE MURDERED gaged in feeding as many halfstarved Spanish children as its means permitted.

FASCISTS STEAL CHILDREN'S FOOD

In August its work will be transferred from Spain to the French concentration camps for Loyalist supporters. The Quakers find they cannot work with the Spanish fascists; Mr. Cope said that the immediate cause was the disappearance of six or seven shiploads of food destined to feed 100,000 starying Spanish children which "so far as we can find out was eaten by the army.'

This is evidently a common practice: "In Murcia, where we have a canteen feeding 1.000 refugee children who are its only clients, we turned over to the Franco Social Auxiliary enough food for a month and three days. All this food had disappeared in ten days' time and we were asked for more supplies. We soon found out that the food had not gone to the children. Among other things, the Social Auxiliary delegate had sold sugar for as much as seven times its established price." In Albacete, the Quaker director was driven out the evil man had "fed the

thing she did was to announce:

Fascists and semi-fascists political angle ahead of every- packed in so tightly that most everywhere have lauded the thing else. In Murcia province of them couldn't lie down. termination of the Civil War as we were feeding close to 100,- got this from a man whom I a victory of the people of Spain 000 children when Franco came know very well and whose over "the forces of darkness in. We had two colonies, two word can't be doubted." seeking to destroy them." What children's hospitals, workshops does this "victory" look like to for girls, etc. We had weight peared recently in the newspathe Spanish masses them-charts and food quotas. We had tried to build an efficient

"When the Franco people tional relief organization of the procedure. [They weren't inlean over backward to work ITALIAN TROOPS understatement: with them. In Alicante they STILL THERE sold our powdered milk. The thing. I want to be as fair to thing is, they want your food, think very much of Spanish people, in spite of the

AND JAILED

of our hospital heard shots al-

"Christian Ideal"

Herbert L. Matthews, Rome correspondent of the N. Y. Times, sends the following dispatch to his paper:

VATICAN CITY, June 11-Pope Pius today greeted the Spanish soldiers of the Italian Arrow division in words of the warmest praise for having brought a "triumph of the Christian ideal" to

most every night for two

Asked about the number of around the streets.' anti-fascists held in concentraof town by the fascists, because tion camps, Mr. Cope said, resistance to oppression - a Mr. Cope went on: "When camps everywhere, many of newed in guerilla warfare, man delegate took over them holding 5.000 prisoners or sniping and our canteens in Murcia the first | more. When the Nationalists | conquerors. The spirit of Spain From this moment the chil-crowded 20,000 Loyalist soldiers Spanish masses will rise again dren must sing our Nationalist into the bull ring and kept them in their might and destroy forsongs.' They had to sing them there for twenty days, with alcever the hideous sadism that is before they could get anything most no food at all and very capitalism in decay.

A good many stories have ap-

pers regarding the reconstruc tion which is taking place ir Some authentic information system that would save as Spain, of plans for future reon life in fascist Spain was giv-¦many children as possible from|building, etc. Mr. Cope reveals what they amount to in practice: "I was in Valencia many took over, they had no idea of times when the Fascist planes Quakers. It is a well-known terested in saving the lives of know the Nationalists are now fact that Quaker organizations starving children, Mr. Cope. | going around getting people to are very averse to publicity Their idea was to gain a politi- sign statements saying that and hence Mr. Cope's remarks cal victory and to hand out they dynamited the houses have added value. His parting bread and capitalize on public themselves and that they were statement would indicate that, demonstrations. We tried to not destroyed by aerial bombs.

Evidently Mr. Cope doesn'

but they don't want you. We withdrawal of Italian troops hung on in hope of helping the which has recently caused a small flurry among capitalist attitude of some Franco offi- journalists: "About May 10 tretance to Child Refugees in cials. But now we can't be sure mendous numbers of Italians were concentrated all the way between Gandia and Murcia. drove over that road. We wen When questioned on the num- through village after village ber of Republicans who had town after town, and the been executed since the fall of streets were cluttered with Madrid, the Quaker relief di- Italian soldiers and their equip rector became skittish and re- | ment. I don't know how many fused to make any guesses. Italians were in the rest of However, he did say, "When I Spain, but there were tens of was in Murcia I know that a thousands of them in this disgreat many shots were fired in trict alone. They were repairthe jail between midnight and ing the roads and apparently two in the morning. I slept in digging in for a considerable my car and was wakened by stay. From the Italians that them. Also the nurse in charge I've seen myself, I would sayif they have withdrawn 23,000then they've only withdrawn about 25 percent of them. would estimate that three times that number are still in Spain.'

The fighting spirit that car the Spanish masses through centuries of the most cruel exploitation to which any people has been subjected, culminating in thirty-two months of Civil War and defeat, is not gone yet. Between May 12 and 15 Mr. Cope tried to get a pass for Madrid, but it was refused because "Franco was having trouble there. A Swiss relief worker came down from Ma drid. He told me that Franco's troops were being sniped at nightly and pamphlets strewn

Spain has a long history of "About half a million is the fig-(fight which ended time after ure usually given. There are time in defeat, only to be re occupied Ciudad Real they is sorely wounded, but the

'Freeing' of Mrs. Rubens Opens New Chapter of G.P.U. Drama

(Continued from Page 1) Western Europe, as a man other Moscow show trial. named Ewald who had formerly served under him in Mos

what she was held for, much oners were brought in and 'confessed.

"Theatrical Rehearsal" The character of this latest trial is indicated by the remark of Harold Denny, N. Y. Times Moscow correspondent, that 'every move and every phrase sounded as cut and dried as a theatrical rehearsal.'

That Mrs. Rubens consented to play her part supports the conclusion that she and her husband are a cog in the G.P.U.

Sentenced to eighteen months of the Communist Party. on the charge to which she oleaded guilty, and having aleady served that long, Mrs. Rubens was reportedly set free on June 9; but American embassy officials vainly waited for her to put in an appear-Correspondents commented on the unusual fact that the sentence of the court lid not include the usual order expelling a convicted-foreigner om the country.

Planned Moscow Trial Shortly after the Rubens coude were arrested in a Moscow notel eighteen months ago, the Russian embassy in Washington declared that "the couple night well be Trotskyists. Similar comments in the Soviet and American Stalinist press indicated that the couple were

to bolster up the shattered rep- Stalinist functionary. utation of Moscow justice after During the entire eighteen the Dewey Commission's conmonths during which she had clusion that the earlier Moscow of funds from Rubens for pubbeen imprisoned, her jailers trials against "Trotskyists" had never officially indicated were patent frame-ups, were Rubens posed as an editor, is proceeding apace when the con- another known Stalinist involvas in previous Moscow trials spirators ran into trouble with ed in the ring. one could never learn what the the American courts. Rubens' charge would be until the pris- American collaborators in the Ernest Weichen, who sold his passport ring were arrested, in- naturalization papers to the known to be Stalinists.

Stalinists Convicted

Federal Court in May.

Sharfin was identified by lawas never denied by the Communist party — with being a member of the Bronx section

Ossip Garber, at whose phoographer's salon Rubens occupied desk space, and who forged the passport pictures. by his brother-in-law as being 'communistic.'

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ing postage 25% reduction holds good for only a few weeks!

to be star performers in an-Ifriend of Rubens, was a close sympathizer of the Stalinists, Plans for this trial, designed working with David Mankoff, a

> Imre Kline, publisher of "Literary America" and recipient lishing the magazine, of which

Two others who dicted and convicted as pass-ring, and Edward Petersen, port forgers — and they were who housed one of the fugitive defendants, testified that they were members of the Latvian Unity Society, which is the Lat Ossip Garber, Edward Blatt vian section of the Stalinist and Aaron Sharfin were the controlled International Labor men convicted by a jury in Defense. Rubens was a Latvian who found the Lettish wing of the Stalinist movement a ready bor papers - and the charge reservoir for members of his passport ring and other activi-Defendants Wouldn't Testify

he New York trial of Rubens American accomplices is the fact that the three men refused to take the witness stand in was characterized at the trial their own behalf. Thus, the prosecution was denied the opportunity of disclosing through Edward Blatt, lawyer and cross-examination their Stalinist connections. The complete suppression of these all-import ant connections with the Stalinist apparatus now furnishes the G.P.U. the opportunity to establish any political connec tion it desires. The pending trial of Rubens in Moscow may

see an effort by the G.P.U. to

smear Rubens and his jailed

companions in this country as

Trotskyist spies, despite all ev-

idence pointing to the G.P.U.

itself as the originator and

sponsor of the passport ring.

The most striking feature of

Their By James Burnham Government

The other night I saw a Philadelphia friend of mine who is a "radical New Dealer." He is one of the bright young men who believe, they say, in "the ultimate goal of socialism," but as "realistic" politicians convince themselves (and try to convince others) that the practical and progressive step today is to support "Roosevelt against reaction." He is a little discouraged lately, and he is anxious to find someone to blame for the fact that all is not so rosy as he expected six

He told me about a textile worker who lives in the house next to him. This neighbor had had a job in a Philadelphia plant for many years. The plant was unionized, and wages were comparatively good. Suddenly, last September, the company shut the Philadelphia plant, and moved its equipment to non-union, low-wage territory down South. The Philadelphia employes were left behind, without jobs or prospects of jobs.

"In November, two months later," my friend went on, "my neighbor voted for Judge James and the whole Republican ticket." He had got to his point, and found his scapegoat. "How are we going to get anywhere in this country," he concluded, "when the workers are dumb enough to act like that?'

Just Who Is Stupid?

Offhand it might seem that my friend had a point. For a worker to think that he is going to solve his problems by voting the ticket of the ultra-reactionary Republican Party, after all these years, does look at first like almost hopeless stupidity. But reflection on this little incident led me to a conclusion very different from that of my

Pennsylvania had for four years been under the control of George Earle, darling of the New Deal and close intimate of Roosevelt. In last year's Spring Primaries, the U.M.U. had run Tom Kennedy for the gubernatorial candidacy, against the Earle machine. In the Primaries campaign. which was bitterly fought. Kennedy and his supporters had denounced Earle from one end of the State to the other, and every charge they made against the machine was justified a dozen times over. The workers, especially the C.I.O. workers, rallied to Kennedy, but he was defeated.

For some months thereafter the C.I.O. officials did nothing. Then, shortly before the election, they told the workers to vote for-the very same Earle machine which they had denounced that Spring, the same machine that had been running the State into the ground for four years, the machine under which the textile worker's job had disappeared.

What, then, was my friend's neighbor to decide? What possible basis did he have for accepting this new advice, contradicting everything that had been told him before, as well as his own experience? It seems to me that his decision not to vote for the Earle machine was both correct and intelligent, with no trace of stupidity but on the contrary a firm grasp of realities.

What positive was left for him to do? There was only one other party in the field, the Republican Party. He was not a syndicalist or indifferent, he wanted to exercise his rights as a citizen, and therefore the only act within his power was to

vote for James and the rest of the Republicans. Granted that his vote was directly counter to his own interests, as he perhaps understands now, with James' signature just fixed under the new union-smashing labor act. But who was to blame against the status quo (for that is what it amounted to) was turned into the blind rut of Republicanism? It was not his fault: he, as an individual,

had no other choice. The blame lies at the door of people like my friend, but above all of the trade-union officialdom. It is they who stultified and sterilized this textile worker's wish and need for political expression. If, after Kennedy's Primary defeat, they had done what every event called for-put up a union slate, a labor ticket for the elections, there is not the slightest doubt that this worker's vote would not have reluctantly padded the Re-

And Who Is Lagging?

There are rising indications that throughout the country the workers themselves are ready for a new kind of politics: for working-class politics, for union tickets and a labor party. This was shown in November by the success of McLevy in Connecticut, in spite of sabotage by the Stalinists and the officials of both C.I.O. and A.F.L. It is being shown today in Minneapolis, where, in the face of a late start and the overwhelming Farmer-Labor collapse in November, the workers have impressively rallied to Eide and the rest of the unions'

The complaint is made that the American workers do not learn, that they are politically stupid. But this complaint is ordinarily merely the excuse for passivity, opportunism or betrayal on the part of the complainer. The American workers have learned, during the last decade, a large part of the lesson. They now observe the collapse of New Dealism; and more and more of them are prepared to break not only with New Dealism but with bourgeois politics as a whole-if only they can find an alternate path. The Lewises, Greens and Browders have as a principal function to hide and block that alternate path: the path of independent working-class political action.

Conditions are again ripe, after a year or more's hibernation, for blasting away the obstacles. A Presidential year approaches as the War Deal consolidates its hold and social reaction drives deeper. In the months ahead, the slogans for labor politics are certain to meet with an everwidening response, if they are put forward boldly and clearly, and carried direct into the camp of the enemy

Savs Cedric Adams, Minneapolis Star columnist: In Montreal messenger boys draw ten cents an hour; cab drivers work for 20 cents and work ten hours; a good stenographer capable of speaking and writing both English and French can be employed for \$10.50 per week. A pharmacist gets 28 cents an hour; while a plumber gets 95 cents an hour. You can bet your bottom dollar that the plumbers have a union.

Republican leaders, now formulating plans for 1940, are preparing a "bill of rights"—particularly the right of worship and religious freedom. I'll bet they'll pass right by the right of better wages and working condition-for workers.