

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
INSTALLMENT IV

In an editorial in the January 2, 1939, issue of *Social Justice* Father Coughlin attacked a proposal that the Red Cross ship wheat for distribution to starving victims of the civil war in Spain, both Loyalists and Fascists.

He gave as his reason that since there was greater need in the territory then held by the Loyalists, most of the wheat would go to feed starving Loyalists.

When five hundred thousand refugees began pouring into France, fleeing from the advance of fascist warlord Franco after being betrayed by Loyalist army leaders who had been put into power and supported by Stalin's Communist Party and the Social Democrats, Coughlin cynically declared:

"The hordes clamoring for escape at the border are not Spaniards. Thousands upon thousands are Russian Reds." (*Social Justice*, February 13, 1939.)

Coughlin approved Hitler's seizure of Austria.

Coughlin approved Hitler's seizure of the Sudetenland.

Coughlin approved Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia.

Coughlin approved Hitler's seizure of Memel.

Coughlin approves Hitler's bristling war threats.

In his broadcast of March 24, 1935, Coughlin declared: "Today the outposts of Germany are the frontiers of our civilization."

When the work week was lengthened arbitrarily by decree in France, Father Coughlin hailed the act.

In the Far East Coughlin supports Japan and describes this militaristic dictatorship where all civil liberties have been suppressed in blood for years, as "the sole barrier against the menace of communism in the Far East." The "victory of China," he assures the reader, would mean victory for communism in China." (*Social Justice*, December 19, 1938. See also the issues of December 26, 1938 and March 6, 1939.)

When Mussolini invaded Ethiopia (a Christian nation incidentally) Coughlin broadcast a speech attacking the Ethiopians and justifying Mussolini's criminal war. (*A Series of Lectures on Social Justice*, April 1936, by Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, pp. 17-19.)

Coughlin applauded Mussolini's seizure of Albania, calling it a "rescue," for the "benefit" of its million inhabitants.

Why is Father Coughlin so enthusiastic about the foreign fascists?

Let it be understood once and for all, that Father Coughlin is not an agent of the European dictators. Far from it. He is their disciple and admirer. But on the day that war breaks out between the United States and any one of these nations which Coughlin now lauds, he will turn against that nation as savagely as a cannibal on his aged grandfather.

What Coughlin desires is that the methods and the ideology of these fascist plunderers sink deeply into the minds of his followers.

Coughlin wants to organize a state similar to the Nazi and the fascist—a corporate state, and the REAL masters of that corporate state, the masters to whom he swears devotion and whose interests he represents, are America's parasitic SIXTY FAMILIES.

The Fascists Hail Coughlin

When the Socialist Workers Party led 50,000 demonstrators in protest against the February 20 meeting of the German-American Bund in Madison Square Garden, the 18,000 members of the Bund, meeting under protection of the biggest concentration of police in New York history, were heiling Fuehrer Fritz Kuhn, Fuehrer Hitler, and Il Duce Mussolini. But the biggest ovation of the evening, next only to that accorded La Guardia's police, was the ovation given Father Coughlin.

Significant that the German-American Bund followers of Hitler should be so enthusiastic over Coughlin!

An Associated Press dispatch from Rome on January 17, 1939, stated that the radio priest "received fascist praise and thanks today from the *Regime Fascista*, the newspaper that has led attacks on the Vatican in the dispute over the Italian anti-Semitic measures."

In a Berlin dispatch dated November 27, 1938, Otto D. Tolischus reports in the *New York Times*:

"The German hero in America for the moment is the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin because of his radio speech representing National-Socialism (Nazism) as a defensive front against Bolshevism."

The acknowledged advocates of fascism in America are not less enthusiastic.

George E. Deatherage, leader of the Knights of the White Camellia, who insists that fascism as a movement began in America with the Ku Klux Klan long before it was copied by the Nazis, declares:

"He is not the leader we are looking for, but America has produced no greater voice: and when the time for the showdown comes, Father Coughlin will have behind him and us, ten million mobilized followers." (*Saturday Evening Post*, May 27, 1939.)

William Dudley Pelley, Fuehrer of the Silver Shirts, another mysteriously financed "Christian" who openly proclaims his desire to Hitlerize the United States, declared in the November 14, 1938, issue of his magazine, *Liberation*:

"This past week the aggressive Father Coughlin went on the air over a New York radio station and delivered what amounted to the prize Silver Shirt speech of the year."

It is not difficult to understand the brotherly love between the openly acknowledged fascists and the "radio priest" who has risen so rapidly from obscurity.

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BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

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Administration Bill Wrecking W.P.A. Jammed Through House

Fascists Attack Labor Meeting

Transport Workers Attending Outdoor Rally Repulse Fascists in Street Battle—Thugs Hurl Bottles at Speakers

The first street battle between organized labor and the Coughlin fascist gangs in New York City took place Friday night, June 16, at 138 Street and Willis Avenue in the Bronx when 5,000 workers, most of them members of the Transport Workers Union, hurled back a fascist attempt to break up an orderly workers' meeting. The outdoor rally, called by the South Bronx Section of the American Labor Party, had received the endorsement of Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union.

A Lesson To the Fascists—And Labor

AN EDITORIAL

New York's subway workers—members of the Transport Workers Union—have just given an instructive lesson to the Coughlinite fascists and . . . to the labor movement at large.

The fascist hoodlums who have been concentrating in the South Bronx section of New York were given a telling lesson in the sweeping power of the working class when it is organized, militant, determined.

When the Coughlinites sought to disrupt and break up the meeting called by the local branch of the American Labor Party, addressed by the leader of the Transport Workers Union, Michael Quill—

When they sought, by provocations and violence, to drive labor off the streets, to deprive a labor organization of its right to free speech—

The thousands of transport workers, and their brothers in other trades and industries who gathered about the platform, gave them a lesson that they needed badly and they will not soon forget.

That was Lesson No. 1. But there is also a lesson for the labor movement in general.

The assembled Transport Workers, who have already given more than one example of their spirit of labor solidarity, did not cringe, or crawl, or beg or petition.

They defended their leaders; they defended their platform; they defended their meeting; they defended their hard-won rights.

And they did it themselves. The thousands of workers around the platform were a DEFENSE GUARD against the fascist gangsters.

A Defense Guard was needed for that meeting. It was there. It WORKED.

It is needed nowadays everywhere. Union men, organize your GUARD of defense against FASCISM.

Our Own Kind of Defense



Martin's "Strike" Folds Up

Claim that He Represents Majority Shown To Be a Fake

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
FLINT, Mich.—Martin's General Motors "strike" has proved a complete dud.

Production has remained unimpaired in Chevrolet, in Fisher Body and in the G. M. foundry at Saginaw. No more men are absent from their jobs than the usual number accounted for by illness or other reasons.

(Continued on Page 2)

PRE-WAR CRISIS SHIFTS TO FAR EASTERN SCENE

The latest acts in the swiftly-unfolding pre-war crisis were being played this week in two settings—in Tientsin and in Moscow. In the wings at Hitler, waiting his turn to come on, and the scene-changers were ready to bring Slovakia and the Polish border into the center of the stage for the next episode.

In Tientsin the Japanese hijackers held a gun in the ribs of the British racketeers. The Japanese blockade of the French and British concessions at Tientsin and the international area at Amoy continued, growing bolder and more rigid.

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N.M.U. in Crisis at Strike End

Leadership Doomed Tanker Strike by "Hot Oil" Policy

The crisis that has been ravaging the National Maritime Union under the leadership of a Stalinist wrecking crew headed by Joe Curran, came to a head with the official termination of the tanker strike at midnight, June 13. The strike, begun on April 17 as a result of rank and file pressure for militant action, was suffocated in a flood of "hot oil" which

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Roll Call Shows All Factions For Slash

Woodburn Bill Puts Relief Methods Back To Days of Hoover

The Roosevelt-Woodrum W.P.A.-wrecking Bill was passed by the House of Representatives after midnight Friday, less than 48 hours after it was brought in. Speaker Bankhead and New Deal Majority Leader Rayburn joined with Woodrum, chairman of the appropriations sub-committee which drafted the bill, in jamming it through in record time.

The extraordinary size of the majority for the measure, which has been accurately described as putting relief methods back to the days of Hoover, means that not only did Roosevelt Administration leaders back the bill but they also used their control of patronage to prevent a sizeable bloc of Congressmen from recording themselves against the bill.

Roosevelt Named Figure
The most important provision in the bill, that naming the amount to be expended for W.P.A., was the figure of \$1,477,000,000 named by President Roosevelt in his relief message to Congress of April 27. Not even the most reactionary Congressman found any quarrel with the president's figure, for it represented a slash of over one-third from the \$2,250,000,000 expended for W.P.A. during the previous fiscal year.

Under the Roosevelt-Woodrum Bill, W.P.A. rolls will average 2,000,000 during the fiscal year which begins July 1. In line with the recommendations Roosevelt had sent to Congress, W.P.A. administration officials have been slashing the job rolls, from the 3,350,000 who were employed in November, 1938—on the eve of the election—to the present 2,500,000, a drop of 850,000 jobs. An additional 500,000 would be fired under the Roosevelt-Woodrum Bill.

Still Others to Go
If the bill is adopted by the Senate in its present form, actually more than a half million additional to those indicated above will be fired, for it includes a provision discharging by October W.P.A. workers under 45 years of age who have worked eighteen months or more. These are "eligible" to return to W.P.A. rolls after sixty days, if re-certified, but having no more standing than millions of others awaiting placement, they will in all likelihood stay off the rolls permanently.

The only controversy in the House of Representatives during discussion of the bill came on the various restrictive provisions directing administration of the funds by the W.P.A. These restrictive provisions—the 18 months limitation on a W.P.A. job, and abrogation of payment to skilled workers of the prevailing wage in the craft were the most important—met with some objections from some New Dealers, but their objections were "for the record"—so that they could go back to their labor constituencies with some face. How little resistance they put up is indicated by the speed with which the bill went through.

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Who Is Responsible for the W.P.A. Cuts?

The 850,000 W.P.A. workers who have already been fired since November, the 500,000 others who are slated to be dropped to bring down the rolls to the two million limit provided by the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Bill just adopted by the House of Representatives, the 500,000 or more others who are to be fired arbitrarily because they have been on the W.P.A. rolls for eighteen months—all these, and the millions of unemployed workers who bitterly need W.P.A. jobs must ask themselves: WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SLASHING OF THE W.P.A. ROLLS?

You can't fight back unless you know where the blows are coming from. You can't save your jobs, or win them back, or get jobs, unless you know who is leading the forces of reaction against you. You can't lick the enemy, unless you know where he is.

It's not your fault if you haven't a clear idea of who the enemy is. The daily press, the radio, all kinds of demagogues and fakers are deliberately trying to confuse you, so that you won't be able to fight back. But either you get clear on who you are going to have to fight if you are to save yourselves from starvation, or you go down into the breadlines and the garbage dumps.

Here are the facts:
The slashing of the W.P.A. rolls was initiated and engineered by none other than PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT HIMSELF. He did it in his relief budget message to Congress on April 27, 1939. In that message he fixed the amount to be expended for W.P.A. during the year beginning July 1 at \$1,477,000,000—more than a one-third slash from the previous year's figure of \$2,250,000,000.

And the amount designated by Roosevelt is the amount now fixed by the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Bill, an amount which simply wrecks the W.P.A., reducing the rolls to 1,350,000 less jobs than in November.

There are plenty of other things wrong with this W.P.A.-wrecking bill. But the most important thing wrong with it is the amount it provides for jobs. And for that Roosevelt is responsible, for HE NAMED THAT FIGURE.

That means that you can't even begin to fight for jobs, you can't begin to fight against the W.P.A. cuts, unless you are ready to CENTER YOUR FIRE ON ROOSEVELT. The "Republican Tories" and "Garner Democrats", the whole reactionary caboodle in Washington, are already hated and distrusted by the workers, employed and unemployed. These reactionaries could never get away with putting over these cuts—if they didn't have Roosevelt to lead them in the cutting drive.

To denounce the "Tory Republicans" and "Garner Democrats" is not enough. It is not enough to run picket lines against Republican headquarters. When the W.P.A. workers limit themselves to such actions, the reactionaries laugh up their sleeves, for they know that SUCH ACTIONS WON'T STOP THE CUTTING DRIVE.

Picket lines around Congress, picket lines around the White House, unemployed demonstrations everywhere with banners and slogans aimed against Roosevelt's W.P.A. cuts—that's the road, the only road, to a successful fight for W.P.A. jobs. All other proposals are eyewash, serving to conceal from the masses that at the head of the relief slashers stands President Roosevelt.

What the Party Members Say on National Convention Problems

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Surprisingly little attention was paid in the press to the semi-annual meeting of the C.I.O. executive council in Washington, D.C., last week. Surprising because it reflected a serious underestimation of the C.I.O.

The attitude of John L. Lewis on the question of unity with the A.F.L. flows from a resurgence of the C.I.O. movement. The victory of the United Mine Workers of America in the nationwide strike solved satisfactorily the acutest crisis of the C.I.O. movement.

The Briggs auto strike victory gave further impetus to the growth of confidence in the industrial union movement.

Encouraged by these developments, top C.I.O. leaders are returning to their forgotten perspective of building a C.I.O. movement so powerful and large that it would simply engulf the A.F.L.

That is why Lewis declared there could not be peace with the A.F.L. at the present time and with its present leadership. Unless unity came on C.I.O. terms, Lewis feels that the basic need of organizing millions of unorganized workers would be impeded any such organizational drive.

What Will Happen?

Often in the New International and the Socialist Appeal we have written that it was a great tragedy to the American labor movement that the C.I.O. did not continue to advance and become the dominant and decisive stream of the labor movement, forcing the A.F.L. to submerge itself into the new movement which had industrial workers as its basis.

A victory over the A.F.L. would even now have this effect, although at a much greater cost.

Whether the C.I.O. proposal to remain independent of the A.F.L. is progressive or not, depends primarily on the kind of program it follows as a separate organization.

A continued organization drive, concentrating especially on the South, is vitally needed in America. Hints of independent political action, if carried out, would be a major step forward for the C.I.O.

What will happen on these two questions remains to be seen. But there is one thing which we happen to know the C.I.O. leadership is contemplating that definitely would not be progressive in character.

The C.I.O. is weighing the possibility, very seriously, of entering the building trades field as a rival of the A.F.L. Certain trusted lieutenants of Lewis are surveying the field. In some places, cautious attempts to sign up building trades members were made, but action of local progressive unionists squelched this tendency.

A jurisdictional war, and it would be a plenty bloody and bitter war, between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. could and would create the worst sort of havoc. It would open the flood gates for more repressive legislation against the labor movement.

We know of a dozen important labor centers where there is a good working agreement between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. Both sides benefit immensely from the united front they can present against the employers.

If the C.I.O. invades the building trades field, these united fronts would be broken in a minute. Bitter warfare, goon squads, crashing of picket lines, slugfests would result among union men who now work together against their common enemy, the bosses.

This would not be a question of industrial versus craft unions. The C.I.O. would be forced to organize craft unions. The proper tactic, in our opinion, is for the C.I.O. to help the progressives within the building trades by showing in action what a progressive program for labor can do.

It is as fatal for the C.I.O. leaders to think that the A.F.L. can be smashed as it has been for the A.F.L. leaders to hold that opinion of the C.I.O.

On Translating Party Program into Practice

Submitted by a group of Los Angeles comrades: Steve Roberts, Paula Aragon, Minna Everett, Edith Mann, Max Heinert.

(Continued from last issue)

It is needless to state that the leadership should have correctly analyzed the Ludlow Amendment from the start; it should have foreseen the anti-war movement and attempted to direct it into militant channels. In the light of the differences that existed in the N. C. surrounding this question, it should have been submitted for discussion throughout the party. Such a step would have probably forestalled the serious error that was made. During the past summer it should have exhausted the possibilities for having a better referendum introduced into congress. It should have instituted a program such as we now propose:

1. Formation of a National Dept. for anti-war work.
2. Initiation of a National War Referendum Petition campaign similar to the one recently started in Los Angeles.
3. Launching of a nationwide committee for the adoption of a War Referendum.

a. Dept. to supply directives on methods and propaganda to all sections of the party.

b. Neighborhood formation of Referendum groups.

4. Mass meetings, sticker campaigns, house-to-house work.

5. Extension of campaign into the trade unions.

6. Introduction and popularization of our slogans:

a. "All War Funds to the Unemployed."

b. "Nationalization of the War Industry."

c. "Abolition of Secret Diplomacy," etc.

7. Raising funds through these committees for purposes of a publicity campaign—news-papers, radio, etc.

8. Organization of militant action such as: demonstrations, strikes, with possible culmination in march on Washington and/or nationwide work stoppages.

9. Agitation around this campaign to be incorporated into a slogan for the Socialist Appeal and dealt with week by week. This to be supplemented by articles in the New International, popular pamphlets, etc.

The Trade Unions
The C.I.O. movement caught us entirely unprepared. The opportunities arising out of a new trade union movement and the possibility of entering into industry in this period, will not present itself again in the near future. It was not until the movement had crystallized and was needed for decline that our party leadership considered colonization in the different industries. Here and there comrades on their own volition entered industry but without direction from the leadership.

At this time our leadership should have given its main attention to this new and virile movement of industrial unionism. It should have made a survey of the possibilities of the various industries and considered the importance or ripeness of the various sections of the country on the basis of such a survey. It should have given instructions and directions to the local leaderships and individuals on how, why and where, to get into industry. National tours should have been mapped out to impress upon the comrades the importance of this work and how to accomplish it. Such a course would have resulted in a real penetration of the C.I.O., giving us an influence which we do not have today.

Some comrades may argue that this orientation was impossible because of the fact that part of this period found us in the Socialist Party. Entry into the Socialist Party should not have hindered a correct revolutionary leadership from carrying out the most important task that faced it.

Our Previous Analysis
With the Founding Convention of the S.W.P. and the slogan "90% Trade Union Work," it was hoped that we would finally in actuality face toward the masses. The trade union resolution was an exhaustive analysis of the American labor movement, an appraisal of the A.F.L., C.I.O., the roles of the various political parties, and the tasks of the S.W.P. Under the section COMPLETE RE-ORIENTATION IS DEMAND-ED we quote the following:

"A complete reorientation of our party from the membership up to the leadership and back again is absolutely imperative and unpostponable. No less drastic a reorientation is required of our weekly press. The attention of the party must be focused primarily upon the American labor movement. The energies of the party must be devoted mainly to rooting itself in the trade unions, becoming an inseparable part of the trade unions and their struggles. The bulk of the party work must be directed to this vital field of the class struggle. Unless this slogan is translated speedily into life, the party is doomed to vegetate as an impotent sect which will be washed away by the waves of the first serious social crisis."

In the light of this analysis, what happened? The national leadership failed entirely to carry out the decisions of the last convention. No attempt whatsoever was made on their part to gear the party to its tasks. A national trade union department does not exist to this very day! National fractions were not organized; utter disregard of the necessity for carrying on correspondence with fractions where they were organized.

The complete lack of trade union directives from our leadership culminated in the tragic events of the U.A.W.A. situation, where the Appeal held three different positions in the space of a few weeks. Different sections of the organization found themselves in opposing camps within the union at a time when the fate of one of the most important unions in the country was at stake. When the party leadership should have been most alert in analyzing the day-to-day events and in keeping in constant touch with all comrades in the U.A.W.A. throughout the country, it not only failed to do so but failed to acknowledge frantic letters, telegrams, from the comrades on the West Coast who were pleading for instructions. The final national action policy was adopted in this crisis without consultation with the Oakland and Los Angeles fractions.

No excuses can be accepted for these woeful occurrences and failure to carry out the first simple organization task particularly in view of our leadership's own sharp posing of the question as quoted above. We demand that the coming convention take whatever steps are necessary to insure that the following be carried out at once:

1. The formation of a National Industrial Dept.
2. The Dept. shall be headed by an Executive Secretary and a Field Organizer, both to be members of the National Committee, and full time functionaries.
3. Duties of Executive Secretary:
 - a. To organize national trade union fractions.
 - b. To maintain correspondence with all fractions.
 - c. To be present in critical situations.
4. It shall be the duty of the Industrial Dept. to establish a regular bulletin which shall contain information on party work in the trade unions, analysis of trade union situations, and discussion articles on policy.
5. It shall be the duty of the Industrial Dept. to constantly survey the national industrial scene and convey information and directives to the comrades as to the best opportunities for colonization.

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REVOLUTIONARY FRENCH YOUTH UNITE FORCES

Stressing the necessity of unifying the revolutionary youth movement of France, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth (J.S.R.—Fourth International) has called upon its membership to enter the ranks of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Youth (J.S.O.P.), thus effecting a unity between the two organizations.

The conditions upon which the unity was achieved were worked out by representatives of the two groups in a series of comprehensive discussions. These discussions and the fusion that resulted from them, were facilitated by the fact that the political program of the J.S.O.P. has come closer to that of the J.S.R. in the last few months.

Members of the J.S.R. who now become members of the J.S.O.P. will work in the latter on the basis of their own political program for the development and strengthening of the unified organization.

PRE-WAR CRISIS SHIFTS TO FAR EASTERN SCENE

Axis Powers Create New Front for Rivals to Worry About

(Continued from Page 1)

As the British displayed signs of fright and hesitation. The Japanese apparently see their chance now to grab from Britain the rich concessions wrested by the British and French from the Chinese at bayonet-point nearly a century ago. The British, waiting desperately to see if their friend Roosevelt would step in to protect the swag, fingered around helplessly in search of a diplomatic loophole.

At Moscow, meanwhile, it was clear their diplomatic position was not exactly growing any stronger. William Strang, the special envoy sent to the Kremlin to talk Stalin into a deal, was cooling his heels and biting his fingernails, reading the dispatches from Tientsin.

Is it an accident that Soviet-Japanese friction burst for a moment into flame a fortnight ago and then died down when the Japanese embarked upon their offensive against the British?

Is it an accident that reports are beginning to be heard that Stalin has raised his price again by demanding that the Far East be included in the "guaranteed" zone?

Is it an accident that Mussolini's ambassador was reported a week ago to have given assurances in Moscow that the axis had no "territorial designs" on Russia?

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A Point of View on the Labor Party Question

By F. X. FERRY, ROGER B. CROSS, MYRON CARLSON and IRVING KAPLAN

It is becoming a habit with our party, or at least with some of its members, to preface their proposal for a turn into a direction hitherto opposed by the party with "the question of the attitude toward (here insert the new turn) has never been a question of principle for revolutionary Marxists." Such a statement, expressed in more or less good English, is a signal for the "hurry-boys and girls" to go out hell-bent for the new turn, in the present instance for a labor party.

It is obvious that a preface as given above, and now set before the Labor Party Resolution of the majority of the N.E.C. indicates some misgivings, if not a rather strong feeling of insecurity on the part of certain supporters of the labor party; but as a hearty gulp of "fire-water" gives courage if not foolhardiness to some of us when confronted by a crisis, so the talmudist classification of terms principled or otherwise gives some party members the right to hurl themselves forward on the road towards and into the labor party.

It may not be amiss to recall to ourselves that plain tactical turns may be ruinous to such an extent to the party and the working class, that workers must sooner or later inquire for themselves whether or not they can conscientiously favor such ruinous policies just because such policies are labelled in advance non-programmatic ones.

It may be useful to recall that the position taken by the C. I. in 1923 towards the German revolution was nothing but an incorrect tactic, but in its effect it had such a far-reaching importance as to determine the fatal direction taken by the German and European working class. The position taken by the C. I. in England prior to the general strike, in creating the British-Russian Trade Union Committee, represented but a tactical step, but one so incorrect that many revolutionary leaders justifiably felt compelled to leave the tactical leadership of the C. I. agreed with Trotsky who expressed the revolutionary spirit of the proletarian party as unprincipled maneuvering "we hope that the experience "unprincipled maneuvering" will not cause any of the hooray-boys any headaches in understanding it).

To sum up this preliminary statement, we hope for a general agreement in saying that a revolutionary party may under no circumstances embark upon a questionable path and expect not to pay the price in the eyes of the working class, by simply declaring such a turn only a tactical one. Tactical mistakes may be just as ruinous as programmatic ones, sometimes even more so because of the apparent light-mindedness with which some party members are ready to make such simple tactical experiments.

The majority resolution on the labor party distinguishes itself by the light-mindedness

with which it expects a total about-face in the party's attitude. It would be ridiculous, but for the tragic aspect of the thing, to read how certain we are today that we are right about our evaluation, which is directly contrary to our evaluation of yesterday (even though we were just as certain then as to the correctness of the contrary evaluation). The majority resolution is a confession of our tactical error of six months ago, but at the same time a command that we are not to doubt the infallibility of our present tactical proposal.

We all recall the scorn heaped by us upon the heads of the C. P., the Lovestonites, the S.P., and the Social Democratic Federation, when they—long before us—discovered their "duty to support the labor party." Then it was the shedding of their revolutionary mask and following up their reformist tendency; now, when proposed by us, it becomes inspired revolutionary tactics. We can still hear the ringing of our scornful voices castigating Waldman, then Thomas, then Lovestone and Browder, for their stinging in their reformist juice when they proposed a rapprochement with the labor party. Now, however, the Socialist Workers Party gives "positive and unambiguous support to the labor party movement in general, and to all its local manifestations," because we are "bold, decisive and resolute." Do you remember the guffaw emanating from our ranks when Browder, returning from Moscow, came out from the labor party and when he tried to explain away the C.P.'s changed attitude and stated that "we do not support a reformist labor party (being at all times against reformism). We do not attempt to create a revolutionary labor party (since there is already a revolutionary party in the C.P.), but we want a class-labor party." Then guffaws, but now we declare (and without laughing ourselves in the face) that "while the Social Democrats, Lovestonites, etc., advocate a labor or farmer-labor party with a purely reformist program, and more or less confine themselves to unprincipled top combinations under cover of this slogan, the S.W.P. advances its program of transitional demands in order to fructify the mass movement in favor of a labor party and lead it in a revolutionary direction."

Here is the difference, if differences there is, between us and those who saw the rising sun of the labor party before us, that is, that we shall "fructify the mass movement in favor of a labor party and lead it in a revolutionary direction." We shall do so, even though Marxists recognize that the nature of the labor party is such that it cannot but stand in the path of the revolutionary movement. We shall support it, even though we know (or at least knew six months ago) that there are no short cuts to the building of the revolutionary movement, surely not through a reformist labor party which, if organized, is organized for the purpose of syphoning off the revolutionary tendencies which may appear among the masses.

(Continued in next issue)

APPEAL ARMY

BOSTON SETS THE PACE:

"Enclosed find money order for \$15.60 for balance of our Appeal bill and for payment in advance on coming issues. I thought it best to send the money because I know the Appeal can use it.

"Increase our bundle by 25 copies each issue, beginning with the next issue. The comrades are selling the paper quite easily with Coughlin as the issue. Last night at a Jewish-American Congress meeting we sold 94 Appeals and 8 New Internationals. We are becoming the outstanding anti-Coughlinites!"—J. T., Boston literature agent.

OTHER BRANCHES AT WORK:

The Rochester branch in the past few weeks has made substantial payments and has practically paid up in full on its Appeal account.

"Please increase our order to 100 per issue regularly. I am positive we shall have no trouble in disposing of them.

"The Coughlinites sell their magazine downtown in Detroit. We station a comrade on either side of them and yell our slogan.

gans. Everybody sees the keen competition and stops to look. We have 2 to their 1, so we make the best impression. Some of our slogans are, "Read a workers' paper!"; "Read an expose of Father Coughlin, American Fascist Number One!"; "We want organized labor—not organized concentration camps!"

"The first day we sold 23 papers, the second time 43. This only takes about 1 hour. We have Sunday morning mobilizations. We sell in the Jewish districts and take up contributions. We are planning a tag day in the Jewish districts soon. "We're trying hard to liquidate our Appeal bill by convention time."—J. D., Detroit Appeal agent.

IN THE STREETS WITH THE ANTI-COUGHLIN APPEAL!

The work of these branches is outstanding and proves that the Appeal is a powerful weapon in the struggle against growing American fascism.

Every branch should plan immediately to have systematic mobilizations for Appeal sales. Into the streets twice each week with America's leading anti-Coughlin paper!

Martin's "Strike" Proves To Be Complete Dud

(Continued from Page 1)

There are no picket lines. As a matter of fact, Martin's desperate adventure is not at all a strike against General Motors. It is a union-busting action directed primarily at the only organization with any following at all in the G. M. plants, the A.W.-C.I.O.

Aim of Strike
This "strike" had as its main aim to vindicate Martin's fantastic claims to a majority following for the A.F.L. in the G. M. plants. It has, however, proved just the contrary. Acting as a vehicle for conservative and anti-militant sentiment among the non-union elements, Martin's gang soon found that it was impossible to mobilize this group for strike action. He might have led them through picket lines but he could never lead them onto picket lines.

Someone may have whispered in Martin's ear that G. M. would negotiate with him and grant a contract if he could tie up the plant. But G. M. didn't pay any attention when they found their assembly lines operating as usual and only a few goons on the outside maintaining the fiction of picketing. "Get the Reds!"

The principal activity of these plug-uglies and their few misguided followers has been to "get the C.I.O. reds." Since last night they have kept a group of C.I.O. workers bottled up in their hall which is located in an adjoining building from the Martin headquarters. Five times they provoked vicious assaults on the C.I.O. hall, smashing the plate glass store window and brutally beating C.I.O. members so they required hospitalization. As this is being written, they are still congregated in front of the C.I.O. hall on Saginaw Street facing the Fisher Body plant and preparing a new attack.

Influence Weakened
There is no doubt that Martin's influence will diminish to insignificance before this "strike" is over. Yet it is equally true that this episode has left a bad taste in the mouths of countless auto workers. The top C.I.O. leaders in Flint and their friends and advisors on the International Executive Board are largely responsible for this situation. Months of inactivity followed the Cleveland convention last April. Union organization was neglected; the corporation destroyed union conditions without resistance. Despite the anxiety and demands of the militants, this leadership blithely continued its doing nothing policy.

Even the current critical situation has not served to shake them out of their indifference. Not a single leaflet or piece of propaganda has been circulated explaining the C.I.O. stand. Nothing has been done to counteract the inevitable impression among the workers—assisted of course by the yellow press—that the present conflict is "merely a squabble between two outside groups." Nothing has been done to correct the impression that Martin's gang

is cultivating; that there is a real picket line and a real strike and the men walking through are scabs. This lie left uncorrected will do tremendous harm to the C.I.O. when they get ready for real strike action, as they must, this fall.

Keeping "Public Opinion"
The desire of large sections of Flint's best militants in Chevrolet, Buick and even Fisher Body is to mobilize forces and remove the Martin goons from a position where they can do damage to the C.I.O. forces and maintain the fiction of a strike. Over a thousand Buick and Chevrolet workers jammed the C.I.O. hall last night demanding action. But the top Flint U.A.W. leadership has poured cold water on their enthusiasm—all in the name of "keeping public opinion on our side!"

This lack of organization is directly attributable to the disorganizing policies of the Stalinists and their supporters in the Flint leadership. The lack of adequate defense machinery in the union ranks is one of the most criminal neglects of the entire situation. The organization of union defense guards in Flint is a job of paramount importance. If a miserable gang of Martinites cannot be coped with now because of this disorganization, what will happen when the armed forces of the state are concentrated against the Flint auto union?

Indicative of the complete lack of confidence and respect prevailing in labor circles, even A.F.L., of Martin's phoney strike was the position taken today by international officials of the Teamsters Union who gave their drivers permission to cross the "picket lines" at their own risk. The Flint drivers union had previously adhered to the traditional teamsters attitude of not crossing picket lines. Aware of the spurious nature of this strike, they made the change on advice and consultation of their international officers.

Editor:
On behalf of the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism, I must repudiate the headline description of our League which recently appeared in the Appeal. The League is "Anti-Stalinist" but by no means "Anti-Hook" by the same sense. There is no reference to the Dewey-Hook Committee in our entire manifesto. There are major differences of principle between the two manifestoes, but certainly no such head-on collision as the fevered imagination of your headline writer conjured up. Thank you for printing this correction in an early issue.

Protests Headline On League for Cultural Freedom
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Sincerely,
DWIGHT MACDONALD,
Acting Secretary,
League for Cultural Freedom & Socialism

WANTED

Anti-Fascist Salesmen to sell "FATHER COUGHLIN—Fascist Demagogue" pamphlet
Liberal Commission
See Miller, Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place

At Your Service THE APPEAL POSTER SHOP

Joseph Hansen's series of articles on Coughlin will appear early next week as a low-priced pamphlet published in a large edition to allow for mass distribution. Publication of the pamphlet was made possible by a loan which must be repaid quickly through donations from our readers and by the following contributions which came in response to our appeal: a sympathizer in New York, \$5; in Chicago, \$1; a doctor in Detroit, \$5. Orders and additional donations should be rushed IMMEDIATELY to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City. If you want Pioneer Publishers to send the pamphlet to any person enclose a list of names and addresses with your contribution.

A FULL DAY'S OUTING AT THE BEACH!

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Congress of French Workers and Peasants' Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.)

Two weeks ago, on May 28-29, the French Workers and Peasants Socialist Party held its first regular congress in the proletarian center of Saint-Ouen, a suburb of Paris. Some 160 delegates, representing close to 5,000 members, gathered there to sum up the party's experiences since the split with Leon Blum's S.F.I.O. and to outline a course of action for the future. Representative of the drift toward various strata who have broken with the parties corrupted by social reformism and Stalinism, this gathering has its importance for the development of the revolutionary movement toward the building of the new, Fourth International.

As was to be expected, the Saint-Ouen congress was not at all a homogeneous body of thought. Most of the participants had only recently left the ranks of the old parties. The centrist current of Marceau Pivert still proved to be predominant. But the revolutionary Marxist tendency made considerable headway in the course of the sessions.

On the all-important war question, the revolutionary defeatist position put forward in the motion drawn up jointly by Jean Rous (formerly of the French Fourth Internationalist party, the P.O.I.), Daniel Guerin, the author of "Fascism and Big Business" and Lucien Weitz, the leader of the P.S.O.P. youth, received 59 votes, the same number as the motion of the Pivert tendency drawn up by Michel Collinet. An outright pacifist motion received 26 votes and a motion by Lucien Herard attempting to strike a middle course between the Rous-Guerin-Weitz and Collinet motions received 45 votes.

A practical motion on anti-war activity, however, proposing to exclude in the future collaboration with such alliances in France as the Keep America Out of War Committee in this country, received 53 votes as against 120 for the Pivert motion endorsing such alliances.

Highly significant for the revolutionary current was the result of the discussion as to whether membership in the Freemasonry organization was compatible with membership in the P.S.O.P. After a heated debate, the Guerin motion for incompatibility received the highest vote, 76, while two separate motions opposing Guerin's each polled 62 and 50 votes respectively. This problem which touches upon the very essence of the proletarian character of the party is bound to continue to agitate the P.S.O.P. in the future if one is to be guided by the great concern and dissatisfaction shown by many unattached rank and file worker delegates at the fact that the leader of the party is still a Freemason.

On the trade union question, a motion proposing the organization of party fractions received 82 votes, while one opposing organized party work in the unions received 122 votes.

Finally, on the international question, the congress voted to affiliate with "International Marxist Center" (formerly the "London Bureau") by a vote of 120, against a motion by Weitz proposing non-affiliation for the time being which received 42 votes. An amendment by the latter recommending that an invitation to the coming conference of the "International Marxist Center" in September be extended to the Fourth International was accepted by agreement after considerable discussion.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Traveling is about the fondest thing I am of especially when there is plenty of scenery and a nice comfortable seat from which to look at it and then too, you meet the most interesting people and find out all kinds of new facts which help to broaden the mind and open the eyes like the story about the Mormon named Huberdub who was a nice quiet homebody until he had a revelation which is the result of consuming too many oysters and bananas just before going to bed.

Huberdub was a quiet little guy like I said and was respected by all his Mormon neighbors when all of a sudden he announced to the citizens of Utah that the divine spirits had dropped in unexpected in the middle of the night and told him that there was a lot of easy pickings in the dead center of the big snow covered mountain across the valley and that he is elected to organize the farmers for the purpose of extracting said valuable minerals without losing no time.

Faithful Buy a "Dream"

So he sure enough collects a lot of dough and gets a gang of volunteers who are willing to work for shares in the promised take instead of cash money which is after all pretty material stuff and not at all to be compared with a barn full of gold, etc. and this Huberdub bird starts work on a hole in the side of the Rocky Mountains which he calls the "Dream Mine."

After several years of digging and blasting and at the same time collecting plenty on shares the Mormon top committee decides that enough is plenty and that this revelation does not smell exactly kosher and they hand Huberdub his walking papers. But there is a lot of poor folk who figure their investment should not be forgotten just like that and they hang on with some donating the sweat of their brows and others mortgaging the family homestead in the hope of retiring on the fat of the land when the "Dream" breaks down and the promised dividends begin to flow like Huberdub said the Angels said.

This goes on for a long time because the more the poor suckers put into the scheme the more they hang around and the harder they work until one day a few weary workers corner Huberdub and put the question right to him with the aid of strong language and a couple of pick-axes which they have learned to use with dexterity if I may use such a word.

Huberdub Falls Fast

Huberdub is nobody's fool and he stalls off the neck-tie party with a bigger whopper which is that it is no less than an International Plot of the Government and Bankers and city folks not to accept Huberdub's "precious stones." So back to work for the suckers

A good deal of time was taken in a discussion of the "Trotskyist infiltration" of the party, attacks against the Trotskyists being made mainly by the defenders of the Freemasons in the course of the dispute over whether the membership in the latter organization was compatible with membership in the P.S.O.P. The attacks fell flat when the speakers of the revolutionary tendency refused to be hornsawed into an anti-Trotskyist campaign and insisted on the discussion of the political content of the motions and resolutions proposed. The attackers did manage, however, by sheer weight of numbers to push through an organizational statute requiring eighteen months' continuous membership in the P.S.O.P. of former members of other proletarian parties before they are accorded equal rights with the other party members. The statute received 96 votes and was opposed with 88 votes and 16 abstentions.

All in all, the congress, as recorded in the votes quoted, showed that the leftward development of the P.S.O.P. has not by any means been concluded, that consistent revolutionary sentiment within its ranks is sufficiently strong to augur well for the future. By the way, on the matter of practical party work in the period ahead, the Marxist minority declared that just as in the previous period, when it proved itself in action, it would have no difficulty in collaborating with the party leadership.

Willie Gallacher, M.P., and British Imperialism

Recently the Appeal reported the formation in England of the "Friends of the Irish Republic," an organization which has set as its task the organization of a revolutionary socialist party in Ireland and which has already held demonstrations in London of a mass character. That such a move was in the cards goes without saying ever since the degeneration of the Communist party which has left the field in the Irish fight against British imperialism to the heroic but muddled and utopian terrorists of the I.R.A. What finally gave the impetus to the move may be gathered from such an item as the following which we reprint from the Militant of London:

"During the Great War to End War, 1914-18, the workers of the Clyde and other industrial centers insisted on fighting for better conditions and workers' rights. They caused a great deal of annoyance to the government which denounced them as unpatriotic and disloyal. Among these disloyal and unpatriotic workers was one William Gallacher.

"Now Mr. Gallacher is Communist M.P. for West Fife—and is he loyal? When Mr. Chamberlain made a statement to the effect that Northern Ireland was to be exempted from conscription in order to give scope to its loyalty, Mr. Gallacher rose in his wrath. No longer was he the Clydeside militant who defied Lloyd George and the engineering bosses, but one of the boys of the building breed, stirred to his innermost depths because his patriotism had been called into question. He demanded to know 'whether the Prime Minister in making such a declaration about North Ireland is not casting a slight on Scotland, Wales and Northern England.' Truly, as the party of which Gallacher is a member so frequently remarks, times have changed."

The whole no-strike policy of the Stalinists stems from their line of working for a military pact between the imperialist U.S.A. government and the Stalin bureaucracy. To accomplish this, they bleached their ultra-red in politics to a light saffron, and carrying this into the trade unions, used their former militant reputation to suppress and discourage militancy, divert strikes up blind alleys, etc., in order to prove to War-Deal Roosevelt that they had something to offer in return for a pact. To War-Deal Roosevelt, worried about labor's resistance to war propaganda, particularly the seamen's section, this was a welcome help, particularly with regard to maritime, even if he does not openly thank the "boys."

The effect of the above policy was "verbal agreements" with the shipowners, excepting one or two contracts with minor companies, which were blithely violated, the shipowners being convinced that the N.M.U. would not fight. When the membership finally became aroused, the Stalinist leadership finally managed to get a blanket contract with the freighter companies, but with a score of loopholes that the company could take advantage of to nullify anything worth while. Particularly rotten is the clause guaranteeing the company against crew action.

Is it any wonder that Curran had to drown the strike in "hot oil"? For if he had authorized the crews to take action against loading hot oil, the freighter companies would have declared the agreement nullified, and this would have doubly exposed Curran and Co., by showing in action how worthless the agreement was, basically. (Contrast this with the successful refusal of S.I.U. crews, under S.I.U. contracts, to take "hot oil.")

A further development: Because of the above mentioned policy of working for a U.S.A.-Stalin pact, Curran and Co. had to go down the line with the government fink halls and fink training ships. (This is the real reason, not the garbage about S.I.U. or A.F.L. backdoor shipping.) Therefore,

members of the N.M.U. were forced to accept on freighters by order of Curran, thus being compelled to fink on their own striking brother members. Except for two or three insignificant companies with which contracts were signed, the strikers were obliged to end the strike without gaining any of their demands.

N.M.U. in Crisis As Strike Ends

Stalinist Leadership Doomed Strike by Playing Ball with Government—Gulf Seamen Show Way to Progressive Action

(Continued from Page 4)

The situation is full of evidence that the strike was horribly bungled from the beginning, chief item being the careful preparation of the King trial and the membership's anger from the Curran machine's mounting record of betrayal of their interests. The King trial and expulsion proceedings are being handled in the best Moscow Trial fashion. There is no question, of course, of King's actual guilt. This has been known for some time, particularly by Curran and the Stalinists. But the danger here is that the leadership is unloading its own crimes on associates who participated equally with them, attempting to connect them with the bona fide militants so as to smear the latter and prevent their becoming a center of organized progressive opposition.

Bent Knee to Bosses
The tanker strike fiasco, the King trial, and the Gulf autonomy action, reflect the crisis that the N.M.U. is in as a result of the whole past policy of the Stalinists. Unless this is understood, any attempts at a progressive solution of this crisis by the bona fide militants in the N.M.U. will prove fruitless, and will result only in a large section of the N.M.U. membership losing all faith in unionism. It can all be summed up as follows: A policy of bending the knee to the shipowners, a no-strike policy, depending on the government, etc., have made of the N.M.U. an organization of 50,000 weak. By contrast, the S.U.P., following a class struggle policy, i.e., recognition of the shipowner as a strike policy, and no dependence on the government, but only on its own strength and that of brother unions, have made it an organization of 6,000 strong.

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N.M.U. men packed the Hoffman Island training school. Is it not curious that shortly after the strike began, the school suddenly found room for a helluva lot of new men? Is it, perhaps, possible that, as N.M.U. members report, there were suddenly a lot of nice finky jobs offered on struck tankers to Hoffman Island government-trained "union men," who showed what they had really learned, by patriotically grabbing the jobs?

Gulf Shows Way

The present status of the action is: The strike is over, the boycott continues, and, although the former crews have little chance to get their jobs back, the N.M.U. leadership still hypocritically holds out the idea that in a very short time they will be able to control the tankers again. How? Members should try to get aboard the tankers (the company, of course, will welcome them back with open arms) fight the Standard Oil company union, by quoting the Wagner Act, using the N.M.U. crews who have not reached port yet, as a base for further organization.

Yet in spite of the terrible mess the Curranites have made of things, the prospect for a progressive reformation of the union exists. It is reflected, even if not always with full clarity, in the Gulf action of declaring itself an autonomous body, within the N.M.U., but paying no dues to New York, nor accepting its decisions. Full details are not available as we go to press, but the salient facts are, in addition to the above:

(1) The Gulf evidently is not taking the fatal step of breaking completely with the organization, but seems to be following roughly the strategy of the West Coast Firemen, in fighting the Headquarters organization, where the main power of the Stalinists is concentrated.

(2) The Gulf announces that it will issue a paper, expressing its own point of view. We hope that the Gulf will have learned from the Mariner's Club experience, and that it will come forward with a positive program. A purely negative fight will only result in further confusion, and enable enemies of labor to infiltrate into the Gulf opposition and discredit it, as happened with the Mariner's Club. Further, the Stalinists are fully capable of exploiting any purely negative opposition, to their own ends.

The main fight must be on the basis of a positive progressive program, in contrast with the reactionary program of the Curran-Stalinists. In this way the membership on the Atlantic will be able to choose between two definite lines, clearly, and in this way, if the Gulf proposals are of the positive progressive character that we think they will be, they will be able to swing the Atlantic District membership to their side, unify the two coasts, and be in a position to consummate unity with the West Coast organizations of maritime labor which are so essential for the very continuance of maritime unionism.

Indications are that the Gulf's understanding of progressive maritime unionism is very close to that of the S.U.P. If such is the case, then the Gulf will progress in influence, and will be able to play a real role in the fight to establish one national union in maritime based on a progressive, class-struggle policy.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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.

BY POPULAR DEMAND! Repeat performance of "Bury the Dead," presented by the Theatre of Youth at the Downtown Labor Center, 51 East 7th St., Sat., June 24, 9:30 P.M. Dancing, refreshments. Subscription 25c. Auspices, Downtown Branch.

Get Your APPEAL At the Newsstand

Toward the Party Convention

On Mass Work and Its Relation to The Struggle Against Stalinism

By JAMES P. CANNON

Since the death of Lenin and the beginning of the decline and degeneration of the Russian Revolution, the most important and decisive factor in the defeats of the working class has been the Stalinized Comintern. An understanding of this central problem has been and remains the key to fruitful revolutionary work. At all stages of the struggle to reassemble the scattered and disoriented elements of the proletarian vanguard, the analysis of Stalinism occupied first place. Those who misunderstood this misunderstood everything and condemned themselves to futility and defeat. Only those who gave the right answer to this question—the Fourth Internationalists alone did this—were able to move forward and gain strength.

This holds true also for the present and the near future. The center of gravity in all revolutionary work shifts from ideological battles in the isolated circles of the vanguard to mass agitation and the penetration of the workers' mass movement. Here also Stalinism is the most formidable obstacle. Those who ignore this obstacle or deny its existence soon bump their heads against reality. The struggle against Stalinism can in no way be moderated. The forms and methods of the struggle, however, must be adapted to changed circumstance and new environments. We have yet to do this effectively.

Mass work is a simple enough prescription, but those who try to over-simplify its application have very painful experiences. It is a big error to think good will and hard work alone are enough to gain a leading influence in the mass movement. Parties and groups which operate on such a simple formula usually work for the benefit of others less addicted to Christian ideas.

"Ignoring" the Stalinists

In the past we have heard many lectures on the art of simplified mass work in the Socialist Party, especially from its most stupid wing, the "Clarityites." With a self-assurance born of ignorance and inexperience, they explained how they would win over the masses, including the Stalinist workers, simply by setting a good example of "constructive work" and "ignoring" the Stalinist Party. We know what happened to them, and to others like them. To the extent that they built or helped to build organizations, the disciplined machine of Stalinism took the control away from them and put them to work as errand boys and stooges (Workers Alliance, Auto Union, etc.).

No, you cannot ignore the Stalinists. More than that, you cannot gain a single inch of ground and hold it in the trade unions without an intelligent and unrelenting fight against Stalinism. This, to borrow an expression from Grover Cleveland, is a condition, not a theory. Stalinism in the United States has taken on the proportions of a mass movement and has become an evil power of tremendous scope in the trade unions, especially in the more progressive and militant sections. How can any comrade active in the trade union movement conceal this fact from himself? It stares him in the face at every turn. And why should we wish to conceal it? It is necessary to face reality and deal with it. Otherwise we are fumbling in the dark.

Our comrades, with perhaps a few exceptions, understand this very well. Pacifist sentiments toward the Stalinist turncoats and fink-men do not infect our movement very seriously. But what we do not yet understand—and we are all more or less culpable on this score, I think—is how to fight Stalinism most effectively in the light of the new developments and under new conditions. Great changes have taken place in recent years, in our own position and in the position and the composition of the Stalinist Party. It is now generally recognized that the degeneration of the Stalinist Party along the lines of social patriotism has become definitive. There is no longer any attempt to conceal it. The pretended revolutionists of yesterday are down on all fours before the imperialist masters. Browder's taste for shoe leather is like a perverted lust. The main concern of the assorted Browders is to convince the masters of the sincerity of their renegacy.

Fighting Stalinism Today

All this has brought about a change in the position of Stalinism and our relation to it. In days past we had to fight Stalinism for influence over the proletarian vanguard. In the main that chapter is closed. The class-conscious revolutionists (naturally, ex-revolutionists do not belong to this category) have turned away from Stalinism. The new recruits who constitute the overwhelming majority of the present membership and sympathizing circles of the Communist Party are utter strangers to Marxist doctrine. This transformation imposes not a slackening of our fight but different methods of conducting it.

We began our struggle primarily with programmatic criticism addressed to vanguard workers who knew something about the doctrines and traditions of the revolutionary movement. They were capable of interesting themselves in such questions as "the theory of

socialism in one country" and the whole train of theoretical and practical consequences flowing from it. Those who responded to our critical work have constituted the basic cadres of our movement. This was work well done. It was an unavoidable stage in our development, the prerequisite for all that is to follow. It was in essence a factional struggle within the restricted circle of the vanguard.

Our error consists, not in continuing the fight against Stalinism with unabated vigor—that is necessary, more than ever—but in clinging to out-moded methods and types of argument. The average Stalinist worker of the present day finds most of this over his head. What does "socialism in one country" mean to a worker who lacks elementary instruction in the meaning and principles of socialism? What does a deviation from Leninism mean to one who vaguely associates Lenin in his mind with historical figures of bourgeois democracy like Jefferson and Paine? We must find a different, simpler approach to the present day Stalinist worker. We have to take note of the great differences between him and the Stalinist militant of ten and fifteen years ago and address him accordingly. Above all, we must distinguish between deceived workers in the ranks and the conscious scoundrels of the C.P. bureaucracy.

A Basic Distinction for Us

This latter point is all-important for our future success. Without realizing it we have been slipping into the same error we once criticized in the Comintern during the frenzy of the "third period", when Social Democratic leaders and workers were all lumped together indiscriminately.

The composition of the Stalinist movement has been profoundly changed. Much of it is worthless, that is sure. The complete adaptation of Stalinism to bourgeois democracy and patriotism has had the effect of attracting toward it a good-sized horde of petty-bourgeois dilettantes and pseudo-intellectuals who are nothing more than liberals of an especially unattractive variety. But in addition to this trash the C.P. has acquired a strong following of a different kind in the trade unions. Discount all the careerists who are bribed by the C.P. to serve it, and all the stupid ones and weaklings who are terrorized, and there still remains a veritable army of militant but un-schooled and misguided workers who support the Stalinist party and constitute the backbone of its power in the unions. We will begin to make real advances in the mass movement when we learn how to approach these workers and win them over.

They have not come to the C.P., either as members or sympathizers, as the result of a deliberate study of its present program, but in the course of struggle. They have been attracted to Stalinism by a combination of factors—its aggressive methods, its demagoguery, the memory of past militancy, the lack of another strong force articulating their sentiments of discontent, etc. They have not in their hearts joined the C.P. to fight for "democracy". It is not their ambition to maintain the status quo which spells privation and misery for the great bulk of them; but rather, in some way, by collective action to change it. Between these deceived workers and the cynical bureaucracy of Stalinism there is an enormous chasm.

A Deep Contradiction

The contradiction between the leadership and the proletarian sections of the ranks is perhaps deeper in the Stalinist Party than in any workers' organization in history. The more openly the bureaucrats announce their apostasy and confirm it in deeds, the deeper must this contradiction grow. The ranks of the C.P. continually seethe with discontent which is smothered by repressions and expulsions, only to break out afresh. Browder's announcement of a new purge of "spies and wreckers" is eloquent testimony to the internal crisis of the party. This crisis is in its whole essence a reflection of the irreconcilable conflict between the aspirations and desires of the shamefully deceived workers in the ranks and the bureaucrats' cold-blooded and deliberate betrayal of the movement to the imperialist war machine.

Expulsions take place continually. But due, I think, in large part to the ineptness of our work and our lack of a proper approach to the Stalinist workers, too many of them simply fall by the wayside in disillusionment and despair.

We must re-examine this question. We must learn how to appeal to and reason with the former in a friendly and comradely manner and denounce the latter in the tone they deserve as betrayers of their own membership.

We must take thought once again of the tactic of the united front. Did it not serve in its day as the best means of separating workers who aspired to struggle for better things from leaders who sabotaged and betrayed that struggle? Why can it not serve again as a revolutionary weapon against the most corrupt and consciously treacherous clique of leaders the history of the labor movement has ever known, the foul bureaucracy of Stalinism?

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.

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

Attention, Briggs!

It's a wise thing to read the press of the enemy regularly. You often find what he is thinking of and planning.

The *Annalist* is a paper of the financial and industrial bigwigs of the country. In its issue of June 1, 1939, it says:

"The Briggs strike may well prove to be a turning point for the better in automobile labor conditions. Reports from Detroit last week indicate that the motor and motor accessory companies have decided the time has come for a showdown. The manufacturers feel that they have the upper hand for three reasons—namely, the production season is drawing to a close, the unions are fighting each other, and the membership is discouraged. The companies feel, therefore, that the time is ripe for concerted action and they do not propose to throw their opportunity away."

The companies are not asleep. They are preparing to smash the unions—and to smash the none-too-wonderful standard of living of the automobile workers.

Are the automobile workers thinking and planning as far ahead as their labor-hating employers?

They should be. Especially when it is borne in mind that the power of the organized workers in the auto industry is truly invincible. The recent Briggs strike, which the *Annalist* attaches so much importance to, showed that the militancy which made auto workers' struggles so famous, is still there. If it is not held back, if it is not dampened, it is strong enough to beat down the resistance to labor progress offered by the automobile barons.

Prepare for the fight. All indications are that the show-down is coming this fall. Let the auto workers present an iron front of solidarity and aggressiveness which will make the auto lords wish they had never started the fight!

The Silent Mayor

Daniel Webster Hoan is the Mayor of Milwaukee.

Daniel Webster Hoan is also a "socialist"—at least he's a member of Norman Thomas' party. A member of its National Committee, also, and in general, its pride and joy.

The Milwaukee suburb of West Allis has been the scene in the past few days of what the capitalist press calls "labor violence." Labor violence, you understand, consists of police clubbing, shooting and gassing striking workers, in this case, striking automobile workers.

The sheriff of Milwaukee is not a member of the Thomas-Hoan "Socialist Party." He is in charge of the "labor violence"—that is, he gives the orders for the clubbing, shooting and gassing of the strikers who so insouciantly want a better wage and the recognition of their union.

According to the laws of the sovereign State of Wisconsin, we are given to understand, the Mayor of Milwaukee has no control over the Sheriff.

But the laws of Wisconsin say nothing, so far as we have been able to find out, about Mayors being compelled to stuff their mouths with hot potatoes when a strike is going on.

Mayor Hoan, right-wing socialist. Friend of

Labor, nevertheless has his mouth filled with hot potatoes.

He can't talk. That's why a thorough examination of the Milwaukee press during the whole period of brutal police action against the striking auto workers fails to reveal a single word of protest uttered by Mayor Hoan.

As we said, he can't help it. His mouth is full of hot potatoes. But surely that's not the case with EVERY member of the Socialist party.

Friends of the Refugee

While hundreds of desperate Jewish refugees were clamoring in vain for permission to enter Cuba, one of the daily papers of Havana had the following comment to make:

"But we now consider as just, very Cuban and very patriotic the inclination of our people to demand the prohibition of an overflow of immigration, because the wretched condition of our country and the great increase of unemployment cannot stand the addition of new masses of immigrants. It is very correct that the Cubans should demand not only protection and the right to work upon our island but also that there should be rigorous measures taken to prevent workers as well as employers from penetrating into and swallowing up our exhausted sources of production, labor, trade and employment. Hence we have supported and continue to support all expedient measures that are adopted to restrict immigration of any class whatsoever. Basing ourselves on these premises, we understand that the government should close altogether the doors of Cuba to all immigration that may come to Cuba."

Where did this statement appear? In the daily newspaper, *Hoy*, of May 28, 1939.

What is *Hoy*? The daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba, section of the Third International, champion of democracy, freedom, progress, enemy of fascism and friend of the refugee.

Stalin didn't offer the refugees shelter. The Stalinists here didn't call on Roosevelt to offer the refugees shelter.

The Cuban Stalinists merely played "Follow your leader."

Browderite Lies

From April 28 until today, the *Daily Worker*, has referred exactly twice to President Roosevelt's relief budget message to Congress of April 27. The first time was April 28, when under a very modest one-column head, it carried the United Press report on the issuance of the message. Why a U.P. report, when there is a very well-staffed Washington Bureau of the *Daily Worker*? Because, dear reader, that gave the Roosevelt-worshipping Browderites an excuse for making no comment on Roosevelt's relief-slashing proposals.

During the ensuing two months, when the W.P.A. question was the most burning problem confronting the labor movement, the *Daily Worker* never once referred to Roosevelt's April 27 message which, please keep in mind, fixed funds for W.P.A. at \$1,477,000,000, an amount perfectly acceptable to the reactionary House and Senate appropriations committees.

After the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Bill passed the House Saturday by a vote of 372-21—i.e., passed by the united vote of the New Dealers and the "Tories"—the *Daily Worker* correctly described it as a W.P.A.-wrecking measure. BUT called it a "Tory Relief Measure." Only after thorough and diligent search, did we manage to find, in the second section of the June 18 *Daily Worker*, the second reference to Roosevelt's April 27 relief message fixing the amount for W.P.A. The *Daily Worker* says:

"It is also possible to see very clearly now, as the C.I.O. and the Workers Alliance had pointed out all along, that the President and his advisors had made a strategic blunder in asking for only \$1,477,000,000 for W.P.A."

"Of course, the President expects to ask for a deficiency grant later on, but in asking for an inadequate appropriation now the reactionaries got their chance to make a grand show of generosity, by granting the budget estimate for W.P.A. and then concentrating their fire on the structure and set-up of work relief."

The Stalinists lie, and they know they lie. T.E. Taylor pointed out, where that the president had "made a strategic blunder," but on the contrary systematically concealed during these two crucial months that it was the president's own figure. It was not a "strategic blunder," but a deliberate destruction of W.P.A. in order to secure more funds for the president's armament program which the Stalinists also support. To say, "of course the president expects to ask for a deficiency grant later on" is a pure invention of the Stalinists, backed by nothing but their frenzied desire to shield Roosevelt from the hatred of those whom he is starving. Deliberately, cold-bloodedly, calculatedly, they lie and they know they lie.

Trying to Bring Idle Money, Idle Men Together by Mumbo Jumbo

Mead Bill Offers More Credit, But There Is Plenty of Unused Credit Lying Around—"Lending" Instead of "Spending" Scheme Hopeless because Wheels Won't Turn Without Profits

Bewildered by the ever-continuing economic crisis, and dismayed by the effects which the crisis may have on 1940 election prospects, the inner circle of Rooseveltians is now busily engaged in trying to cook up a grandiose scheme which revives the tattered glories of New Dealism. They are using the sessions of the Temporary National Economic Council ("Monopoly Committee") as a medium for developing the "theory" of the scheme, and have already begun the first Congressional steps in carrying it out.

The bright young men attached to the Monopoly Committee, such as Isadore Lubin and Leon Henderson (the latter recently promoted to the Securities Exchange Commission), have suddenly discovered an amazing new truth which they passed on to the President, who used it in a speech delivered a few weeks ago. The trouble with the country, he and behold, is that idle capital and idle men are sitting apart from each other; the way to cure the trouble is to bring idle capital and idle men together again! This is just about as illuminating as to say of a man dying of smallpox that his trouble is being sick and the way to cure him is to make him well again.

LENDING TO AVOID SPENDING

Since private enterprise doesn't seem to be getting very far in bringing about the wedding of idle capital and idle men, the beneficent Federal Government will step in to stimulate the process. The government will institute a gigantic direct and indirect "lending program." Everything will be solved, and at the same time the government can obey the Tories' command to cut

down on the "spending program".

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE SCHEME

However, the supposition that any such measures as these could have any significant effect upon the national economy is just one more fantastic dream of the bright young men. There is no lack of credit in the country. On the contrary, there are billions and billions of dollars of potential credit ready for use at the easiest and most generous terms. The trouble is that, within the straitjacket of declining capitalism, there are no profitable fields of investment for the credit. Making still more credit available, on whatever terms, will not increase a iota the profitable fields of investment, and consequently will not solve any of the underlying difficulties.

At most, the Mead Bill might please a few of the smaller businessmen who are being treated badly by the big banks—and this is perhaps its main purpose. The administration is once again making a drive to enlist the support of "little businesses" and light industry, as shown not merely by the Mead Bill itself but by such events as Roosevelt's flattering speech to the national conference of retailers, where he put forward the utterly absurd theory that the key to prosperity is to be found in the light and consumer goods industries rather than in the capital and heavy goods industries.

The War Deal has definitively replaced the New Deal. And the sporadic efforts to revive the brave young days of New Dealism for 1940 election purposes are all of them destined to the most grotesque and dismal fail-

Equipped with Diplomas, School Graduates Join Lines of Jobless

By TONY CHAPMAN

The vain, heart-breaking search for a job in a land that already has thirteen million jobless men and women, many of them young people, is today on the curriculum for hundreds of thousands of young graduates leaving school.

Leaving his cloistered, ivy-laden collegiate or high school sanctuary and armed with nothing more substantial than a beautifully engraved sheepskin, attesting to his proficiency in the arts and sciences, the young graduate has before him the sole prospect of integrating himself, not in business, in the professions or in industry, but in the ranks of the unemployed. That is the fact, illustrated by the history of previous graduating classes since 1929.

But the young graduate, hopeful and ready to make a place for himself, the pride of his parents who have sacrificed so much to send him through school, is this month also the victim of soothing lies. Teachers and preachers, pedagogues and demagogues, magnates and mountebanks are in season, going about the dirty business of building in the minds of these young people a host of impossible illusions. Just listen to some of them at the commencement exercises!

THE WISE MEN SPEAK TO YOUTH

George Barton Cutten, president of Colgate University, on June 11 told 220 seniors: "The world is still holding its crown of olives before the young men. Don't you see them and can't you discover the roads that lead to them?" Not olive leaves, G.B.C., but olive oil!

Speaking at the University of New Hampshire commencement, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, of not unknown pedigree: "We cannot retire from the crowd and let the next fellow bear the burden." What, pray, is Mr. Rockefeller's burden? He never worked a day in his expensive life, except when he perspired rubbing down a polo pony.

At Union College in Schenectady, Walter S. Gifford told the graduating class: "It is the lack of material well-being which is the cause of most of the wars, the revolutions and the unrest within nations." You said it, Mr. Gifford. When are you, as president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, going to permit your employees to join unions and

and his kennels and stables.

Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase, chancellor of New York University, told 4,636 graduates: "We must accept the disciplines of democracy as well as its freedoms." One of the forthcoming disciplines of American democracy, Mr. Chase might have mentioned, is discipline in Uncle Sam's uniform.

Edwin Arden Jewel, art critic for the *New York Times*, told the graduating class at Yale University's School of Fine Arts, "The artist is being lifted out of the relatively small luxury class." And being dumped into the ranks of the unemployed, as witness the Congressional elimination of the Federal theatre and other art projects.

AN HONEST ADDRESS AT COMMENCEMENT

It is high time the sugar ceased to flow. It is high time also that an honest man was permitted to address a graduating class. Imagine the spectacle of an unemployed worker arising to address the class of '39!

Standing beneath a violet trimmed white marquee and flanked on both sides by the carefully preserved wives of the University's Board of Directors, our unemployed worker might begin with the story of the Apple Days of 1930-1932, of the Hunger Marches to Washington and the Anacostia massacre of the promised Halcyon days with Roosevelt and his abrogation of the promise; of 23 millions of men and women and their children, cold and hungry, underfed and unclothed, the victims of Roosevelt's relief-slashes, the victims as well of sixty Bourbon families for whose profits these millions go ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed. Our unemployed worker in his commencement address would tell how workers in the reign of Roosevelt were shot down at the gates of factories when all they demanded was union recognition.

Our unemployed worker would end with a message of hope to the graduates. He would tell them that they will find security only when they are ready to fight for their needs, when they are ready to unite with employed and unemployed workers alike in the coming struggles for a job and a decent living for everybody. Anything else said on commencement day during these times is a lie and a fraud.

Their Government
 By James Burnham

According to the provisions of the Constitution, it is the function exclusively of the legislative arm of the Federal government—that is, of Congress—to appropriate money. The executive arm of the government—that is, the President and his subordinates—has charge of spending the money, but cannot appropriate it. It is part of the Constitutional task of the executive, however, to prepare and submit to Congress the governmental budget, which includes the proposals of the executive for appropriations. From a Constitutional point of view, Congress may vote the budget as submitted, or may modify it in any way it chooses. The budget is calculated on the basis of a "fiscal year" beginning July 1st of each calendar year and ending June 30th of the subsequent calendar year.

About two months ago, President Roosevelt, in a special message, submitted to Congress his proposed total Federal relief budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1st, 1939. It is absolutely essential that every worker, especially every unemployed worker, should understand that this relief budget was the product solely of Roosevelt and his appointed subordinates in the executive branch of the government. Congress had nothing whatever to do with it. Congress does not enter into the picture until after the budget is proposed. For everything in, or out of, the original budget, Roosevelt and Roosevelt alone is responsible.

Who Leads the Drive Against the Unemployed?

In his relief budget, Roosevelt proposed a total relief appropriation for the year beginning July 1st of \$1,760,000,000. About \$300,000,000 of this was to go to comparatively minor, though important, undertakings such as NYA. For the major and decisive federal relief activity, W.P.A., Roosevelt proposed exactly \$1,477,000,000. Remember: this is Roosevelt's figure, not the figure of Congress.

This sum, proposed by Roosevelt, is more than \$800,000,000 less than W.P.A. was allotted during the fiscal year now ending. It permits a maximum average of around 2,000,000 on W.P.A. rolls during the next year, as against an average of around 3,000,000 during the current year.

There is now going on in Congress a complicated fight over the relief bill. Some of the issues in this fight are of considerable significance to the unemployed—chief among them, perhaps, provisions that would automatically drop anyone who had been on the rolls continuously for eighteen months or more and anyone who had "subversive ideas" about the government—but most of them are trivial.

There is no important fight at all on the point which is so basic that it completely overshadows all the rest: on the size of the W.P.A. appropriation.

In the House of Representatives, not one single member, either in committee or on the floor, has proposed the cut of a single dollar in the President's figure.

How can this be? What has happened to the "champions of economy"? to the bitter enemies of the President, to all the Tories and right-wingers? The answer is simple: the President took the leadership in the drive against the unemployed. He proposed a cut in W.P.A. far more drastic than any of his so-called Tory opponents would have dared to propose. He took their breath away. With such a slash already contained in Roosevelt's budget, there was, on the basic question, nothing further for even the bitterest reactionary to suggest.

How Can the Unemployed Fight?

What I have explained is so simple that a small child can understand it. It is not an "interpretation" or "guess" on my part; it is a clear direct fact. No one has to take my word for it. It is part of the public record.

But open and simple as this truth is, it is being deliberately hidden from the workers of this country. It is being hidden by the Stalinists and by the labor officialdoms. They hide it because in their politics they are committed to support of Roosevelt. They must therefore lie to the workers, attempt to make the workers believe that not Roosevelt but Congress or Republicans or "conservative Democrats" are alone responsible for the drive against the unemployed, and that Roosevelt is the friend of the unemployed.

No lie could be baser, more treacherous. Not only does this lie hide a truth which every worker has a right and duty to know. This lie prevents the unemployed from struggling against the relief cuts. It is because the workers still believe this lie that there has been up to the present no effective struggle against the cuts; and there will not be until the workers stop believing the lie.

You cannot fight against the cuts when you put your reliance on the man who is chiefly responsible for making them, who is the leader in proposing them and carrying them through. Isn't that the most obvious common sense?

The unemployed have lost the first big round. By all signs, the W.P.A. slash is going through at Roosevelt's figure. It would have been another story if there had been a widespread, militant, mass-action fight by the unemployed. Roosevelt and Congress are in the last analysis contemptible cowards; they dare to put through the slash only because they do not have to face real resistance.

But the matter will not be closed when the bill is signed. A Roosevelt cut has the same effect on the food supply of the unemployed as a Tory cut. You can't eat pink slips, even when they are signed by Roosevelt's administrators.

What of the next round? Will the lie of Browder and Lewis continue to strangle the unemployed? Or are the unemployed ready to cast off that lie, once and for all?

Cordell Hull writes to Senator Pittman regarding the war danger: "Our purpose must be, at all times, to endeavor to foster that state of relations among nations which will maintain the fabric of world peace. In pursuance of that aim we have done, and must do, everything possible within the limits of our traditional policy of non-involvement in overseas affairs." That tradition died one death at Tripoli in 1804; another in Japan in 1854; another at Manila in 1898; another in China in 1900; still another in France in 1917. That policy is as dead as your memory, Mr. Dodo Hull.

CULTURE NOTE: One of Dorothy Lamour's sarongs is in the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, along with Charley Chaplin's shoes and some of Mary Pickford's curls.

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