

FATHER COUGHLIN--THE AGENT OF FASCISM IN AMERICA

He Is Spreading the Poisonous Doctrines Of Hitler, Mussolini

"Practically all the sixteen principles of Social Justice are being put into practise in Italy and Germany."
—FATHER COUGHLIN

Father Charles E. Coughlin aspires to be the Adolph Hitler of the United States. He acts as Number One propagandist in this country for Der Fuehrer of Germany and Il Duce of Italy.

In nation-wide Sunday afternoon broadcasts, in his magazine "Social Justice" (for which he claims a distribution of hundreds of thousands weekly), and through other propaganda mediums, the prelate of the Shrine of the Little Flower seeks to poison the minds of his listeners and readers and to fill them with the prejudices of fascism. He poses as a champion of true Americanism and as a believer in justice for all, but this is merely the cloak under cover of which he disseminates his vicious fascist doctrines.

Of late Coughlin's followers, in New York particularly, have become bolder. Gangs of these duped innocents—many of whom are honest Catholic workers—are descending regularly on Times Square and other central points to peddle the malodorous lies collected in "Social Justice." These hawkers bellow forth their anti-Semitism at the top of their lungs. Coughlin urges his friends elsewhere to duplicate the actions of these New Yorkers. Significantly he likens them to a "mighty army."

These Catholic workers do not understand that by peddling this filth against other workers who happen to be Jews they are effectively digging their own graves; for the Catholics, too, in this country constitute a minority. As in Germany, when and if the fascist leader finishes off the Jews, he'll start in on the Catholics. Fascism needs an ever-widening circle of hapless victims to maintain the fiction of its prestige. First the workers and the Jews — and then the Catholics.



FATHER COUGHLIN

Supports Fascist Wars

Father Coughlin pretends to be a lover of peace, but his peace propaganda is nothing but a gigantic fraud. He hopes thereby to make capital out of the widespread isolationist sentiment. Actually, however, Coughlin pays lip-service to peace only to serve his own selfish aims or those of his fellow-fascists, Hitler and Mussolini.

He has defended and continues to defend Nazi and fascist aggression wherever it occurs. Hitler and Mussolini's strong-arm bullying and "little" wars are the kind of "peace" that Coughlin wants. He approves Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia and of Menel. He applauds Mussolini's grab of Albania. He sides with the fascist Franco in Spain and his endless executions of workers and peasants. He endorses Hitler's war-like statements. And he sympathizes with the ruthless, brutal war that Japan's militarists have unleashed in China.

Father Coughlin makes Hitler's anti-Semitism his own. By constant repetition of lies and distortion of facts, he spreads his race hatred. He and his followers carry on a malicious campaign of vilification and vituperation against Jews.

Father Coughlin seeks to disfranchise the workers and force them to toil under conditions of slavery. His attack on labor now is disguised as an attack on Communists and radicals. But to Father Coughlin any militant worker is a "red," and he seeks to incite his followers to club all militant workers into submission to the bosses. He also engages in attacks, still somewhat indirect and sly, on workers' salaries and the shorter work-week. Talking about France, for instance, he says that the 45-hour week is preferable to the 40-hour week because "work is the source of production and real wealth and not idles and leisure." When he thinks the conditions are ripe he will endorse the same anti-labor program for this country.

Does Bosses' Dirty Work

Father Coughlin endorses reactionary legislation and condemns progressive legislation. Among other things, he advocates the changes in the Wagner Act which would benefit the bosses and prevent the growth of the labor movement. He opposes the right of asylum for the refugees driven out of Hitler's hell.

Father Coughlin calls for a sham "revolution." When he says this he is telling an obvious lie, and a conscious lie. He is trying in this way to befuddle the worker, the youth and the unemployed who are beginning to understand that only through a social revolution is there hope of a decent life. By "revolution" he means what Hitler's "Nazi revolution" meant; an end of all social reforms, an end of democratic rule, an end of workers' rights, an end of all freedom and all liberty. Coughlin would install a government under which workers will be unable to voice and defend their just demands—a corporative state modeled after that now existing in fascist Italy.

(Continued on Page 3)

Socialist Appeal

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

VOL. III, NO. 35

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1939

BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

3c a Copy

'SHOOT TO KILL'—HARLAN

It's Happening Here!



National Guard Launches Wave Of Terror to Break Mine Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

HARLAN, Ky.—Tension rose to a near breaking point this week in Bloody Harlan as the National Guard strike-breakers launched a wave of terror in an effort to break the countless courage and solidarity of the 12,000 coal miners on strike.

"Shoot to kill" the National Guard commander ordered his soldiers, trying to intimidate the thousands of strikers who are maintaining roaming picket lines despite the National Guard.

Stalinists Sabotage Flint Jobless Action

Militant Unemployed Union Continues Its "Death Watch" before City Welfare Office — Thousands Face Starvation in Fund Cut

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FLINT, Mich., May 15.—The "Death Watch" initiated two weeks ago by the Unemployed and W.P.A. Union, C.I.O. affiliate, has been maintained across the street from the Flint welfare offices. The relief crisis is so acute that the local press has described it as "the most serious crisis the city has faced since the 1937 sit-downs."

But the fight of the unemployed for relief has met with a deliberate policy of inaction on the part of C.I.O. and Communist Party officials. Faced with the tremendous enthusiasm that the unemployed auxiliary's action evoked, the C.I.O. leaders went along for a while, giving the militant campaign formal sanction. But not so the die-hards of the Communist Party, who immediately went to work to destroy the fighting spirit of the unemployed.

PICKETS ASK ACTION ON RELIEF NEEDS

Demand Jobs, Meals For Needy in Action Led by U.P.W.U.

(By Staff Writer)

NEW YORK.—More than six hundred members of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union maintained a continuous 36-hour picket line on Monday and Tuesday at City Hall in protest against the relief chiseling policies of Mayor LaGuardia's City Council.

This is the first action of its kind to be held in New York City in several years. The present members of the U.P.W.U. broke from the Workers Alliance because of its failure to demand jobs, meals and relief for the needy.

(Continued on Page 2)

Election of Ta-thu-Thau Is Blow at French Imperialism

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PARIS, May 8.—Despite every obstacle put in their way, comrades Ta-thu-Thau and Tran-van-Trach were elected to the Colonial Council of Indo-China on April 30. The election of these valiant revolutionists who ran as candidates of the Fourth International was greeted by the workers of Saigon, capital of Indo-China, with an enthusiasm that terrified the colonial slavemasters and their Stalinist lackeys.

The French Governor General so feared these two revolutionists that he tried to keep their names off the ballot. M. Mandel, French Minister of Colonies, was however compelled to rescind the order of the Governor-General.

Ta-thu-Thau was only recently released from the dungeons of French imperialism in which he had spent two years for his devotion to the revolution. Leaving jail broken in health and semi-paralyzed, comrade Ta-thu-Thau nevertheless immediately plunged again into the work of the movement. His election with comrade Tran-van-Trach is an eloquent testimony to the activities of the Fourth International in Indo-China, as well as an indication of the mounting colonial resentment against French imperialist oppression.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PARIS, May 8.—French imperialism, and its Stalinist support, was delivered a telling blow in the recent elections to the General Council of Algeria. Douar Mohammed, candidate of the Party of Algerian People—a national independence party fraternally connected with the Internationalist Workers Party (Fourth International) and the Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants in France—was elected on the second ballot with 4,488 votes against 4,182 cast for the administration candidate.

Douar Mohammed won his electoral victory despite the fact that Messali and almost all the other leaders of the Party of Algerian People are in prison. Or the first ballot, Douar Mohammed led with 3,277 votes against 2,700 for Zerrouk, French administration candidate, and 400 for the Stalinist candidate—this after Maurice Thorez, Stalinist chieftain in France, had made a tour of Algeria to try to work up in the Algerians an enthusiasm for their imperialist masters and their war plans.

The workers and peasants of Algeria who cast their ballot for Mohammed made it clear that henceforth they will trust only their own revolutionary and national independence parties.

Desperate Move Threat of the National Guard to stop all picketing — which they haven't dared attempt yet — and to outlaw union meetings, was made Thursday, bringing the crisis to a boiling point.

The terroristic methods of the Guardsmen are the companies' last desperate move to avoid defeat. Despite the protection of the Guardsmen, only a few hundred scabs have dared to work.

The signing of United Mine Worker contracts with nearby operators this week broke the united front of the Kentucky employers and left the Harlan operators standing alone. Business of the Harlan operators was reported to be going to other companies and the frenzied actions of the operators through the National Guard have followed.

"Hands Off" Policy President Roosevelt's blank refusal to recognize the strikers' plea for federal action to stop the National Guard, shocked the C.I.O. movement nationally.

Roosevelt's "Hands Off" attitude was a signal to the Governor, the operators and the National Guard that the federal government was not going to prevent strike-breaking moves. All the threats, violent orders, and violation of civil rights followed the cynical statement of Roosevelt who said he had not received the plea of the U.M.W.A. leaders.

The feeling of the strikers was described by a United Press correspondent as "fantastical." As each hour passed with the provocative soldiers marching around, the entire population became more incensed.

Full financial support of the U.M.W.A. and the C.I.O. assured the strikers of ample relief funds to carry them through a long battle.

The strikers are beginning to see the bitter irony of the situation created by the betrayal in office of all the politicians whom the C.I.O. urged them to support. Elected yesterday by labor, today they are stabbing it in the back.

Notice

All members of the Y.P.S.L. and S.W.P. Local New York, are instructed to attend a very important membership meeting, Wednesday, May 31, at Beethoven Hall, 5th Street, between 2nd and 3rd Avenues.

POWERS PLAN WAR-TIME DICTATORSHIPS

By HAROLD ROBERTS

While the press, the radio and the movies, here, in France and in England are grinding out their propaganda about the coming conflict "between democracy and fascism," the so-called democratic countries are quietly preparing to clamp down dictatorships no less rigid and vicious than those which already exist in Germany and Italy.

In England, according to a special dispatch to the New York Post last week, only a favorable moment is being awaited to announce the creation of a Ministry of Press and Propaganda identical in aim and methods to the Goebbels ministry.

(Continued on Page 3)

Akron S.W.P. Rally Defies Labor-Haters

By PAUL FIELDING

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, O., May 18.—Several hundred persons attended an emergency rally here last night called by the Socialist Workers Party and Young People's Socialist League to protest the "Americanism Day" meeting, proclaimed by Mayor Lee I. Sobroy and the American Legion.

The emergency rally was also held to protest the Mayor's banning of S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. pickets at the Legion meeting at which ex-Congressman Harold G. Mosier, former member of the Dies Committee, spoke.

The emergency rally was attended by many more persons than the Legion flag-waving spectacle. Many left the latter to attend the S.W.P.-Y.P.S.L. meeting.

This was the first time in the history of the labor movement in the Great Lakes area that the American Legion top leadership has been challenged on political grounds.

To the professional patri-

otism of the Legion ruling bureaucrats were counterposed the transitional demands of the Socialist Workers Party.

Ranged around the speakers' stand, which was lighted by red flares were giant placards: "All War Funds to the Unemployed," "Open Idle Factories," "Jobs Not Guns," "Join the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L.," and "You Can't Eat Americanism." Another slogan raised was "Mosier makes a living waving the flag, but 12,000,000 unemployed can't."

Many rank and file Legionnaires and veterans attended the protest rally, and several were vigorous in their denunciation of the Legion's politics.

"You couldn't get me to their meeting for love or money, and my whole Post feels the same way," one veteran declared.

Following a conference of S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. representatives with the mayor, chief of police, police prosecutor and a Legion official, the proposed picketing of the Legion meeting was called off.

"We were given the unmistakable impression that our pickets would be forcefully suppressed. Faced with the threat of mass arrests, brutal attacks and overwhelming numbers against which we alone would be unable to defend ourselves at this time, we have withdrawn our pickets," a party-Yipsel statement, issued immediately afterwards, stated. Instead, the protest meeting was arranged nearby.

Another main slogan raised at the protest rally was the demand for a national day of mourning for the victims of the strike.

(Continued on Page 2)

Zionist Policy Played Into Hands of Great Britain

By FELIX MORROW

The British White Paper of May 17 has been met by world wide protests not only from Zionists and other Jews, but also by important spokesmen from other groups, including William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

The White Paper unequivocally enunciates a policy which is a death-blow to Zionism. Jewish immigration into Palestine is virtually ended and this is further buttressed by the declaration of the British Government "that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State."

Before anyone can understand the Palestine question, however, he must first understand that the White Paper is not a bolt out of the blue, is not a reversal of former British policy, but is merely the culmination of a consistent British policy since the Palestine question arose in 1917.

That policy was a compound of lies and deceit from the first. During the World War British representatives simultaneously carried on negotiations with both Jewish and Arab spokesmen, and made mutually con-

(Continued on Page 4)

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

AKRON, Ohio—The current issue of the Summit County Labor News gives a succinct picture of the latest developments in the labor movement here which reveal the great changes that have taken place since the hey-day of the C.I.O.

"Two incidents happened last week which brought a jolt to Akron residents. One was the announcement of the Goodrich Company that it would build a plant for making rubber soles and heels, in Clarksville, Tenn. The other was the brutal attack upon a picket line at the Loewenthal Rubber Co. by Akron police.

"The background of the strike of the Loewenthal workers is one which is only too common. Back in January, 1938 the company pleaded with its workers that it needed a wage reduction in order to stay in business. It said that as soon as a 90-day emergency was over the wage cut would be restored. It said that if the wage cut were accepted, all workers would be kept on the payroll.

"The workers believed the company. They trusted to its sense of honesty and fairness. They accepted a wage reduction. Two weeks later 30 men were laid off, and when the 90-day emergency period was up, the company forgot to restore the wage cut. The workers went along arguing and discussing the matter with company representatives and always they were put off.

"Finally, last week-end they decided they had taken the cut long enough. They felt that their confidence and trust had been betrayed. They went on strike.

"Law and Order"

"The company wanted to move out some finished orders. The pickets picketed the railroad tracks. The train crews refused to run the pickets down. The Akron police appeared on the scene. They surrounded the pickets.

"They told the pickets to move on. The pickets moved slowly. Too slowly to suit the police. Without warning, they attacked the picket line—wielding clubs and revolver butts. "A one-armed man who lost his arm in the course of his work at Loewenthal was clubbed into insensibility. The president of the union, Steve Ozimek, was apparently singled out for attention, because three policemen made for him, surrounded him, and pounded his head and shoulders with clubs and a revolver butt. When he fell to the ground he was kicked and beaten yet more."

"On the question of the decentralization of Goodrich with its threat to the U.R.W.A., the Summit County Labor News quotes L. L. Callahan, president of the Goodrich Local, which fought and won a battle against a proposed wage cut last spring.

"The B. F. Goodrich company has developed from a small shop, valued at a few thousand, to a great corporation with assets now totaling some 147 million dollars. All of this has been brought about in a span of some sixty odd years. The brawn and muscle of the people of the Akron area are primarily responsible for this company's phenomenal success.

Profits vs. Wages

"The company cleared more than \$2,000,000 profit last year, despite the fact that many other companies lost their holdings in the same period. Certainly labor did not benefit greatly through this period even though they were able to maintain their hourly wages. Indeed the India Rubber Works says of the Akron factories: "Reduced labor cost per dollar value output and recent increase in tire prices... contribute to a substantial improvement in earnings compared with 1939." The Wall Street Journal also recently reported that labor costs at Akron rubber factories declined last year.

Callahan blasted away at the Akron Beacon-Journal which printed an editorial blaming labor for the decentralization proposal of Goodrich. Counteracting this propaganda is a major task of the C.I.O. movement here.

And the problem of the unceasing police terror against all picket lines becomes more acute daily.

Political Resolution for Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party

DRAFT SUBMITTED FOR DISCUSSION TO PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND CONVENTION DELEGATES BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The Perspective of United States Imperialism

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

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

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

The Struggle Against the War

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. These democratic rights are indispensable to the very existence of organized labor, both in the struggle against the war and in

the fight for jobs and food. The end term of the present series of attacks, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, is the total wiping out of labor's rights through a war-time military dictatorship or through outright fascism. We must understand and explain the present attacks in this sense.

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

The Fight for Jobs

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

13. The older program of "immediate demands" and restrained and legalistic methods of fighting for them are no longer adequate to rouse the masses to struggle or to make any headway against the onslaught of social and economic reaction. We must be bold, open and resolute in advancing the broad and positive slogans of our "transitional program": a job and a decent living for every

Notice to Members

TO MEMBERS AND BRANCHES OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY: Dear Comrades:

The Political Committee herewith submits for the consideration and discussion of all party members its draft of the main political resolution of our forthcoming Anti-War Convention, which will be held in New York City, July 1 to 5, 1939.

As provided by our party constitution, the period between now and the convention is one of free discussion. Branch and membership discussion meetings should be organized. Discussion articles or resolutions setting forth different points of view should be submitted for publication either in the party press or in the party internal bulletin. Other convention documents prepared by the Political Committee will be published in an early issue of the Socialist Appeal.

The convention agenda, approved by the National Committee, is as follows:

1. United States political perspectives in the light of the war crisis, and the corresponding tasks of the party.
2. The preparations of the party for war.
3. The war crisis and the work in trade unions and unemployed organizations.
4. The struggle against fascism and the Workers Defense Guard.
5. The war and the Fourth International.
6. The organizational report.
7. Youth report.
8. Anti-War Manifesto.
9. Committee reports: (a) Resolutions committee; (b) Constitution committee; (c) Other committees.
10. Election of the National Committee.

Fraternally,
James P. Cannon,
National Secretary

worker; the opening of idle factories under workers' control; the 30 hour week and \$30 minimum weekly wage; \$20,000,000,000 public works program; expropriation of the Sixty Families; etc.

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

The Communist Party

15. The Communist Party must occupy a central place in the propaganda and general activities of the party in the coming period.

The total of all other opponent organizations—Social Democratic Federation, Socialist Party, Lovestonites, etc.—does not add up to a small fraction of the importance of the Communist Party. Insufficient attention to the Communist Party, almost equal attention to other opponent groups, have been one of the most serious weaknesses in the work of the party during the past year. The Communist Party is far and away the greatest obstacle in this country to the building of the revolutionary movement.

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

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

The Struggle Against Fascism

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

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

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

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

workers now ready to participate, initiating nuclei of the anti-fascist defense guard, functioning as independent, organized, disciplined and active institutions.

The Labor Party

22. During the past year, the sentiment among the workers for a Labor Party has remained inert, held back by Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists. Any extended general campaign on our part around the labor party slogan would have been on the whole academic, and our agitation on this issue has been largely, and correctly, confined to specific and local situations where it was relevant. Nevertheless, the organized intervention of labor in politics has continued and in some respects increased during this same year. The collapse of the New Deal and its transformation into the War Deal, the wave of social reaction, the more openly reactionary character of the Roosevelt administration, the approach of the 1940 elections, are all raising or beginning to raise once more in the minds of the workers questions about political action. So untenable is worn-out New Dealism becoming that even Lewis and the Stalinists have in recent weeks been compelled to make certain criticisms of Roosevelt. It is hardly conceivable that the disillusionment of the workers with Roosevelt can in the main take the form of a swing back to Republicanism; and in any case it would be disastrous if this were permitted to happen. The slogan for a labor party, properly developed in connection with the other aspects of our program, can play a significant role in directing the disillusionment with Roosevelt and the dead New Deal into the sole progressive direction—toward independent political activity by the working class. We must be ready to utilize every concrete situation as it arises for propaganda and action in this direction.

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

The Prospects for the Party

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

25. While the factors that have led to this feeling cannot be denied, the inference drawn is by no means necessarily correct, and other equally important national and international conditions point to a contrary conclusion. The war is approaching, but the masses, in the United States as in most other nations, are not in favor of the war, and have not succumbed to a blatant war chauvinism. They are on the whole against the war, however incompletely they understand the implications of their opposition. As the only party which fights the war, there is every objective foundation for the growth, even the rapid growth, of the party as the organization concretely embodying the anti-war sentiments of the masses. Again, there is no revolutionary opposition to the party, hardly the pretense of any; and consequently every serious feeling or thought directed against the present order of war and tyranny and starvation can find genuine outlet only in the ranks and actions of our party. Again, the masses want to fight fascism and its growth at home; and only our party has proposed or attempted to carry out a serious fight against fascism. Finally, the end of the New Deal once again poses sharply before the workers the problems of political action; and here also our party alone gives answer.

26. It is entirely possible that the coming period will be one of rapid growth for the party. It is certain that if we do not have this as our perspective, if we decide in advance that growth is impossible, then stagnation is assured. But our problem and aim is not to retreat, but to advance and to gain. The party has never taken recruiting seriously; it has always allowed new members to drop like ripe fruit into the ranks of the party, after suitable and lengthy fertilizing by our ideas and theories. To assure the success of the party in the next months we must radically alter this attitude: we must become crusaders and recruit agents, not at all satisfied with a formal correct program, but resolved that this program will become the program of masses of workers. Habit and routine dictate caution and reserve. The future of the party and the needs of the American revolution demand audacity and a bold offensive.

AKRON S.W.P. RALLY DEFIES LABOR HATERS

(Continued from Page 1) cessity of workers' defense guards.

A squad of policemen with reserves in cruising police cars surrounded the Legion meeting. Threats from a few Legion die-hards to "clean up on the reds" failed to materialize when they saw the large attendance at the emergency rally. Instead they rounded up ap-

proximately 75 misguided youths who attempted to break up the meeting. These youths were led by Roscoe Albaugh, a Board of Education employee.

Police stood idly by while the youths tried to rush the speakers' stand, throw rocks and down out the speakers with boos and cat-calls.

Quick action by the party and Yipsel defense squad prevented any serious disturbance. Leaflets announcing the emergency rally were distributed throughout the factory and downtown sections of the city.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

PITCH YOUR TENT at Camp Seven Oaks—Red Bank, N.J. Swimming Pool, Tennis, Plumbing, \$20 and we equip your tent. Complete kitchen facilities. H. Katz, 58 E. 4th St., New York City.

SPRING FEVER DANCE. Exhibition Dancing, Impersonations and Singing. Saturday, May 20, Astoria Branch, 28 40 31st St., Astoria. (IRT or BMT to Grand Ave.)

ATTENTION! ALL AGENTS OF NEW INTERNATIONAL

Whether the New International will appear regularly in the future is for the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. units to decide now. Many locals have fallen in arrears, thus jeopardizing the very issuance of the magazine itself. Agents must make efforts to pay up their bundle bills forthwith.

The June number of the New International will be out early, in an effort to catch up on the regular date-line for publication of the magazine. Delinquent accounts will not receive their bundles of the magazine. At this time notice is given especially to the following Locals to pay on their bill, or the June issue cannot be sent them:

San Francisco: Bundle already discontinued with May issue for non-payment of bills.

Oakland, Cal.: Non-payment of bills for several months.

Downtown Branch, New York: Slow in paying bills, although among largest branches in country.

Louisville, Ky.: Slowness in payments.

Seattle, Wash.: Non-payment of bills; already discontinued with May issue; unemployment a factor.

South Bend, Ind.: Office not able longer to subsidize.

Portland, Ore.: Non-payment of bills; already discontinued with May issue.

San Diego, Cal.: Non-payment of bills; small unit.

Other cities are in danger of similar action unless payments are speeded up. Mention of names is herein omitted with expectation that those cities will respond before June issue goes to press. The management wishes to say that the above measures are taken only as a last measure to ensure the issuance of the New International. However, this is a two-edged sword, since a needless loss of circulation is thereby incurred, with a consequent lessening of revenue. The proper and only solution is for the agents to proceed to pay up their bills.

N. Y. PICKETS ASK ACTION ON RELIEF NEEDS

(Continued from Page 1) conduct any militant actions against the Wall Street politicians who control the City Council and its leader LaGuardia.

Three divisions of the U.P. W.U. were present at the demonstration. The W.P.A. section demanded that LaGuardia immediately go to Washington, D.C. to demand the re-employment of all W.P.A. workers recently cut from the rolls, and that city funds be used to restore these jobs until Washington makes the necessary appropriations.

The local homeless division of the U.P.W.U. demanded an immediate restoration of three meals a day to all homeless unemployed. LaGuardia recently cut them down to two meals a day. They also demanded that they be taken out of the "flop houses" and be transferred to full relief.

The unemployed section, whose members are threatened with voucher relief through the new procedure now being tested in Rochester, to give stamps instead of money to the unemployed, voiced their protest. They also demanded that summer ice be given to all home relief clients immediately. LaGuardia's practice has been to give ice only to families who have small children. Other demands consisted of decent burials in family lots, more clothing, increases in the food allowance, and the issuance of emergency relief within 24 hours instead of the present practice of stalling for weeks.

The City Council meeting on the Tuesday of the Union's demonstration was opened with the blessings of a Catholic priest. His sermon consisted of an admonition to the City Council: "May the Good Lord preserve and protect the City Council from the domination of pressure groups." He evidently referred to the unemployed who were demonstrating against their miserable conditions.

While the action of the U.P. W.U. was directed at the right place, the effectiveness of the action was greatly diminished because the original decision of the union's action committee to organize a sit-down strike was not carried out. The failure to carry out the decision rests on the shoulders of the steering committee controlled by Rourke and Whitmore, members of Thomas's Socialist Party.

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Time Marches On!

"Socialism and jingoism seem to mix very well in England. During the last general election, one of the biggest guns on the Tory side was the German war-scare blatherer, written for the Daily Mail by Robert Blatchford, who is easily at the head of Socialist Journalism in Great Britain. More recently, the big-brother cry has been raised by that veteran leader of uncompromising British socialism, H. M. Hyndman. The aristocratic Morning Post is the medium in this case.

"Socialist Hyndman is explicit. In the first place, England must have a Navy in order to safeguard her food supply. In the second place, she must have a Navy to safeguard the right of asylum for political refugees from other countries. In the third place, England has in her charge the liberties of the smaller nations who look to her as their protector. Finally, England must be in a position to defend her own freedom. For these reasons, Socialist Hyndman is at one with those Tories who want a special loan for warship building, which is strange company, indeed, for the best-known English advocate of international socialism."

C.I.O. and W.P.A.

When President Roosevelt several weeks ago asked Congress to reduce the W.P.A. rolls from 3,000,000 to 2,000,000, a deep silence spread over a large part of the labor and left wing press. Had anyone dropped a pin in the editorial offices of *The Daily Worker*, the echoes would have been deafening. Nor did *The New Leader* consider the episode worthy of any major headlines. This is perhaps hardly strange, considering the political commitments to the New Deal of such groups. But John L. Lewis and his C.I.O. have less definite commitments and a more immediate interest in a big W.P.A. appropriation. And yet *The C.I.O. News* was as silent as *The Daily Worker* on the subject of the President's message. Reading the News, indeed, one would not even know that the President had sent the message to Congress at all. The paper has a regular department called, apparently without irony, "YOUR W.P.A. JOB." The week the President's message appeared, this department was entirely devoted to a description of the beauties of a new plan for reorganizing relief activities which had just come out of the White House—but not a word on the one-third cut which had also just come out of the White House. Elsewhere in the same issue, the News had an indignant story about the pending W.P.A. cuts. This stated that 200,000 workers were about to lose their jobs "as a result of the cut in W.P.A. funds engineered by Congressional Tories"—but, again, not a word about the 1,000,000 W.P.A.ers the President had just proposed to cut off the rolls.

I had almost lost my faith in *The C.I.O. News* when, in the issue of May 15, it finally came out boldly against cutting W.P.A. to

2,000,000. On the front page was a big headline: "LEWIS URGES W.P.A. JOBS FOR THREE MILLION." The "YOUR W.P.A. JOB" column begins: "The C.I.O. has fired the opening gun in its national campaign to make the W.P.A. adequately serve the needs of the unemployed during the next fiscal year." This opening gun is a letter from the pen of John L. Lewis himself protesting against any cut in next year's W.P.A. appropriation and giving in bold and stirring language a number of excellent reasons why the 3,000,000 figure must be kept as a minimum. (really splendid letter!) But Mr. Lewis's secretary must have gotten the address wrong. It is addressed not to "The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, The White House," but to "The Hon. Edward Taylor, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, House of Representatives."

Mountain Labors, Bears Mouse (Dead)

At long last the group of intellectuals of which Professor Sidney Hook is the leading spirit has made its public debut. The group began in a small way last fall as "The League Against Totalitarianism." It has been gathering recruits ever since, and now it comes out in the *N. Y. Times* as "The Committee for Cultural Freedom" with a ringing denunciation of all tyranny and despotism wherever it may rear its ugly head, whether in Fascist Italy and Germany or in Soviet Russia. Politics makes strange bedfellows, and anti-totalitarian, bourgeois liberal politics makes the strangest of all. Among the ninety-six members of the Committee are such mates as Walter Damsch and John Dos Passos, Louis Adamic and Henry Hazlitt, Sherwood Anderson and Willi Schlamm, James Rorty and Dorothy Thompson. I hesitate to quibble over a document signed by so many eminent names, and it seems odd that one should have to bring the point to the attention of so justly renowned a Marxist as Sidney Hook, but it seems to me that there are only two social bases from which one can fight totalitarianism, whether Red or Black, namely: the workers or the bourgeoisie. The Committee's manifesto is silent on the question of socialism and social revolution. And so it plays the game of the bourgeoisie, and its denunciation of Stalinism takes on a reactionary character. As I recall the Honorable Martin Dies has also put himself on record against all forms of dictatorship, whether Fascist or Communist. And the headline-writer of the *N. Y. Times* shows that he grasps clearly enough the "point" of Professor Hook's Committee—the "point," that is, in relation to the objective line-up of social forces, regardless of what the left-wing members of the Committee may hope and believe they are accomplishing—when he writes the sub-head: "96 SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS LED BY JOHN DEWEY REVOLT AGAINST FAILURE TO DENOUNCE REDS."

Democracy Scrapped in War Preparations

Roosevelt Moves Do Not Deceive Puerto Ricans

"Only by Smashing the Grip of Yankee Imperialism" Can Puerto Rican Freedom Be Attained, Says Spokesman in Interview

By DIEGO MONTANEZ
Roosevelt's appointment of Admiral William D. Leahy to supersede General Blanton Winship as Governor of Puerto Rico was acidly commented upon this week by Lorenzo Pineiro, Secretary-General of the Executive Committee of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party in the United States, in an interview with this correspondent.

"The Puerto Rican people know that their freedom from Wall Street oppression cannot be attained by being shifted from military to naval control or by the removal of any individual or even group of individuals, but only by smashing completely the grip of Yankee imperialism," declared Pineiro. "Now that everyone has become aroused about the bloody record of General Winship, the Yankee imperialists cynically think that they can 'pacify' us by removing him. But we realize that the Roosevelt government is doing everything it can to intensify its imperialist control of our island in preparation for its use as a naval base in the coming war."

See War Schemes

The Nationalist Party, which is supported in its struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico by a large part of the Puerto Rican people, understands, said Pineiro, the meaning of the war preparations of the United States government. They know that the speeches about "democracy" and "poor little countries in Central Europe" are, as he put it, "so much eyewash to cover up Yankee imperialism's own ruthless destruction of the liberties and freedom of Puerto Rico, to say nothing of the rest of Latin America, in the macabre struggle for military and commercial control of this continent."

"The people of Puerto Rico, under the heel of the Roosevelt 'democrats,' realize just how hypocritical are these imperialists who write speeches on democracy with one hand and use their other hand to suppress all

freedom of speech, press and assembly, and to throw into the Atlanta Penitentiary those who advocate, merely advocate, mind you, the application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence to our island.

No Faith in C. P.
This correspondent raised the question of the Communist Party and its congressional stooge, Marcantonio. The latter has for some time been posing as a "friend" of the Puerto Ricans. For a time he was quite successful, the Puerto Rican votes of east Harlem being the decisive factor in his election to Congress.

But now the Puerto Ricans are beginning to see through him. As Pineiro put it, "the Stalinists and their ilk are interested only in lining up the Puerto Ricans in support of Roosevelt and Yankee imperialism for the next war. That is why they have tried so hard to channelize the genuine mass movement for independence into a reformist 'Afuera Winship' (Out Winship) blind alley, thinking that with Winship out they will be able to swing us into line. But these gentlemen are mistaken if they think we haven't seen through them."

Marcantonio showed clearly who he was when, in contrast with all his howling about Winship, he said not a word about the bill making Puerto Rico a naval base, and let his well-publicized bill for Puerto Rican independence die a silent death.

The Puerto Ricans are the largest group in New York's great Spanish-speaking colony, which numbers several hundred thousand.

Special Offer!
TWO BOUND VOLUMES
of the
SOCIALIST APPEAL
1937 and 1938
Both for only \$3.00—Including postage
This 25% reduction holds good for only a few weeks!

C. P. SABOTAGES ACTION OF FLINT JOBLESS UNION

(Continued from Page 1)

Newspaper advertising didn't materialize. Meanwhile the C.I.O. leaders made their position clear—"now isn't the time" for a demonstration, it was only because of pressure that they were doing anything at all.

Under these conditions, the demonstration was a complete failure. The parade was called off. A few hundred people gathered in Kearsley Park, miles away from the "Death Watch" and the relief offices. Speakers advised "postcard action." Not a word was said about the "Death Watch."

Genora Johnson Attacked
Having made sure that the demonstration would be a fizzle, the Stalinist and C.I.O. tops launched a slander campaign against Genora Johnson, outstanding unemployed leader and advocate of militant action.

The fight is, however, far from being over. What the unemployed want is fighting action against starvation, lay-offs and eviction. What they want is actions like the "Death Watch." And the leaders of the Unemployed and W.P.A. Union are pledged to just such a fighting policy.

The situation is daily becoming more critical. Today the welfare offices were closed for a two week period because of lack of funds. No relief will be given out until June.

The June budget is \$20,000 less than the frightfully inadequate May budget which lasted only half-a-month. Tens of thousands more will be thrown out on the streets if the June budget is not raised above the \$250,000 now allotted.

Immediate action is necessary. Stalinist sabotage cannot be allowed to stand in the way. All attempts to transplant the belly-crawling, bootlicking policies of the Stalinist Workers Alliance into the C.I.O. must be halted. The lives of thousands of workers and their families are at stake.

U. S. ACTS FOR WALL STREET'S CHINA PROFITS

The Roosevelt government again served sharp notice on Japan last week that it intended to defend Wall Street's "rights" in China.

In recent weeks the Japanese have been emboldened by the crisis in Europe to take more definite moves toward driving their British, French, and American rivals out of their footholds in the foreign concessions in China. Demands were made for the International Settlement at Shanghai to be placed under the more direct control of the Japanese, whose whole robber war is aimed to win for Imperial Japan the exclusive right to loot China.

As a trial move, Japanese marines landed at the smaller and less important concession in Amoy, seaport in south Fukien. Roosevelt, who a few weeks ago spectacularly ordered the American fleet back into the Pacific as a direct warning to Japan, cracked right back. The American cruiser *Marblehead* and a destroyer were ordered to Amoy and a landing party of marines put ashore in Kulangsu, the settlement area. The British and French followed the American lead and did likewise.

On May 17 a sharp American note was sent to Japan rejecting the Japanese demand for a larger share in control of the Shanghai settlement. In this the British and French were likewise expected to join.

By these measures, before which the Japanese staged a prompt strategic retreat, Roosevelt again served notice that the fleet is not in the Pacific to play games but to be prepared for the approaching day when American imperialism intends to put an end, by its superior armed force, to the rival threat of the Japanese.

The incident also served to confirm once more the now generally understood fact that Roosevelt has a "wink of the eye" understanding with Britain that the United States will "take care" of the Pacific battlefield when the guns begin dealing death once more in Europe. It is to help this understanding along and to sell the idea to the war-hating people of this country, that England's king and queen have come over to this side of the Atlantic.

World Powers Prepare War-Time Dictatorship

(Continued from Page 1)

istry in Hitlerite Germany. It will usher in censorship of the press and of all other channels of information and put an end to the formal fiction of the "freedom" of the newspapers in "democratic" Britain. The twelve regional dictators who will rule England in wartime, without benefit of parliamentary advice or consultation have already been publicly named.

Democracy Disappears

When war comes the menace "democracy" which in England disguises the slave-holding rule of the Empire over 400,000,000 black, brown, and yellow subjects, will disappear completely.

In France the parliamentary trappings have already been largely dispensed with. Daladier rules by decree and has already instituted a dictatorial regime over the entire working class, and has done so with the active aid of the trade union leaders, and the Socialist and Communist parties.

The "opposition" of the Socialists and Communists to Daladier has become purely formal, like the "opposition" of the British Labour Party to conscription in England. Last week when Daladier banged on the war drums in the chamber of deputies, as reported in the *New York Times*, he "drew from the chamber the very unusual spectacle of really unanimous applause. Everybody from Louis Marin on the extreme right to Andre Marty on the Communist benches applauded again and again."

With this benevolent support from the Socialist and Stalinist parties, Daladier has cracked down hard on the French workers and has wiped out the last vestiges of the social gains of the People's Front honeymoon, over which Daladier himself had presided. That the 40-hour week has been abandoned has been a fact now for several months. The actual regime now imposes a 60-hour week on workers in all essential industries. Opposition to it, or even agitation against it, has become a crime of treason, punishable by the extreme penalties.

The official abandonment of even the pretense of a struggle in behalf of the workers was abandoned, meanwhile, by the official bulletin of the International Trade Union Fed-

eration, to which the French General Confederation of Labor is affiliated. After describing the fate of the shorter work week in France, the bulletin states that it would be "well to postpone the discussion on the generalization of the reduction of hours in industry and Commerce" and proposed resumption of discussion (Only of "discussion," mind you!) to some uncertain future "when the chances of success are greater."

"On the one hand, the representatives of the workers will certainly use all their influence on the governments to prevent the question disappearing completely from the agenda, while, on the other, it is no less obvious that the workers, realizing what is the present situation, will understand that in view of the tremendous threat of the totalitarian countries, it is necessary for the defense of peace and freedom (1) to agree to an effort which will allow of this peril being countered."

In other words, as in 1914, the official trade union movement, and along with it the Socialist and Communist Parties, is asking the workers of all countries to surrender the little "peace and freedom" they have on the altar of the greeds and rivalries of their bosses. "Countering peril" is a little phrase that means fighting the new world war in which tens of millions of workers of all lands are going to kill and be killed, maim and be maimed, for the greater glory not of "peace and freedom" but of the profits and markets of their bosses!

Anti-Labor Laws

What a monstrous irony it will be to allow these liars and fakers to put over this fraud once again! With the last shreds of "democracy" dissolving under the heel of iron dictatorship in France, Britain, and soon in the United States, the workers will be sent out to fight and die again for... democracy against dictatorship. Worst of all would be for us in this country to have illusions about the fate of our "rights" as war draws closer and we are sucked into it. The stream of so-called "anti-alien bills" now before Congress already cast the black shadow of the regime of the concentration camp over the workers of the United States.

'A Decent Job at a Living Wage'--New York SWP Call

City Convention Discusses Trade Union Work of Party--New Committee Elected

Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party held its third semi-annual city convention May 13-14. Meeting at a time when the war danger is daily gaining momentum, the delegates were fully aware of the great responsibility which rested upon them.

The 36 delegates who attended the five sessions of the convention represented a cross-section of the membership of the Party in Local New York. Not only was every branch fully represented at each session of the convention but among the most active delegates were outstanding militants in the trade unions and unemployed organizations, including food workers, needle trades, painters, seamen, office workers and teachers.

A census taken of the delegates revealed that the delegates, with few exceptions, were either active trade unionists or members of the Unemployed and Project Workers' Union. The average age of the delegates was 27½ years.

The convention heard and acted on reports covering organization, trade union work, unemployed work, education and propaganda, literature, defense, and youth. These reports, while pointing out the shortcomings of the Party in these fields, nevertheless indicated that considerable progress had been made since the last convention in mass organization work, literature sales, campaigns, propaganda work, Marxist School, membership, etc.

By far the major portion of the time and attention of the Convention was devoted to a thorough analysis of the Party's work in the trade unions and the unemployed fields and a careful consideration of projected plans for future activity.

The prime interest of the delegates throughout the Convention was the problem of how better to integrate the membership in the mass organizations of the workers.

One of the most important decisions of the Convention was the adoption of a special report which recommended the launching of an intensive campaign in New York City to meet the growing danger of the Coughlin menace. The Coughlin fascists have recently been making themselves increasingly obnoxious to the workers of New York by their attempts at spectacular sales of their anti-Semitic, labor-baiting rag, "Social Justice," and have even tried to break-up several street meetings of labor political organizations. The aim of the campaign is to take the first steps to arouse the anti-fascists of New York to the serious danger of the Coughlin brand of fascism.

Other outstanding decisions of the Convention were:

- 1) A drive to intensify and expand the Party's activity in the unemployed field.
- 2) A campaign in the trade unions and among workers generally for the adoption of the slogan "The Thirty Hour Week With No Reduction in Pay--The Workers' Answer to Unemployment."
- 3) Factory and trade union concentration work in specified fields and localities.
- 4) The publication of a series of cheap pamphlets on current issues facing the workers.

ANNOUNCEMENT
HELP TO BUILD the Anti-Fascist Labor Guard. Attend the Social and Dance this Saturday Evening, May 20 at 51 East 7 St. Wrestling matches, entertainment, refreshments, dancing.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

MOTHER JONES

(May 1, 1830-Nov. 30, 1930)
"You don't need a vote to raise hell!" said Mother Jones. And hell she did raise wherever she went; and she went pretty near everywhere in the cause of the working class.

Once, in 1910, she was called before a Congressional investigating committee to account for her part in aiding Mexican revolutionists against the tyrant Diaz. The committee asked her address. "I live in the United States", she told them, "but I do not know exactly where. My address is wherever there is a fight against oppression. Sometimes I am in Washington, then in Pennsylvania, Arizona, Texas, Minnesota, Colorado. My address is like my shoes; it travels with me." Mother Jones was then 80 years old.

She had been born in County Cork, Ireland. Her father, a worker and an advocate of Irish freedom, moved his family to this continent when Mary Harris Jones was six. For a time the family lived in Canada where Mary Harris received her schooling. Out of school, she taught in a Michigan convent for a while; then she opened a dress-making establishment in Chicago. In 1861, she married a member of the Iron Moulders Union. Ten years later her husband, and the four children she had borne, died in a yellow-fever epidemic.

Known to Every Worker

Mary Harris Jones, a woman of forty, came into contact with the Knights of Labor. She had never before been a member of a union. But the Knights of Labor inspired her to her life's work. Thenceforth she sank her personal life completely into the trade union movement. Mary Harris Jones became Mother Jones to every worker in the country as she travelled from strike to strike, most often by invitation of union leaders, sometimes forcing her way in, pitching her picturesque vocabulary, her steady wit and her sense of drama against the bosses.

Essentially, Mother Jones was a revolutionary, though she herself probably never realized it. Theory wasn't her strong point; frequently she made errors (e.g., supporting the Democratic party in 1916). But in her bitter denunciations of bossdom, her attacks on the state machinery, and in her militant methods of organizing, Mother Jones was a deep going revolutionist who hated capitalist oppressor with her every fibre. Did the bosses get out an injunction against her—a piece of paper to be torn up. Did the bosses order her to leave the state—an order to be defied. Did the National Guard patrol a struck mine—a force to be ignored, and fought.

It made little difference to Mother Jones which union was running a strike—A.F.L., or I.W.W. She participated in both. For the most part, she worked among the miners; for many years she was officially employed by the United Mine Workers though she despised John Mitchell, president of the U.M.W.U.,

whom she considered insufficiently devoted to the interests of the workers. Often she quarrelled with union officialdom; sometimes she violated union policy.

But her presence was welcomed in any situation; for her real contributions were in the field. She could throw a community into strike action by a single speech; hence the worried look on sheriffs' faces when Mother Jones came to town. In West Virginia, once, she spoke to a group of miners. At the end of the speech they implored her: "Organize us, Mother." Which she did, while a union flunkey stood by and complained that she didn't know the ritual, and that a charter hadn't been paid for, and received from the national office.

Hard-boiled, and also sentimental, Mother Jones believed in using the most spectacular and the most militant means to put an action across. Once she imported a group of crippled miners to New York. A "char" time, in the coal strike of 1902, she organized a brigade of miners' wives, armed with mops and brooms. At other times, a group of women were arrested for strike activity. At her advice they brought their children to jail, sang all night, slept during the day; in a few days they were released—no one in town had been able to sleep.

Couldn't Be Stopped

She worked in a cotton mill to get materla against child labor which she abhorred to fury. She posed as a peddler to get information for the U.M.W.U., which led to the strike of 190 in Colorado. With general causes, like women's suffrage, she had no sympathy. Women, she said, had to get into the class struggle ar fight there.

She was in Pittsburgh during the labor riot of 1877; in Chicago during the Haymarket a fair of 1886; in Birmingham during the American Railway Union strike of 1894. Colorado deported her in 1903, and again in 1913. A military court sentenced her to twenty years for inciting to murder, during the 1912 strike; a senate committee set the verdict aside. In 1914 she posed as President Willson the facts of the Ludlow massacre in which Rockefeller troops cold-bloodedly murdered the wives and children of striking miners. In 1915, she was in New York working for the garment workers' and street car strikes. In 1919 she lent her abilities to the great Steel strike. In 1923, at the age of 93, she was still working—in the West Virginia coal fields.

Threatened time and again by thugs and police, Mother Jones never once quailed. The little old woman in the black bonnet who could outswear a trooper could outtalk his opponent as she chose, and hurled defiance at those who would prevent her. "Lad," she told a miner, boy who had witnessed a thug threatening her, "the great Standard Oil is certainly afraid of an old woman." And with good reason. For that old woman represented the spirit and courage of the working class.

Father Coughlin--Agent Of Fascism In America

(Continued from Page 1)

Father Coughlin makes spurious appeals to the youth who face a blank future, and to the unemployed who are disillusioned with their prospects under democratic capitalism. He aims to enlist them in the ranks of his fascist hordes, to turn them loose against the labor movement as well as against the Jews and Negroes of this country. In this way Coughlin hopes to set the stage for the fascist seizure of power.

Father Coughlin sugar-coats his real intentions with honeyed words about "peace" and "social justice." He even occasionally administers to Hitler and Mussolini a gentle slap on the wrist. But he is careful in the next breath to praise their actions.

While he is expending his efforts—and vast sums of money, the sources of which can only be guessed—on laying the propaganda basis of fascism, he is also organizing the drilling of storm troops and creating the general staff and secret service for the fascist seizure of power.

Father Coughlin is the enemy of the worker, the poor farmer, the youth, the unemployed and all oppressed peoples. He seeks to set these natural friends at each other's throats so as to facilitate the task he has set for himself—or which his mentors, Hitler and Mussolini and our own Sixty Families and Girdlers and DuPonts,—have set for him—the strangling of all opposition to poverty, starvation wages, misery and despair.

Father Coughlin lies when he says he is opposed to fascism. And he lies when he pretends that by his fake anti-capitalism he can improve the lot of the unemployed, the youth, the workers, the poor farmers, the small businessman

How to Fight Fascism

Fascism and the evils of decaying capitalism can be fought successfully in only one way—by a militant working class led by a revolutionary party. The fight for the dignity and equality of all races and all peoples, the fight for the improvement of the conditions of the unemployed, the youth, the workers and the other forgotten men, a fight carried on by their own militant and united activity—these are the methods and the only methods by which fascism can be defeated.

Father Coughlin, hiding behind his sanctimonious mask of piety, hypocrisy and deceit. Whoever believes him and advocates his policies is furthering the cause not of peace and freedom but of race hatred, decadence, decay and fascism. The Socialist Workers Party, dedicated to the fight against the more blatant fascism of the German-American Bund, is dedicated to the fight against the Bund's twin, the insidious fascist propaganda of Father Coughlin.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 35

May 23, 1939

Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: AL 2-0911 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.
"Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors: HAROLD ROBERTS, FLEXY MORROW
Staff Members: EMANUEL GARRETT, JOSEPH HANSEN
Business Manager: S. STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent wage 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.

Shoot To Kill!

News dispatches from Harlan County, Kentucky, where Governor A. B. Chandler has sent National Guardsmen to break the coal strike at bayonet point and open the mines to gun-carrying scabs, report that Brigadier General Ellerbe Carter, commanding officer of the military strikebreakers revealed he has been given the following orders by Chandler:

"The troops are under orders to SHOOT TO KILL when necessary. There will be no pushing around of soldiers on duty."

Although there were absolutely no disturbances in Harlan County, and the coal miners were peacefully exercising their right to picket, these troops have set up loaded machine guns on the public highways and in the residential sections.

They march through the streets in armed squads and shove the civilian population about with fixed bayonets as if they had been turned loose by a fascist dictator to terrorize the public.

Governor Chandler, in brief, is doing everything possible to provoke bloodshed. President Roosevelt, although he has full power to curb Governor Chandler's armed violence, so far has done nothing. Nor will he lift a finger to safeguard the civil liberties his kind of democracy is supposed to guarantee unless a mighty wave of mass indignation forces a change in the intolerable situation.

The capitalists and THEIR government—Chandler is a typical capitalist politician—without the slightest hesitation resort to violence, terror, and the shedding of blood in order to perpetuate profits at what they think is a reasonable rate.

There is no lesson more important to the worker than this one Chandler is giving in Kentucky; namely, that American capitalism is absolutely ruthless.

It lives by VIOLENCE and TERROR.

If the capitalist stockholders thought it would open the mines over which they have gained control, the machine guns in Harlan County would mow down the miners and their wives and children tomorrow as mercilessly as they were mowed down by Franco's capitalist mercenaries in Spain.

What Harlan County needs is a detachment of WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS to protect the lives of the people who are menaced by Chandler's National Guard—the National Guard of which Franklin D. Roosevelt is Commander-in-Chief.

President Roosevelt denies Arthur Krock's story that the President had sounded out Premier Mussolini, and through him, Reichsruhrer Hitler on a plan for the three to meet either at sea or near some neutral island in order to arrive at a solution of the European crisis. It's too bad it's not true. It would be a good idea perhaps to get the leaders on an island and let them go to work on each other, instead of getting us blockheads to do their fighting for them.

Reduce The Hours

A new world production record was set on May 4 by the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation's \$75,000,000 Irvin Works plant when a crew of six men in an eight-hour shift turned out 446.6 tons of tinsplate on a 52-inch, five-stand tandem cold reducing mill.

On the old style hand mills a crew of five men

averaged about ten tons daily.

Thus ONE man now produces in a day what it formerly took a little more than 37 men to produce.

Yet hours per day have remained at a complete standstill and instead of 37 men retaining their full wages and dividing up the time saved by the machines, the companies have fired 36, given their wages to the stockholders, and kept one man slaving at the ancient schedule of hours.

Since 1926 in the steel plants alone, the introduction of 27 new type mills, according to Research Director Harold J. Rutenberg of the C.I.O. Steel Workers Organizing Committee, has thrown 85,000 men out of jobs.

If the length of hours worked were REDUCED WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY, all these men could have the jobs they are entitled to.

Every union in the country must inscribe in its program of demands from the boss a sliding scale of hours with no reduction in pay! Then every one can have a decent job at a living wage.

As the use of machinery and more efficient methods increases, the number of hours to be spent on the job decreases!

That will kill the lay-offs and stop machines, which can be a boon to mankind, from replacing men on the payroll!

God Save the King!

There is a move in Congress to halt all discussion on foreign policy while the King of England visits these shores, for fear that some Congressman might inadvertently say something about Great Britain that would not prove to the liking of His Royal Highness.

It is difficult to see why Congress doesn't go the whole hog—what occasion could be more auspicious than the King's visit to admit that we were wrong after all . . .

That we want to return the thirteen colonies which our ancestors took away from Great Britain by means of such a violent bloody revolution.

That we are sorry for protesting Great Britain's impressing American seamen in that little war of 1812, and if the king wants to he can burn down the White House again while he is here.

Also that we take back all the nasty things we said during the Civil War about Great Britain running through Abraham Lincoln's blockade of the slave states.

That we're so glad in fact to make amends for our past errors that besides the thirteen original colonies, we offer to return to England the 35 states that have joined the union since, and toss in Alaska, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Panama Canal.

All we humbly ask the King is that he give us better treatment than he accords his subjects in India, Ceylon, Jamaica, South Africa, and Palestine. Otherwise Congress couldn't guarantee that the King wouldn't have another subversive movement on his hands like 1776.

God save the King!

Browder and Miaja

In his speech to the mass meeting opening the 9th convention of the Young Communist League, Earl Browder referred to the "Casado-Bestiro Council of Capitulation" which opened the gates of Madrid to the fascists. Can it be that Browder has forgotten that the Council was headed by General Jose Miaja? Not at all. He remembers it only too well, and the memory is a most painful one. General Miaja, you see, was a leader of the Spanish Communist party. Browder hasn't forgotten this for one moment. But he sure would like everyone else to forget it.

June New International

A keen analysis of the new theory of the state now being put forward in the Soviet Union, is made by Leon Trotsky in his feature article for the coming issue of the New International, "The Bonapartist Philosophy of the State." An interesting contrast is made in the analysis between Stalin's present "philosophy" and his theory of "socialism in one country."

Among other articles in the June issue, which is to be off the press this week, are:

Class Politics in Palestine, by L. Rock, as well as an article by the editors of the Palestine Journal, Haor, on the situation in that country, and letters from readers—all of which make up a symposium on the Jewish and Palestinian questions.

Martov and Bolshevism is the subject of a debate between Albert Goldman, who recently reviewed Martov's posthumous pamphlet, and A. Alper, of South Africa.

A correspondent in China writes an extremely revealing letter on the real situation in China and Japan, and the status of the war in Asia. Another contributor, A. Origlioso, of Sydney, writes on "Australia Cognita." Jan Buchar, a Czech militant, writes on the "National Question in Central Europe."

Max Shachtman, in "Old Garbage in New Pails," writes of the arguments being made by the "labor" war-mongers in favor of the coming war, and compares them with the arguments advanced twenty-five years ago for the last "democracy" crusade.

The editors, in their monthly comments, deal with a number of topical questions, above all, the growth of the Coughlin movement in the United States.

Dwight Macdonald continues with his popular column, making, together with other features of the magazine, a rounded-out number which is sure to interest all readers. Advance orders, the manager requests, should be sent in immediately to 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Whipping Up the War Spirit--It's All in the Mobilization Day Plan

With M-Day Not Far off the Generals Have Perfected The Methods of Propaganda and Censorship Which Will Be Used in Mobilizing the Morale of Workers for War

By HAL DRAPER

There is a French book on the last war called "How They Mobilized Our Consciences." Today, before the war crisis, the government frankly considers your conscience—your morale they call it—as an article to be mobilized along with quartermaster supplies and the lives of drafted men.

Bernard M. Baruch, the "theoretician" of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, likes to speak of the "five M's" which are to be mobilized; these are: men, money, maintenance or food, material resources, and morale. Assistant Secretary of War Johnson states: "To conduct a modern war successfully, a nation must provide men for the armed forces, military supplies and equipment, and a supporting public opinion. Securing all these things is our problem."

The new emphasis which is placed upon morale on the home front was expressed by Baruch before the Army Industrial College (training school for the army's I.M.P. men): "I need hardly bring to your attention what must be done by a nation in arms—the discipline and mobilization of its moral and material forces. Judgment born of experience shows that the moral or spiritual is the greater of the two forces. . . . Ludendorff bitterly complained that his military front remained impregnable long after what he called 'the home front' had crumbled. Napoleon said: 'In war, the moral is to the physical as 3 to 1.' Civil morale therefore is fully as important as military morale."

The problem of "civil morale" is divided into two aspects—negative, that is, censorship, and positive, that is, propaganda. The Plan puts both of these functions into the hands of an Administration of Public Relations.

Even through the official statements in the Plan itself can be seen the Iron Heel which will be set upon the masses in wartime. The I.M.P. outlines the functions of the Public Relations Administration as follows: "To mobilize all existing mediums of publicity. . . . To coordinate the publicity programs of the various Government agencies. . . . To act as a bureau of information to which the public and the world may look for proper and

reliable information concerning aims and activities of the Government. . . . To combat disaffection at home. . . . To combat enemy propaganda at home and abroad. . . . To establish rules and regulations for censorship. . . . To enlist and supervise a voluntary censorship of the newspaper and periodical press."

The Plan further proposes that the Administrator gather together a personnel comprising "capable journalists, advertising counsellors, writers, motion-picture experts, and others whose practical experience and whose influence in their respective fields are extensive and whose professional and business associations give them intimate knowledge of and access to the important mediums of publicity."

The Public Relations Administration will be divided into five divisions, with appropriate bureaus:

1. Division of Administration.

2. Division of News—domestic; foreign.

3. Division of Pictures—films; posters; cartoons; photographs; scenarios.

4. Division of Civic Cooperation—speakers; women's organizations; war expositions.

5. Division of Advertising—radio; newspapers; magazines; billboards; bulletins.

The radio is taken care of by the Communications Act of 1934—a measure carefully fostered and piloted through Congress by the Roosevelt Administration. By the terms of this Act, the President can take over all radio and wire offices in any "national emergency."

HOW CENSORSHIP WILL WORK

The Plan's reference to a "voluntary" censorship of the press is of course an official joke. The meaning of this gag was explained by Herbert Bayard Swope, testifying before the War Policies Commission several years ago as a World War expert in "public relations." Censorship of the press, he said, "can be brought about in part by voluntary agreement, but behind this there must be some sort of licensing system established so that offenders may be punished."

The Plan itself contains the licensing system. Any business "over which Government control is necessary" must secure a license in order to operate. The President has the power to

decide whether it is "necessary." As a result of the twinging of the Congressional conscience, some of the later I.M.P. bills exempt the press from the licensing provision, but all of them (including that of Senator Nye) include another provision which is just as effective.

This is the "priority" provision, according to which the government can deprive a given newspaper of paper, ink and all other supplies, and thereby punish it if it refuses to submit to the "voluntary" censorship. Nye's own investigation committee made a point of proving that this entails the power of censorship, and the War Department admitted it at the hearings. The War Department further admitted that "any ingenious man, familiar with the newspaper business, could in two hours work out 40 different ways to establish a press censorship" by the terms of the I.M.P.

MAKING YOU LOVE IT

As for the propaganda angle of "public relations," we can give a foretaste here by quoting Herbert Bayard Swope on the art of propaganda, before the Congressional committee:

"The desire for victory must become universal. To win is to carry out the will of God in the popular mind; to win becomes the great national purpose. So in the philosophy of war opposition becomes disobedience to the divine will—sacrilege—as well as unpatriotic. . . . assuming a nation to be activated by a nearly universal impulse, sharp measures can be taken against the few opposing the national will—however intellectual, however honest, however courageous they may be. . . ."

"Censorship and propaganda are the agencies of domination. . . . It is rare—it is never—that a nation is instantly galvanized into the vast emotionalism that is needed in war. . . . The issues, colored and excitative, must be brought home to each. Every manner of appeal must be employed. . . . propaganda, . . . however naive at times, shall proclaim our virtues, sublimate our aims and accentuate our successes and indict the vices of the enemy and minimize his achievements. . . ."

"For home consumption all wars are defensive and all are based upon questions of national honor. . . ."

By Concealing the Truth Zionism Played Into the Hands of Britain

(Continued from Page 1)

with "the blurred line" capable of future re-interpretation. This is true both of Sir Henry McMahon's letters to the Arabs and of the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

The most the Jewish leaders (notably those of America who had in exchange for these pledges thrown all possible weight in England's favor in the war) could secure in writing in the Balfour declaration, was the phrase: "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

Simultaneously the British assured Arab leaders that the Declaration protected them against a Jewish State by its provision that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The same phrase. Jews were told, meant merely assurance of civil rights to Arabs in the ordinary sense of civil liberties.

The White Paper hypocritically states that the British "do not wish to contest the view . . . that Zionist leaders at the time of issue of the Balfour Declaration recognized that an ultimate Jewish State was not precluded by the terms of the declaration." But the Paper omits where the Zionist leaders then got this view—namely from the British government spokesmen, who were telling them that precisely this was embodied in the Balfour Declaration!

The White Paper ignores the fact that from 1917 until 1922 the Zionist movement declared a countless number of times that Palestine was to be a Jewish State, without any contradiction by British authorities. Now the Paper brazenly "proves" "that Palestine was not to be converted into a Jewish State"—by quoting as proof the Command Paper ISSUED IN 1922!

The 1922 Command Paper was, however, not itself the beginning of the whitening away of the Balfour Declaration but, in fact, merely recorded what had already been achieved by British colonial authorities in Palestine itself, where from 1918 on they had revealed a systematic hostility to furtherance of Jewish immigration and building.

And 1922 is but one in a long series of dates recording systematic British destruction of the Zionist dream. Another decisive step in this destruction was the Passfield White Paper of October, 1930, which Stephen S. Wise then correctly described as designed to "undo and eventually destroy the Jewish National Home." Another step was the partition scheme, pressed during the last years, but successfully fought off by the Arabs; it served the British, however, in astounding Zionist—who were prepared tacitly to accept partition—to the idea that at best only part of Palestine would ever be theirs. Now the White Paper completes the 22-year process of destroying Zionist hopes.

British Consistency Significant It is extremely important to underline the fact that Britain's has been a consistent policy, for from an understanding of this fact follows a complete condemnation of the policy pursued throughout by the Zionist leadership. The note of outraged astonishment with which these gentlemen are calling the White Paper a "breach of faith" and a "betrayal" is ludicrous; nobody should be astonished that the English imperialist rulers continue to do what they have been doing and getting ready to do for over two decades. But the Zionist leaders are compelled to pretend astonishment, for the simple reason that they have never told the Zionist

masses the truth about England's policy and, on the contrary, have deliberately concealed from them the full meaning of England's policy.

One might forgive the Zionist leaders any illusions they might have had in 1917 about the Declaration, or in 1922 about the Command Paper. But when, in 1931, after having in the first flush of rage correctly characterized the Passfield White Paper as designed to destroy the Jewish Home, they then went on to explain it away with the help of a face-saving letter from Ramsay MacDonald, they were no longer under any illusions. They were deliberately hiding from the Jewish masses the true facts about the Palestine situation, above all the true facts about British governmental policy.

It is a safe wager to predict that the Zionist leaders will continue this deceitful policy. When Winston Churchill arises next week in the House of Commons to speak against the White Paper, the Zionist leaders will hail him—and fall to remind their followers that Churchill is the author of the 1922 Command Paper. When the British Labor Party spokesmen will join Churchill on this question, the Zionist leaders will gurgle with joy—and not bring up the fact that the Passfield White Paper of 1930 was a Labor Party document. Though the various groups in Commons will jockey for Jewish support, they are all at one on fundamental policy in Palestine: the consistent policy that has been pursued throughout, whether Conservative, Liberal or Labor politicians ruled on behalf of the capitalist class of England.

(Felix Morrow's discussion of the British White Paper will be continued in the next issue of the Socialist Appeal.)

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

The question of the war danger dominates all the other problems of the labor movement. Any working class organization, any working class leader, that fails to pass the test of war, isn't worth a cent. Big talk, even militant talk, and the most solemn resolutions, have none but a deceptive meaning unless they are translated into the daily practice of a consistent fight against imperialism war and the war-mongers.

Next to revolution itself, war is the greatest and most difficult test to pass. Even before it breaks out, the whole weight of organized bourgeois pressure is brought to bear upon all the varieties of war opponents. Cajolery and threats the latter to an increasing extent—are employed to shatter the resistance of the masses, to deprive them of articulate spokesmen. The chauvinist lash is swung to whip the masses and their leaders into line, and for those who remain unyielding in their opposition, there is the mailed fist of brutal and unceasing persecution.

How It's Done

The varieties of pressure used to convert opponents of war into active or passive patriots, are infinite in number. One is tipped off that opposition to war means the suppression of the organization which he and his comrades spent so many hard years to build up. Another is made to feel the increasing frigidty of "social" ostracism, and there are, alas, many "labor leaders" who wince at the thought of being snubbed by "respectable society."

Still another is assured that he would be surprised to learn how friendly the government and the army are to his radical views, but that they simply find themselves forced to take military measures because a "critical national emergency" has supervened. Some are simply bribed; others are blackmailed or browbeaten. At the crucial moment, their opposition collapses and then begins a series of the most pathetic explanations for the turn-about-face.

A case in point is the political degeneration of the Independent Labour Party of England on the eve of the war. The party leadership has been talking loudly for some time against the war and war preparations. At the same time, in contrast to our "sectarianism," the party has continued to tolerate not only in its ranks but in the leadership a collection of parliamentary politicians who have demonstrated over and over again that they have nothing in common with revolutionary politics and that they would never stand up in time of crisis.

The test—a preliminary but quite decisive test—of this leadership and this policy was made last September. Chamberlain came flying back from Germany with the results of his "appeasement" policy, triumphantly offering England that imperialist "peace" which is at once mere interlude between two wars and part of the preparations for the one that is to come.

"Solving" a Serious Problem

Now the real leader of the I. L. P. in England is James Maxton, member of the House of Commons. This "representative" of the revolutionary working class rose in Parliament to express his solidarity with the Prime Minister of British imperialism! He did not, as Karl Liebknecht would have done, use the national tribune for the purpose of unmasking the whole dirty imperialist gang and above all, its spokesman, Chamberlain. On the contrary, he used it to summon the working class to get behind Chamberlain.

The scandal was too outrageous to remain without repercussions in the I. L. P. National Secretary Fenner Brockway, aware of the truly anti-war and anti-imperialist spirit of the membership, solved the problem very simply. He issued a personal statement politely dissociating himself from the position taken by Maxton. That's all! No use creating bad blood between comrades, you see, and above all, no sense in offending your parliamentary leaders.

But the rottenness revealed by the Maxton speech could not so easily be passed over, and the whole affair came up for review at the recent national convention of the party. And it was there that the complete hopelessness and worthlessness of the I. L. P. was crudely revealed.

The party leadership, in its report, coolly endorses Maxton's speech and there is a motion to congratulate him! The radical rank-and-file, minority, quite correctly and consistently demand Maxton's expulsion. A third point of view proposes a repudiation of Maxton. A fourth motion timidly proposes to refer back that part of the leadership's report which endorses Maxton, that is, tacitly, a "rebuke."

All motions are defeated! The reference back is voted down by 65 to 43, the motions to repudiate to congratulate, to expel, are voted down in turn. In a word, things remain exactly as they were.

Principles Don't Matter

How can such a thing happen? Are the members, or even the delegates, for Maxton's position? Obviously not, as is indicated by their refusal to congratulate Maxton on his speech. But why then did they not at least condemn him for it, if not expel him? Because they are poisoned by the policy of Lovestone's darling, Fenner Brockway.

The Maxtons and McGovern have merely to hint that a critical resolution will mean their departure from the party, and Brockway capitulates! The Leader must not be offended. Principles? The struggle against war? That's all right for holiday occasions, for ceremonial rites, but not for everyday struggle. Those are phrases with which you feed the ranks, but not rules that are imposed upon the "leaders."

To make Maxton toe the line, even the thin, trembling line of the I. L. P. — that would be "Trotskyist sectarianism."

It should not be hard to judge, from Maxton's speech in September and from the way the I.L.P. convention dealt with it, how serious a force against imperialism war the centrist I. L. P. will be when the war has actually broken out.