

Take the War-Making Power Away From Congress!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Socialist Appeal

BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

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VICTORY DEMONSTRATION IN UNION SQUARE!

Party Swings Into Action on National Anti-War Campaign

Reports from Branches Show Real Progress in Activity, But Fund Collections Lag Behind the Rest of the Campaign

By HAL DRAPER
Secretary Campaign Committee
Calais goes over the top—twice!

One comrade sends in the full quota for the campaign for this town in the rock-ribbed Republican state of Maine, giving it a percentage of 200 on the quota for September 15, which is half of the full quota.

As Maine goes, so goes the nation—or doesn't it? That list of branches with 00.00 after their names will tell us in the next week or two. Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco—each with a quota of \$100 or more and 00.00 turned in—had better get busy or the "provinces" will run away with all the prizes.

We need that Anti-War Fund NOW! We need it to expand our press; to put out a steady stream of cheap popular pamphlets; to send out organizers all over the country who will carry our anti-war message to every state in the Union—our goal is 30 new full-time organ-

izers in the next period; we need it to carry out the tasks of this campaign as well as those campaigns that will follow. The building of the anti-war party can't wait!

While the fund-gathering part of the campaign is starting slowly, the branches continue to send in reports of progress in the campaign for the People's Referendum on War. It is clear by now that, more than at any previous time, the Party has been swung into action in a common drive of agitation and action AS A NATIONAL UNIT. A good start has been made in transforming the Party into a CAMPAIGN PARTY which can concentrate its forces from East to West in a single effort.

Now the branches have the floor.

LYNN

The Lynn branch secretary starts with a good opening sentence. "Enclosed please find money order for \$23 which is the first instalment of our

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WPA Wage Cuts Take Effect in September

Slashes Are Blow at General Wage Standards of Workers

By NEIL WHITE
Substantial wage cuts for all WPA workers in 36 states were announced August 16 by Col. F. C. Harrington, national WPA administrator.

The wage cuts were promulgated against all WPA workers in the East, the mid-West and the West. The 36 states affected comprise the vast majority of the population of the country.

The cuts are to go into effect on September 1. In cities of 100,000 or more in the area affected, the largest category of WPA workers, "unskilled labor," is to be cut about \$7.80 a month. In New York, for example, the WPA wage for this category will be cut from the former figure of \$59.80 down to \$52 a month.

Smaller cuts go into effect at the same time against other categories of WPA workers.

Roosevelt Ordered Cuts

These vicious cuts constitute the Roosevelt administration's interpretation of the provision in the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law signed by President Roosevelt on June 30, which provided that geographical wage differentials shall be adjusted to differences in the cost of living. Previously Northern and Eastern wage scales were higher because the labor unions have won higher wage scales there than in the South.

These wage cuts, aimed against the overwhelming majority of WPA workers, were sugar-coated by being coupled with an announcement that in the other twelve states, wage-raises were to go into effect. In cities of 100,000 or over in this area unskilled workers are to be raised from the present scale of \$40.30 to \$46.80, an increase of \$6.50.

But since very few cities of such size exist in this area, the major number of WPA workers in the Southern area, even with the increase, are to receive only \$31.20 a month in cities under 5,000, and \$36.40 in cities of 5,000 to 25,000.

The main purpose behind the wage-cuts was revealed by the

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Clinch the Victory Over Fascist Bands!

Fascist preparations for a parade from Columbus Circle to Union Square on Saturday, August 19, reached their high point on Thursday, August 17, when Fritz Kuhn's official organ of the Nazi Bund printed military orders to the Nazi Brown Shirts to come out in full force.

This fascist provocation got the answer it deserved! Hundreds of thousands of anti-fascists declared THEIR determination to hold a counter-demonstration against the fascists in Union Square on Saturday, August 19.

The fascists are bold only when no one resists them. When they saw what was coming, the fascists began to back down. First Coughlin himself, then his Christian Front and now, on Coughlin's orders his shock-troops, the Christian Mobilizers, have withdrawn from the parade. The fascists have crawled back to their holes—temporarily.

The anti-fascists of New York have scored their first victory!

Fascism can be stopped!

Anti-fascists of New York: clinch this victory over the fascist gunmen, anti-Semites, Jim Crowers and union busters!

Defend your unions! Defend your liberties!

ALL OUT TO UNION SQUARE SATURDAY, AUG. 19, 4:30 P.M.!

Bundists Ordered To Parade by Nazi Fuehrer

Fritz Kuhn, the Nazi-American Bund fuehrer's orders for the mobilization of his thousands of Storm-Troopers for the Coughlin "Christian Mobilizers" parade Saturday appear on page 6 of the August 17 issue of the official organ of the bund, "Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter."

It is addressed to the "Storm-Troops of the New York Division," and orders them to fall into formations on West 54th Street, between 8th and 9th avenues, at 6 p.m. Saturday. The march route is described as from Columbus Circle "to Union Square—Moscow Platz."

The order to march is signed: "New York commander: Wm. Wheeler-Hill, Parade Commander: Lawrence J. Gilpatrick."

Further instructions, the order concludes, can be secured by telephoning Butterfield 8-8347.

New York AFL Meet Raps Roosevelt Anti-Labor Stand

Delegates, Rejecting "Third Term" Motion, Lay Relief Cuts at President's Door

By STANLEY LAUREN
NEW YORK, Aug. 17—The 76th annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, representing over 1,100,000 members, dealt a mighty blow to President Roosevelt when, because of his recent anti-labor stand against the prevailing wage and his attack on the WPA strike, the convention delegates rejected all resolutions favoring a "third term."

The 1932 and 1936 conventions had endorsed Roosevelt for president.

Only two out of 831 delegates voted against the motion to shelve the third-term resolutions.

Meany Speaks Out
George Meany, president of the State Federation, speaking Wednesday to the delegates in opposition to passage of the third-term resolutions, declared that "I for one will not give a blank check indorsement to the New Deal policies because there is one policy of the New Deal that I absolutely and fundamentally disagree with, and that is the policy of the so-called security wage which is in reality a starvation wage."

"Let the record be clear. Let there be no misunderstanding. The security wage in the Woodrum bill is a New Deal policy dictated by the New Deal and put over by the New Deal."

Affects All Workers
"I say that in the attack by the New Deal on the building trades, let each and every other trade take warning. We are continuing the fight right up to this very moment. We are going to continue and let the other trades who are not affected root for us, pray for us, and help us because if we go down just so surely do they go down."

In speaking on the fight of the Building and Construction Trades for the prevailing wage-rate, Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor denounced the presidential edict that "You can't strike against the government," saying:

"This is a new doctrine in America. Heretofore we believed that labor, whether engaged in government service or whether engaged in private employment, had the right individually or collectively to give up its employment if it deemed conditions such as to prompt it to use that as a means of protest. But now we are advised by Presidential proclamation that those engaged in public employment no longer have the right that is accorded to those in civil employment, and that they dare not and must not strike."

Woll spoke of the serious consequences of this declaration against the labor movement. He decried the government's

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SWP Completes Plans For Giant Anti-Fascist Rally in Union Square

German-American Fraternal Group Backs S.W.P. Call

The Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund of the United States, oldest workers' fraternal organization in the country and founded by German-American trade unionists, signified its support of the August 19 anti-Coughlin demonstration in the following letter, dated August 15, in answer to the Socialist Workers Party's invitation for united front action against the fascist parade:

"Dear Friends:
"Your letter of August 11 was read before our National Executive Board. However, it was received too late to mobilize our membership for the rally on August 19th.
"We will try anyway to have as many members there as we can possibly reach yet.
"With best wishes for a successful counter-demonstration on August 19th, we are
Fraternally yours,
J. BEISSWINGER,
National Treasurer."

August 19 Mobilization Turned into Victory Celebration

NEW YORK, August 18—Preparations for the giant anti-fascist counter-demonstration Saturday at 4:30 P.M. in Union Square, in answer to the fascist parade from Columbus Circle, were going full steam ahead as the Socialist Appeal went to press.

Everything indicates a huge rally in Union Square and a powerful set-back to the fascists.

More than 300,000 leaflets had been distributed, thousands of placards had been placed in display windows of stores and

BULLETIN

One hundred thousand leaflets were distributed Friday night by Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party, calling New York's anti-fascist workers to join the victory celebration in Union Square Saturday, 4:30 p.m.

in Harlem tens of thousands of special leaflets appealing to Negroes to join the counter demonstration with their organizations had been circulated by late afternoon today.

In response to the call for united action of working class organizations to meet the fascist provocation, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, one of the oldest workers' fraternal organizations in the United States, pledged its support.

The Anti-Fascist Labor Guard of New York announced that it supported the counter-demonstration and would send down members especially trained to help protect workers' meetings from fascist attacks.

C. P. Sient
Leaders of the Communist Party had not yet responded to the August 11 letter to it from the Socialist Workers Party, asking for united front action on Saturday against the fascist threat.

On August 16 the letter was followed up by a telegram to the New York County Committee of the Communist Party,

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CIO AFFILIATE BACKS PEOPLE'S VOTE ON WAR

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FLINT, Mich.—In answer to Roosevelt's War Deal, the WPA and Unemployed auxiliary of the UAW-CIO of Flint voted unanimously at its last meeting Friday, August 11, in support of a resolution demanding the right of the people to vote on war.

There was no hesitation to support the War Referendum resolution on the part of the overwhelming majority of the members. Here and there someone refused to vote, but

(Continued on Page 4)

New York AFL Convention Adopts Resolution Blasting Coughlinism

On the eve of the Coughlin invasion of Union Square, New York labor center, the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor on August 17 put itself on record against Coughlinism with the almost unanimous adoption of the following resolution:

WHEREAS, there is being spread in this State the poison of anti-Semitism in an attempt to divide the ranks of labor, and

WHEREAS, such tactics, using the pretext of "Bolshevism" and the poisonous propaganda directed against people for their religious beliefs, and

WHEREAS, such fascistic movements, beginning at first with attacks against labor organizations as "Communist" and spewing religious prejudice in order to divide the population, have wound up in Italy and Germany by crushing the entire labor and trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, an alert trade union movement, benefiting from the experience of European workmen, must be on guard against such union-wrecking attacks from the first moment they come into view, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the New York State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemns such agitation, whether done by an individual, a newspaper an association or any other agency, as un-Christian, anti-democratic, anti-labor and detrimental to the interests of the bona fide unions, whose function it is to afford protection to working men and women, regardless of race, color or creed.

ANTI-WAR FUND SCOREBOARD

\$10,000 FUND DRIVE

Branch	Quota—50% by Sept. 15	Paid	Percent Paid
Calais	\$ 5.00	\$ 5.00	200.00
Rochester	50.00	20.00	80.00
Lynn	100.00	23.00	46.00
St. Paul	200.00	46.00	46.00
Flint	20.00	3.00	33.33
Cleveland	200.00	30.00	30.00
Newark	350.00	48.50	27.71
Boston	400.00	54.00	27.00
Gardner-Fitchburg	15.00	2.00	26.66
Kansas	15.00	1.50	20.00
Minneapolis	1100.00	50.00	9.09
New York	2200.00	50.00	4.50
National Office	3400.00	20.00	20.00
Akron	100.00	00.00	00.00
Allentown	50.00	00.00	00.00
Baltimore	10.00	00.00	00.00
Cambridge	5.00	00.00	00.00
Chicago	530.00	00.00	00.00
Cleveland	200.00	00.00	00.00
Columbus	15.00	00.00	00.00
Conneaut	5.00	00.00	00.00
Danbury	10.00	00.00	00.00
Denver	20.00	00.00	00.00
Detroit	50.00	00.00	00.00
New Hampshire	5.00	00.00	00.00
East Chicago	20.00	00.00	00.00
Evansville	5.00	00.00	00.00
Fargo	10.00	00.00	00.00
Fresno	10.00	00.00	00.00
Hartford	5.00	00.00	00.00
Indianapolis	5.00	00.00	00.00
Lexington	10.00	00.00	00.00
Los Angeles	400.00	00.00	00.00
Louisville	10.00	00.00	00.00
Marston Mills	5.00	00.00	00.00
New Haven	40.00	00.00	00.00
Oakland	80.00	00.00	00.00
Omaha	10.00	00.00	00.00
Philadelphia	100.00	00.00	00.00
Pittsburgh	10.00	00.00	00.00
Plentywood	5.00	00.00	00.00
Portland	5.00	00.00	00.00
Quakertown	20.00	00.00	00.00
Reading	10.00	00.00	00.00
Ridgefield	5.00	00.00	00.00
Sacramento	20.00	00.00	00.00
St. Louis	100.00	00.00	00.00
San Diego	10.00	00.00	00.00
San Francisco	100.00	00.00	00.00
Seattle	20.00	00.00	00.00
South Bend	10.00	00.00	00.00
Texas	20.00	00.00	00.00
Toledo	40.00	00.00	00.00
Washington	40.00	00.00	00.00
Woonsocket	5.00	00.00	00.00
Worcester	20.00	00.00	00.00
Youngstown	50.00	00.00	00.00
Yellow Springs	5.00	00.00	00.00

The Way to Fight Coughlin Is the Way of Labor Action

AN EDITORIAL

David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is a GREAT labor leader.

He is a PROGRESSIVE labor leader. At least, that is what we are told.

This great leader calls those workers who want to fight fascism EFFECTIVELY—"lunatics."

That is how he described the advocates of Union Defense Guards against Fascism in the statement—it was really an apology—which he issued after Coughlin's attack upon him and upon the I.L.G.W.U.

Some day, when he is right up against the fascist buzz-saw, President Dubinsky may wish he had organized the "lunatics" into a fighting guard to protect the labor movement from the lords of the concentration camp.

Union Local 239 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by its General Manager, Alexander Hoffman.

He called upon the union membership to—"RETURN BLOW FOR BLOW THE ATTACKS OF FASCISTS AND COUGHLINITES."

That's the spirit! If labor girds its loins and organizes its fight under that kind of battle cry, Fascism will NEVER win in the United States. It will be smashed before it gets to first base.

We endorse Brother Hoffman's call with both hands. All that's needed is to translate it into action.

Coughlin has already threatened labor with civil war. He will fight it "in Franco's way."

Let Labor learn from Spain not to be caught off guard by the American Franco. Prepare in advance! Organize to fight the fascist wolves! Build Labor Defense Guards in every labor organization!

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

CLEVELAND, Ohio—A much needed move to avoid the plague of jurisdictional fights within the AFL here was made last week under the impetus of the teamsters unions.

Powerful AFL building and construction unions joined with the teamsters to set up a special committee to handle threatened jurisdictional disputes.

Storm Center

A sore point in the labor movement here is the encroachment of the Operating Engineers union on building trades unions. A showdown was threatened last week because of the stubbornness of Frank Converse, czar of the engineers unions, on the points of dispute. Converse long has been a storm center of jurisdictional raids.

Keystone of the plan to end costly intra-union fights lies in the establishment of this authoritative committee which would function as a high tribunal with decision-making power.

The jurisdictional committee, it was announced following a conference of influential labor leaders, consists of Ed Murphy, president of the teamsters district council, William Finnegan, president of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, Thomas Lenahan, secretary of the federation, and Albert Dalton, business agent of the building trades.

Procedure Established

Procedure to be followed is first for the unions involved to send representatives to a special conference to iron out the problem.

If a deadlock is reached, appeal must be made to the committee of four which would hold hearings and suggest a solution. If the unions still disagreed, the committee would have the power to render a final and binding decision.

In event the committee of four was divided evenly on a question, it would unanimously select a fifth labor leader to participate and cast the deciding vote.

Cleveland labor leaders said they expect formation of similar committees on a nationwide scale as part of the solution to the jurisdictional problems in the AFL.

Answers CIO

It frankly is a counter-move to the CIO threat of organizing in the building trades fields in opposition to the AFL.

In the current dispute in Cleveland, the six unions which already have accepted the plan are the firemen and oilers, excavating drivers, structural iron workers, stone cutters, cement finishers and operating engineers.

Because the plan was sponsored by the most powerful leaders in the labor movement here there is considerable hope that other unions will go along with the plan. Among those not yet in the agreement are the carpenters, bricklayers and lathers unions.

The plan was made at an emergency conference called under the auspices of the teamsters last week. It was a counter-move to Converse's open threat to fight other craft unions which refused to allow encroachments by the operating engineers. Converse retreated from his position after the conference was held and he announced he would subscribe to the net set-up.

ANNOUNCEMENT

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

Party Swings Into Action on National Anti-War Campaign

(Continued from Page 1) quota of \$100 for the Anti-War Fund Drive. We have accepted our quota with the determination to go over the top. Although money is scarce the comrades have assessed themselves a day's pay. Our sympathizers, having been shown by our anti-Coughlin drive that we mean business, are coming through better than we expected. By hard plugging we expect to get there."

Show that the party means business—this is as good a statement of our job in a campaign as an article would be.

BOSTON

Still from Massachusetts, Comrade Tracy sends in a slug of \$54 on its quota and adds: "To date the party members have pledged somewhere in the vicinity of \$125.00 and we are counting quite heavily on the social and indoor meeting, both of which will be held in September."

Two meetings per week are being held in different sections of the city, with the attendance around 75—which is small for Boston, but it seems an intense heat wave has been at work for a month and a half. "Four teams of two comrades each," continues Comrade Tracy, "have been assigned the task of door-to-door canvassing for signatures and the sale of pamphlets and Appeals. There is a general mobilization every Saturday afternoon for street sales of the Appeal and the pamphlets."

TOLEDO

The Toledo branch contributes an idea which other branches may be able to use. "The Party," writes Fred Howard, campaign director, "has carried on a downtown drive for petition signatures. We have a little stand with a slogan painted above it. This is put in the doorway of a vacant store in a busy section downtown. Pamphlets are also sold at the stand. . . . Party members' reactions to the campaign are good. New members are getting petitions signed, selling Appeals, etc. . . . Have conducted house-to-house canvassing for signatures—300 have been secured so far." And Comrade Howard adds a hurry call for 50 more petition sheets to be used in a special drive on Saturday.

FLINT

That branch is here again, with another dollar on its fund quota, another batch of petitions turned in, and the announced intention of outstripping every other branch in the union in campaign activity. "We have not set ourselves a membership quota," Comrade Geller reports, "because there is not much sense in it." In case you get the wrong idea he hastens to add: "We keep recruiting all the time. The campaign is an accelerating factor. Without setting any quota, it is my opinion Flint will have recruited ten new members during the campaign period. We are unusually fortunate in this respect, having a world of contacts, and can recruit with much less effort than the average branch. With us it is not a problem of recruiting members but of developing and solidifying our inexperienced people."

"The campaign is having a good effect on our new people. It first of all is showing them that we are a national organization, with active comrades all over the country, all with obligations and duties to the national office, something that was very vague to them before. . . . Dollars are few and far between, but with everyone enthusiastically working, we can reach our quota, and establish raising of funds as one of the important tasks of every member."

ST. PAUL

Two branches in different parts of the country have printed their own stickers with the slogan "Let the People Vote on War" and the local address. One of these is St. Paul, whose sticker is in bold red, and large size (4 by 10 inches). A mass meeting at the Party hall has been set for Sept. 15 to climax the campaign, and a tag day was held on Sunday, August 13 with eight comrades covering a working-class neighborhood. Another tag day is scheduled for the following Thursday.

BERKELEY

The other sticker has been printed by the Y.P.S.L. unit in Berkeley, California, also large size. Three thousand were printed and the Berkeley comrades are farming them out to the other branches on the Coast.

This unit functions in the University of California at Berkeley, and when school reopens, a mass meeting will be held, September 3. Meanwhile the Y.P.S.L. members are taking the petitions out every Sunday for door-to-door canvassing in working class districts.

NEW YORK CITY The New York district is at present engaged in a three-ring-circus whirl of activity, as readers of the Appeal can note. The city election campaign, with its accompanying job of putting our candidates on the ballot by petition, is the first ring; and the other two are the anti-Coughlin demonstration and the War Referendum Campaign. Each of the three by itself would ordinarily require the mobilization of the entire membership; and the New York comrades are responding, therefore, threefold. But in any case, Comrade Frank, New York Organizer, promises that all of New York's quotas will be filled handily by campaign closing time. Thus far, the district has taken 1,600 Burnham pamphlets, and has gathered well over 1,000 signatures to the petition. September 16 will see a city-wide affair to raise money for both the war campaign and election drive.

PHILADELPHIA "In the last two weeks," writes in the branch secretary of Philadelphia, "we have gained momentum and are sweeping ahead with our anti-war campaign. We are holding open air meetings and having large crowds. . . . We are getting our petitions filled up rapidly."

amendment to the Sherman and Clayton anti-trust acts which would exempt labor organizations from falling under their operation. President George Meany and all other officers of the New York State Federation of Labor were unanimously elected to succeed themselves for the coming year.

Green Defends Strikes William Green, president of the AFL, addressing the opening session of the convention Tuesday also defended the WPA building trades strike. "We hold that the payment of the prevailing rate of wages to workers engaged by the government is a fundamental principle that we contend for with no compromising until the bitter end."

"If the government refuses to recognize our right, if they still persist in the application of a so-called governmental fixed security wage for those employed upon building construction, we will go on with our fight until the end. We will be rebels until we win the prevailing rate of wage principle."

Anti-Coughlin Resolution Green warned American labor of fascism. "The first great democratic organization wiped out in the totalitarian countries was the trade union, the leaders sent to concentration camps or to prison, the funds of the union confiscated, the headquarters taken over, the unions made illegal, no freedom of speech, no freedom of action, no freedom of assemblage, no freedom of organization into democratic trade unions."

The growing menace of Coughlin was recognized by the convention, which adopted a resolution condemning fascism and anti-Semitic doctrines. Demand More Schools A series of resolutions demanding the expansion rather than the curtailment of education were passed unanimously. Condemning the "economy" cut of \$9,710,000 in state education which has resulted in a reduction of school services such as evening schools, resolutions were also passed asking the state legislature to put a halt to the shocking condition of overcrowded city schools. The convention also adopted a resolution in support of an extensive program to build low-cost housing projects for workers. Other resolutions called for support of a national health insurance bill, support of the thirty-hour week, and for an

COUGHLINITES MEET UNDER POLICE GUARD

"Wouldn't Dare Talk Without Protection" Is Workers' Feeling

NEW YORK—Protected by the police from the wrath of 500 anti-fascists for the second week in a row, Coughlin's "Christian Front" held a meeting on Fordham Road and Valentine Avenue, the Bronx, Wednesday night. Fifty cops, five of them on horseback were necessary to protect the fascists from "the love of the people."

Before the meeting was over one woman had been trampled by a mounted policeman and many others were charged by the horses. The mounted cops repeatedly rode into the crowd every time workers took up the chant "Down with the Nazi agents."

Coughlinite Praises Hitler The main speaker for the fascists was one, McWilliams, who said he was captain and organizer of the Christian Mobilizers. McWilliams ranted about "taking power in the U.S. and giving the Jews what they deserve." "Hitler," said McWilliams, "was really a great man because he gave Czechoslovakia back to the Czechs."

Meanwhile, the cops, true to the democratic tradition, were busy suppressing anybody who wanted to uphold democratic rights of workers and religious minorities. Toward the end of the meeting one anti-fascist summed up the feelings of the whole crowd when he shouted at the speaker: "You wouldn't dare speak if you didn't have the cops to protect you."

Join the Socialist Workers Party

NEW YORK AFL Meet Raps Roosevelt Anti-Labor Stand

(Continued from Page 1) attempt to outlaw the sympathetic strike action of the Teamsters in support of the WPA building trades strikers. He warned the delegates of the likelihood that the army and navy would be used against the organized labor movement and as proof quoted an editorial from the July 22 Army and Navy Journal which took it for granted that the president's statement required troops to back it up.

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Stop Fascism In America!

Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN (FOURTH INSTALLMENT)

"It Can't Happen Here" After the tragedy to the working class in Italy believers in the democratic and liberal form of capitalist government considered it impossible that it could happen elsewhere. They pointed to the "immaturity" of the Italian working class, the lack of a "democratic" tradition. In none of the "modern" countries, they proclaimed, could anyone be so gullible as to be taken in by a demagogue who did no more than salute, frown, shove out his jaw, orate, and march his followers around in black shirts.

This attitude was particularly true of the leaders of the most powerful labor movement in the world—Germany. Fascism take over power in Germany? Fantastic! There can be only one Mussolini, they proclaimed.

In response to this light-minded and irresponsible attitude toward Fascism, Mussolini himself sneered: "Fascism is a purely Italian phenomenon in its historical expression, but its doctrinal postulates have a universal character. . . . the fact that Fascism possesses a specific and original Italian stamp does not prevent its principles having an application in other countries, in other forms. . ." (Preface by Mussolini to "The Universal Aspects of Fascism," 1927.)

The terrible capitalist contradiction of scarcity in the midst of plenty continued to deepen relentlessly in Germany.

The Powerful German Labor Movement Before January 30, 1933, when President Hindenburg invited a man who called himself *Der Fuehrer* to become Chancellor of Germany and to form a new government, the German labor movement was considered as the most advanced section of the international working class in the capitalist world.

Out of a working population of approximately 16,000,000, more than 6,000,000 belonged to trade unions. Two of their political parties, the Social-Democratic Party of the Second International and the Communist Party of the Third International controlled between them approximately 12,000,000 votes. Many representatives of the workers were successfully elected to the legislature.

Not only had the workers succeeded in gaining union wages and union hours throughout the greater part of industry, but they owned "innumerable houses, manifold institutions, libraries, medical clinics, hospitals, convalescent homes, labor secretariats, legal consulting agencies, labor universities, and vocational training schools. . ." (*Labor Under Hitler*, a pamphlet attacking Hitler, printed under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, p. 7.)

Well-printed magazines, newspapers and books were produced in great quantities by the workers. They enjoyed vacations at lodges and cultural centers owned by themselves. They had built up huge reserves for group insurance. They exerted a powerful influence not only through legislative representation but through wage commissions, labor courts, social administration, and workers' factory councils.

Twice—in 1919 and again in 1923—the workers had come within a handspan of establishing their own government in power. So powerful was the political drive of the working class that the capitalists were able to retain their position only because of the perfidy of certain key leaders of the workers. The might of the German labor movement shook the capitalist clutch on political power and national wealth again and again.

Union wages, union hours and the other important concessions which the workers had gained through militant struggles seemed as impervious to grasping capitalist fingers as a wall of polished granite.

Yet within twelve months of that fateful day on which President Hindenburg called *Der Fuehrer* to form a new government, this powerful labor movement was completely annihilated.

Those working class leaders who had not succeeded in utilizing their passports and airplane tickets suffered indescribable tortures behind the barbed wire of concentration camps. Many were killed outright, victims of the Brown Shirt followers of *Der Fuehrer*.

How was it possible for an obscure individual, starting with a "party" composed of only seven "crackpot agitators" who gained their livelihood as professional barflies, to sweep a modern powerful labor movement of millions with fire and murder unchecked and reduce it to bondage as miserable and horrible as that prevailing in the darkest days of the Middle Ages?

Depression Sweeps Germany When the capitalist lords of industry in Germany saw the plants they controlled for their private benefit taken over by the workers in 1919, they thought it was the end of plush cushions and champagne parties for them. When the cowardly or shortsighted leaders of the workers handed the plants and the government back, the capitalists wiped beads of cold sweat from their brows and resolved that such a hairline escape should never occur again. What if the great masses of working people had actually put their own government in power!

At first they attempted rather gingerly to chisel back a few of the concessions they had been forced to give up. They added a few labor spies and strikebreakers to their payrolls. But the unions faced this threat with an iron front and the capitalists saw that it was impossible to get anywhere with such antiquated tactics.

The great landholding barons in East Germany silently bit their lips and let the poor farmers remain on the marginal lands where they had squatted. The big industrial-

Workers of New York! Buy Your Socialist Appeal at the Following Newsstands

NEW YORK CITY BRANCHES AT WORK: For 10 days now all the comrades of New York City have been hard at work selling the Socialist Appeal, distributing tens of thousands of leaflets, selling the Coughlin pamphlet, etc.

Strenuous efforts have been made to boost Appeal circulation. The Branches have run far more street corner meetings than usual, have held local parades and demonstrations in the streets of the Bronx, East Side, Brooklyn, etc.

Abe Miller, local New York literature agent, has recommended the following goals in preparation for our mighty anti-Coughlin demonstration. These are now being carried out in action:

(1) All Branches are to double their Appeal bundle orders. (2) Branches ordering Appeals above their regular quota will receive them at a lower, special price. (3) In all parades and street

corner meetings, the Appeal is to be mounted on a placard and carried aloft for everyone to see. (4) Branches are to devise publicity stunts and schemes for advertising the Appeal. The best methods are to have comrades wear Appeal poster signs when selling in the streets; to hire a horse and wagon and set up an Appeal float; to decorate branch headquarters; to distribute all back copies of the paper on hand. (5) In addition, as part of the job in fulfilling New York's quota in the War Referendum Campaign, all comrades who are collecting names on the petition lists are carrying around subscription blanks and getting new readers for the Appeal.

And so we find the comrades of the New York Socialist Workers Party and Y.P.S.L. hard at work building our press. More power to them and let their energetic activity be an example to every branch throughout the country!

MANHATTAN Cherry & Katherine Sts., Monroe & Madison Sts.—K.K. Stationery Store, Near Knickerbocker Village—Villard's General Store, Essex & Delancey Sts.—Houston & Clinton, Meisel Bookshop—Grand & Attorney Sts., Clinton & E. B'way, 5th St. & Ave. B—N.W. 9th St. & Ave. D—Candy Store, 2nd Ave. & 2nd St.—N.W. 2nd Ave. & 4th St., 17 First Ave., 2nd Ave. & 9th St. (Stuyvesant Casino), Ave. B & 10th St.—N.E. 2nd Ave. & 12th St. (near Cafe Roy-al), Waverly Pl. & B'way.—N.W. Biederman's—184 Second Ave. Univ. Pl. & 12th St.—N.E. 14th St. & Univ. Pl.—S.E. 14th St. & B'way.—S.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—S.W. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—N.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—1st Stand S.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—2nd Stand S.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—S.W. 14th St. & 3rd Ave.—N.W. 14th St. opp. Jefferson Theatre, 14th St. & 2nd Ave.—N.W. 13th St. & Ave. C—14th St. & 8th Ave.—N.E. 23rd St. & 7th Ave.—N.W. & St. & 6th Ave.—N.E. 42nd St., 14th St. & 4th Ave.—36th St. & 7th Ave.—N.E. 38th St. & 6th Ave., 38th St. & 8th Ave., 38th St. & 7th Ave.—N.E. & S.W. B'way & 38th St.—N.E. 131 W. 33rd St.—Rm. 704, 75 Greenwich Ave., 8th St. & 6th Ave.—N.E. 51 Univ. Pl. Stand Book Store—7 E. 15th St., 23rd St. & 4th Ave.—S.W. 14th St., W. 42nd opp. Stern's—South side, 42nd St. & 6th

BRONX Longwood Ave. & Southern Boulevard—S.W. 171st St. & Fulton Ave.—S.W. 170th St. & Jerome Ave.—S.E. 167th St. & Jerome Ave., Jerome & Burnside Ave., 161st St. & Prospect Ave., Freeman St. & Southern Blvd., 14th St. & Boston Road, Kings-bridge Rd. & Jerome Ave., East Mottoli Subway Station, 387 Sedgwick Ave., McEllan & Grand Concourse—S.E.

BROOKLYN Straus cor. Pitkin Ave., Tompkins cor. Myrtle Ave., Haverway cor. S. 4th St. Sutter cor. Van Sinderen, Rockaway cor. Pitkin Ave., 475 Sutter Ave., Bay Parkway & 86th St., O' & 66th St., Brighton Beach Ave. & 5th St., 50th St. & New Utrecht Ave., 1510 Kings Highway, McDonald & Ditmars Ave., 9th Ave. & 40th.

QUEENS 3023 Grand Ave. 31-10 Broadway.



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ists got busy reconditioning their giant factories and mills for another bid at selling for private profit on the world market.

Despite the mountainous burden of the war debt and the mountainous burden of the reparations payments heaped upon the backs of the workers and poor farmers of Germany, the period of prosperity that culminated in 1929 made it possible to get by without too much danger of economic collapse.

American dollars poured into Germany in hope of a big return from reconditioned German industry and the period of eternal expansion, eternal progress, and endless vistas of profit kept the German capitalists from grumbling too much.

Wondrous improvements were made in the factory machines, embodying the latest developments of scientific inventive genius and super-efficient plant organization.

But the enormous taxes needed to pay the staggering war debt kept the pocket books of the workers, the poor farmers, and the small merchants drained. No matter how they attempted to wriggle out of it, taxes continued to eat into their income. And the wild inflation that struck the German currency during the early twenties ate like a cancer into the savings of the poor. Bankruptcies increased. Young people coming from the schools faced a blank and forbidding future. The heightened efficiency of the factories threw increasing numbers of workers into the ranks of the starving unemployed.

The world-wide depression of the capitalist system which began in 1929 heightened this process to the point of frenzy. Germany had a total voting population of only 36,000,000 in 1930, but 6,000,000 were unemployed.

In this same year it was estimated by an American newspaper correspondent after a careful survey that there were possibly 15,000,000 Germans on the verge of starvation.

To make matters worse the democratic capitalist government cut down on relief allowances and made it much more difficult to obtain help from relief officials, alleging that this would force the unemployed to get jobs and be absorbed by private industry.

The entire market dropped into a bottomless well. The German capitalists found themselves with the most modern and well-equipped factories in the world, but nowhere to sell products at a profit. The interest which they demanded for their investment reached almost zero. Goods clogged warehouses to the rafters.

The capitalists looked with hungry eyes at the union wages and union hours enjoyed by the workers. Nor did these men trained in the bandit warfare of imperialist competition fail to try out, in a scientific and experimental way on their electric adding machines, what totals could be estimated in the reserves of the trade union group insurance plans and savings accounts.

The more clear-sighted of the workers saw that the unendurable suffering from the crisis in the economic system could be ended in only one way—establishing a socialist state which would kick out the small handful of wealthy families who blocked the wheels of production, and start distributing goods to the ragged and hungry millions.

The capitalists decided to do something and to do it quick.

(Continued in next issue)

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Automotive Progress—in Reverse

The twenty-first edition of "Automobile Facts and Figures" was recently issued by the Automobile Manufacturers Association. It is an enthusiastic volume, full of big figures: last year motorists paid one out of every eight tax dollars, their total tax bill coming to \$1,529,312,125 . . . total cars registered were 27,628,879 . . . the industry was the nation's No. 1 consumer of steel, rubber, plate glass, nickel, lead and mohair . . . it accounted for the direct and indirect employment of 6,380,000 workers, or one-seventh of all persons gainfully employed last year . . . and so on . . . and so on.

There was one rather interesting fact about this "surging giant of production", as the N.Y. Times called it editorially, which somehow didn't get into the book. It may be found in a recent report of the National Association of Sales Finance Companies, and it is that last year more automobiles, both new and used, were repossessed because of failure to keep up payments than in any year in the history of the industry. Almost 20% of all used cars sold were repossessed (next highest peak was 13% in 1932) and almost 7% of all new cars (the 1932 peak being slightly less than 6%).

"It is somewhat astonishing," comments the Cleveland Trust Company's Bulletin, "to find that the increase in repossessions resulting from the sudden business relapse which began late in 1937 was considerably more serious than that at the bottom of the great depression in 1932." A serious crack seems to be developing in the imposing facade of the automobile industry—one of many such cracks which have become increasingly evident in the structure of American capitalism since the 1937 collapse.

Weather Report

Those who follow the whimsically humorous weather reports which are printed on the first page of the N. Y. World-Telegram every evening must have been startled to read the report for July 29 last: "The winds today are taking a middle of the road position. They are moderate and southerly. The temperature is far from subservient—a good substantial, sound money, 85 degrees at most. But the humidity is sheer Trotskyism—insidious, crafty, boring from within and without." The friend who called this to my attention adds that the report appeared this way in the home edition, but that in later editions the reference to Trotskyism was deleted. He suggests that the term is coming to have the same significance for the bourgeoisie that "Communism" had before the C.P. went respectable. I hope he's right.

Spain: Work in Progress

As might have been expected, the victory of Franco is bringing into being a Fascist regime of so extreme a type as to be almost

a burlesque on even Italy and Germany. The complete crushing in the Civil War of all resistance from the masses and the backward nature of the Spanish economy and ruling class made this result easily predictable. But the lengths to which things have gone is still a little surprising. From the press I glean a few of the more startling recent disclosures:

Item: Every family must get an official budget book and must record therein "with the greatest honesty and scrupulousness" all receipts and expenditures. These books will be periodically inspected by the Ministry of Labor "to determine the actual necessities of the home," that is, to see how low the wage scale may be safely fixed.

Item: At San Sebastian, swank bathing place, women's bathing suits must carry knee-length skirts and have tops that reach the neck and men bathers must wear tops. Fine for violations: \$18.

Item: Maids in the houses of Madrid noblemen now get \$4.60 a month. This correspondent adds: "You can tell the maids from the aristocrats on the streets because the maids are not allowed to wear hats."

Item: The Ministry of the Interior has organized a large crop of censors to survey all past productions of Spanish art, literature and music and to "eliminate" any works they consider "inimical to the interests of Spain." A staff of "several thousand" functionaries censor every letter sent or received and all phone calls. All Spaniards must report to the Ministry the presence in homes or shops of any books of "unfriendly character."

Item: Women are strictly forbidden to lie down on Spanish beaches.

Item: On July 30, General Franco decreed that all Spanish men between the ages of 18 and 50 must work fifteen days each year for the State without pay. This return to the medieval corvee has been ventured in no other Fascist nation so far; even Hitler pays the unemployed youth who work on the farms something, and they get their board and keep besides. But, as Franco eloquently put it in a recent speech: "Work, being a social duty, will be universally demanded in some form or other of all Spaniards who are not crippled, as it must be deemed a tribute that all must pay to the wealth of the country."

The most interesting item of all, however, is that on August 7 the New Deal administration, which so shocked and pained its admirers by its prompt diplomatic recognition of the Franco regime, took steps to show its friendliness for its sister democracy in more substantial form. The Export-Import Bank, chief organ of the Administration's dollar diplomacy, announced it was extending \$13,750,000 in credits to Nationalist Spain to make it possible for it to buy American cotton. The editorial moaning and wailing of the Nation and the New Republic can be imagined!

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

SACCO AND VANZETTI (Executed August 23, 1927)

Nicola Sacco (born in Italy, April 22, 1891) was a shoemaker. For years he worked in a Milford, Mass., shoe factory as a skilled edger. Bartolomeo Vanzetti (born in Italy, June 11, 1888) was a worker who had tried his hands at many trades. For years he peddled fish in Plymouth, Mass. Sacco and Vanzetti were no different from any other worker—except in one thing. Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists. They hated tyranny and oppression. They dreamed of a society in which man would be free. They paid for that crime with their lives.

The year 1920 was the year of the Palmer raids, of the post-war hysteria. On April 20th of that year a paymaster was held up and killed in Braintree, Mass. Sacco and Vanzetti were nowhere near the scene of the killing. There wasn't a shred of tangible evidence to connect them with the crime. But they were anarchists — and so they were arrested and tried before a judge (Webster Thayer) who publicly bragged that he'd burn the damn anarchists. Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty and sentenced to death. The Massachusetts courts chalked up another triumph for boss justice.

A Seven-Year Fight

Appeals, mass action stayed execution of the sentence for seven years. During those years, the wave of protest swelled higher as added evidence confirmed their innocence, pointed the guilt in fact at a gang of professional thieves. From Shanghai to Boston workers demonstrated. Bourgeois liberals (Felix Frankfurter and others) declared the trial a frame-up. In Paris, barricades were erected. A real united front of labor fought for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. Union Square was many times packed as labor leaders of differing political viewpoints, James P. Cannon, Carlo Tresca, etc., demanded freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti.

But an "impartial" investigating committee of prominent "liberals" appointed by Governor Fuller "weighed" the evidence, ignored all the facts clearing Sacco and Vanzetti and proving the case a frame-up and confirmed their "guilt." Massachusetts justice had to have its toll. Sacco and Vanzetti had to die. That they did—with the cry "Long live anarchy!" on their lips.

How better recite the lives of those two great martyrs than in the unmatchable words of one of them, Vanzetti, from his address to the court before sentence was pronounced, and from his final statement to the court: "Everybody that knows these two arms knows very well that I do not need to go into the streets and kill a man to take money. I can live by my two hands and live well. But besides that, I can live even without work with my hands for other people. I have had plenty of chance to live independently and to live what the world conceives to be a higher life than to gain our bread with the sweat of our brow."

"My father in Italy is in good condition. I could have come back in Italy and he would have welcomed me every time with open arms. Even if I come back with not a cent in my pocket, my father could have given me a position, not to work but to make business, or to oversee upon the land that he owns. . . .

"Now, I should say that I am not only innocent of all these things, not only have I never committed a real crime in my life—though some sins but not crimes — not only have I struggled all my life to eliminate crimes, the crimes that the official and the moral law condemns, but also the crime that the moral law and the official law sanction and sanctify—the exploitation of man by the man, and if there is a reason why I am here as a guilty man, if there is a reason why you in a few minutes can doom me, it is this reason and none else. . . .

"Our Career and Our Triumph"

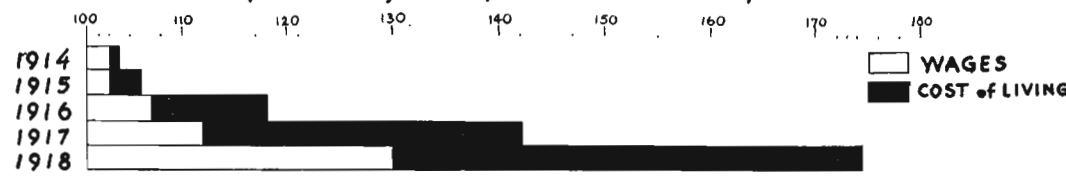
"I have talk a great deal of myself but I even forgot to name Sacco. Sacco too is a worker from his boyhood, a skilled worker lover of work, with a good job and pay, a bank account, a good and lovely wife, two beautiful children, and a neat little home at the verge of a wood, near a brook. Sacco is a heart, a faith, a character, a man; a man lover of nature and of mankind. A man who gave all, who sacrifice all to the cause of Liberty and to his love for mankind; money, rest, mundane ambitions, his own wife, his children, himself and his own life. Sacco has never dreamt to steal, never to assassinate. He and I have never brought a morsel of bread to our mouths, from our childhood to today—which has not been gained by the sweat of our brows. Never. His people also are in good position and of good reputation.

"Oh, yes, I may be more wifful, as some have put it, I am a better babler than he is, but many, many times in hearing his heartfelt voice ringing a faith sublime, in considering his supreme sacrifice, remembering his heroism I felt small small at the presence of his greatness and found myself compelled to fight back from my eyes the tears, and quanch my heart throbbing to my throat to not weep before him—this man called thief and assassin and doomed. But Sacco's name will live in the hearts of the people and in their gratitude when Katzman's and your bones will be dispersed by the time, when your name, his name, your laws, institutions, and your false god are but a dim remembering of a cursed past in which man was wolf to the man."

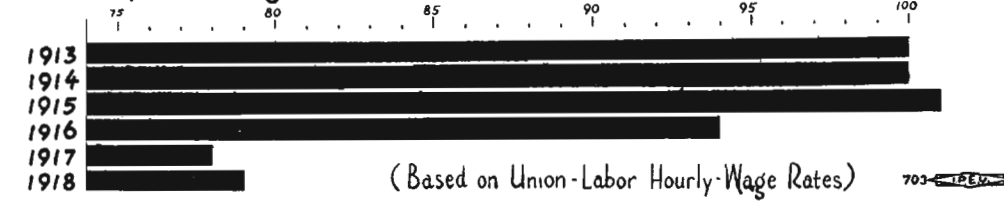
"If it had not been for this thing, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scolding men, I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career, and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

Who Won the World War? This Is What the War Meant for the Workers!

COST OF LIVING Skyrockets — WAGES LAG FAR BEHIND — For purposes of comparison, 100 = pre-war level —



RESULT: "REAL WAGES" GO DOWN ("Real Wages" = the amount that one's paycheck can buy)



(Based on Union-Labor Hourly Wage Rates)

(U. S. Labor Dept. statistics)

WORKERS' FORUM

APPRECIATES MORGAN COLUMN ON YPSL CAMP

Dear Comrade Editor: I want to express my appreciation of Bill Morgan's column describing the California Y.P.S.L. camp. It was the sort of article which renews one's faith in the ability of our movement to fight against all odds until victory will be achieved. Bill caught the spirit which filled the California camp and other Y.P.S.L. camps—the spirit of fight and study and enthusiasm and sacrifice.

(May I suggest that you change the manner of printing his articles? They would be much more attractive if you give them special feature headings based on the material in each article, instead of burying each piece under the dull and unsuggestive column-head "On the Line"?)

I also want to officially invite the Appeal to send up a reporter to the New York Y.P.S.L. camp which is opening this week, especially to the training school which we will have on the week of August 25 and which will end in a grand jamboree. If you think California Y.P.S.L.'s run a good camp, you ain't seen nothing till you come to the New York camp.

Fraternally, IRVING HOWE.

A BIT OF TRUE COMPANY UNIONISM

Dear comrades: I know this news is somewhat late, but inasmuch as a letter from Herbert Legg, WPA Administrator of Southern California, commending the Workers Alliance for its "cooperative spirit" has just been posted on our project bulletin board I want to tell you what happened here in connection with the WPA strike.

After many attempts and much effort on the part of the militants on the Writers and Historical Records projects to call a strike we had to give up the idea because the Stalinists who have the majority voted against such action.

The Stalinists called instead a 2-hour work stoppage to protest peacefully the 130-hour law. The workers were to walk out just two and a half hours before quitting time and assemble quietly in front of the building—along the curb so not to block the entrance to the building. No picket lines, no demonstration. Just one happy family loitering around the building, eating candy, drinking soda-pop.

We tried to turn this get-together into some sort of militant protest, with our own placards etc. But Lo' and Behold! When the Stalinists saw the placard which read "Repress Government Strike - breaking acts" they became exceedingly indignant and isolated us. They held a short meeting and disbanded.

Fraternally, Y.P.

Comrade Y. enclosed Legg's letter which was addressed to the job stewardess of the local on the Historical Records Survey. It reads:

"I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 21st,

CAMP 3L

Near Brewster, New York A country estate of the bourgeoisie rented for the Y.P.S.L. Bathing, sport, ping-pong, badminton, and a good time. Campfires, singing, dancing.

Rates: Employed \$14 Unemployed \$8 Get all information at YPSL OFFICE 116 University Pl., N.Y.

and appreciate this advise very much.

"I fully appreciate the reasons for our workers making a protest on their own time against some of the matters that were at that time before our Congress. Certainly an orderly public petition or protest is one of the most sacred rights we have in our American form of government.

"Moreover, I do appreciate the attitude in your organization not countenancing the actions of a few who attempted to place a wrong interpretation on the protest, but your actions were in entire accord with the respectful and cooperative spirit we have always found existing in the actions and negotiations of the Workers Alliance."

(signed) HERBERT C. LEGG, Administrator of Southern California

DEFENDING DEMOCRACY IN AN "HONORABLE" WAY

Editor: In its report for the year 1938-39 the American Civil Liberties Union states that "there developed during the year a more intense anti-democratic propaganda whose effect, if successful, inevitably will result in sweeping denials of civil liberties." At the same time it reaffirms its position with respect to defending "the rights of movements characterized as anti-democratic."

This democratic platitude has in reality often been used to the advantage of the fascists. Thus the A.C.L.U. praises the N. Y. police for defending the Nazi meeting at Madison Sq. Garden (though it doesn't mention the rights of the anti-Nazis who met outside). In Denver, Colorado, it has defended the exhibitors of the vicious anti-Negro film, "Birth of a Nation." In principle, it defends Father Coughlin against the refusal of station W.M.C.A. to grant him time to spread his anti-Semitic doctrines. It has protested against the interference with Bund meetings by anti-Nazis in Syracuse, Union City, etc.

If, some day, the gentlemen of the A.C.L.U. will have defended the "civil rights" of the fascists sufficiently to find themselves in concentration camps, it will, at least, be a source of great satisfaction to themselves that they acted in an honorable and democratic way.

Brooklyn, N. Y. A. S.

SEPTEMBER NEW INTERNATIONAL FEATURES SITUATION IN WPA

The forthcoming issue of the New International, which will go to press shortly, will contain the following important analyses of national and international problems:

- (1) Twenty-Five Million of Us, by Argus. A critical analysis of the WPA, what it has achieved and what it has failed to achieve; what it has meant to the millions of unemployed in the United States. Illustrated with a series of graphs compiled by the author.
- (2) The Situation in Ceylon, by Sherman Stanley.
- (3) Latest Developments in India.
- (4) The PSOP and Trotskyism, by Leon Trotsky. A sequel to the exchange of letters between Leon Trotsky and Daniel Guerin and Marceau Pivert.
- (5) Continuation of the article on French politics by

Rosa Luxemburg. (6) The Palestine Problem, by Max Shachtman.

(7) Where Does the Ludlow Amendment Stand, by Harold Draper. An analysis of the changes through which the original Ludlow Amendment has gone and the present position of its sponsors in Congress.

(8) The Negro in the United States. The first of a series of articles by George Novack on this enormously important question for the future of the American labor movement.

In addition to this partial table of contents there will be Dwight Macdonald's regular column "Reading from Left to Right," book reviews and various other features in the September issue of the magazine.

For information on subscription and bundle rates, address the New International, 116 University Place, New York City.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The American Negro and the Proletarian Revolution

"The Negroes are designated by their whole historical past to be, under adequate leadership, the very vanguard of the proletarian revolution."—from "Resolution on Negro Work" adopted by the Socialist Workers Party convention July 1-5, 1939.

It is going to be one of the high peaks in the history of the American revolutionary movement, this decision of our recent convention.

There is, in the sentence quoted, an overstatement, in my opinion. It would be more correct to say, "in the very vanguard." But the place of the Negroes is in the very front. This is the truth that must be burnt into the consciousness of every party member before the party can successfully approach the Negro question. When we have absorbed this, we shall know how to approach the Negro.

It is the masses of the under-privileged, the disinherited, who are least corrupted by the prevailing ideas of a society. They, in the mass, are the readiest to fight most desperately for the overthrow of any social system.

Example of French Revolution

The Paris masses were the battering ram of the French Revolution: the Sansculottes, i.e., the people without shoes. In that manual of revolutionary theory and practice, the History of the Russian Revolution, Trotsky describes the entry of these down-trodden masses on the historical stage of the French Revolution. (p. 210):

"But before it comes to war and the guillotine, the Paris Commune enters the scene—supported by the lowest city layers of the Third Estate—and with increasing boldness contests the power with the official representatives of the national bourgeoisie. A new double sovereignty is thus inaugurated, the first manifestation of which we observe as early as 1790, when the big and medium bourgeoisie is still firmly seated in the administration and in the municipalities. How striking is the picture—and how vilely it has been slandered!—of the efforts of the plebeian levels to raise themselves up out of the social cellars and catacombs, and stand forth in that forbidden arena where people in wigs and silk breeches are settling the fate of the nation. It seemed as though the very foundation of society, tramped underfoot by the cultured bourgeoisie, was stirring and coming to life. Human heads lifted themselves above the solid mass, horny hands stretched aloft, hoarse but courageous voices shouted. The districts of Paris, bastards of the revolution, began to live a life of their own. They were recognized—it was impossible not to recognize them!—and transformed into sections. But they kept continually breaking the boundaries of legality and receiving a current of fresh blood from below, opening their ranks in spite of the law to those with no rights, the destitute Sansculottes. At the same time, the rural municipalities were becoming a screen for a peasant uprising against that bourgeois legality which was defending the feudal property system. Thus from under a second nation arises a third."

These were the millions who poured into the French Trade Unions between June and August 1836 at the rate of 40,000 a day. These are the masses who will rally around the more conservative organizations of the more privileged workers and vitalize them for the proletarian revolution.

Revolutionary History of American Negroes

And in America, "under adequate leadership", the Negroes will come en masse to the revolutionary struggle.

Of the fifteen million of them in America today, barring a thin crust of petty-bourgeois capitalists, intellectuals, and well-paid domestic attendants of the American bourgeoisie, the large majority of Negroes will fight for a new society with a vigor and endurance that will be surpassed by no other section of the American workers or farmers.

Their ancestors did it. Lincoln doubted that the North could have won without the 220,000 Negroes in the Northern Army and the support of the slave population. How the black soldiers fought! "It would have been madness to attempt, with the bravest white troops, what I have successfully accomplished with the black ones." This is the testimony of Colonel Higginson, and there are a score of similar appraisals. This bravery and endurance can be counted on, from any people who for centuries have experienced every variety of oppression and at last see a way out.

Such was, or should have been, generally known at least by Marxists. But it is only within the last few years that research has begun to find and make known the revolutionary hostility against the old slave-owners which characterized the ex-slaves after the Civil War. Fear of a servile insurrection hung like a thunder-cloud over the defeated plantation magnates in the years that followed their defeat. With the slightest encouragement from any political party in the North, the blacks in the South would have carried the revolution to a conclusion, wiping out every vestige of the plantation system and with it the theory and practise of white supremacy.

Negro Not Deceived by "Democracy"

Today the lives of over 90% of the Negroes in this country offer no soil in which illusions about bourgeois democracy can flourish. The Negroes have no need to dream dreams and see visions of a new society. It is always before them—to be able to live as white America lives. But that desire, modest as it is, they will never get under capitalism. The majority do not understand their position in these terms. But the thinking ones know that they will win their emancipation only by merciless struggle against their masters. What terrorizes them is that they see as their enemies all white America, white workers and all. When the white workers realize, as Lincoln realized, that their emancipation is impossible without the Negroes, they will look for them and find them as Lincoln did. They are doing it already, as witness the hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the CIO. The revolutionary party seeks to accelerate that process.

American Marxists Have Underestimated The Negroes

What Lincoln learned by experience, we of the revolutionary vanguard should know by analysis. Yet, even when it was a revolutionary party, the Communist Party took ten years to address itself seriously to the Negro question, and then only by the vigorous intervention of the Communist International. The S.W.P. has followed an identical course—ten years of neglect and then an impulse to action from our international movement. This is not in the faintest degree accidental, and any superficial explanations would be a dangerous sophistry. It is due in part to the influence of that chauvinism which is characteristic of American bourgeois society and which is present even in a movement as advanced as ours. Marxists are not exempt from the laws of history and can combat a prevailing prejudice in all its aspects only by conscious and strenuous thought and action continuously renewed. This is not a matter of personal relationships between whites and Negroes in a party, important though that is. There is a certain number of non-revolutionary Americans who maintain quite liberal personal relationships with those Negroes whom they know. Yet they are permeated with chauvinism. We shall have to probe this question to its depths.

When as a party we realize how pervasive and subtle, even among revolutionaries, is the chauvinism fostered by American capitalism, then and then only shall we be in a position to tear it out by the roots and begin to win the Negro for the revolution. But the first requisite for this is to tear out of our minds the false conceptions of Negroes which we have unconsciously taken over from American capitalism. To see the Negro as being in the very vanguard of a great international political movement is to do him justice for the first time in American political thinking. It is from there that the Fourth International begins.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

Father Coughlin has just added a new slogan to his army, one borrowed from a companion-in-arms: "An attack upon Father Coughlin is an attack upon the Catholic Church."

Whether the Catholic hierarchy decides to accept this identification of the Radio Priest and his movement with the Church itself, is beside the point for the moment. What we are interested in right here is the relation between Coughlin's new slogan—and his fascist agitation in general—and the question of the freedom of religious belief and of worship, especially of the millions of Catholics in this country.

Where We Stand on Religion

Now, we do not pretend to be what we are not. The revolutionary Marxist movement is not a religious organization; it does not propagate or support religious doctrines or institutions, considering them harmful to the real interests of the working class; and there is no doubt that non-believers predominate overwhelmingly in our party.

Yet, contrary to the slanders of red-baiters of the Coughlin type, we do stand for complete freedom of religious belief and worship for every man and woman who wishes to exercise that freedom. We stand for it just as firmly as we support the full right of any person to be a rationalist, agnostic or atheist.

A person's religion is, in our view, his private affair. This holds true even of individual members of our party who, if he happens to be a church-goer, does not have the demand made on him to abandon his religious affiliation as a condition for party membership. Lenin, whom we regard, along with Marx and Engels, as our teacher in these matters, even invited priests to become members of the Bolshevik party upon the one condition that they support the political program of the party and work for its victory.

To be sure, while considering that religion is the private affair of each individual, the revolutionary party, as a party with a world outlook of its own, has its own position, which it feels free to voice. While it is not a mere atheist society, it is conscious of the fact that it is the party of the only remaining progressive force in society—the working class. And this class, by its very position in society, is wedded to modern science. The party, therefore, be it in a minority or be it in control of the government, wholeheartedly supports the teachings of modern science, and does not abandon that support just because science conflicts with superstition or supernatural beliefs.

Does this mean that a workers' government would go in for police suppression of religion or religious institutions? Not for a minute! Such a government would confine itself to this policy: first, in the field of education, which could not be a private matter, it would teach all pupils and students the objective truths of modern science; second, not only would it completely separate the church from the state, but it would compel the church institutions to maintain themselves exclusively by the support of their respective flocks and not, as is the case nowadays, by means of special privileges and prerogatives which various religious institutions obtain from the state in one form or another.

What serious and honest objection can be made to such a policy? Yes, replies the red-baiter, but what about the religious persecutions in Soviet Russia and in Loyalist Spain? In both countries, we reply, the Church was not a purely religious institution. It was a big economic institution (the Church was the biggest single capitalist in Spain!) and instead of confining itself to what it considered the moral precepts and the religious teachings of Christ, it identified itself in the most active way politically with capitalist reaction.

And if the Church, or anyone else, enters politics, and takes a position in the class war that goes on in modern society, it cannot legitimately object if it finds itself compelled to share the fortunes of war. To protest the sanctity of religion when organized religion is up to its neck in politics, is the sheerest hypocrisy.

We are not interested here in an abstract fight against religion or religious beliefs, to which we have always acknowledged fullest freedom. We are not interested in offending the religious sentiments of any person—quite the contrary. When Coughlin says we are, then the honorable gentleman is lying. We are interested in fighting against Coughlin-in-politics, and that spells fascism.

Coughlin Provokes Anti-Catholicism

When Coughlin tries to take refuge behind the skirts of "religion" he is both hypocritical and cowardly. But more than that—and let every Catholic worker reflect on this point. By his anti-Semitic campaign, Coughlin is stirring up what is merely another kind of bigotry: professional anti-Catholicism. Many Catholics are beginning to understand it and to feel disturbed. Only this morning the press reported the "burning of a swastika on the steps of a Roman Catholic Church" in Albuquerque, New Mexico. A few days ago, we received the first issue of the revived Ku Klux Klan rag, The Fiery Cross, published in Atlanta, Ga. It is almost as violently anti-Catholic as Coughlin is anti-Jew. The new Imperial Wizard proclaims that "we shall ever strive to promote the interest of the native born, white, Protestant, Gentile Population of America." (That would leave out the Canadian-born Catholic, Coughlin!)

How little the religious bigots of all kinds, whose record of mutual persecution and hounding reeks through the pages of history, understand in reality about the question of that freedom of religion which they accuse us Reds of violating!

Says Representative Dewey Short (R., Mo.): "The wage-hour law is just the NRA in disguise and if the NRA taught us anything it was that any attempt to force the members of any industry to conform to universal and uniform standards is ruinous". Yep, 25 cents per hour is communism.

Eleanor Roosevelt says: "My own great hope, in what seems to me a rather baffling world, is the attitude which young people, with all their difficulties, seem to preserve. There is always the note of optimism among the real leaders and an idealism which I marvel at their being able to preserve in the present situation." She knows what is being cooked up for youth.

The M-Day Plan Seen For What It Is--A Blueprint for Dictatorship

The New York Times, Responding to the Bugle Call as War Comes Closer, Frankly Discusses the Meaning of The Industrial Mobilization Plan, and Yells "Hurrah!"

By HAL DRAPER

The day after the Roosevelt administration announced the setting up of the War Dictatorship Board which will "take over" on M-Day and administer a military regime, the New York Times was ready with its editorial eye-wash. A study of the Times editorial of August 11 on "Industrial Mobilization" is invaluable.

The appointment of the "War Resources Board," says the editorial, "is one of the most important steps yet taken in the industrial mobilization of the nation for war." It "will blaze a fresh trail in the history of American national defense, for no such body has heretofore functioned in peacetime. . . . This is correct. Roosevelt is the first president to announce openly that a military dictatorship will follow the outbreak of any war the U. S. goes into, and more than that, to name the dictators in advance.

"THE INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION PLAN IS, THEREFORE, IN ESSENCE A BLUEPRINT FOR DICTATORSHIP. . . . NOT VERY PLEASANT—BUT INEVITABLE

But the Times is against dictatorship—it's all for democracy, and so this sentence cannot be left standing as is. It isn't. The sentence continues: ". . . THOUGH DESIGNED TO BE A DICTATORSHIP ADAPTED TO A DEMOCRATIC NATION INVOLVED IN A 'TOTAL' WAR."

Not that the Times finds this palatable—dear, dear, no. "Certainly none of this is very pleasant, but it is perhaps inevitable in this mad period of contemporary history."

But take heart: "The appointment of Mr. Stettinius and his associates should reassure the public against the fear that the Industrial Mobilization Plan might be made the instrument

of oppression. . . . Before we turn back to the Times we wish to clarify this question of a dictatorship which is a democracy and vice versa. The editorial neglected to quote other examples of this strange mixture: we shall do so.

A FEW EXAMPLES OF DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

First, there is Greece. The reader may be under the impression that Greece is a bloody dictatorship ruled by the butcher Metaxas, where as many workers have been slaughtered and where there are as many concentration camps (in proportion to the population) as in Hitler Germany. Where workers' parties are outlawed, parliament abolished, revolutionaries shot on sight. But the Times itself recently carried the following statement to the press by the Greek Consul General in New York:

"Premier Metaxas has been authorized to govern the country by royal decrees and his authority therefore compares with that of Premier Daladier in France. Consequently Greece remains a democracy. . . ."

Or listen to the Times' Rome correspondent, Arnold Cortesi, on January 2, 1938:

"Premier Mussolini has declared more than once . . . that the so-called dictatorships are the world's purest example of democracy. . . ."

To clear up the natural question as to what democracy is anyway, we can now mention another Times editorial which appeared two days after the one on Industrial Mobilization, August 13. It is titled: "Democracy is Freedom" and "Dictatorship today means life regulated by a policeman with a gun." Since the latter sentence is a good description of life under the Industrial Mobilization Plan, as explained by the Times itself two days previous, it is clear that by this time the editor has forgotten his M-Day editorial, as he hopes his readers have.

To finish up on the Times, we cannot forbear revealing that its present attitude of regretful acceptance of the M-Day dictatorship is a change of line.

Only last year, on April 10, 1938, the Times ran another editorial on the Plan. Here is what it said then:

"In effect the plan provides for government by fiat, with the President as absolute dictator of the nation's destinies, and with an emergency establishment virtually superseding the Cabinet and executive branches of government. . . . It is a somewhat dubious tribute to the thoroughness of preparation and clarity of military thought that have gone into this plan to note that both Germany and Japan have patterned their industrial mobilization plans after ours. . . . It (the Sheppard-May Mobilization bill) certainly should not be passed in its present form. For though it may help to achieve efficiency in the transition from peace to war, it does so at a price—the price of freedom. . . . it is a 'surrender of democratic rights' to a military autocracy, a legislated confession of our lack of confidence in those self-governing principles for which this nation long has stood foursquare."

This is the sign of the times. The boys are falling into line. The bugle is calling, and every newspaper organ of the Fat Boys must do its duty. "Unpleasant but perhaps inevitable. . . ."

THESE STALWARTS, HAVING DONE THEIR BIT, 'WON'T BE THERE'

By NEIL WHITE

NEW YORK, Aug. 17.—Eight sheepish-looking individuals bowed their way into City Hall today to present a petition to respectfully urge our beloved Mayor of the City of New York to deny or, if it has already been issued, to withhold the permit for Saturday's parade of Coughlin fascists.

Immediately upon entering, they were herded off into a corner by a beefy-looking cop in gold braid.

"State your business," he barked.

"We have a petition for the Mayor," quavered D. G. Plotkin, secretary of the "American Jewish Alliance," who headed the delegation. (His "Alliance" was formed two weeks ago with the blessing of the Stalinist party—and nobody else.)

"He ain't in," announced the gold braid.

"Well then," said Plotkin, summoning up his last ounce of courage in the face of this formidable representative of the State, "will you please see that Acting Mayor Newbold Morris gets it?"

"Sure," said the gold braid soothingly, "we'll see that he gets it. Now, if you've finished your business. . . ."

Plotkin and Co. left. This reporter followed them out, managed to corner Rabbi Plotkin, and put the following questions to him:

"Suppose the Coughlin Fascists' permit to march is not revoked, what then?"

"We won't be around," Plotkin answered, "our work is done, everything is now in the hands of the City."

"Well," I gently persisted, "suppose the Fascists actually march into Union Square on Saturday, even though your organization will not be there may I quote you as in favor of the workers in general turning out to stop the Fascists?"

Plotkin took two steps backward, threw up his hands and intoned:

"Our organization is a semi-religious organization, no we don't advise the workers to go out in the streets to protest against the Fascist demonstration, we do things respectably."

With this, Comrade Rabbi Plotkin dignifiedly turned his back, signalled to his colleagues to follow him and stalked majestically away to dismiss a maximum of 300 "demonstrators" on whose behalf he had presented the petition.

CIO Affiliate Backs Referendum on War

(Continued from Page 1)

no one voted against an idea which is so obviously just, and so enthusiastically supported by the workers.

One speaker, a Stalinist, in desperation, made a frantic speech, supporting the idea of a referendum, but ending up with an appeal to "get out your bayonets if any one dares to attack these shores of our United States."

Stalinist Is Answered

No sooner had he finished than speakers popped up all over the hall.

"Every war is a war of defense, if you listen to the boss press!"

"That's how they always fool us!"

"Our enemy is right here at home, the DuPonts, the Morgans and their like. Our war is against them, not against the workers of any other country!"

"Yeah, we got a war on our hands right here, against real enemies. Our fight is against the whole rotten system. Let's not fall for the 'Save the World for Democracy' bunk."

The full text of the adopted resolution was:

"Whereas: All the nations of the world are preparing for another mass slaughter in which the workers will be asked to die for the profits of the bosses; and Whereas: Roosevelt is spending billions for armaments in preparation for American participation in this war; and Whereas: It is the people and not the \$10,000-a-year congressmen who suffer as a result of war;

"Therefore Be It Resolved: That the WPA and Unemployed auxiliary of the UAW-CIO of Flint demand that Congress submit at once to the several states an amendment to the constitution which will provide that any proposal for the declaration of war or armed hostilities, against any nation or people, shall be submitted to a direct referendum vote of the people."

Mass. Institute of Technology and Moulton of Brookings Institute.

Take another look at the four corporation executives listed above.

THREE OUT OF THESE FOUR ARE MORGAN MEN — paid underlings of J. P. Morgan and Co.

The first three corporations on the list—U. S. Steel, General Motors and American Tel and Tel—are parts of the giant empire of Morgan.

It was J. P. Morgan and Co. which from 1914 to 1917 floated the bonds and acted as the business agent for the Allies in America. It was J. P. Morgan and Co. which had the main stake in the entrance of America into the World War. J. P. Morgan and Co. has retained these connections since 1918.

Now Roosevelt promises to turn the United States Government over to Morgan on M-Day, to let his hired men manage it as directly as they manage the other enterprises of the Big Boss.

The Government machinery is to be openly converted into a super-holding-company for the investments of America's Sixty Families.

It's THEIR government. It will be THEIR war.

It will NOT be the war for democracy that they will call it.

It will be a war to extend the empires of Morgan and the Sixty Families, and nothing else. Down with these war-makers!

Take the war-making power away from Congress!

Let the people vote on war!

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain asserted that made his blood boil to read of the things happening in China, and that in certain circumstances Great Britain might have to send a fleet to the Far East. But not enough of a boil to spill any of his own, we'll wager.

Birds of a Feather

Testifying at the Dies Committee hearing on August 16, Fritz Kuhn, fuhrer of the German-American Bund, stated that Father Coughlin and members of his "Social Justice" organization were among friends and collaborators invited to Bund meetings.

"The Bund," he stated, "cooperates with everybody who has the same aims and purposes that we have."

Not an Accident

To its report of Coughlin's hypocritical disavowal of any connection with the fascist parade of August 19, the New York Times on Wednesday added the sentence: "The Socialist Workers party had planned an 'anti-Fascist' meeting in Union Square to protest the parade."

The identical sentence appears the same day in a story in the ultra-reactionary New York Sun.

"HAD planned" means, in ordinary English, that the parade was no longer being planned. The casual reader would have assumed that, Coughlin having disavowed the parade, the Socialist Workers party had called off the parade.

Was this a mistaken use of grammar? Is it a coincidence that both the Times and the Sun made the same "grammatical mistake"?

We don't think so. Just as it wasn't accidental that neither these papers nor, for that matter, any other capitalist paper, gave any publicity to the anti-fascist counter-demonstration, except as fascist moves or police steps necessitated indirect mention of the anti-fascist action.

The British government began distribution of 1,500,000 gas helmets for protection of babies in event of war. What magnificent humanity the British bosses display—saving the lives of even the kids of the poor—so that they may get bayoneted in the Third World War!

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

Meany vs. Rubin

The most vociferous howlers for a third-term for Roosevelt at the New York State Federation of Labor convention were—of course—the Stalinists.

Frenziedly, day in and out in the "Daily (Lying) Worker" they have sought to cover up Roosevelt's crimes: his April 27 relief budget message cutting nearly a billion off the previous year's WPA appropriation and limiting the WPA rolls to two million maximum; his insistence upon wiping out the prevailing union wage on WPA; his outlawry of the WPA strike, etc., etc.

President George Meany of the State Federation of Labor cut through lies and bunk and made the issue clear as crystal:

"Let the record be clear. Let there be no misunderstanding. The security wage in the Woodrum bill is a New Deal policy dictated by the New Deal and put over by the New Deal."

The morning after President Meany made this declaration to the delegates, the Stalinists rushed to Roosevelt's defense. They needed a union "leader" to answer Meany. But all they could get was one of their miserable hirelings. "Jay Rubin, president of the Hotel Trades Council, yesterday commented on the remarks of George Meany," says the Daily Worker, August 17:

"The prevailing wage was knifed by reactionary forces and not by the Roosevelt administration," says Rubin.

Meany says it was Roosevelt. Rubin says it was not.

This is not a question of interpretation. It is a question of fact. Either Meany or Rubin is a liar.

On May 23, Col. F. C. Harrington, WPA administrator, Roosevelt's man Friday, appeared before the House appropriations committee then holding hearings on WPA legislation, and recommended ending of the prevailing wage. He spoke for Roosevelt.

On June 30 Roosevelt signed the infamous Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law. He attached to his signature a statement of four minor objections he had to the law. The ending of the prevailing wage by the law was NOT one of his objections.

When reporters later asked him how he felt about the WPA strike, Roosevelt coupled his "You can't strike against the government" with a pointed declaration that he had not made any objection to the "security wage" provision when he signed the bill.

Is Meany a liar? No, he is telling the truth. Rubin is the liar. A deliberate, sniveling liar. With the most conscious deceit, he and his Daily Worker tell lies, lies, lies.

Morgan's War

Our last issue omitted a significant fact about the War Dictatorship Board which President Roosevelt appointed on August 9.

As reported in the press, this board has been set up in accordance with the notorious Industrial Mobilization Plan, and is to take over the country on the outbreak of war. The appointees are: Stettinius of U. S. Steel, Pratt of General Motors, Gifford of American Telephone and Telegraph, and Wood of Sears, Roebuck—four of America's highest paid lieutenants of the Fat Boys—plus two academic advisers, Compton of