Upon Whom Shall We Rely to Fight Coughlin?

By JOSEPH HANSEN

INSTALLMENT VII

Can Roosevelt Stop Fascism?

Father Coughlin is not alone among the representatives of Big Business who hears death's knuckles rapping at the door of democratic capitalism.

President Roosevelt, nearing the end of his second term in the White House sees his New Deal collapsing like a house of cards built from an old and very dirty deck. Only WAR can save Roosevelt-and then only for the briefest of periods.

But for this brief period he will pay the price of millions of lives of the workers, the farmers, the youth. That is why he is buying battleships with the relief funds of the unemployed.

That is why he has poured money without precedent into a war machine that outstaggers anything in the history of the country. He hopes to divert the attention of the desperate masses from their plight to a foreign enemy.

But even war is a temporary and unpopular expedient. The unemployed don't want bayonets. They want food and jobs. Roosevelt's war can only whip their fury to new heights. Father Coughlin knows all this very well. He has read a lot of fan mail since 1926.

He knows too that Big Business in its way is as desperate as the unemployed. Big Business fears the revolutionary might of the unemployed. It wants to preserve its clutches on national wealth. It wants to preserve the profit system.

Roosevelt's usefulness as a stop-gap for Big Business is almost at an end.

Roosevelt is capitalism's smiles and promises of last year.

Now the Sixty Families need a new demagogue with less smile and more promises.

General Smedley Butler has revealed that the Morgan-DuPont interests were ready to spend \$3,000.000 with a promise of \$300,000,000 more if necessary to finance a fascist army that would march on Washington behind the General.

General Butler turned the offer down. Perhaps someone else did not turn that offer down.

(Continued on Page 3)

Fourth International **Greets** Party's Nat'l Anti-War Convention

Dear Comrades:

The Executive Committee of the Fourth International

Socialist Appeal

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

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3c a Copy

BUILD WORKERS'

DEFENSE GUARDS

167

F.D.R. Relief-Wrecking Bill Dooms Millions of Jobless to Starvation

The Platform of "Social Justice"



Delegates Pour into N.Y. Woodrum ForConventionOpening Bill Will

Militants, Coming from All Sections of the Be Signed Country, Exchange Viewpoints as they Into Law Wait for Sessions to Begin on Saturday

From every section of the country, from every field of the class struggle, delegates have poured into New York as the National Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party is set to open.

Some came by riding the rods, some by thumbing rides. some by piling into old cars. By a dozen conveyances, they've come to discuss the momentous problems facing the party, to plan a program of activity, to criticize its shortcomings,

struggle.



Following closely on the heels Socialist Workers Party Wedopening time. evening, June 28, nesdav knifed and wounded Sol Bendel. member of the all-night ertheless succeeded in frustrating the attack.

Bendel, who had gone to fas- ers, etc., etc. All together, other 500,000 will get the axe ten the street door of the na- however, they've got their immediately after the bill is tional headquarters, was ac- mind set on working out the signed by the President. And costed by two men at eight ways and means of building 500,000 more will face the o'clock in the evening.

Bendel

Battle Against Cuts



nothing to stand in their way it. Democrats and Republicans, -not jobs, not physical obworking in close harmony and stacles, not personal responat high speed, this Friday sibilities. They had important pushed through the most brutal business to transact, and that slash in relief since the days was all there was to it. One of Hoovers' breadlines.

delegate for example, was What the Roosevelt appropinched on the road for hitch- priation means should now be of the fascist raid on the Debs hiking and sentenced to ten completely clear to everyone, Labor School, two Coughlin fas- days but he talked his way out even to the labor fakers and cists, attempting to enter the of that, and talked fast because the Stalinists nailed to Roosenational headquarters of the the convention was nearing velt's relief-wrecking administration. First and foremost **Exchange Viewpoints**

this bill means a cut of one Seamen have come in ready million W.P.A. workers. Five to discuss the maritime situa- hundred thousand have alheadquarters guard, who nev- tion and the party's policy with ready been fired throughout respect to it. Ditto rubber the country as a result of workers, auto workers, teach- Roosevelts' appropriation. An-

Role of Labor Leaders

every W.P.A. worker with a

Where were the labor lead-

the party-not any one section streets in the months ahead, of it, but the party as a whole under the 18-month rotation

-spreading its message, and plan, which has been pre-

organizing the vast reservoir served by the Senate vote.

Stalinists and Labor **Skates Staged Sham**

sends you its warmest greetings on the occasion of the Convention of the American section of the Fourth International. Your party is today the most important section of the Fourth International, not only by virtue of its numerical forces but also because of the political weight of its leadership and the quality of its cadres.

Our comrades all over the world are proud of their fighting brothers in the United States and they applaud your successes, particularly the high political level of the New International, the semi-weekly appearance of the Socialist Appeal, your serious trade-union activity, the public actions like the anti-Nazi demonstration in New York. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the preponderant role that your section has played in the political guidance of the Fourth International, or to emphasize the very exceptional sacrifices that the militants of the S.W.P. have made toward furthering the solidarity and political work of the Fourth International. For that proves that for the sections of the Fourth International, internationalism is a living reality, and your example is a new and singularly convincing proof of the existence of the Fourth International as the world vanguard, steeped in the best traditions of Bolshevik internationalism.

At the same time, dear comrades, we do not gloss over the fact that much still remains to be done before you become the great revolutionary party of the working class of the United States. We hope that you will indefatigably continue and intensify your activity along the road of Bolshevism, toward a continual strengthening of your tradeunion work, toward a tireless agitation among the most exploited sections of the population (the youth, unemployed, women), toward an increasingly active and vigilant internationalism.

Today we point, as an example for the other sections of the Fourth International, to your methods of work, which have shown that you know how to combine unwavering firmness and the greatest flexibility, in the spirit of Bolshevism. Our International has succeeded in enunciating correct principles and in hammering out the only Marxist program corresponding to the character of our epoch; now it must learn how to work. It must definitively rid itself of all remnants of a sectarian and propaganda-circle existence, and in all countries acquire the methods of Bolshevik work. Then, through their own development and inspired by your example, the comrades of the other sections will be able to help you in their turn and to collaborate in your development.

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF THE U.S.! LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! Executive Committee of the Fourth International

Hitler Prepares Danzig Grab

British Give Way in Far East as

Bog-Down of Anglo-Soviet Negotiations sion at Tientsin are nothing but Encourages Hitler Moves—British Expect **Roosevelt to Police Orient**

Danzig has replaced Tientsin as the focal point of war in- make Japan his own special fection. Hitler is generally expected to make a fresh grab prey, thereby relieving the for the former German city. Whether that grab will lead, finally, to a general world war, is the question that the coming weeks will answer.

Pending that showdown, the British are being forced to give way in the Far East. Un-able to meet the Japanese with an adequate show of force, But the "negotiations" the haughty Britons, having opening in Tokyo over the is had their pants taken down, sues involved in the Japanese

Gulf Seamen Push Revolt Against NMU Leadership

Resist Curran's Splitting Move—Principal Weakness Is Failure to Advance Program

The revolt against the Stal- mous resistance of the mem- two Coughlinite women who reinist misleadership in the bership in the Gulf.

N.M.U., led by the Gulf District, reached a decisive stage lating the New York water- cism," "Read all about Coughtrict is demanding complete be used for "organization" pur- | who was standing nearby, the autonomy from the C. P. dom-poses in the Gulf. The wreck-two women upbraided Udell, inated National Council. Joe ing crew is not hesitating at interfering with his sale of the Curran, No. 1 stooge for the undermining the entire organ- paper. Paying no attention to spondents that her missing der him in Moscow. C. P., made his appearance in ization in their splitting effort the two women, the policeman husband was born in Latvia. New Orleans for the announced to eliminate the Gulf militants turned his attention to the large Mrs. Rubens' revelation of her purpose of "enlightening" the who resist their domination. membership and "clarifying"

Fail to Push Program

the issues, accompanied by a gang of Stalinist hatchetmen. In typical faker fashion, Curran's clarification of the issues ment in the Gulf is the failure. headquarters in New Orleans mental question of program to arrested. in an attempt to split the un- the fore. The main point in any ion. This splitting move has progressive program for the (Continued on Page 2) met with the almost unani-

"What do you want?" asked them. One of the men, a heavy-set, tall, blond-haired hooligan, a

of militant, revolutionary activity-the working class. thick scar running the length of his face to his neck, replied. 'Is this the Social Party or

something or other?" Draw Knife ically. It is the British hope and

Answered in the affirmative tantes these. They're sober-And the answer is quite clear; expectation that if war should by Bendel, the hooligans stated engage them in Europe, their friend Roosevelt will quickly that they wanted to join. assume his cherished role of "What is your name?" Ben-

Policeman of the Pacific and del asked.

essure on Britain's exposed ing knife and lunged for Ben-(Continued on Page 3) del's face.

In the effort to defend himself, Bendel sustained a deep knife wound in his wrist. Wounded and bleeding, Benmost cists who turned and hollered. 'We'll be back," But before

Bendel could nab either of on the methods of party work, them, both hooligans hopped in- how to improve them. And mally initiated by the C.I.O., LYNN, Mass.—The object of a vicious attack by two Cough- to a shiny new Pontiac and fied that the delegates will improve but not really fought for. It linite women who demonstrably the scene. (Continued on Page 3)

this city and who advised him to "go back to Russia," Dave Mrs. Rubens "Freed", Spins **New Plot on Kremlin Order**

Husband Was Latvian G.P.U. Agent

Paced like a Keystone serial, the G.P.U.-staged Robinsonwith the appearance of the front that Curran and Co. have lin's reactionary anti-labor, an- Mrs. Ruth Marie Rubens, wife of the missing Russian secret been passed and do not mean first two issues of the Gulf edi- mortgaged the union's strike ti-Semitic program." In defi- agent, A. A. Rubens, in an interview with foreign newspaper an increase of any kind. Only tion of the Pilot. The Gulf Dis- fund for \$25,000, the money to cance of the single policeman correspondents, told them that she believed her husband to be the labor leaders and the Stal-'pro-fascist'' and "anti-communist."

In addition to stating that Rubens is a fascist, Mrs. Rubens

crowd attracted by the episode. husband's Latvian birth con-After dispersing the crowd, the firms for the first time the first time by Mrs. Rubens, adds to effect, one-third of W.P.A. roliceman returned to order statement made in the Balti-significant authority to his fur-will be left in ruins. One of the weaknesses re- Udell to stop selling the Social- more Sun of May 5 by Walter ther charge, that Rubens was

vealed by the opposition move- ist Appeal. When Udell insisted G. Krivitsky, former chief of especially dispatched by the on his democratic right to sell the Soviet Military Intelligence G.P.U. to the United States to least one-third of all the unemtook the form of opening a dual thus far, to push the funda- the paper peacefully, he was in Western Europe, that Ru- organize a ring of passport ployed bens was born in Latvia. Kri- forgers.

Bailed out the same night, vitsky also identified Rubens as In light of the fact that his tor of the American Youth Udell's case comes up in court a G.P.U. agent named Ewald American accomplices in forg- Committee. Roosevelt's anwho had formerly worked un-Thursday, June 29.

In the national office, as they

minded militants, most of they were right behind Rooseof revolutionary activity behind them, conscious of the im-

well.

becomes clear that on the ma-American politics, trade union del gave chase to the two fas- policy and so forth-there is alcomplete unanimity. Such differences as exist are

Confirms Krivitsky's Revelation that Her

By TONY CHAPMAN

Rubens case moved one installment nearer its climax when legislation that has already

related to the foreign corre-

Organized Passport Ring

ers, the leaders of the unemwait for the convention to open ployed? That is the question they've been exchanging viewpoints, experiences and sug- pink slip in his hand will want gestions. Not carping diletanswered in the coming weeks.

them young, though with years velt, who leads the drive against W.P.A. The trade union bureaucrats

In reply, the scar-faced hool- mense job the party has before and Stalinist leaders of the igan drew a long, jagged fish- it, and determined to work out Workers Alliance, tied hand the means of doing that job and foot to the War Deal, and

more loyal to Roosevelt than Listening to the delegates, it to the jobless, could only put up a sham fight against the jor political questions — war, cuts. They spent their time shadow - boxing phantoms, Shunt Casey Bill

The Casey Bill, which made provision for keeping W.P.A. at the 3,000,000 level, was for-

hardly figured in the debates at all. The labor fakers, comfortably seated on the Roosevelt bandwagon, couldn't be expected to climb down and lead a militant fight. Now the unemployed can see the Casey Bill in its true role, an empty parliamentary gesture made by bureaucrats in a tight spot -a pure and simple face-saving device.

The Senate made a last minute effort to camouflage the open brutality of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Bill by tacking on all sorts of amendments encompassing nists will be fooled by this sort

of shabby move. But, for the unemployed ,the key to the situation is the original appropriation, which is being passed Krivitsky's knowledge of Ru- without any real increase. Tobens' birth, confirmed for the, morrow when the bill goes in-

Tossing a Bone

"Youth now comprises at employables." Owen Lovejoy, associate direc-

(Continued on Page 2) (Continued on Page 2) henever vitering REMEAR STRIE TO SOLA DED.

ripped up copies of the Social ist Appeal on Central Square in Udell, local militant, suffered further attack from the police who, after denying him his constitutional right to sell literature on the streets, arrested

him for "refusing to move at he request of an officer.'

blockade of the British conces-

a means of stalling diplomat-

Coughlinites Annoy

Appeal Salesman,

Cops Arrest Latter

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

Udell, who had been selling Socialist Appeals on Central Square, was approached by sented his slogans of "Down

A persistent report is circu- with Coughlinism and Fas-



For years the bosses in the milk industry have used two ob- placed the most catastrophic of vious tricks when dealing with all imperialist explosions imorganized labor. One is to play mediately before us. Failing off the farmers against the the intervention of the proleworkers, and the second is to tariat, the coming bath of blood play off either the farmers or will positively throw all humanworkers against the consum- ity backward for decades to ers

The Borden and Sheffield | The most vital life and death companies are using trick two question thus facing those who in an effort to stave off the have voluntarily banded tomilk drivers union, represen-gether to liberate humanity ting 20,000 workers, in current from the class yoke, is the war negotiations in the New York problem. All of us in the 4th International unhesitatingly acarea cept this.

Before any contract has even been settled, these big milk companies announced a raise in the price of milk of one cent per quart and they threaten another increase shortly.

Of course, company propaganda says that the increase became necessary because of the demands of the union movement.

The companies claim that union demands for wage increases, limitation of production, a five day week, and other standard concessions make a higher cost of production and milk prices must go up.

There is an obvious answer to this propaganda. It is a brief analysis of the profits made by these companies. Borden's and Sheffield make millions yearly.

Public Support

Labor has a right to more than it has been getting in this industry. And labor can get

public support if it shows up the company's huge profits. We remember very well a similar experience in Ohio in

which the milk drivers union around the Akron area fought and obtained better conditions and wage increases, etc., despite the usual hue-and cry of the companies on increased costs

But after the union won, the companies refused to deal with the farmers and rejected their demands for an increase in the price of milk sold to the companies. "We've had to give it all to labor," the bosses cried.

That kind of propaganda is ers against the workers, and too often in the past succeeded in accomplishing this reactionary aim.

The watering down of revolutionary defeatism, the espousal of the Ludlow amendment and ly know better? a Labor Party, to reveal to all 4. Ludlow's resolution likewith eyes to see how J. P. Cannon and Co. will answer the imperialist fraud of "aggreshail of repressions that are sure to come. Tailendism vs. **Historical Materialism**

By ARTHUR BURKE

The death agony of our de-

caying, rotting system has

The War Pressure

creases as the war draws clos-

er. The subjectified expression

of the class conscious economic

strata-political parties-have

all, with the modified exception

Even the S.W.P., however,

is not immune and this is mani-

fested in the steadily growing

opportunism of its leadership.

ing such pressure.

The pressure of the bour

correspondingly in-

come.

geoisie

In revising one of the most in order to win mass support basic tenets of Marxism - the for the war. necessity for the class indepen-

times-the S.W.P. leadership perialism. has likewise jettisoned the historical materialist mode of ap-

proach. The opportunists now proceed with the methodology example. Instead of beginning the notion that when the "real" from the objective economic war danger faces us in the refactors as historical materialdynamite. It plays off the farm- ists do, the Pundits begin with

In his "Capital", Marx posits the inevitable contraction be-

that war can be "prevented" be averted otherwise than by the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. NOTE: The points adduced in

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Discussing the National Convention Issues

this part were once specifically accepted by the Political Com-1. Firstly, reactionary immittee. The P.C. has never perialist opposition to this bill ence seriously reanalyzed the

III

does not necessarily signify arguments to show the basis that revolutionists should sup- for their rejection. I challenge port it, any more than fascist the P.C. to do so. opposition to Roosevelt should

determine our support of him.

2. The war which the work-The S.W.P. takes refuge uning class must conduct against der the usual skirts of "critical ganda from the material conimperialist war is hindered, not support". The bourgeoisie is promoted by pacifist, middle surely shaken to its roots by class illusions. Writes Lenin: the imposing nature of this was no better way to develop We must face the issues "criticism". When it does ap- our antiwar propaganda than squarely and call things by pear (and how often does it ap- by taking the issue of the sinktheir proper names; WE MUST TELL THE WORKERS THE mournful bleating to the effect and writing an article along the TRUTH". In one breath we that the bill is being "emascu- theme of "What Really Sank say that the American govern-lated", that the referendum ment will transform itself into should apply even when "our" a fascist dictatorship in time of hemisphere is invaded (?).

war, and in another we foster In its recent program of acthe illusion that the ruling class tion the City Committee of locan conduct a legitimate, dem- cal N.Y. places the Ludlow Bill ccratic referendum at such a in the forefront of the "antitime. Who but fakers can gain war" struggle. (!!) Indeed, ev- gram. Similar capital could from this double system of en speakers' outlines will be drawn up for street corner

3. "Pacifism begins when meetings to propagandize the war ends, and ends when war bill. We are, in reality, here of the S.W.P., come out for the begins." Histories have shown substituting the Ludlow Bill for war in advance. This is a most that where pacifist "remedies" the policy of revolutionary dereliable barometer for measur- are not outright deceptions. featism. they are the most dangerous of

Conclusion

drugs which only paralyze the We must advocate the class fighting power of the proletar struggle policy of revolutionary iat. Honest pacifists-(LaFollette) promote this unconscious ly, but what are we to think of alleged Marxists who supposed-

anti-war party. These are funwise promotes the motheaten damental At the same time that we dissive" and "defensive" capitalist states. Each imperialist pel the Ludlow illusion, we can

bookkeeping?

capitalize on the present conpower makes this distinction fused anti-war sentiment supand endeavors to foist the onus ported by a majority of the of "aggression" upon the other

clence of the proletariat from equates the entire Western the bourgeoisie as expressed in Hemisphere with the territory only bares the lies of "democ- working class disasters, workthe necessity for the political of the U.S. proper, thus ac-racy" but likewise proves that ing class humor, etc. All of this and organizational anatomy of knowledging Latin America as the imperialists themselves do should be treated in feature the Marxian vanguard at all a protectorate of Yankee im-

Ludlow's nostrum is a perfect the year, because it cultivates plebescites.

the subjective prejudices of the able to avert by the mere case pose the anti-democratic has the general political conclusion a popular feature. pacifist illusions and consis- - one of the best propaganda

7. To support the Ludlow res- tently point to the class strug- approaches. olution is to inculcate in the gle means of the socialist rev-

or fought by means other THAN THE CLASS STRUG-GLE, that imperialist war can O no Making the Appeal Invitation to CONVEN- send bundle orders to these peo-tion delegates: send bundle orders to these peo-ple at their camps. Already A Paper for the Masses

CIALIST APPEAL BY THE the lack of humor. Humor is a and invited to consult with the Appeal office. **AKRON BRANCH**

(Continued from last issue) Some of our propaganda can

be more concretely expressed. passed around, the verbal In general we have a better rough-housing that the cops and chance of getting the ear of the the scabs are given, and the worker if we develop our propabulletins. Comrades will refronting the worker in the bourmember with what effectivegeois press. For instance, there ness humor was used in drama-

pear) it takes the form of a ing of the submarine Squalus the Squalus!" From this point of view the stories on the tenement fires in New York were excellent, first, in making a general attack on capitalism. and, second, in developing the need for a real housing prohave been made in explaining the mechanics of imperialism

through the visit of the king and queen.

our press. Yet it is interesting to note that the articles which have gone over best with per-

defeatism as the only means of sons outside the movement our press some time ago. fighting the war. We must do were ones like the story on Small Features all in our power to expose paci- Brenda Frazier, the editorial (4) We need more small feafist illusions. We must become on the boloney salesman in ture material. Diversified small known as the only revolutionary congress, the workers' correfeature material would help to spondence (what there has been brighten up the Appeal. A feaof it), the rats in Minneapolis,

ture such as Scissorbill Sam and in general Bill Morgan's (The Bosses' Man), which runs stories, though they are a litin the Northwest Organizer, tle long would prove very popular if the Shop Stories way the Organizer readers re-

We need more stories on ceive it is any indication. Simiworkers. We can expose the women in the shop, shop con- larly, our anti-Stalinist work spurious nature of the imper- ditions, novel strike techniques could be very effectively carialist yowls of "defense of de- when they are used, youth and ried on by the regular use of 5. The resolution further mocracy" by pointing to their the labor movement, incidents the cut, "Stalinist Press at epposition to this bill. This not culled from other labor press, Work," with a nice, juicy C.P. quote beneath.

There should be a regular, snappy column on branch acnot and can not accept or ac- style, and should inferentially tivity. Likewise there should be knowledge peaceful "legal" or directly draw our revolution- a column on youth activity. 6. A la the disarmament fake, means of fighting war. Like- ary conclusions. This approach There should be a good column the referendum illusion diverts wise we point out that even if has two advantages: first, it for women; we are woefully attention from the necessity of the "miracle" of a referendum catches the workers' eye be- weak in our appeal to working of tailendism, and support of a consistent class struggle pol-iov against war every day in the forceful lines of Hitler's and concerns persons like him. In this respect, icy against war every day in the forceful lines of Hitler's and concerns persons like him- incidentally, it has been sugself (any everyone likes to read gested that recipes for persons This policy would fruitfully about other persons in a situa- on relief be run. A column in a capitalize on the present anti- tion similar to one's own), and modified Winchell style, simimote future, the masses will be war groping of the masses, ex- secondly, it proceeds from the lar, say, to the one formerly able to avert by the mere cast- pose the anti-democratic na- concrete, isolated incident to run by Bill Reich, would prove

War Column

All those Convention dele- two comrades, Miriam Gerson

TUESDAY, JULY 4, 1939

Subscriptions continue to hold

hand — has completely fallen

down in its sub work in the past

month. What's wrong, New

York? How about visiting some

we gave you? Here's the list for

MINNEAPOLIS 19

Chicago 10

Foreign 5 Massachusetts 3

Indiana

Newark

St. Louis

Los Angeles 2

Philadelphia

Connecticut

Ohio

New York City

Detroit 1

Rochester 1

.

Total 56

C

Foreign

Iowa

Wisconsin

o: those expired subscriptions

gates attending sessions in New and Lou "Zinov" Becker have York City who are either arranged for this. branch literature agents, or We will send all bundles at connected in any way with the usual bundle order rate. We will send all bundles at STATEMENT ON THE SO- our agitational appeal. That is Appeal circulation, are urged Send in your requests to the

powerful weapon. Anyone who manager during their stay. has been in a strike situation We would like to receive first knows the satirical songs that hand reports on current Appeal are made up, the jokes that are activities, as well as take up up nicely and well above an various problems relating to average of 50 per week. This is future Appeal circulation. So primarily due to the fine work just step into the office at 116 of the Minneapolis branch. biting sarcasm in the strike University Place while you're New York City—on the other here!

SAN FRANCISCO tizing the Minneapolis strike. BRANCH AT WORK:

Many comrades will recall hav-The Frisco branch, which reing seen reproductions of hucently had to re-organize its enmorous broadsides distributed tire literature department, is the week: in Russia during the period of hard at work on new fields. the seizure of power. There is Under the capable direction of a good reason for the use of Eloise "El" Booth they are such material. Few things are making a drive to get long-

better for toppling over respect shoremen as regular readers of for bourgeois institutions and the Appeal. They intend taking personalities than a good heal- a total of 150 copies per week thy wisecrack. Nowhere in the which will be utilized for propworld has humor in the form of aganda work among these men. the comic strip, the wise crack, the cartoon, the tall story, and TAKE THE APPEAL ON

> Many comrades and sympathizers will be taking a few weeks off during the summer' to spend at some camp or other.

> > The Appeal is prepared to

bold style, and generally speaking the cartoons are extremely N.M.U. REVOLT effective. A turn toward the American idiom ("The Gyp Joint" approaches what we Want), and a consequent turn away from rather abstract drawings such as "The Real Ideology," which was difficult to understand, would enhance the value of Carlo's work. The retention of the cartoon on the front page is a good idea.

What to Do

Such are our ideas on the S. cialist Appeal. In presenting them there is no question in our mind, obviously, of watering down our program, curtailing the "foreign" news, "getting less political," etc., etc. It is simply a question of presenting our program in the most palatable and effective manner. We don't want to make a family almanac out of the Socialist Appeal.

While we regard this state-

applied, and while we recog-

izer for the party than it is at

(Continued from Page 1)

Agenda

session from Saturday through

They'll meet in convention

To achieve this new orientaion in the Appeal we believe that the following three things are necessary: (1) The Appeal staff (which has been doing a good job under difficult conditions, let it be remarked) must

ing confusion. A welter of charges and counter-charges of "dictatorship," "goon - squadism," etc., serve to confuse the fundamental issue of the fight against the fink-hall, sea-slav-

GULF SEAMEN (Continued from Page 1)

seamen must be the fight against the Maritime Commission fink halls and the government program of regimentation for the seamen. The raising of this question by the militants of the Gulf would win them the immediate sympathy

and support of the West oCast seamen who are now facing a showdown with the Maritime Commission on the West Coast. C. P. Sows Confusion The C. P. propagandists are past masters at the art of sow-

ery program of the Maritime

the joke been developed to such **YOUR VACATION**: an extensive degree as in this country. We should draw upon (3) Our material should have this reservoir. Humor, naturalmore human interest. There is ly, must be judiciously used. a dearth of feature material in But it should be used. A good median was struck in the "Notebook of an Agitator" which ran for a few times in

In particular, the Ohio farm- tween manual and intellectual ers were at first enraged at this labor in a class society. The exargument and tended to blame ploitation at the point of production, poverty, insecurity, the union for the company refusal to \$2.00 per hundred weight instead of \$1.50, if our proverty, insecurity, drain the physical and mental energy of memory serves us correctly. mess, in cooperation with the

milk drivers union. A joint committee of organized labor and the farmers' milk association took up the battle of the farmers.

Labor put picket lines around the milk companies. Farmers came into town for miles around to help. Milk supplies were cut off.

But above all, labor organized a first class publicity campaign ,and explained the whole matter to the workers and the farmers and the consumers.

Analyzing Profits

Analysis of the Borden Company profits proved that they could pay the farmers and the workers more. This was emphasized over and over again. A brief history of how the bosses used labor against the farmer and vice versa was related. All this was done on radio programs which were well publicized and thus received wide hearings.

The result has been that both the milk drivers and the farmers have benefited. A more harmonious relationship between them has resulted.

Of course, in many localities like Minneapolis where organized labor has a shrewd leader- faiths of the American workers ship with a progressive outlook, will only be bridged when these the old stunts don't work so faiths ARE SHATTERED easy.

The new gag is to organize class struggle. Those who in an "Associated Farmers" or any way preach confidence in ganization, a fake business-in- the capitalist legality only fosspired, boss-paid strike break- ter the lies and deception of the ing outfit. This phoney outfit os- American ruling class. Socialtensibly speaks for the farm- ism, say the Stalinists, is ecoers . . . and always goes after nomically necessary . . . but the union movement.

Its final and complete expo- Herein is the formula of capsure came recently before the itulation. wages and hours hearings on minimum standards in Washington. This outfit spends all its time explaining why the poor-

mum rates, that is, should con- hemisphere of the Americas is ization papers to the ring, and the job well, the G.P.U. took shame when he told her, "I am tinue to work for slave wages. actually invaded.

the masses. The moneyed Here, the C.I.O. movement intervened to straighten out the morals, dogmas, illusions, and lies upon the rest of society by lies upon the rest of society by virtue of control of social propaganda instruments and through its monopoly of leisure time.

when illusions are more preva-

lent than at any other period.

'the masses aren't ready''

II

(Continued from Page 1) dices and illusions — if they bens alleging her husband to at the New York trial. thoroughly understood their be a fascist has all the earrole in society, there would ob- marks of falsehood. For it viously be no need for a Marx- would follow that if Rubens ian Party. From the dominance were a fascist, the same would price which she is apparently the Rubens case, particularly viewer. The reader gains no inof illusions among the exploited hold true for his intimate we have not only derived the American associates. That both need for a vanguard but have Rubens and his American covouchsafed the necessity to horts are Stalinists was preswim against the stream and viously supplied by the Socialthis particularly in time of war ist Appeal.

Stalinist Connections

The World War at first had Edward Blatt, lawyer-mouth-Tailendists, basing themselves a two year prison rap for his not on the solid economic activities in the passport ring, truths but on the "sentiments" is a Stalinist whose range of of the masses naturally sup- connections with the C. P. inported the war. Logically con- clude David Manokoff, former fascist leanings, leave alone his sidered, this is the inevitable Blooklyn organizer of the outcome of such an approach. Young Communist League.

Ossip Garber, at whose Fifth "American" Prejudices In the U.S. in particular, the Rubens occupied desk space. prejudices of the masses are reflected in faith in capitalist in-law as being "communistic." was described by his brotherlegality; i.e., elections, the Imre Klein, whose last constitution, courts, etc. The known activity was in connecgap between the economically tion with the Stalinist slander ripe conditions for socialism campaign against Minneapolis and the backward political Teamsters Local 544 and who granted Rubens an editorship with Galleon Press, a fact confirmed by Mrs. Rubens in her through. experiences in the interview, is a notorious Stalin-

> ist trouble-shooter. **Used Lettish Group**

that Mrs. Rubens is spinning a rhyme. G.P.U.-inspired lie about the "fascist"tendencies of her husband is the fact that the Latvian-born Rubens used the Let-

tish wing of the Stalinist movement as a recruiting ground for Marxists and the Ludlow Bill his ring of passport forgers. ington and echoed in the Soviet aminer why Russians con-The Ludlow bill provides for The Latvian Unity Society of press, the G.P.U. has come forer farmers, the agricultural a national referendum before the Stalinist International La- ward with a new theory, this they were ashamed." Accordworkers and sharecroppers Congress can declare war upon bor Defense provided Ernest time painting Rubens as a "fas- ing to Mrs. Rubens, her husshould be exempt from mini- another country unless the Weichen, who sold his natural- cist." And in order to execute band tacitly admitted his

minds of the workers the idea olution as the only way out.

Walton Avenue home in the around for an angle to this lating passports were all Stalin- Bronx lived John Blank, alias est frame-up, resorting, final-If the masses were not hide- ing passports were all Stalin- John Apsit, fugitive defendant ly, to the expedient of using should not be in the New Inter- exceptions to the points made, bound with backward preju- ists, the statement of Mrs. Ru- John Apsit, fugitive defendant Ruben's own wife against him. rational style house the nevertheless we regard the

That Mrs. Rubens should Show Trial Ahead have pitched in to describe her As indicated by the Socialist husband as a fascist is the lease from prison. But like all trial of Rubens' American pals, frame-ups arranged by the the failure to establish the po-G.P.U., Mrs. Rubens' story of her husband's fascist leanings of the passport ring will ulthe only proof of her husband's timately see the G.P.U. rush in

fascism, Mrs. Rubens cited the fact that Rubens was fond of the support of the masses. The piece for Rubens, now serving playing a phonograph record of of her husband as a fascist, rethe Italian Fascist Anthem, 'Giovanezza.'' There is nothing else in Mrs. Rubens' inter- olation of their proven Stalinist could be used to better advanview to establish her husband's affiliations, is the first step in tage for ballyhooing the conthat direction. actual fascist connections or any overt act in connection smear of fascism against Rubwith a fascist power. On the ens and his American Stalinist

Avenue photographers salon other hand, all of Rubens' pals, the G.P.U. will proceed known connections point conclusively to the G.P.U. itself. take place in the near future

Suspicious "Vagueness" is indicated by the fact that Harold Denny, N. Y. Times Mrs. Rubens, now a star wit- idea in the twice-a-week Appeal Aoscow correspondent, present ness in the case, has been at the interview with Mrs. Ru-granted a temporary permit to bens, described her as "vague remain in the Soviet Union for about her husband's business." the next six months. Ostensibly If after travelling all over the permitted to remain in the face of Europe with one's hus- Soviet Union for a six months' band, making some 45 entries period in order to "determine" and departures from Central the whereabouts of her missing European countries, a woman husband, Mrs. Rubens will still remains "vague" about her wake up one morning to find

Unable to pin the charge of against Stalin. As Mrs. Rubens 'Trotskyism'' on Rubens, an significantly told the foreign attempt made at the time of correspondents, preparing his arrest in November 1937 by them for a "confession" from the Soviet Embassy in Wash- her husband, "I asked the ex-

Workers have also comment- crisis, a column called "Twenung war | ed on one other deficiency in ty-five Years Ago this Week," giving one or two line summaries of the events of 1914 would question of sending in news afford an instructive parallel. A regularly to the Appeal, and news behind-the-news column, (3) equally serious efforts must dealing with the administration be made to secure worker coractivities, would go over well respondents for our press. during this preelection period. The question box was a good ment as a composite of suggesidea and should have been re- tions which must be flexibly

Short book reviews could well nize that there will always be be run in the Appeal. They exceptions to the points made, Ruben's own wife against him. national style, however. Too

often, unfortunately, the N. I. generally correct one for the reviews are used merely to coming period. We recognize Appeal in previous articles on show off the erudition of the re- that this new orientation will be paying the G.P.U. for her re-at the time of the New York Sight into the book whatever. other problems, which will be Book reviews in the Appeal discussed at the convention, should cover at least these are involved here. But we do three points: (1) What the book believe that the suggestions is about, (2) what is wrong with embodied herein will go a long the book, and (3) what we can | way toward making the Social-

Typography From the typographical point present.

flecting on his convicted Amer- of view more typographical ican cronies and in flagrant vi- aids should be used. The ears DELEGATES POUR INTO N. Y. AS THE tents of the paper. There should

be as much art as the budget CONVENTION OPENS will allow. There should be more boxed material. The solid inside pages should be broken

(5) Some of the present departments can be improved in see. certain respects. The column

that job.

put into practice this new oricommission and plays into the hands of the Stalinist slander entation, (2) the national leadand lie machine. ership and the branches as well The membership of the must take up seriously the

N.M.U. must be made to understand that there is much more involved in this conflict than just a change of officials. They must be given something

to fight FOR as well as AGAINST! That something is a militant program, offering a solution to the many problems. which confront the seamen.

Such a program would expose the reactionary character of the C. P. clique and force course indicated as being the them out into the open. It would raise the struggle to a higher level and, as experience has proven in other sections of the labor movement, would be the best guarantee of success against the wrecking crew. Failure to advance a positive program, or too long a delay in doing so, can easily lead to disaster. ist Appeal a much better organ-

> JOINT A.F.L., C.I.O LABOR DAY PARADE

ST. LOUIS-Attesting to the growing desire of unity in the ranks of labor, the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. of Granite City, Madison, and Venice announced that they will unite their forces for a joint parade on Labor these methods by motion, res- Day. At the head of the column olution and criticism is easy to a banner showing the clasped hands of both labor organizations will be carried. The two labor bodies have 10,000 members in the Tri-Cities.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

WANTED: Comrade to share unfurnished apartment. Lower East Side. Shower, frigidaire, steam. Rent: \$15 per month. See Ben Hall in the Y.P.S.L. office.

INFORMAL HOUSE Box 245 Kerhonkson, N. Y (Near Ellenville) 120 acres of greenland in the Catskills. 40 acres of pine for sunbathing; handball, ping pong, archery; swimming and horse-

archery; swimming and he back riding nearby; dancing. UNUSUALLY LOW RATES \$18 Weekly \$6 Weekend Busses met at station Tel. Kerhonkson 118 R.

Once having achieved the

with its plan for a public show up as much as possible. trial of Rubens. That it may

Also significant of the fact husband's business, then she is not the fact fit material for a nursery dock, playing the role of "vol-

untary confessor" to a plot

type, however.

The editorials should be ty will come before the con-

editorials are a good idea. They should not be printed in smaller will be closed to all except par-

Carlo's cartoons are an ex- may enter on presentation of

was a good one, but a certain improvement could be made. In general the columns are too

ward the winning of intellectu- tion, the question of publicizing als. In many respects comrade the Appeal three times a week,

izational apparatus of the par-

Sessions of the convention

ty and Yipsel members who

Edward Peterson, at whose more than two years to hunt a criminal in the Soviet Union." paper. He has an excellent, they are in good standing.

Tuesday. Among the points on long. They could also be broken the agenda are the following: up by the use of bold face type, the main political resolution on etc. Paul G. Steven's column the situation in the United

is good in that it concretizes States and the prospects of the the meaning of international party (printed in the Socialist ism. Dwight Macdonald's col- Appeal); the fight against war umn, which unfortunately at and fascism; trade union pol-

times has a somewhat patron- icy and the activity of the comizing air, could probably do the rades in the various industries; best job if it were directed to- the Negro question. In addi-

Macdonald is best qualified for and plans to extend the organ-

snapped up. The thumbnail vention.

tremely important part of our a membership card showing

TUESDAY, JULY 4, 1939

SOCIALIST APPEAL

By Dwight Macdonald Focus of War Situation Shifts SPARKS IN THE NEWS From Far East to Danzig Arena

Information, Please

an.

For some time now we have been told by the press of the Socialist Workers Party that the fate of the workers of the world turns to a large extent on how the crucial situation in France develops, I agree entirely. But I have been, to put it mildly, disappointed with the way the S.W.P. press has covered the French front. The recent developments in the P.S.O.P. and the relation of the P.O.I., the London Bureau and the Fourth International, to them -this most central of all themes has been touched on only in the most gingerly way. The cut-and-dried account of the P.S.O.P. congress which was printed in the Appeal of June 23the entire story being told, in the most unenlightening and perfunctory way, in about 500 words-this is a recent case in point. I don't see why the Appeal can't find a Paris correspondent who will send in regular articles interpreting such things as the Stalinists' attitude toward the Daladier regime, the latest tendencies in the P.S.O.P., the rumored right-wing split in the French C.P., and so on. I realize that the French situation, from the standpoint of the Fourth International, is at present both delicate and complex. But that seems to me all the more reason why it should be fully discussed in the Appeal. Ostriches, not revolutionists, hide their heads in the sand.



"Egyptian Socialism"

In the May issue of Jewish Frontier there is an extremely interesting article by Salomon Schwartz on "Social Legislation in the Soviet Union''. Schwartz begins with a point which fits neatly into the thesis of Trotsky's recent article in the New International: namely, that the Soviet bureaucracy which used to masquerade as part of the working class, in the last year has openly asserted its differentiation from the workers. They don't, of course, call themselves "bureaucrats". No, the term the press now uses for these gentlemen is-"the intelligentsia"! "Under the banner of the 'intelligentsia'," writes Schwartz, "there is be-

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

ing consummated a process which has practically nothing to do with that name. That process is the social self-assertion of the upper stratum of the Party and Soviet bureaucracy and its 'liberation' from the intimate ties of the proletarian ideology.'

Early last December the press began printing scores of letters from Stakhonovites. Udarniks, straw bosses, and, of course, 'intelligentsia', 'exposing' lax discipline and low production in the factories and 'demanding' strict laws be passed to remedy this. In the Ural machine plant, for instance, where this 'spontaneous' movement of protest began, Pravda indignantly reported that in the eleven months piece. up to last December, there had been no less than 7,978 cases of unexcused absences from work. Schwartz points out, however, that actually this represents only an average absence per worker of one-half day a year.

These letters got action at once. (The pen is mightier than the sword!) Without consulting the much-publicized Soviet parliament, a flat violation of the much-publicized Soviet trend of the calculations in Berconstitution, the Kremlin in quick succession put through a series of labor regulations of unprecedented severity. On December 20 it decreed the introduction of the "work passport". first introduced by Napoleon III in 1854 as the Bussia's entry into what the "livret ouvrier", and the very same sort of New York Times likes to call down again. "fink book" as the New Deal's Maritime Com- the "peace front" - i.e., the mission, backed up by the Kremlin's American Anglo-French side of this monagents, is now trying to impose on American ster gang war. If there was any seamen. Hitler re-introduced it into Germany doubt about the bogdown and just a minor note in the terrible in 1935. During the whole campaign of letters- the wishful character of the op- disharmony that screeches to-the-editor, by the way, no one dared suggest tomistic predictions of a week around the heads of Chamberthis work-book idea, and it was only after the ago in London and Paris, it lain and Daladier. But to Pol-Kremlin had issued its decree that its "in- was dispelled on Thursday by a and it is a matter of life and

numerable spokesmen began to vie with each blistering editorial in Pravda, death. other in glorifying the new regulation." More edicts were issued on December 28

ment, trade unions, even the Party-outside copy boy, who said it expressed diate assistance to Poland the top ranks of the Kremlin bureaucracy. These greatly extended the time a worker know what happens to Pravda must be employed in a plant before he be- writers whose opinions do not

comes eligible for sick benefits, cut down the happen to agree with Stalin's. period expectant mothers were given time off The Pravda editorial, of course, with pay from eight weeks before and eight represents the official view of weeks after the birth to five weeks before and the Stalin government.

four weeks after, required workers to give one month's (instead of one day's) notice before have "entered a blind alley quitting a job, and ordered heads of factories, because the British and French on pain of severe punishment, to discharge at still want "an agreement under once any worker who, without valid excuse, is either absent from work or over twenty-min- the role of a hired man, carry utes late at any time. Finally, all workers who give up their jobs, whether they are fired or whether they leave of their own free will, are to be automatically dispossessed from their homes within ten days, regardless of whether the Housing Bureau has provided another dwelling for them. Thus the Soviet worker is shackled hand and foot to his job, a cog in the apparatus of Soviet production. The "socialism" Stalin is building in one country is coming to have an increasingly Egyptian flavor to it.

(Continued from Page 1) backside in the Orient.

Danzig Coup Awaited Meanwhile all the now-familiar stages of a Nazi offensive where Stalin has wanted to are unfolding around the issue drive them in order to show of Danzig. An effort is apparently being made to put on a

Free City, whch voted the usuelections. The city is being filled with storm troopers and the Poles are being worn down French would like to sic Gerby a slow process of cutting many onto Russia and keep the away their authority, piece by strategic sideline berth for

as they did Czechoslovakia. such warfare.

That appears to be the general lin.

Grist to Nazi Mill

Joe Stalin's own organ.

Nazi mill is the bog-down of the ish Corridor in the hope that the

Whether they will be able to back down however, is precisely the question. Danzig may be

The British and French have The editorial was signed by given explicit and solemn and last, again without consulting any one-parlia- Andrei Zhdanov, Stalin's latest oft-repeated pledges of immehis "own" opinion-but we all should the Poles fight in de-



ing on its shoulders the entire load of the engagement. No (Continued from Page 1) self-respecting country would swer to the youth is to fling it

accept such an agreement if it the miserable appropriation of does not want to be a plaything \$123,000,000. in the hands of people who want The terrible situation among someone to pull a hot coal out the unemployed in the United of the fire for them." Zhdanov States is mirrored in a recent charged that the French and Gallup Poll. For many mil-British are deliberately sabo-lions the steel doors of private taging the negotiations in order industry have closed forever. to "exploit the imaginary stub- The unemployed know this.

borness of the U.S.S.R. before But to act, they must know place else"

sides but the main stall has fense of what they deem the been on Russia's part. vital interests. **Pledges Worthless**

The present "blind alley" of the negotiations is exactly To be sure, pledges don't mean anything to the bloody handed boss politicians in Lon Hitler that he remains ready to don and Paris. They're worth come to an understanding-evabout as much as Roosevelts 'cold'' coup in the so-called en a tacit one-that will leave "new deal" election pledges. Hitler free to engage his rivals But this time if the French and al 99.4 percent Nazi in its last in the West without fear of em-British do not call Hitler's hand broilment with Russia. they'll have to throw in their

No doubt the British and own. The bloc of alliances hastily fashioned in the last few months will fall to pieces Bloodlessly victorious once themselves. The Russians more in Europe, Hitler and his The idea is that one fine day would like to do just the oppobus-boy Mussolini will turn soon Danzig will proclaim it-site. This is all perfectly natuwith a will to the French and self part of the Reich. Poland ral. That's how things go in British empires overseas. Britwill hesitate just a little too gang warfare and the Russians ain will be less able than ever long and its fine friends in Lon- are forced in this situation to to cope with the Japanese in don and Paris will ditch it just play according to the rules of China and will render still

more difficult Roosevelt's job Life and Death for Poland in swindling the American peo-It is this situation, almost ple into a new war.

more than anything else, that These are the headaches is encouraging Hitler to make these days in London while ac-Fine grist, of course, to the a stab for Danzig and the Pol- tually Britain and all the other governments concerned are that ultimate in control of the working class, negotiations in Moscow for British and French, seeing no proceeding to call up reserves help from Russia, will back and distribute their armies, navies and air forces, and giv-

ing every indication that they expect the final payoff soon.

SLUM DWELLERS PROTEST BOSTON CLEARANCE PLAN

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) BOSTON, Mass .- The inadequacy of present slum clearance plans was dramatically demonstrated in the Charlestown area of this city a week

ago Friday. More than 400 angry residents of the area selected for a low cost housing project shouted their disapproval of the project at the first of twenty-two meetings called by the city council and threatened to barricade their homes gainst eviction unless they were offered dwellings at equal ent levels

Mrs. Lillian Lyman, mother of three children, rising to state the case of the tenants, told the eight councilmen that she would refuse to move unless a dwelling similar to her present cne and at the same rent was found for her. From every part of the audience came shouts of accord: "Same here," "Where do you expect us to move to?"

We can't afford to move any

the eyes of public opinion in this too: Their condition is due Mrs. Lyman told the comtheir own countries" in order to the decaying system of cap- mitteemen that she now has a to "help them to strike a bar-italism. They must realize that five-room house for which she the so-called leaders, the Lew- pays \$17. "The best I can get is Both Sides Stall ises, Greens and Browders, a four-room back-alley place What Zhdanov says about the have deliberately avoided the and then they ask me to pay British and French may be answer. For the only answer \$15 rent." Again there were quite true. What he does not is to fight the real enemy, the shouts from the audience: say is that it can be said with Roosevelt War Deal and the "They won't let us rent places equal truth about the Soviet W.P.A. administration by mil- if we've got too many chilgovernment itself. There has itant mass action from coast dren," "They want us to put up been plenty of stalling on both to coast. deposits for rent, and



Continued from Page 1)

Can the Trade Unions Alone Stop Fascism?

The trade unions, bogged down with the bureaucracies headed by John L. Lewis and William Green, stand helpless before the terrible problems now facing the working class, the half-ruined farmers, the small business men, and the destitute unemployed.

The trade unions as fighting organizations of the working class won huge successes in the past, conquering many of the rights of labor and defending them during the upswing of capitalism. Today under the domination of Lewis and Green the trade unions if left alone and without help face disaster.

Father Coughlin understands the limitless strength of America's laboring people far better than do Lewis and Green with their corner grocery outlook.

That is why he attempts to turn the unemployed, tooth and nail, upon those organized in trade unions.

That is why he denounces the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. over his radio network. That is why he calls strikers 'idlers," and speaks of the "jobs they have left."

That is why he calls every militant trade unionist a 'communist," a "socialist," a "Jew."

That is why he exerts every ounce of his voice and his. pen to build up a terrible hate for the words: communist, socialist, Jew.

The trade unions alone, especially as they have been caught in the death grip which democratic capitalism has clamped upon Lewis and Green, cannot meet the situation. A new force is needed and needed badly.

A new weapon of the working class must be forged. An Independent Labor Party, a fighting militant political party of the working class charged with vision, with daring, with invincible boldness must be organized as the battering ram that will smash this entire trashy structure of New Deal politics and the poisonous fascist growths that swell upward from its rotting foundation.

Fascism in America Must Be Stopped!

We must not repeat the mistakes of the labor movement in Italy and in Germany which permitted forgers, sidewalk spielers, and sideshow adventurers like Mussolini and Hitler to take over power.

The first lesson to learn is not difficult: LABOR MUST DEPEND ON ITS OWN STRENGTH.

Labor must have its own independent political party. Labor must have its own defense guards.

The greatest danger of all is to depend on the Roosevelts, the LaGuardias, the police, and the boot lickers of these former bosom friends of Coughlin and his ilk.

The first task that labor must perform in stopping the fascist movement in America is the organization of a workers' defense quard.

Every union local should begin the immediate organization of a guard to protect itself from the certain onslaught of the fascists in the near future.

PAST DUT OF THE

By EMANUEL GARRETT

WENDELL PHILLIPS (Nov. 29, 1811-Feb. 2, 1884)

In a small mid-western town a mob of respectable people invaded the printshop of Elijah Lovejoy. They dragged him out, did these good northerners, and lynched him. Lovejoy had infuriated them with abolitionist agitation. The year was 1837-the Civil War was some twenty-odd years off.

Wendell Phillips, well-to-do Harvard man, went to a meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, called to discuss the murder of Lovejoy. Social problems hadn't agitated him much before. True, he had attended one or two abolitionist meetings, but that was the extent of his social protest. In fact, he went that evening to Faneuil Hall not so much out of aroused indignation as out of liberal interest. But Wendell Phillips that night changed the course of his life.

A Champion of Truth

1

The Assistant Attorney General of Massachusetts took the the platform to speak his approval of the lynching. Hardly had the Attorney General sat down when, burning with fury, Phillips jumped on the platform and delivered an impassioned denunciation of the slave system, the murder and those who would condone both. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to stop him. When he finished, the placid Bostonians cheered themselves hoarse. Of a sudden, Phillips had become a leading spokesman of the cause against slavery-along with Lloyd Garrison.

His friends thought him insane. It was alright to show some sympathy for the slaves, to contribute money to the abolitionist movement, even to attend a meeting. But to plunge wholeheartedly into freedom's cause, to submerge oneself in the fight against chattel slavery, to devote one's life to an ideal-that was something altogether different.

Phillips, however, did precisely that. A "Knight-Errant of Unfriended Truth" he spent one night in a valley speaking to a few people, the next in a large city addressing a huge crowd. Often he had to leave the meeting-hall under protection. For the respectable people who had lynched Lovejoy and beaten Garrison, would have been glad to do as much to him. At one meeting the town's "respectables" roared so loud Phillips could not be heard; he nevertheless continued speaking, addressing himself to the newspapermen: "While I speak to these pencils I speak to a million men. We have got the press of the country in our hands; whether they like it or not, they know that our speeches sell their papers."

Because a lawyer had to swear fidelity to the Constitution, Phillips in 1842 gave up his

practice. "My curse be on the Constitution of the United States". . . which defends slavery. He was as caustic with the scriptures which sanctified slavery.

His enemies called him "nigger-friend" And a friend of the Negro he was; looking beyond formal emancipation to real equality. When, the Civil War over, Garrison and other abolitionists were content to give up the fight, he insisted upon the continued existence of the Anti-Slavery Society until full suffrage rights were granted.

With the Labor Movement

His great distinction, however, was that unlike most of the abolitionist leaders he was an active supporter of the labor movement. called to discuss the important Thomas Amlie, former Wiscon-Standing for the "abolition of chattel slavery and wage slavery", Phillips attacked the profit system and all forms of social oppression. sota and the U.S. He supported women's suffrage when that was

far from being a popular cause. He defended the Russian Nihilists, attacked the suppres- other world war, when fascism sion of the Irish people by the British tyrants, is raising its head in every corand honored John Brown for his courageous ner, when the unemployment the idle factories under workstroke against slavery. And in the fight for problem is becoming more and ers' control, Amlie the New liberty and against tyranny, he sought to rouse more acute in every section of Dealer, declared that this was the working class to action.

in 1870 for the Massachusetts governorship. His platform said that "Labor is entitled to all he polled 20,000 votes.

Phillips kept on the go. Speaking, writing, agitating. When he was 70, the Phi Beta Kappa association graced him with an invitation to speak. Phillips who had been Phi Beta Kappa in school had never before in all the years of

it safe to hear him. Phillips saw the humor of sary conclusions of the need for national policy. the situation, but he spoke. He spoke to them independent political activity about the duties of a "Scholar in a Republic"

. to probe, to criticize, to fight exploitation justice.

Says the Chicago "labor" paper, the of progressive action. Wrecker, alias the Midwest Daily Record: "It is not too late to drum the fascist General Mosely out of the army he has discredited" (for his vicious blasts against workers and a time the Communist Party, whose paper watch dog of capitalism.

Minn. Farmer-Labor Confab **Skirts Basic Problems**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) answers which alone could ral-MINNEAPOLIS - On Satur- ly the newly stirring political day, June 17, the Minnesota forces of labor. True enough, Farmer Labor Association held they talked about these things,

its first state-wide conference but whenever the question censince the catastrophic defeat of tered critically on basic prob-November. This conference was lems, they were steered away. problems which confront the sin liberal and new job-holder workers and farmers of Minne- in the Department of Justice, played his role in discouraging It met at a time when the an independent program and

world is on the brink of an- trying to sell the New Deal. **Behind Roosevelt**

In reply to a proposal to open the state. It met within a few a step toward socialism and

As a candidate of the Labor Party, he ran days of a most significant elec- would provoke employers to retion in the city of Minneapolis sort to fascism. Fascism, said when the forces of labor rally- Amlie, is only a "bastard soit creates." Attacking corruption and the prof- ing from the November Farm- cialism". However, he did not it system he stumped the state. In the election | er Labor defeats united under | overly oppose it, as he pointed a trade union committee to out that it has put men to work

make a surprisingly strong bid in Germany. In fact, we "should take leaves out of the

totalitarian'' notebooks. An-No Progressive Program other F.-L. progressive arose to One might reasonably as- protest that no real Farmerhis activity been invited to address the well- sume that a Farmer-Labor Par- Labor Party could align itself fed sons of Harvard or the smug conservatives ty which has held power would with the War Deal of Roosevelt. of Phi Beta Kappa. Now an old man (they be realistic enough to give To this embarrassing point Amthought), and the issue for which he had prin- these problems serious consid- lie replied that he was 100 per cipally fought largely settled, they considered eration and to draw the neces- cent behind Roosevelt's inter-

Many good people from the under trade union leadership, rural sections of the state had free from entanglements with come a long way to this conof man by man, to stand on the side of social the war-mongering New Deal. ference on the basic problems of the workers and farmers oncient time in the ten-hour meet- | 1y to become disgusted and ing to lay out a bold program leave early. It must be con-

cluded that, to date, the Farm-This the Farmer-Labor Asso- er-Labor Association has not ciation failed to do. faced the present sharp prob-Handicapped by the reaction- lems and recognized the need ary Stalinist forces and the for throwing off the hampering his general all around ratishness.) Once upon New Deal politicians, both in- ties of the New Deal and the tent on hamstringing any pro- pro-war Stalinists, and forging this is ,would have told us that the general gressive program of indepen- a program of independent is but the rotten ripe fruit of militarism, the dent political action, the meet- working class action which ing failed to give the positive alone can solve these problems.

haven't got any money." The people of this and other areas in Boston are badly in need of dwellings better than the ones in which they are at present living. But here, as has been proved in other cities, the slum clearance project works only as a hardship on those wh are compelled to move. It is up to the city administration to provide these people with suitable dwellings at low rent while the houses are being built - and then to scale the rents in the newly built houses at levels within the means of the slum dwellers. But the city administration is not likely to do either of these things unless the residents compel the politicians to heed their needs and wants by forceful action.

DEFINITION

"An Indian Stalinist is a brave who has buried the hammer and sickle!" From the "Congress Socialist" of India.

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There should have been suffi-

for power.

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MAX SHACHTMAN Associate Editors: HAROLD ROBERTS FELIX MORROW HAROLD ROBERTS Staff Members: EMANUEL GARRETT Business Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension
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- 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.

What They Say

Somebody said a few days ago that "democracy" and "peace" are the two most abused words in the English language. In this country 20 million starving people are asked to get along on the "fruits of democracy" but nobody knows better than those 20 millions that there is no nourishment in that fruit. Our masters give us the democratic right to go hungry and then to die or be maimed on the battlefields they will send us to in the name of "peace." All over the world billions are being poured into ships, guns, and airplanes for the purposes of "peace." Roosevelt is for "peace"-Hitler is for "peace" -the Japanese generals are for "peace."

In the mouths of the rulers and their chorus of chattering monkeys, preachers, ladies' clubs, rotarians, columnists, radio commentators, newspaper editors, labor fakers, Stalinists, socalled socialists, these words become foul poisons, poured down the gullets of the people. So'long as we follow them, there shall be for the millions of us no democracy, no peace.

But we of the Socialist Workers Party have a way of meaning exactly what we say. When we speak of democracy, we mean democracy, not the lying plutocracy of the monkeys' chorus. We're fighting for a society in which the great masses of the people shall be free to thrive, to grow, to flourish in minds and bodies amid the plenty provided by the conquered material resources of the earth. When we speak of peace we mean peace, not an armed truce. We mean a peace solidly established by the very absence of the causes of capitalist war. The war that menaces us all is not caused by this or that evil Fascist dictator but by the terrific conflict between rival capitalists striving for markets, for labor to exploit, for more profits, more wealth, wrung out of the backs and bones of more people. By crushing capitalism and establishing a free socialist commonwealth of nations we shall abolish war and establish a real peace. It is to this struggle that the Socialist Workers Party dedicates itself. These are the problems that lie behind the organizational problems with which our convention, in session over this week-end, has been wrestling. And our words mean what they say. We're democrats and we're for peace, but we're not for the phoney "democracy of the bosses and we're not for the kind of "peace" that ends up in a new boss war. Hail the convention of the Socialist Workers Party and—To work!

SOCIALIST APPEAL

SENDS ARMS

arms shipments.

advance.



commissars. More than two-

thirds of the most ardent and

self-sacrificing fighting men.

being communist, were in-

sufficiently supplied, and in

effect demobilized when their

assistance was most needed.

More and more Spaniards

wins; it's tyranny on both

POLITICIANS CONVICTED

"When Franco reached the

sea, in March 1938, Prieto, still

Minister of Defense, told me,'

Pflaum relates, "'It's not mu-

nitions so much as cojones

(guts). The men don't want to

fight as they did in the early days'." And no wonder. After

the Stalinist blight had passed

workers would have to have

been made of superhuman ma-

The rout of the last days of

fectly clear. The withdrawal of

the Loyalist army from Barce-

lona, handing the city with its

foodstuffs to the fascists with-

out the slightest real resistance.

stands as a condemnation of

The article by Pflaum is

but it indirectly convicts the

silence when what they might

the greatest importance in the

treme eagerness to talk now.

when the Spanish workers are

finally defeated, is a two-edged

weapon. Their mutual accusa-

tions, angry and frenzied.

sound more and more like the

eager to cover himself by un

Stalinism.

FOPULAR FRONT

"What difference who

say,

sides.

Irving Pflaum, United Press Correspondent, Adds His Testimony to that Already Given by Krivitsky and Araguistain on Stalin's Sabotage of the Loyalist Struggle

By RAY ROBBINS struggle in order to further lice regime of its communist The rule-and-ruin Stalinist their factional interests.

policy in Spain, most recently TAKE CONTROL BY **BLACKMAIL AND THREATS** exposed in the revelations of "On three occasions during General Krivitsky and Luis Arhis incumbency, he (Caballero) aquistain, is once again consaid, it would have been posfirmed by the corroborating evsible to strike decisively. per idence presented by Irving haps to defeat Franco - at Pflaum, United Press corres-Guadalajara, Pozoblanco, and pondent behind the Loyalist Aragon — and each time the lines throughout the civil war. flow of munitions stopped in Mr. Pflaum, writing in the time to save Franco.' May issue of the American Caballero says that he was Mercury, tells how Stalin used told by the Stalinists that the the threat of discontinuing arms shipments had been held arms shipments to the beup by the "Non-Intervention" leaguered Spanish workers as 'But I believe," Pflaum reports political blackmail. At first, him as saying, "the prolonga-Stalin hesitated to send munition of the war was deliberate. tions to Spain. He wasn't sure Arms were held back until comthat such an action would not munist control was assured." interfere with his maneuvers As a result of such ruthless over the army, the Spanish on the diplomatic front with sabotaging and blackmail tac-Britain and France. This caltics. Stalin's "democratic" culated period of hesitation. bloodhounds were soon in con- terial not to lose heart and way during which Stalin sacrificed trol of Loyalist Spain. Terror the Spanish workers to the exagainst all opponents, especialigencies of "collective securily directed against the revolu- the civil war thus becomes perty", covered four months, a crucial period for the whole tionists, destruction of all the gains made by the workers and

outcome of the war. neasants toward socialist control, emasculation of the army by the G.P.U. cabal; these great supplies of munitions and AT A HIGH PRICE Finally, Stalin decided to were the inquisitorial methods back the Spanish struggle, and of the Stalinist agents once began to ship arms; making they were firmly in power. sure that he was paid in good

In the face of the Stalinist Spanish gold-and paid well in measures, the inevitable effect aimed solely at the Stalinists, on the workers was demoraliza-An ironical letter sent by tion. Pflaum tells the heart- cowardly policy of the various Caballero, while still Premier, breaking story of the last days Popular Front politicians. Why to a friend, is quoted by of the Loyalist rout. The spirit did Prieto, Araquistain, Cabal-Fflaum to show the perfidious use Stalin made of the vital of both civilians and soldiers lero and Co. preserve complete had been undermined

"We would be ungrateful," "General apathy took the have said would have been of place of the revolutionary Caballero says, "and unobligzeal evidenced in the earlier military struggle? Their exing to those who sell us armsperiod. The draft displaced arms which are paid for in the volunteer system. The gold, cash on the line, and kind of fighting force that had which they use even for blackdefeated Franco's trained mail, removing and installing troops and their foreign reinministries at their pleasure." forcements now gave way to Caballero, Pflaum also re ports, accused the Stalin gang a sullen, 'disciplined', and falling out of thieves, each one continually more spiritless of withholding munitions at de-

Striking a Balance of Labor's **Recent Minneapolis Campaign**

With the dust of the Minnea- to a support of the Democratic either the Communist Party or polis municipal campaign still Party. It is this one factor, Martin Dies can pretend that settling on one of the most more than any other, that ex- the Stalinists are reds. They're heartening manifestations of plains the enthusiasm and the rot, they are war-mongers and independent labor political ac- success of labor's political supporters of anti-working tion of recent years, and with comeback as contrasted to the class politics in every country the labor movement of this Farmer-Labor debacle of last of the world. state still buzzing with talk of Lall, when the Benson machine T. A. Eide, labor's mayoralty the phenomenal showing of the got snowed under when they candidate. bluntly rejected the labor slate, it is appropriate to tried to sell the workers and Communist Party by stating in make an estimate of the politi- farmers of Minnesota the tat- an open letter that "I have not cal struggle through which the tered remnants of the Roose- sought and I do not wish any Minneapolis unions have come, velt party. The 1938 elections support or indorsement from Briefly, the balance sheet of nationally and every political the Communist Party. I wish to development since then indi- seek the support of all groups the campaign reads as follows: cates that the New Deal with who are sincerely interested in Many Pluses 1. The platform adopted by its war-mongering and relief- the improvement of the workthe April 8 trade union and clashing is losing the support of ing conditions and living stan-Farmer-Labor conference, the the masses. ards of all people who must platform upon which the labor **Trade Unions Lead** labor for a living.' 3. For the first time in many Carefully distinguishing becandidates ran, marked a measurable advance over all years the trade unions led and ween the aims of the Communcampaign ist Party and the aims of orcontrolled the Farmer-Labor platforms of recent years. It spoke out for a through their members on the ganized labor, Eide said, "I defense of popular civil liber- Volunteer Trade Union and wish to point out that the printies and for a defense of spe- Farmer-Labor Campaign Comciples and purposes of the Com munist Party do not coincide cific working class rights: "The mittee. The Farmer-Laborites with a progressive and conrights of labor to organize, bar- on the committee, composed gain collectively, picket, strike mostly of Stalinists, contributed structive platform such as I am and strive for better living and nothing whatsoever to the camcampaigning on. working conditions." It op-paign, indeed they proved a Try to Knife Slate True to their yellow record. posed the sales tax for the right definite handicap. It was the reason, that such a tax "is a union committee headed by the Communist Party threw a burden on the people least able Seavey and Ogg that raised the knife into the labor slate in the to pay." It advocated "a munic- finances from the local unions, closing days of the campaign ipal public works and housing opened the union headquarters by distributing a foul leaflet in program to take care of all per- in various wards and carried the reactionary wards of the sons now residing in homes un- on and directed the fight for city, attributing New Deal senfit for human habitation." Such the labor slate. timents to Eide and otherwise The Farmer-Labor ward distorting the union campaign. a program would have to build clubs, completely gutted by the This dirty job is registered in decent homes for at least eleven thousand persons now living disastrous defeat of 1938, the minds of tens of thousands n squalid quarters. played no role. of workers, and Eide, after the The platform declared for ad-The trade union committees campaign, called them on it. quate relief, opposed the conset up in the various wards did "At the last minute the old yeomen's work for the labor blundering tool of reaction, the centration camp system advo-Communist Party, peddled its cated by the employers and slate. Here is precisely the their boss parties. It opposed campaign apparatus that must propaganda sheets throughout all attempts to return the cost be developed in all future labor the most conservative wards of relief back to the states and campaigns, in Minneapolis and and church areas, intensely the local communities as this every other city. It is especial-blanketing the Eighth and Thiris an attempt by large income ly encouraging to note that teenth Wards, seeking to give tax payers to . . . shift the re- these trade union committees the impression their cause ief burden to the backs of the have not disbanded since the would be helped by the election nome owners and the small election, but are being organ- of T. A. Eide. This door-to-door ized on a permanent basis in work by the Communist pamusinessmen. Almost all of the demands the three wards where they phlet peddlers occurred at the ontained in the April 8 plat- flourished. same time as my opponent's last minute city-wide distribu-Spurned Communist Party orm were progressive as far s they went, but in almost ev-4. If the labor slate silently tion of propaganda sheets took ery instance they could and rejected the New Deal, along place, all aimed to discredit me should have been carried fur-with the party of Stassen and without giving me an opporther. A criticism of the plat-Landon, it publicly and vigor-tunity to answer because of form from the viewpoint of the ously lashed out at the Com- lack of time. "The enemies of the liberal Socialist Workers Party was is- munist Party. And it didn't do ued during the campaign, and any clownish red-baiting, it and progressive movement who will be given in the next article. called the Stalinists for what have been boring from within 2. The most refreshing aspect they are, the most reactionary have been forced to show their true colors and now we stand of the platform and of the en-force in the labor movement toready to carry the fight to evtire labor campaign was that day.



TUESDAY, JULY 4, 1939

June marks an anniversary that should not be passed by without mention. Ten years ago appeared the first number of the Bulletin of the Opposition (Byuletin Oppositsye), the first regularly printed organ of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists.

Leon Trotsky, Natalia Ivanovna Sedov and their son Leon had been banished from the Soviet Union by the G.P.U. a few months earlier, in January 1929, and had taken up residence in Istambul, Turkey. Stalin's decree banishing the organizer and the sword of the October Revolution was perhaps the greatest single mistake made by the Kremlin autocrat in his self-assigned task of interring the world revolution. Despite the natural restrictions imposed upon a political exile in Turkey, Trotsky's release from "house detention" in the wilderness of Alma-Ata, where he had been confined for about a year since his expulsion from the Russian Communist party, afforded him his first real opportunity to establish contact with the international movement.

Rearming the Movement

Clearing away the mass of misrepresentation and falsehood spread by the Stalinist machine about the Bolshevik opposition in the Soviet Union was the first job to be tackled-and nothing in our time has more closely resembled Hercules' taks of cleansing the Augean stables. Inseparably connected with this job went the one of re-arming the international communist movement with the principles and traditions of Marx and Lenin, which the Moscow machine had ridiculed, discredited and then solemnly banned as heresy.

The accomplishment of these tasks would not have been impossible without the Bulletin of the Opposition, but it would have been infinitely harder than it was.

Up to the time it began publication, the only material we could rely upon to give us a true picture of the situation in the Soviet Union and the program of the Bolshevik Opposition-what appeared in the Stalinist press could of course not be relied on at all, then as now-was contained in the episodic scraps which Trotsky or other comrades managed to smuggle out of the Soviet Union. From June 1929 onward, we-and I speak here primarily about our own terribly isolated movement of those days-had at our disposal not only a dependable source of information, but a political-theoretical organ which measured up to the highest standards of the great literature of Marxism. Even nowadays we await each issue with impatience, and just as impatiently the translation of the important articles, which usually means virtually the full contents of the number.

Trotsky's Contributions

It is almost an iron law of the movement, as we have observed it in the last decade, that every backslider and turncoat from Marxism who is abandoning its revolutionary principles, or even those shreds to which he was once attached, covers his retreat by squeaky denunciation of "Trotsky's dictatorship'' or the "one-man International" or more of the same. Anyone acquainted with the early years of our international movement, back in the days of Marx and Engels, will easily identify this refrain, if only the names in the latter-day revisionist lament are changed from

Marx to Trotsky. the most merchul thing that can be said about these critics is that they are guilty of the crime of ignorance. They know nothing about the actual functioning of our movement. Those of us who do, understand how absurd is the accusation-more accurately, this pretext for retreat. We who have been eager to learn and fight in the revolutionary struggle, not only at high tide but also at low, know how to appraise justly the invaluable and unique contribution Trotsky has made in enriching the arsenal of the living movement. And unlike the shamefaced "friends" of the revolution, whose much-touted "independence of thought" is conceived by them as Micense for fluttering around in a thickening daze, we are proud to proclaim ourselves followers of Leon Trotsky,

Danger Signal

torture.

ahead.

Here is a danger signal-to us and to the labor movement as a whole.

told a Moscow conference of prosecutors that

people had been arrested recklessly, that the

period of investigation had been dragged out

"impermissably" and that suspects had been

kept for lengthy periods in jail-and jail in the

Soviet Union of Stalin means endless weeks

and months and years of moral and physical

Russia faces the present war crisis in a posi-

tion that is strong only in the most superficial

sense. The corrosive force generated by Stalin

has eaten deeply into the most vital organs of

the country. Its effects will become visible when

the strain of war is placed upon it. Only by cut-

ting the Stalinist cancer from itself will the

Russian working class be able to emerge victori-

ously from the momentous conflicts that lie

A cross-section of W.P.A. workers and direct relief recipients were asked by the Gallup poll: "Do you think you would be better off or worse off if there were a Republican ad-

it would make no difference. In other words, a decisive majority of the unemployed-who overwhelmingly voted for Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936-have lost faith in him.

The Gallup poll's sampling confirms the trend already evidenced in the 1938 elections. Millions upon millions of workers, especially the unemployed-who constitute, with their families, 23 millions-are turning in despair away from the New Deal. And the only alternative to the status quo that they see is the Republican party of Hoover, and they vote for it in their blind desperation. Anything, anything, except what they already have . . . that is the psychology of desperate tens of millions. And not a few of them turn also to the fascist demagogues who lavish-

The Gallup poll is a danger signal. It means that, by servilely supporting the Roosevelt administration, the official labor movement is not lifting a finger to prevent the masses from turning to the Republicans and the fascists.

blame these millions of workers for turning to the Republicans and fascists. These workers are not to blame. The blame is on the labor leaders who offer them no real alternative.

Either the labor movement will undertake the responsibility for defending the interests of the desperate masses, will fight for their right to jobs and relief, and that means fighting against the relief-slashing Roosevelt administration-or the masses will succumb to the demagogy of the

ministration in the White House?'

Better off, said 24%, while another 32% said

ly promise everybody everything.

Only smug scoundrels like the Stalinists will cisive points in the military army, chafing under the po- loading on the others.

Republicans and fascists.

Stalin's Russia

Every once in a while now the world is given a glimpse into the dark depths of the purge with which Stalin lashed millions in Russia during the past few years.

When Laurent Beria succeeded the unlamented Yezhov-now a victim of his own brutal regime-it was publicly admitted that thousands of workers had been falsely charged, falsely imprisoned, falsely tortured, and wantonly put to death in the dungeons of Stalin's G.P.U. Now that Andrei Vishinsky, Stalin's prosecutor-in-chief, has been kicked upstairs on his way to the oblivion from which no Stalin tool ever returns, more of the filth is rising to the surface.

The New York Times reports that Vishinsky's successor, a gentleman named Pankratyeff,

Education Be Damned

The New York State Legislature is in special session at Albany as a result of the court decision that declared unconstitutional the so-called lump-sum "economy" budget which slashed \$9,700,000 from funds for state aid to schools. With an ear cocked to the great clamor of protest that has arisen over this attempt to make economies by taking them out of the hides and minds of the state's children, the Democrats are making a big play of "fighting" for restoration of the school cuts.

Taking every possible opportunity to place responsibility for the cuts solely at the door of the Republican majority, Gov. Lehman and fis fellow-democrats have introduced bills for restorations of the school money and have referred protesting delegations to the Republicans.

But Lehman and his friends are putting up nothing more than a sham battle. The Legislature is going methodically through the budget, changing its form to comply with constitutional requirements and carrying over into it, of course, the economies made at the expense of the schools. As a number of Albany correspondents have sagely pointed out, the Democrats, if they really wanted to make any kind of fight for the schools, would be presenting alternate sources of revenue out of the pockets of those who can well afford it in order to make up the necessary sums. But of this there is no sign. The bosses don't see any point any more in pouring money into a school system that doesn't pay them dividends. You don't need to educate cannon fodder. You've simply got to push them in front of the cannon. Education was a luxury that the bosses allowed themselves when the going was good. It was a luxury, like "benefits" for the workers. But the time for luxuries is slipping past the bosses. The squeeze is getting harder. They rip away the meager "benefits" they used to throw like scraps to the workers and they are cutting down on schools for the workers' children. The Tweedledee Lehmans and the Tweedledum Republicans both serve the same bosses. That's why Lehman's

battle for the schools is only a sham battle.

The day has passed in Minneery corner of Minnesota," said none of the candidates tried to ail the discredited New Deal apolis, and is rapidly passing Eide in his post-campaign and turn the workers backwardeversy herein the world, where statement.

The Bulletin of the Opposition has played a tremendous role in the crystallizing of our political ideas and in the solidifying of our movement throughout the world, the movement which our enemies are pleased to call-it is a name we readily accept_"Trotskyist

A Salute to Leon Sedov

No comment on the Bulletin can end without a mention of the comrade who was its effective director from the very beginning, the late Leon Sedov. Soon after his banishment to Turkey, he left for Berlin, where the Bulletin was launched. Although he lived under difficult political conditions, "Lyova" succeeded in editing and managing (and contributing to) the Bulletin until early in 1933. The advent of the Hitler regime meant the end of the German publication of the review. The Nazis banned it, forcing young Sedov to flee to Paris, where publication of the Bulletin was resumed.

Those who had the privilege of knowing this magnificent young revolutionist could learn from his conduct what a model militant should be. His devotion was tireless and profound. His political development-he died at the age of 32-was remarkably rapid and solid. He knew in what proportions to mix boldness, courage and prudence, even though he never tended to lay emphasis on the last-named. Despite surveillance by the G.P.U. and the bourgeois police, he knew his job, knew how to accomplish it, and did accomplish it. It was not only the Bulletin of the Opposition that owed its existence to Leon Sedov.

We evaluated him in life less keenly, alas, than did the G.P.U. We did not realize in time how determined Stalin's hatchet-men were to rid their boss of Leon and his works. Only later we learned of the special attention the G.P.U. had devoted to the young militant for a long time before his death. Only later was it revealed that he had been shadowed daily and almost assassinated one day at a rendezvous which, by happy accident, did not materialize.

Leon died in "mysterious circumstances." But, not so mysterious that the hand of the Kremlin butcher is not evident.

His death was a stiff blow to his parents, a blow to the Bulletin, a great blow to our international movement. On the tenth anniversary of the Bulle tin we salute the shining memory of the intreple revolutionist whose name will always be associ ated with it-Leon Sedoy: