

# Father Coughlin: Fascist Demagogue---A New Series on the Radio Priest

## Who Is the Man, What Is His Program, How Did He Rise?

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

By JOSEPH HANSEN

### The Rise of the "Radio Priest"

In the summer of 1926, an obscure Catholic priest began broadcasting over the radio in Detroit.

For three years he spoke steadily without gaining any following beyond a local one. His speeches were not particularly striking. He said nothing to distinguish himself as different from hundreds of others who performed for America's loudspeakers.

Then the 1929 crash ushered in the worst depression United States capitalism had yet experienced.

Something different did occur then. The obscure priest launched a series of violent attacks against "communism." His name zoomed into the national spotlight.

He began broadening his activities like a business man who has succeeded in selling a huge issue of stock for a newly formed company.

In the lowest depths of the depression, he built himself a million dollar shrine. He began publishing a sleek magazine that carried not a line of advertising, yet sold for only a dime—an editor's day dream come true. He organized a wide political movement. He added radio stations to his network until today forty-eight are broadcasting his speeches—at an estimated cost of \$8,000 each—to an audience that may number millions.

Big Business tycoons count him an intimate. Many Congressmen consider him the greatest political force outside of the White House. Fascists the world over hail him as among the chief of their dark number.

The labor movement has denounced him repeatedly. This is the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin.

### Political Checkerboard

The political program he has followed is as astounding as his rise from obscurity.

At first the "radio priest" urged his listeners to put their trust in President Herbert Hoover, the "great engineer." As late as January 11, 1931, he declared that "we have lost no faith whatsoever" in President Hoover and his cabinet.

Then he switched to the New Deal and supported it so eloquently that he became one of the most influential spokesmen for the Roosevelt Administration.

"Roosevelt or Ruin" was his slogan.

Millions believed him and chose Roosevelt.

On November 11, 1934, shortly after the rise of Adolph Hitler to power in Germany, he launched his organization, the National Union for Social Justice. He wrote the program for this organization himself. It has never elected him as its leader or constituted itself on democratic lines. Political discussion at its unit meetings is strictly forbidden. Coughlin is self-appointed supreme dictator.

In the 1936 presidential campaign he switched from the New Deal and supported William Lemke for president.

When Lemke was beaten at the polls, the "radio priest" retired from public life. But his retirement was only temporary.

He came back on the air with a new twist to his political program—against the Jews... revolution... prepare for violence...

Now his movement is spreading from coast to coast. In every city unemployed youths hawk his magazine *Social Justice*. He is conducting an essay contest with prizes amounting to \$16,000.

Many people consider him the only hope, the only way out of the depression. Many others consider him the most dangerous menace yet to appear on the American political scene.

### Father Coughlin Promises

The magazine and the radio speeches, copies of which Father Coughlin mails out free by the hundreds of thousands, are designed to appeal to those who have been crushed by the depression—the millions of unemployed, youth who see only a blank future, farmers facing ruin, those who have no more hope in Roosevelt's New Deal.

"I am for a just annual living wage," he declares. "I am for labor's right to organize. I am for the cost of living being maintained on an even keel; and I am for preferring the sanctity of human rights to the sanctity of property with government's chief concern for the poor."

Who could be against a program like that?

But Father Coughlin was not the first man to stand for labor's right to organize, nor the only one to point out the high cost of living. Father Coughlin is not the first orator to round out pungent and stinging phrases about the sanctity of human rights.

Why should a program so commonplace as that create such excitement and clamor, and out of an obscure priest create a national political figure with apparently unlimited funds at his disposal?

Because that is not his real program.

### Coughlin and the New Deal

At one time, if your memory goes back as far as President Roosevelt's election campaign, the New Deal promised these very same things.

And Father Coughlin backed the New Deal one hundred per cent.

(Continued on Page 2)

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**BUILD WORKERS'  
DEFENSE GUARDS**

# Briggs Strikers Go Over The Top With a Resounding Union Victory

## WAA LEADERS FAWN BEFORE MRS. ROOSEVELT

**No Money? Why, Go  
To School, Says the  
President's Wife**

By NAT LEVINE  
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7.—"It doesn't always mean having more money to live better," Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt told the unemployed delegates at the "Right to Work Congress" of the Workers Alliance here today. "It's a matter of more education," she smilingly told the unemployed delegates who, one after another had grimly described Sunday afternoon the horrible destitution abounding in the cities and towns they had come from.

Attired in a dress of pastel blue and wearing a black, large trimmed straw hat, Mrs. Roosevelt graciously posed for photographers with David Lasser, Stalinist president of the Workers Alliance, as he fawningly presented her with an honorary membership in the Workers Alliance.

That Mrs. Roosevelt would not have spoken to the Workers Alliance (Continued on Page 2)

## Mass Meeting To Greet Nat'l Convention

**Genora Johnson and  
Other Party Leaders  
Will Speak June 30**

A mass meeting to greet the anti-war convention of the Socialist Workers Party will be held at Irving Plaza, Friday, June 30 at 8 P.M.

The formal sessions of the convention will begin Saturday morning, July 1, also at Irving Plaza, and will be held continuously to July 5.

Genora Johnson, famed leader of the Women's Auxiliary in the great strikes of the Flint auto workers, will make her first appearance on the New York platform of the Socialist Workers Party at the June 30 meeting. In addition, the speakers list will include V. R. Dunne, outstanding labor leader of Minneapolis; Glen Trimble of San Francisco; Reuben Plaskett, Negro militant and leader of the unemployed movement in New Jersey; George Clarke from Detroit; and Nathan Gould, National Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League.

Max Shachtman, representing the Political Committee of the party will give the main address of the evening and James P. Cannon will preside as chairman.

Reports from all over the country indicate an intense in-

"Before the Party Convention," a discussion article by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, appears on page 3 of this issue.

terest in the forthcoming convention and a full attendance of delegates from all sections, including newly organized branches in the Pacific Northwest, the deep South, and New England.

## PICKET LINE GREET'S FINK MANNED SHIP

**Arrival Precipitates  
Fight Between S.U.P.  
And Government**

Determined pickets of the West Coast organizations of the sailors, firemen, licensed officers, and cooks and stewards greeted the arrival of the S. S. "Coldbrook" at the Puget Sound port of Bellingham, Washington. It was the first of four Maritime Commission ships designated for the Seattle Orient run. Its arrival has precipitated the long-brewing contest between the government commission and the Sailors Union of the Pacific over the basic issue: shall the Government be permitted to smash unionism on the waterfronts by establishing government control over hiring of seamen, or shall all seamen be shipped from union hiring halls?

Balked in an attempt to put cargo aboard the "Coldbrook" at Bellingham because of the refusal of longshoremen and teamsters to crash the picket lines, the ship was shifted to Seattle, Washington, where a stronger picket line awaited it. The crew, supplied on the East Coast by the National Maritime Union through the fink hall, was declared finky by the various West Coast organizations participating in the picketing, when the crew took the ship out of Bellingham.

The inspiring demonstration of solidarity with the sailors by the teamsters, longshoremen, and others, is unquestionably due to the fact that government success in forcing hiring through any channels other than union halls, would be a blow at all unions on the waterfront.

Thus the fight, carried on so valiantly by the Sailors Union of the Pacific, for almost a year, has finally born fruit, in a united struggle of the main sections of West Coast labor against the regimentation of the seafarers, one of the key points in the Government war-preparedness program.

### NOTICE

A very important meeting of all members of local New York and the Y.P.S.L. will be held this Tuesday, June 13, 8:00 P.M. at Irving Plaza Hall. All members are instructed to attend without fail. Admission by card only.

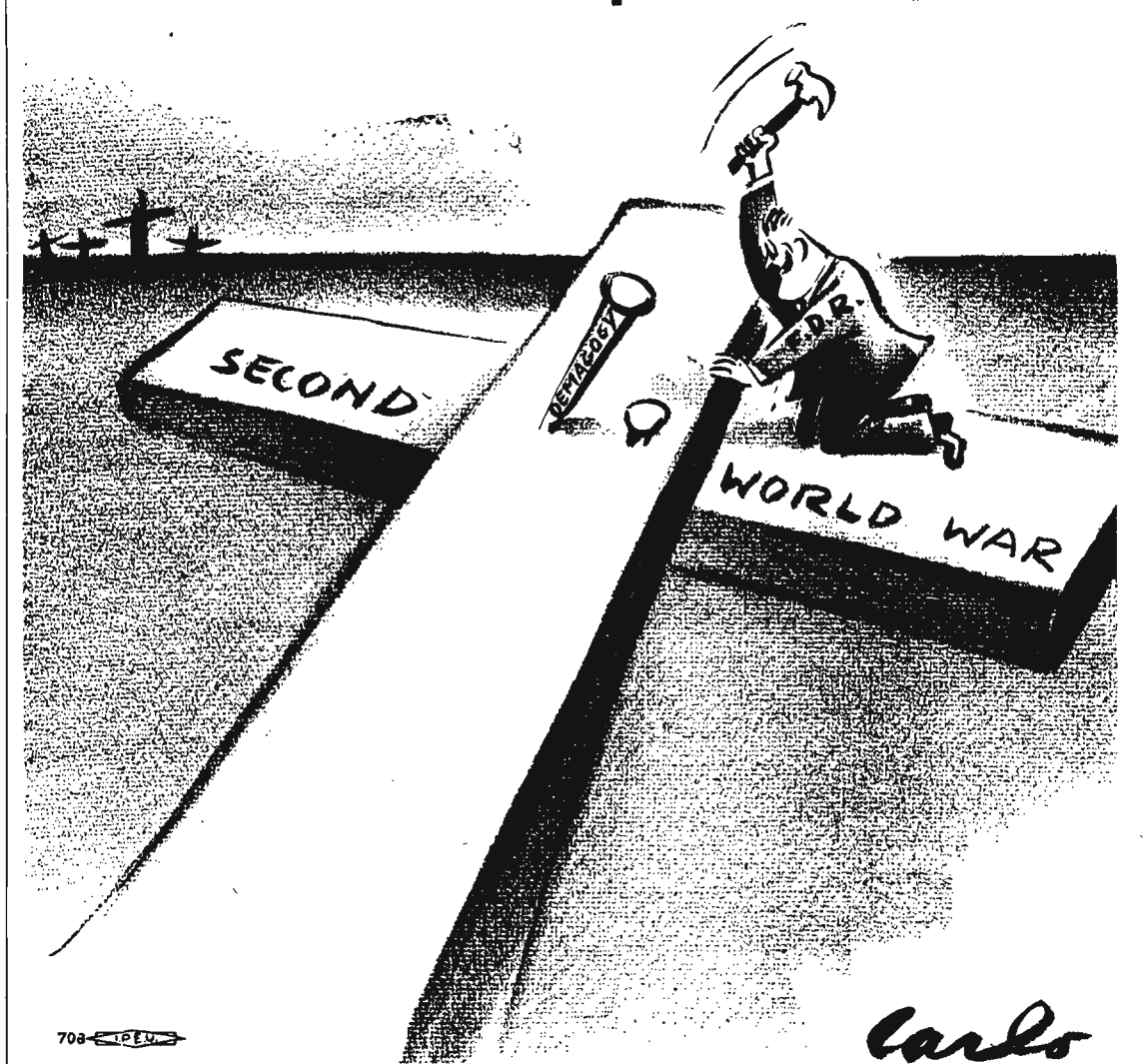
# Why Did the New York Times Suppress Araquistain's Story on Spain's Gold?

Why did the New York Times suppress two of the series of articles by Luis Araquistain which it started to print? Araquistain was Ambassador to France of the Loyalist Government during the premiership of Largo Caballero, his close personal friend and co-leader of the Spanish Socialist Party.

He was in a position, during the Civil War, to know all the details of the crimes of Stalin and his gang in Spain. He remained silent about these crimes—and about his own!—when telling the story might have changed the whole situation and perhaps the fate of the Spanish working class.

After the cruel defeat, he decided to speak, at least in part. He wrote a series of articles for the North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA), the newspaper feature syndicate controlled by the New York Times. The Times started printing the articles—on obscure back pages, even though their contents were sensational enough by any newspaper standards. It printed three articles. Two of them it did not print.

## The Carpenter



## Hail the King and Queen...If You Believe in Cruelty and Oppression

Hail the King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, Emperor and Empress of India and all other colonies, etc., etc. Hail them if you have the soul of a slave or a flunkie. Hail them if you believe in cruelty and oppression.

The five hundred million peoples of the British Empire do not hail them. In India, in Ceylon, in the Near East, in South Africa, in Ireland, in the West Indies, those oppressed by British "democracy" are showing their teeth and clenched fists, their irreconcilable determination to end once and for all the rule of the British capitalists whom this gentleman and his lady serve as traveling salesmen.

The refugees and immigrants in this country from the British Empire do not hail them. Nor do the millions of American workers who understand what these gilded parasites represent.

Why do the Royal couple drive through lanes of soldiers who stand facing the people with fixed bayonets? Why are the roofs along their route filled with squads of machine-gunners and sharpshooters? Why are armies of police and G-men surrounding them? Why, during their visit to the World's Fair, are all the buildings and grounds they visit emptied of visitors, as if a plague raged around the two?

These incredibly elaborate precautions—the route they take has been studied for months

by American authorities—are not designed merely to prevent some lunatic from throwing a bomb. No, they are primarily designed against perfectly sane men and women—the refugees and immigrants from the British Empire, their friends and sympathizers—who might peacefully demonstrate against these symbols of the British ruling class.

The news seeps out that the police in various parts of the country are making preventive arrests of known enemies of British rule, so that not a single "untoward incident" shall occur. Sean Russell, Irish Republican leader, was released by Federal authorities in Detroit only after a threat by Irish congressmen had threatened to boycott the reception for their Majesties (if they were loyal to Ireland's struggle they'd boycott it anyway). But Russell was too well-known; hundreds of lesser-known opponents of British rule stay in jail until their Majesties leave the country.

Not all the fakery of mobilizing tens of thousands of little school children, spending tens of thousands of dollars stolen from the unemployed for bunting and decorations, using hundreds of thousands of troops and armed men, airplanes, destroyers, mine sweepers, can hide the simple fact: the millions who know the meaning of the rule of the British Empire, loathe and detest its dress-horse representatives.

## Militant Action Brings Results

**Company Reinstates  
Fired Men; Contract  
Improves Conditions**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
DETROIT, June 7—15,000 Briggs workers went over the top! The strike against Briggs Manufacturing is settled with a resounding victory for the United Automobile Workers of America. The union is on the march!

With great unanimity and enthusiasm five thousand members of Briggs local 212, their faces browned from days of service on the picket lines, roared their approval of the new agreement at Cass Technical High School today. The contract signed marks a great improvement over the previous agreement.

Its provisions will more firmly establish the local in the plants than ever before. Not everything that the union wanted was gained. That was to be expected. But all revisions made in the agreement were to the advantage of the union and not the company. Therein lies the signal victory of local 212.

**Bluff Fails**  
The story of the strike can be told in a few brief words. The company tried to bluff the union out of its fundamental rights. The union wouldn't be bluffed. And it refused to temporize. It struck. The power and effectiveness of the strike convinced the company that such a force, backed by mass power and militancy couldn't be tricked, and it was questionable whether it could be beaten. Result: Briggs stopped bluffing and came to heel.

The strike broke out originally over a long list of grievances, most important of which were the firing of fifteen leading union men because of aggressive action in the plants. The picket lines on the outside and the idle assembly lines on the inside gave the company a quick change of heart. When under these circumstances, Arbitrator Dewey ordered twelve of these unionists reinstated—his eye was cocked on that picket line—the company acceded.

**Ask "Union Shop"**  
With this victory under its belt union negotiators became more insistent in their demand for the "union shop". Briggs local represented the overwhelming majority of the workers employed in the Briggs plants. There was no reason why all should not be obliged to belong to the union. Over 12,000 signatures had been obtained asking for the "union shop".

The conditions of the agreement, despite their tentative character, come as near to gaining the "union shop" as any ever obtained in the automobile industry. Only the extreme lateness of the production season complicated by Homer Martin's spurious and strikebreaking claims to represent "a majority" caused the local to take less than its original demand. The contract now provides that in the National (Continued on Page 2)

(See page 4 for details of Araquistain's suppressed story.)

# In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

## Long-Haired Boys

That this country needs a good five-cent cigar and glass of beer to make union leaders reasonable, evidently is the assumption upon which the American Economic Foundation, a super-super union-busting organization, is founded.

The purpose of this outfit is to pour oil on the troubled waters of the class struggle, to bring peace and quiet and normalcy back to communities which have been torn by labor trouble and "to restore workers' faith in the capitalistic system."

Now there is nothing new about this faith-healing. Joe Hill, who immortalized in song the militancy of the American workers, once wrote about "long haired preachers" who promise "pie in the sky"—to which Joe thundered "that's a lie!"

What is interesting is that the faith-healers and economic medicine men should employ their methods of gentle suasion in an age when the class struggle is more and more being waged in the streets and not in a labor-management conference over some nicker stogies.

## In the Backroom

The American Economic Foundation chose three American cities in which to conduct their experiment—Terre Haute, Indiana, Massillon and Akron, Ohio.

Its methods are simple, almost insulting to one's finer sensibilities. In Terre Haute, scene of general strikes, pitched battles between the workers and the state militia and seething cauldron of the class struggle, the bosses found that much of their trouble could be eliminated by being "nice" to the labor leaders. Instead of calling in the militia, they called in certain union officials. They retired to Mike's bar, and over a couple of beers and cigars, the dispute was settled.

Fortune magazine, which records these touching incidents, fails to say how the rank and file is faring in this new era.

## Billy Sunday of Business

The Foundation has now moved in on Akron in the person of one, Alfred Haake, Ph. D. and one-time official of the American Liberty League.

At the moment, he is conducting his moral rearmament program through the various luncheon clubs and American Legion, the latter of which has been in ill repute since the Socialist Workers Party in Akron held a counter-demonstration to one of its flag-waving rallies.

One of Dr. Haake's buddies-on-the-firing-line is Deloss Walker, associate editor of Liberty magazine and self-christened "Billy Sunday of Business." In a former Akron appearance, Walker jumped on a table, threw off his coat and threatened to bust anyone in the jaw who said he couldn't get a job. (He must embarrass the bourgeoisie.)

In Massillon, where the little-steel strike was fought to a bloody finish, the Foundation has set the milk and honey of class collaboration flowing by bringing certain union officials into the "civic organizations."

## Junk Pile, or Else

No worker, of course, can object to creating better cities to live in or to bringing about prosperity. But that can be done only by obtaining a higher standard of living for the laboring masses—by jobs at decent wages. On this problem, the American Economic Foundation is understandably silent.

Capitalism has shown itself incapable of improving the lot of the common people. Our lot, instead, is getting worse. And everyone is realizing it more and more.

And this is where the baloney salesmen come in with their slightly adulterated tripe. They will fall in restoring our faith in their skin-game.

Their outfit must either end in the junk pile with all those that came before it or develop into an open, undisguised strike-breaking, union-busting gang, which it is at heart.

## Boston, Mass.

Benefit Supper for the Socialist Appeal  
FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 6:30 p.m.  
Byron Hall, 6 Byron St.  
Admission, 49 cents

# W. A. A. Stages Roosevelt Campaign Rally

## BOOST RELIEF-SLASHER FOR THIRD TERM

### 'Right to Work' Congress Skips Discussion of Jobless Needs

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
WASHINGTON, June 6.—The Stalinized Workers Alliance "Right to Work Congress" is continuing its do-nothing sessions here in the Labor Auditorium. Hundreds of delegates who came for an answer to the problem of unemployment and W.P.A. layoffs are forced to waste their time listening to campaign speeches for Roosevelt's re-election.

That the "Right to Work Congress" does not intend to fight the battles of the nation's unemployed workers was indicated here today in a resolution unanimously adopted which goes on record in support of the relief-slashing New Deal Administration in the 1940 presidential elections.

Resorting to the type of campaign the Stalinists conducted during the 1936 presidential elections, the W.A.A. has given the signal for a "Defeat Garner at all costs" drive.

**Whitewash Roosevelt**  
Picturing Vice-President John Nance Garner as the Congressional leader of the "Tory Democrat and reactionary Republican bloc" to which is ascribed sole responsibility for the recent W.P.A. cuts and layoffs, the Workers Alliance resolution suggests a third term for President Roosevelt. The resolution declares that "We should form such organizations and clubs as are necessary to rally the utmost support to keep the New Deal in the White House in 1940."

That it was President Roosevelt himself who initiated the W.P.A. cuts as a means of "appeasing business," that his April 27 relief-cutting message is now before Congress providing only a total of two million W.P.A. jobs for the coming year, 1,350,000 less than were employed last November, is crassly ignored by the leaders of the "Right to Work Congress."

Instead, Roosevelt is portrayed in the resolution as: "A man who has the feeling for the common folks that President Roosevelt has, who has his liberalism, his practical sense of the country's needs, who has his patriotism and courage to keep our nation at peace, must be nominated and elected in 1940."

**Delegates Stamped**  
The Stalinist whips are stampeding the unemployed delegates into accepting every resolution that is proposed. The Congress is run from a behind-the-scenes conference room, from which emanate all proposals, and the delegates merely vote. The committee on resolutions was named to the delegates by the Workers Alliance bureaucrats at the first session.

The first departure from this practice was made today, when the resolution boomerang Roosevelt for a third term was proposed by the convention's southern delegation. This was, judging from the well-planned succession of the speakers, a maneuver to make it appear as if the third term sentiment was a spontaneous demonstration from the convention floor.

**Speeches Befog Delegates**  
Prior to this resolution in support of the New Deal in the 1940 election, the delegates have been subjected to speech after speech from Congressmen, boosting Roosevelt and the New Deal Administration.

Monday's session spent most of its time hearing Rep. Coffee of Washington offer the election of New Deal candidates in 1940 as the solution to the unemployed problem. This was preceded by the presentation of an innocuous resolution stating the horrible condition of the unemployed while praising the New Deal.

The Tuesday session was devoted to still more pep talks for Roosevelt by Dr. Harry F. Ward of the League for Peace and Democracy and Robert Hanchen of the "National Negro Congress."

**Mrs. Roosevelt Coos**  
Tomorrow's session will be addressed by Mrs. Roosevelt who will take time off from her preparations for the welcome to the King and Queen—to tell the unemployed just how grieved she is at poverty. There is still to be pro-

The Kind of Action that Brings Results



Sit-down strikers at Fisher Plant No. 2 watching the street from a second story window during the great strike battle of 1937 in Flint, Mich., which was then patrolled by troops. Winning the first encounter with city police, the strikers took possession of the factory.

# Briggs Strikers Go Over The Top In Resounding Victory for Union

(Continued from Page 1)  
Labor Relations Board election to be held shortly, local 212 shall be granted sole collective bargaining in that election. This victory is assured—thus marking a major step forward for the entire auto union.

**Other Improvements**  
Among the other improvements of the contract there is one clause which places the union in a far more favorable position for militant action in case of company provocation. The No-Strike clause previously in the contract has been eliminated and in its place merely the condition that there shall be no strikes or slowdowns until the regular grievance procedure has been exhausted.

Improvements in the seniority system were effected so that employees previously working at Briggs shall be called back to work before new men are hired; departmental shop stewards shall retain their seniority as chief stewards for one year if demoted because of lack of work; employees transferred from a lower to a higher classification shall receive five cents below the higher classification and receive the maximum after 28 days (the vicious practice of the Ford Motor Co. in reducing wages by this kind of transfer had been partly carried over to Briggs prior to this contract).

The agreement includes the five Detroit plants of the Briggs corporation and its two plants in Evansville, Ind. Under its terms shop committee members are to be paid for time spent in weekly meetings; meetings with the management can be arranged on 24 hours' notice instead of five days as previously; and a guarantee that workers found to be unjustly discharged shall receive all back pay.

**"One of the Best"**  
Emil Mazey, President of Briggs local 212, characterized the agreement as "one of the best in the industry". That the Briggs workers have moved ahead while General Motors workers and to a lesser extent, Chrysler men have been beaten back is indisputable. The great lesson of this strike lies in the effectiveness of the methods employed and of the militant and organized action of its membership. Local 212 has probably the best "Flying Squadron" in the whole International.

announced a single word at this "Right to Work Congress" on the necessity for the unemployed to struggle against relief slashes. Keeping Roosevelt in the White House for a third term and exhortations to join the Democratic Party are the only advice given the unemployed by the Stalinist traitors who call themselves leaders of the unemployed.

The rest of the union must now emulate these methods—Briggs 212 has blazed the trail for them. And as the entire organization passes over from its precarious defensive position into strong offensive lines, it will find the workers eager and ready for the battle as they were in the Briggs strike. It will find that the heroic union traditions of 1937 far from being dead will serve as a spur towards gaining what must now be the major objective of the United Automobile Workers at forty hours' pay. This slogan is incorporated in the proceedings of the Cleveland convention, it is uppermost in the minds of the auto workers. It will become the battle-cry in the days to come. It can be won!

**Lesson of Strike**  
That the Briggs local was

able to achieve this splendid agreement is due to another important factor. The poisonous influence of the Stalinist Communist Party has been reduced to insignificance. One plant is under their control out of the seven but so strong is the anti-Stalinist character of the main body of the leadership that their union-busting activities have been check-mated at every step. An analysis of the main locals in the Chrysler and General Motors plants will show that precisely those locals that are weakest and most susceptible to Martin's influence, are the locals being strangled by this reactionary flag-waving crew known as the Communist Party.

**Victory is possible. But possible only through militant action and without Stalinism. That is the lesson of the Briggs strike.**

## Fascism and Big Business The New International Socialist Appeal

An Unusual Combination Offer! (until June 15th) In Combination

- NO. 1—FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS and SOCIALIST APPEAL for one year—both for \$2.75 (Manhattan, Bronx, Foreign) 3.75
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- NO. 2—FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS and NEW INTERNATIONAL for one year—both for 2.75 (Foreign) 3.25

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

## Liebknicht School

Presents: June 17—The Bolshevik Way of Life Speaker—Ernest Erber June 24—Symposium on Zionism and the Jewish Question Question Speakers—Felix Morrow and J. Lofman at 2 P. M. 51 EAST 7th STREET New York City Admission 10c; Yipsels 5c

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

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

## WAA CONGRESS FAWNS BEFORE MRS. ROOSEVELT

### No Money? Why, Go To School, Says the President's Wife

(Continued from Page 1)

Alliance if it were a militant organization fighting for the needs of the unemployed was indicated by a prepared statement she had issued to the press before she arrived to speak. Referring to W.P.A. workers as "government employees," she said:

"No group that actually works for the government has a right to strike against the government." This was in answer to questions asking her to explain her appearance at the Congress.

**Belly-Crawling Lasser**  
"Government people are in a different position than other persons and if they cannot agree with the government, they should get out," she stated. The statement was in the hands of the W.A.A. leaders before she spoke—and the W.A.A. still presumably claims to stand for the right of W.P.A. workers to strike—but that did not prevent President Lasser from groveling at this woman's feet.

Introducing her, Lasser said: "I'm sure that this day is an historic one for the unemployed, the W.P.A. workers and the underprivileged generally. This lady has not been content merely to be the president's wife. This lady has considered it her duty, her mission, her vocation to study the needs of the humble people of this country. At a time when she is preparing to meet the King and Queen of England, she has not forgotten the underprivileged unemployed."

**Kind Contempt**  
This contemptible belly-crawling of Lasser was supplemented by the half-contemptuous remark of Mrs. Roosevelt, that "one of the things that strikes me most is not that young people are becoming radicals, but that they are setting into hopelessness." This "Congress" was doing its share to make it possible for Mrs. Roosevelt to say that with impunity.

The lady spoke generally and without reference to the concrete needs of the unemployed workers. She recommended a "greater interest in the community. It doesn't always mean having more money to live better," she said. "It is a matter of more education."

**Decent Homes Utopian**  
Staying on after her address to "answer a few questions," Mrs. Roosevelt was asked whether she favored larger Federal subsidies to enable children to go to high school. "I am not familiar as to its necessity," she replied. "Personally what I would prefer to feel is that we are working for a democracy in which every one can give his child a decent home until he leaves school. Of course, I realize that that sounds Utopian."

Mrs. Roosevelt was not so Utopian, however, but that she advised the delegates "to use your ballots intelligently." For whom was, of course, previously indicated by the W.A.A. leaders who pushed through a resolution to keep the New Deal in the White House after 1940.

## APPEAL WILL BENEFIT FROM BOSTON PARTY

Everyone remembers the famous dinner we served last time at Byron Hall, 6 Byron St. in Boston. But that was only a sample!

We are urging all Bostonians to help the Appeal by attending our buffet supper on June 16 at 6:30 P.M. All food served will be home-made! Antoinette Konikow will be our hostess and Nathan Schechet will be the guest of honor. There will be entertainment by Boston's own impersonator and dramatic actor—"Professor" John Taber, assisted by Verne Merritt (exclusive discovery of the Boston Y.P.S.L.). In addition, the exotic Bessie



"The enclosed \$5.00 is a payment on our bundle order account. The Detroit branch will do everything it can to maintain the twice-a-week paper. We will send more money on our account in the next few days."—E. Ponicali, Detroit agent.

"I am enclosing copies of a promotional leaflet for the APPEAL which we inserted in back copies and distributed in working class neighborhoods. The leaflet and the APPEAL were neatly rolled and held in place by a rubber band. The package was then hooked over the front door knob. Later we made a house-to-house canvass of the neighborhood with excellent results."—Paul Fielding, Akron literature agent. The mimeographed leaflet, by the way, was an excellent job. Neat, simple and clear.

"The campaign for renewal of subscriptions is in full swing. Chicago has set itself a quota of 50 renewals by June 15. Assignments have been made."—Sam Richter of Chicago.

## APPEAL FINANCIAL SITUATION

This week we have addressed letters to those few branches that either failed to respond to our request for immediate payments on their debts, or did not respond sufficiently.

While our situation has improved, the action of these branches (numbering about 17) is still seriously handicapping our efforts to pull out of the present financial slump.

We address ourselves to these branches again. Oakland, East Oakland, Chicago, Flint, University City, Newark, Rochester, Youngstown, Cleveland, Akron, Philadelphia, Seattle and Wisconsin. Upon your immediate response depends

whether or not the Appeal can continue its twice-a-week publication. We are waiting to hear from you!

Subscriptions picked up considerably this past week due to a spurt forward in our renewal subscription campaign. Chicago and Minneapolis have done the best work on this so far. Here's the list:

MASSACHUSETTS	10
Ohio	9
Minneapolis	7
Chicago	7
California	6
New York City	5
Philadelphia	4
New Jersey	3
Missouri	2
Newark	1
Detroit	1
Foreign	1
Indiana	1
Connecticut	1
Total	58

In Fitchburg, Mass., there is a new bundle order agent who is beginning with a bundle of 10 copies per issue. His name is O. Williams.

Sol Margolies, Y.P.S.L. agent of Philadelphia, now takes 25 copies per issue.

The Philadelphia branch has been re-instated in good standing temporarily on the basis of their making a payment, appointing a new literature agent and promising to adopt a new attitude towards their Appeal responsibilities. We expect them to live up to their promises and assure the branch that it will be given every opportunity to do so.

NOTICE: Please make all checks, money orders, etc., payable to the SOCIALIST APPEAL. Do not make them out to the manager or editor of the paper. Please observe this request.

# Who Is Father Coughlin, What Is His Program?

(Continued from Page 1)

"The international bankers are on their way out," he promised, side by side with Roosevelt. "The prosperity identified with the year 1926 is not too far distant."

And he waxed eloquent: "March 4th, 1933! What a memorable day that was! It was the birthday of the 'new deal.' On that date a voice went ringing around the world announcing a new Declaration of Independence. Before the minds of the millions who listened there was revived the drama of Christ as He lashed the money-changers from the Temple." (The New Deal in Money, p. 36.)

Father Coughlin described Roosevelt to his rapt followers as the "New Lincoln," the "protector of the common people," and he declared himself ready to follow "our leader to the end."

"I still proclaim to you that it is either 'Roosevelt or Ruin.' I support him today and will support him tomorrow." (Radio Speech, March 11, 1933.)

Father Coughlin even held a number of secret conferences with "New Lincoln" Roosevelt himself. The nature of those conferences has not been divulged to this day. Frequently he called the President's personal secretary over long-distance telephone.

High, wide, and handsome, Coughlin rode the great wave of popularity that swept Roosevelt into office amidst golden promises.

Roosevelt was going to end the depression, put everybody to work, give everybody an annual wage, permit labor to organize, and MAINTAIN PRIVATE PROPERTY. Coughlin was a key man in the propaganda machine that deluded the people into supporting Roosevelt.

Father Coughlin, the Detroit spell-binder, was a fellow-traveler of Roosevelt's, a high pressure salesman of his wares. When he abandoned the job it was taken over by Stalin's Communist Party.

Of course, Coughlin has since turned against Roosevelt. His reason is very simple.

Highly sensitive to the moods of the masses, Coughlin understands that Roosevelt's answers no longer satisfy the people, especially the unemployed. They are restlessly seeking a way out. Coughlin is not blind to the finger writing Roosevelt's doom on the wall.

The obscure "radio priest" of 1926 has come a long way. The future seems bright for his particular talents. Strife and dissension, wars and rumors of wars, these ring a sweet clangor in the ears of Father Coughlin.

(To be continued in next issue)

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

Burke and her chorus of Y.P.S.L. beauties will perform. Also, after-supper dancing. For information and tickets call Kenmore 4088 or Commonwealth 5919. Make reservations early! All proceeds to the Socialist Appeal, the voice of America's militant working class.

**REMOVAL NOTICE**  
Dr. Paul Luttinger announces the removal of his office to 1684 Grand Concourse, Bronx cor. 173rd Street Office hours: 1-2 and 6-8 Phone: TREMONT 8-2128 8th Ave. Subway—Train C— to 174th St. or Lexington-Woodlawn to Mt. Eden (173rd)

By Dwight Macdonald

# SPARKS IN THE NEWS

## Inventory of an Armory

Two weeks ago I wrote the editors of *Time* a letter asking why they took so seriously the New Masses "exposure" of General Krivitsky and pointing out that the *Socialist Appeal* had revealed that General Krivitsky, when he broke from the Communist Party a year and a half ago, stated that his name was Samuel Ginsberg.

A few days later, I received the following letter, signed "I. Van Meter, for the Editors of *Time*": "Thank you for your critical note in regard to *Time's* report on the New Masses' recent exposure of General Krivitsky. What you say is quite true—as far as it goes. But there are a couple of big 'guns' that N.M. is still sticking to. We are planning to publish your letter in the forthcoming issue, together with an Editor's Note giving an inventory of the N.M. armory."

In *Time* for June 5, my letter was printed, followed by this Editor's Note: "Says the New Masses: Krivitsky-Ginsberg never was in Russia, never was a Soviet official, is a fake. To these guns it sticks. *Time* sticks to no guns but its own." Obviously, when *Time* called the New Masses, it found that the 'armory' of data about Krivitsky-Ginsberg was a myth. The one new allegation is that the General "never was a Soviet official." This is definite and important, unlike the New Masses' previous 'charges.'

But the editors of the New Masses apparently have already forgotten—Stalinists need needs have short memories these days—that in their original 'exposure' they wrote: "You are just the kind of adventurer the infamous Yagoda would pick for his anti-Soviet dirty work." They must now deny—and probably will do so without turning a hair—that the infamous Yagoda was ever a Soviet official. I can imagine Joseph Freeman scratching his head: Yagoda? Name sounds familiar. Who was that fellow anyway?

## Indiana Harbor Episode

Comrade Herbert Martin writes from East Chicago, Indiana, about the Memorial Day parade in nearby Indiana Harbor, where Inland Steel and Youngstown Sheet & Tube have major plants. "The parade," he writes, "was organized and managed by the local post of the American Legion and was composed of all the local patriotic and chauvinistic organizations of the community. An added and most unexpected feature of this year's parade was the inclusion of the Indiana Harbor section of the (Stalinist-controlled) International Workers Order. After all these years, the local Stalinists have finally achieved respectability enough to march in a patriotic, jingoistic Memorial Day parade along with the American Legion, the Boy Scouts, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the National Guard. . . . The Stalinists, carrying American flags, marched right behind a contingent of Polish Legion-

aires. These Legionnaires were in wartime uniforms and wore decorations from Pilsudski himself for having served in the army which fought with the White Guards, and particularly for having fought against the Red Army at the famous battle of Warsaw. . . . I am bringing this item to your attention for whatever interest it may be."

The item has plenty of interest, I should say. And—speaking of the socialist movement in Poland—the Soviet press a year ago carried a number of articles slandering the memory of Rosa Luxemburg and her companion-in-arms, Leo Jogiches, actually going so far as to charge them with organizing the Social Democratic Party of Poland under instructions from the Czarist police. The general reason, of course, was that Luxemburg and Jogiches enjoy a prestige, most uncomfortable for the self-termed "heirs of Marx, Engels and Lenin," as internationalists and revolutionists. The specific reason, I am told, was that at the time the Kremlin was preparing to rid itself, via the concentration camp and the firing squad, of a sizable group of Polish militants and revolutionists who many years ago had found sanctuary in the Soviet Union from the White Terror of Pilsudski.

## The Axe Falls

In my column in this month's *New Internationalist* I described the preparations of the 'reactionary' N. Y. State Legislature and the 'progressive' LaGuardia city administration to slash over \$8,000,000 from New York City's school budget. The Legislature has now done its dirty work, slashing an arbitrary 10% off the educational budget of every city and town in the entire state. What this will mean in New York City is clear from the statement of the local Board of Education: "The elementary schools will suffer a cut of about \$3,000,000 in services. In addition to the elimination of 200 supervisory teachers, 600 anticipated vacancies will not be filled and approximately 984 teachers will be dismissed. Kindergartens will be abolished. . . . Evening high schools and evening trade schools will be eliminated. . . . The day classes for adults in English and citizenship and the evening elementary schools will also be eliminated. Here we are terminating a long and honorable tradition of the school system in the Americanization of immigrants and the removal of adult illiteracy. The community and recreational centers and afternoon athletic centers which play such an important part in the fight against delinquency must also be abandoned. . . . Summer play schools and nature education will also be eliminated." According to the *N. Y. Times*, members of the Board of Education have stated that these cuts "will turn the educational clock back nearly 100 years." Thus our capitalist society, its advance blocked by insoluble economic contradictions, begins to retrace its steps. When this sort of regression reaches a certain velocity, we call it 'fascism.'

## MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

# OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

### GIACOMO MATTEOTTI (1885—Murdered, June 10, 1924)

Giacomo Matteotti, son of a well-to-do farmer and expert in criminal law, rose to speak in the Italian Chamber of Deputies on May 30, 1924. Leader of the small, and dwindling, parliamentary opposition, he rose to present an indictment of the fascist regime, to read a list of its crimes, to denounce its electoral frauds.

### The Fascist Dogs Strike

Mussolini sat in the chair writhing. Several times he interrupted, and growled ominously as Matteotti sent thrusts of irony and wit in reply. Matteotti charged Mussolini with using public funds for the benefit of big business—to refloat a near-bankrupt enterprise, to buy 18,000 shares of Mineral Oil Refinery, etc. Matteotti charged that Mussolini had used armed militiamen in the elections.

The session over, a few of Matteotti's friends collected around him to congratulate him on his speech. (There weren't many of these. A good part of the "socialists" had long since turned tail.) Matteotti told them: "And now my colleagues, you may prepare my funeral oration for the chamber."

Mussolini made it clear that he was going to take some kind of action. One of his close henchmen remarked that "if they (the socialists) knew what was going on in Mussolini's head at such times, they would lay low." On June 1, "Popolo d'Italia," edited by Mussolini's brother, referred to the "monstrously provocative" speech made the day before which deserved "something concrete" in reply.

On June 10, Matteotti, leaving his home, was whisked into a waiting car by a band of men. One of these men later reported Matteotti's last words: "You will not kill the ideal. My children will be proud of their father. The workers will bless my dead body."

Three months later that body which workers have truly come to revere as the embodiment of unrelenting anti-fascism, was found in a woods near Rome. There were thirty-six stab wounds in the chest. The rasp was still embedded in the body.

By chance, the license number of the kidnap car had been noted by passers-by. A cry went up for the apprehension of the criminals. Testimony piled up pointing the finger of responsibility directly at Mussolini. It was learned that the car had been used by one Dumini, a despicable criminal and hanger-on of the fascists who had been hired for the job. Finzi, Under-Secretary for the Home Office, afraid he was to be made the scape-goat for the murder, composed a testament, and sent copies to several people. One of these was

sent to a socialist deputy who, however, waited months before exposing the facts. Filippelli, arrested as a scapegoat on June 16 by order of Mussolini, drew up a memorandum in which the details of the abduction and murder were listed. Rossi, another Fascist, wrote a letter giving the facts of the case after he was arrested on June 14 as a sop to the enraged populace.

Mussolini himself referred to the murder as a blunder. But he proceeded to use it as an opportunity to consolidate his regime by force of terror.

Mass resentment was at a high pitch both inside and outside Italy. Mussolini ordered a mock trial. All the criminals were known. Dumini laughed at the trial. He testified that, "We were riding along peacefully when suddenly Matteotti developed tuberculosis and died of a hemorrhage." A verdict was brought in: unintentional homicide, nobody guilty.

### Failure of Socialist Policy

Matteotti had sacrificed his life heroically. But in doing so he also proved the inadequacy of personal honesty and valor where sound revolutionary politics is lacking. Matteotti had been consistently loyal to his own ideal. Something of an authority on criminal law, he had given up his profession to engage in political work. Elected as a deputy, he opposed Italy's entrance into the World War. Elected again in 1919, and in 1924, he achieved prominence as an anti-fascist, and as the leader of the parliamentary opposition. Therein lay his great weakness: mere parliamentary opposition. A member of the reformist, moderate wing of the Socialist Party, he could offer only his own integrity in the anti-fascist struggle.

The socialists had facilitated the coming to power of Mussolini. They had not held the factories when these were spontaneously seized by the workers. With the entire nation, except for the bankers and bosses, earnestly anti-fascist, Mussolini nevertheless rode into power over the hesitant, uncertain bodies of the socialists. Most of the socialists promptly sought cover as the castor-oil, murder squads of the fascist banditti took possession of the country.

Some, like Matteotti, continued their opposition with appeals to law, justice and humanity. But it didn't work. All these were on the side of the socialists. But they lacked the will to go out and rally the masses for revolutionary action to expropriate the factories, establish a workers government.

The masses looked up to Matteotti because he had stood his ground against fascism. His death came near to kindling the fire of revolution. There was however no revolutionary party to guide the flame.

# Anti-Labor Laws Enacted by Penn.

## Anti-Alien Bill, First of Kind in the U. S., Typifies Reactionary Legislation

By S. FOSTER

PHILADELPHIA. — In session for twenty-one weeks the Pennsylvania Assembly has adjourned after enacting a program which may well become a pattern for American reaction.

The growing disillusionment of labor, W.P.A. and relief groups, farmers and those in the lower income brackets, showed itself last Fall in a march backward with the election of the Republican regime of Governor James. The Democrats, swept to power four years previously with Roosevelt's New Deal, were not able to withstand the growing disappointment of the masses at the failure of Governor Earle to abate the crisis in spite of enactment of Little New Deal measures for the State.

James, previously unknown politically, bawled his way to victory with promises to 'humanize relief,' "Take relief out of politics," "I am a miner, I know the miners' problems," etc. This apostle of honesty and virtue continued to draw an \$18,000 salary as judge of the Supreme Court while absent from the bench and actively carrying on an election campaign.

Adding to the reaction sweeping the United States, the newly elected James administration immediately began to carry out the mandate of its real supporters—the mine owners and large industrialists who control the Republican Party. Most of the legislation passed had one object: to depress further the social standards of labor and those on relief.

The Work or No-Relief Bill (otherwise known as the Chain Gang Bill) was passed over the protest of James' own Department of Welfare Head. It forces all able-bodied relief recipients to work for their relief, and enables private interests to draft employees from relief rolls, with the aim of lowering general wage scales. Lists of relief clients are to be published, and the administration is to be decentralized and placed in the hands of local boards composed of James' henchmen. The relief appropriation itself was cut from \$209 million for the two year period, to \$120 million.

### Union Busting Campaign

The State Little Wagner Act was smashed to pieces. The check-off system for union dues was prohibited (this was aimed at the principle of unionism rather than at any particular union leaders' salaries); agitation on the part of one worker to another to join a union is punishable as an unfair labor practice; the sit-down strike is outlawed; employers are allowed to petition for arbitration of labor disputes; and grounds for anti-union injunctions are widened.

As a prelude to this union-busting campaign a \$7,500,000 verdict was rendered in Philadelphia against the Apex sit-down strikers under the Sherman Act.

### Anti-Alien Bill

The Workmen's Compensation Act was revised at the behest of the large mine owners, whose premiums are reduced, and so are the benefits. With the new set-up little exists in the way of workmen's compensation for the worker, except the name. The legislation was written by a representative who is admittedly a lawyer for the coal companies. Teachers' wages were cut and their pension and tenure rights made insecure. Not to discriminate between the sexes, woman was given her rights by lengthening her working day by 2 hours.

A most ominous act, the first of its kind in the United States, is the Alien Registration Bill. All aliens in Pennsylvania with its large foreign-born population, over 18 must register and carry certificates to be produced at the request of any police officer. The foreigner is being officially branded. This is a beginning at national registration of alien and non-alien alike. It passed amid a conspiracy of silence, except for the formal negative vote of the Democrats.

Only one force can stay the hand of reaction—mass action. Even James had to bow to it in one instance. A measure proposed by the large coal corporations would have thrown on relief twenty to thirty thousand small producers and so-called bootleg miners who have sprung up since the depression, and dig their coal on unused land or land given up by the

companies. When the bill came up for final reading, 10,000 miners swarming in and around the State Capitol, in a demonstration reminiscent of the hunger march of a few years ago, carried on such a militant and vigorous agitation, and so scared the surrounded representatives that the bill was killed on vote, some of its supporters voting against it. This was the pet bill of James and his coal owner sponsors, and its defeat was a bitter blow to them.

After the brutal labor-baiting program had practically gone through the local leaders of labor suddenly became articulate with denunciation of the government. During the session when militant demonstration would have proved effective, as the miners had shown, the bureaucrats did little, but became braver the further removed they were from battle. How could they demonstrate against the slashings of a Republican regime when the administration of their idol, Roosevelt, was doing the same thing on a national scale with W.P.A.?

## Vicious Syndicalism Bill Is Passed by House of Congress

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, June 5.—The House of Representatives passed today, in the form of an amendment to the Espionage Act, H.R. 6075, one of the most vicious criminal syndicalism bills that has ever been issued against the labor movement, by a vote of 142 to 4.

The amendment, introduced by Representative McCormick of Massachusetts, would make it illegal for any person to advocate the overthrow of the government by force, and would punish the offender by sending him to jail for 5 years as well as fine him \$5,000.

McCormick jammed through the amendment without debate in the opening minutes of today's session when only a handful of House members were present.

Explaining the amendment, Representative McCormick said: "Hitherto, we have been able to punish advocates of forcible overthrow of the government only by proving that a conspiracy existed between two or more persons, or by proving that an overt act had been committed. The burden of proof rested on the government. This amendment makes it punishable by \$5,000 fine and five years in jail for 'whoever advocates overthrow of the United States government by force or violence, willfully or knowingly.'"

Previously passed at this session is the Dempsey Bill, making it a criminal offense for an alien to advocate the overthrow of the government. The present McCormick amendment includes American-born as well as alien workers.

## BOARD GETS PETITION FOR BEAL PARDON

(By Staff Writer)

NEW YORK, June 8.—A petition signed by hundreds of prominent individuals was today presented to Commissioner Edwin Gill of the Board of Pardon at Raleigh, North Carolina, asking for the pardon of Fred Beal, framed labor leader.

Fred Beal, leader of the famous Gastonia strike of 1929, is serving a sentence of from seventeen to twenty years for the alleged shooting of Chief of Police Aderholt who was killed in a shooting during an attack on the headquarters of the strikers on June 7, 1929. With no real evidence against him, Beal was railroaded to jail on the framed charge because of his part in the strike. After his conviction, Beal went to Soviet Russia, but, disillusioned with Stalinist practice, returned to face jail and seek vindication. The Stalinists have since joined with the mill owners and boss courts in seeking to keep him in jail.

### Not Guilty

The petition which was released by the Non-Partisan Defense Committee for the Defense of Fred Beal, reads in part: "A large and steadily in-

# Before the Nat'l Party Convention

By JAMES P. CANNON

All attention of the revolutionary militants in the United States is now turned toward the anti-war convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which is to convene in New York City on July 1. Without doubt this assembly will mark an important stage in the development of the only serious, the only genuine opposition to the impending war.

It is not to be expected, however, that the convention will produce any new prescription or panacea. Those who look for miracles will be disappointed. We do not conceive of the struggle against war as some sort of special task separated from the struggle against the capitalism which breeds it. Anti-war sentiments, as such and in themselves, mean nothing; everybody, more or less, is against war. Opposition to war that aims at social revolution—that alone is significant. And that, in turn, is totally merged with the struggle to build a revolutionary party which points the way and to connect it with the masses of workers who have the power.

A convention—any convention—is not an all-saving instrument; its potentialities are strictly limited. It can sum up the past but it cannot assure the future. It cannot change anything in the status of the party which exists on the day it convenes. It can at best only estimate what is valuable in the work of the past, what has been achieved and must be firmly retained as well as what must be rejected. The future tasks can be indicated by the convention, but their accomplishment—or their default—will rest with the party after the convention adjourns its sessions. Even so, conventions are large and irreplaceable experiences in the life of every democratic, that is every real, party.

### ESTIMATING OUR PAST

The forthcoming anti-war convention of the American section of the Fourth International will enable us to pause and look collectively in two directions—at the past and at the future. Our survey of the past can only assure us that our preliminary work is done, and for the most part, not badly. We have built firmly, our achievements have a mighty historic significance. This we know and nobody can tell us differently. Our program has withstood all the tests of theory and experience and stands unassailable. We have assembled the forces of the vanguard in a single organization. We no longer have any rivals in this field and no problems of "unity" require a second thought. The ten-years' task of clearing the air of confusion and programmatic disorientation, of regrouping the scattered forces of the revolutionary fighters under a new, clean banner; the same work which occupied so many of the years of the time of Marx, and after him of Lenin, is already behind us. Indeed, the hour for our full concentration on broader tasks struck some time ago.

### THE ROOT OF ALL OUR EVIL

Our sluggishness in making the abrupt turn to mass work with all force and energy; the persistence of old habits of our days of isolation as a propaganda circle; our failure to reach new, fresh strata of workers; our hesitation, half-hearted, at the brink of the great stream represented by the workers' mass movement—herein is the root of all our evil. The convention must take sober account of these facts and say something decisive about them. With the tasks of yesterday accomplished and those of today only half understood and approached in a gingerly way, we are marking time while the forces of reaction, which already outline the features of an authentic American fascism, grow by leaps and bounds. The position is becoming dangerous. The convention, true enough, cannot rectify matters, but it can and must sound the alarm and summon the party to rigorous measures for a speedy rectification in the coming months. Time, as the legal maxim has it, is of the essence of the contract. There is not too much time, even in America.

We can make up for lost time and begin to forge ahead if we turn our faces in the right direction. That means, first of all, to turn our backs on the pessimists and calamity-howlers, the soul-sick intellectuals and tired radicals who whine and dawdle around the fringes of the movement and even, to a certain extent, infest its ranks. These gentry, whose gaze is concentrated on their own navels, do not see what is going on about them. It is a simple fact that American capitalism, the most powerful of all, is already seized by paralyzing senility. It writes in an ever-deepening social crisis which its most perspicacious politicians no longer hope to cure but only to alleviate, and that only by the desperate gamble of war. It is a fact that the furious onslaughts against the workers, employed and unemployed, signalize in essence the acknowledgment that over-rich American capitalism can no longer pretend to assure a living to the slave within his slavery. It is a fact that the sum total of all these circumstances—is rapidly preparing all the pre-conditions of a social revolution. And confronting it is a working class that has not known defeat, that has invincible numbers and boundless power.

## Social Patriotism, Ernst Toller Discussed in Coming New Int'l

A critical appraisal of the war position taken by a group of militants in Palestine is made in an article entitled "A Step Towards Social Patriotism" by the editors of the Russian Bulletin, featured in the July issue of the *New Internationalist*, which is to come off the press shortly.

Other articles to appear in the July issue include: Ernst Toller's Suicide, by Oskar Fischer. An analysis of Thomas Mann's record and his position, by L. Johre, a well-known revolutionary German militant. Roosevelt and the War Mobilization Plan, by Hal Draper. An exchange of letters on the subject of Bolshevism and

All this is a sealed book to these skeptics who, in general, have thought very little about the scientific analysis of capitalism upon which revolutionary calculations are predicted, and still less about the laboring masses as the all-powerful makers of the revolution. Their melancholy sentiments have no relation to the actual situation in this country. They attempt to record the status and the prospects of the revolutionary movement by the fluctuating fever chart of their own unstable moods. They are mistaken; and doubly mistaken are those militants who even for a moment heed these counsels of petty bourgeois impotence and despair.

The pessimistic brotherhood comprises several categories, loosely united by a common bond of despair, who carry on like keepers at a wake. Some of them, the well-known tired radicals, are like "gymnasium fighters" who exhaust all their strength in training and enter the real battle in the ring beaten and ready to quit before they start. Others have looked so often for the revolution before it was due and were so often disappointed that they can't recognize it when it finally approaches. Others, and they are not numerically the least, are simply afraid of the shadow of war and fascism and flee the battle before it really begins.

Most contemptible of all are those who seek to cover their desertion and retreat by hurling newly-invented "ideological" disagreements with Marxism over their shoulders. Taken all together they are an unattractive and uninspiring aggregation. It is nothing less than a monstrous travesty to consider them as in any way reflecting the movement of workers' emancipation which, by its very nature, is alien to all pessimism and defeatist sentiments. It is criminal folly to waste time or even to argue the question with these runaway-boys and heralds of defeat before the battle.

### TURN TO THE SOURCE OF POWER

Our convention must let the dead bury the dead and turn the face of the party to the workers who are the real source of power and of inspiration and well-grounded optimism. We had said this before. More than once we have incorporated it in resolutions. But we have not made the turn in forthright fashion. That is why we are lagging behind. That is the main reason we are suffering a certain stagnation. That is why we are even flirting with the danger of a degeneration of the party along the lines of conservative passivity, introspection and futility.

The proletariat of the United States is the source of unlimited power, it can raise the whole world on its shoulders—that is the unshakable premise of all our calculations and all our work. "But what," say the croakers—pointing to the heavy defeats in Europe—"what if France, and all Europe goes down before fascism?" We answer: The issue in France is not decided yet, but even in the worst case, the workers of America have power enough to topple over the structure of capitalism at home and to lift the whole world with them when they rise!

The foundation convention of the party a year and a half ago gave us pretty clear directives regarding orientation to the workers' mass movement. The revolutionary transition program has equipped us with the necessary slogans and proposals for effective agitation on the realities of the day. We made some progress, but all too little when we consider the breath-taking speed at which the social crisis is developing. The fault for that is not in the objective circumstances—they are favorable enough—nor in our stars, but in ourselves. We have not yet grown up to the level of our gigantic tasks.

We made some headway while other parties making pretensions to radicalism were slipping backward. We held our cadres intact while others suffered disintegration. We sloughed off quite a few crack-pots, and that is an advantage not to be discounted. By dint of considerable effort and sacrifice we established the twice-a-week *Appeal*. But all this weighs too little in the scale against the mushroom emergence of fascist movements and the sweeping growth in influence of fascist demagogues. There are our rivals in the struggle for power. Comparison with them is the real criterion by which we must estimate our own achievements. And that criterion tells us warningly: Slow, modest, steady growth will not avail; we must leap ahead.

For us there is no way but forward at an accelerated pace. Can we solve the financial crisis of our twice-a-week *Appeal* by means of expansion? Can we strengthen and improve our responsibility, our discipline and our morale? Can we blast a path to fresh circles of undefeated and undisciplined workers, and make our party in truth a party of the proletariat in its composition and in all of its activity?

Affirmative answers to these questions and concrete, practical plans to implement them, are what the party needs from the convention.

Martovism, between S. Alper of South Africa and Albert Goldman, who recently reviewed Martov's posthumous criticism of the Bolsheviks. Rosa Luxemburg on the crisis in French socialism, which deals with problems of the labor movement startlingly similar to those confronting it today. Dwight Macdonald has written a number of explanatory notes to this essay, helping to bring it up to date. Numerous other features complete what is sure to be a popular number.

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

**Two Items**

WASHINGTON — Here are the White House menus for luncheon and the state dinner honoring King George and Queen Elizabeth today:

**LUNCHEON**  
 Minted Melon Balls  
 Green Turtle Soup  
 Broiled Sweetbreads, Mushrooms  
 Asparagus Saratoga Chips  
 Hearts of Lettuce, Roquefort Dressing  
 Pineapple Sponge Shortcake

**DINNER**  
 Clam Cocktail  
 Calf's Head Soup  
 Terrapin, Corn Sticks  
 Boned Capon, Cranberry Sauce  
 Peas Butter Beets  
 Sweet Potato Cones  
 Frozen Cheese and Cress Salad  
 Maple and Almond Ice Cream  
 White Pound Cake Coffee

KEARNY, N. J.—While his wife was at the town hall here today seeking relief, James Gilmore, unemployed and ill for three years hanged himself in a clothes closet in his home at 143 Brighton Avenue, according to the police. His wife found him hanging when she returned home, and notified the police. Gilmore, who was 59 years of age, was the father of five children.

If he was hungry, why didn't he get himself invited to the luncheon and dinner to the King? Isn't this a democracy?

Say Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen: "Just how close the president and his lieutenants believe Europe is to war is illustrated by the following: The Justice Department is secretly collaborating with the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board and the S.E.C. in preparing a set of economic and financial bills for submission to Congress immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities. The bills are designed to protect banks and stock exchanges from demoralizing echoes of a European conflict and are based on the lessons learned from world war experience." Naturally, there are no bills to be presented in Congress designed to protect the workers and their organizations, but the Socialist Workers Party is now, as always, working on its own methods of protecting the workers.

**A Democratic Pope**

When the new pope was elected by the cardinals at Rome the excitement and joy of the Daily Worker knew no bounds. The election was a victory for "democracy" and a blow to fascism. Pius would show the war-mongers where to get off at.

Now the press brings the report that "the pope is considerably perturbed by the planned alliance of Britain, France and Russia because of fears that the Soviet will be allowed to play an important part in European diplomacy. The church is an irreconcilable enemy of Bolshevism, so there is little doubt that the pope will do everything in his power to prevent the conclusion of this alliance or to minimize its effect if the negotiations now in progress are successful."

Pius is actively at work trying to establish the notorious Four Power Pact—England, Germany, France and Italy—which would of course be directed towards isolating and eventually crushing the Soviet Union.

His policy, or, more accurately, the policy of

the Catholic Church, should occasion no surprise. The institution of organized Catholicism, as of every church, is wedded to the preservation of private property. When it can best be maintained by "democracy" the churches, as in the United States today, are generally speaking for democratic capitalism. When it cannot be maintained save by fascism, as in Germany, Portugal, Spain and Italy, the churches are generally speaking for fascist capitalism. Whatever the political regime, it is capitalism they serve as spiritual shield.

The pope, like his predecessors in office, is only running true to form.

**First Lady**

One jeweled phrase was omitted in the Daily Worker's account of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech to the "Right to Work" congress of the Workers Alliance:

"It doesn't always mean having more money to live better. It is a matter of more education."

The First Lady of the Land has something there, especially for the unemployed whom she was addressing. Let us give a few examples:

If you are sweating in an airless dump and can't pay rent for a decent place to live in—don't think of more money. You don't have to. Just enroll in a night school or go to college.

If you are on the near-starvation diet of the relief authorities, and you wouldn't fight hard against being served steak—just to break the monotony, you know—there is no need to think of money. Just take yourself a six-year post-graduate course in astrophysics at the local University. At the end, you will surely not worry about food at all.

And if you're a doctor or teacher on the rocks, just remember, it isn't money you need. It's more education. Go back to school. Try it all over again. There must have been something in your freshman year that you failed to pick up.

The First Lady in Eighteenth Century France, a chippie named Marie Antoinette, told the hungry people of Paris to eat cake if they couldn't get bread.

Our First Lady is more modern and dignified. She tells the hungry masses: Go to college.

Though Liechtenstein is small, it is peculiarly important in the picture of world finance and international capitalism. The little country is, in effect, a safety deposit box for corporations that deal in international trade. Among other mammoth organizations, the Standard Oil Company has magnificent offices in the city hall, and a short distance away are the offices of the Royal Dutch Shell Company. Cheek by jowl are the offices of Krupp, the German munitions firm and Schneider, the French munitions firm. The income tax levied on corporations is 0.75 per thousand and the personal income tax is 1 per cent, but neither tax can be greater than 500 Swiss francs a year, or \$115. These are the companies which at home are strong proponents of "broadening the base" of taxation.

**Soviets and Democracy**

Testifying before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Ludlow amendment providing for a popular referendum on war, Major General John F. O'Ryan, retired, opposed the amendment because it would substitute the "Soviet idea for the American concept of representative government."

Now it seems to us that the General's remarks are not without point.

The "American concept of representative government," little children are taught in school, is the acme of democracy—the rule of the people. Fascism, on the other hand, is abominable because the people do not rule. The various Führers rule, they decide everything themselves without even making a pretense of consulting the ruled. They operate on the principle that "we know what's good for you."

Now everyone knows that the decisive majority of the American people is for a national popular referendum on war. In taking this position, the people are saying, and justifiably, that they do not trust the President and Congress. They want to decide on war themselves. They want to exercise the democratic prerogatives they were taught in school. Especially when their very lives are involved.

No, say O'Ryan and his fellow-American democrats. That's not the kind of democracy we have here. WE'LL decide FOR you. A referendum, he says, would base grave questions on the "emotional reactions of the electorate of the country."

The war-mongering rulers of the land would not be "emotional" at all. They would decide to plunge the masses into the slaughterhouse without a nerve quivering or a hair turning. And their kind of democracy doesn't provide for the people intervening in any way on the matter.

That, you see, would be Sovietism.

At bottom, O'Ryan is right! Capitalist democracy is a fraud. Only a Soviet democracy, a workers' democracy means true democracy for the masses, the real rule of the people.

**Araquistain's Story of How Stalin Brought Spain's Treasure to Russia**

Confirming Krivitsky's Testimony, Araquistain's Disclosures Expose the Great Stalinist "Sacrifices" for Loyalist Cause — Spain's Gold Tied Negrin to Stalin

Luis Araquistain's revelations on what Stalin's agents did behind the scenes of the civil war in Spain, a story suppressed for some unavowed reason by the New York Times (see story on page 1), was nevertheless published elsewhere in the United States, among others by the Scranton (Pa.) Times on May 25, 1939 — the story of how more than half a billion dollars in Spanish gold disappeared from the Loyalist treasury and turned up in Russia.

Stalin saved Loyalist Spain! Stalin's arms and munitions and airplanes stopped Franco in his tracks! Stalin sacrificed his all, staked his all, for Democracy in Spain! Praise be to the Great Stalin and blessed be His name!

One of the first "men in the know" to inject the rude disharmony of truth into this hymn of adoration was Walter Krivitsky, head of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe during the first part of the Spanish Civil War. He told a good part of the real story of Stalin's reactionary intervention in Spain; of the reign of terror instituted by the G.P.U. against the militants and revolutionists in the Spanish working class; of the obsolete military equipment sent from Russia and paid for in cold cash; and of the rifling of the Spanish treasury. Good, cold-blooded business—that's what it was for Stalin, among other things, when he secretly obtained millions of grams of gold from Spain.

Araquistain, another "man in the know," now confirms Krivitsky's account of the hi-jacking operation. He even furnishes additional and conclusive evidence. In the article printed by the Scranton Times he writes:

**HOW STALIN GOT THE SPANISH GOLD**

"Negrin ordered, as minister of the treasury, that the gold of Spain, transferred first from Madrid to Cartagena, be sent later to Russia. I am not telling thereby any secret, even though, were it a secret, there would not be any reason now to keep it. The shipment of the Spanish gold to the Soviet Union was known by many Spaniards. The Russian general, Krivitsky, publicizes that fact. What Krivitsky does not know is the exact amount and the way in which the deposit was made. I shall complete those details.

"The gold of Spain was the chain that tied Negrin indissolubly to Stalin, and what tied Stalin to Negrin. But it was Negrin himself who forged the links of the chain. By doing it he could continue in power in the republic and could continue as a phantom government after the defeat.

"The Spanish treasury was in danger at Cartagena. The enemy knew surely of the transfer and it is probable they prepared an assault against that hiding place of republican reserves. I myself advised Negrin to take it out of Cartagena. I asked him to come to Paris after having obtained, at his own request, permission from Largo Caballero for the trip. When I expressed my fears to him and suggested the convenience of placing the treasure in a safe place, he told me, smiling, that at that very moment the gold was on its way to Odessa.

"He explained how the deposit was made. It had been made in the name of Largo Caballero, of Indalecio Prieto and of Negrin himself. If some day one of the three was not available, or all of them, four men would replace them—three ambassadors (I was one of them) and a minister plenipotentiary. I am satisfied Largo Caballero never intervened with his signature in the operations concerning the gold deposited in Russia. I suppose that Prieto did not, either.

**STALIN-NEGRIN RULED IN NAME OF GOLD**

"In October, 1938, when President Azana thought of changing his policy, and consequently his cabinet, Negrin told him brutally that he was irreplaceable and that if Azana wanted to throw him out, he, Negrin, would place himself at the head of the army and the masses and resist him. Azana tolerated this flareup, which was really a coup d'etat, instead of ordering immediate arrest of his insolent prime minister, or himself resigning at that very moment, which was the right one and not belatedly, as he did in France. Negrin, as exclusive treasurer of the republic, made himself unremovable dictator.

"At the end of the war, the

**IN THIS CORNER**

By Max Shachtman

An indignant but anonymous reader takes us to task for our not overly enthusiastic comment on the pathetic campaign which the paper of the Lovestoneites is making for uniting into a single organization the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Party and the Independent Labor League of America (the Lovestoneites).

We do not know how many workers have been taken in by this patently fraudulent campaign, but since, as Lester F. Ward used to say, nothing is too absurd to be believed, we will assume that there are a few who find that the proposal is not without attraction.

As far as the Trotskyist movement in this country is concerned, it has no need to apologize for its record on the question of unity. While it never blubbered sentimentally over the phrase or waved it as a catch-penny slogan, for the more than ten years of its existence it has stood for genuine unification on the solid foundation of principle.

**Our Record on Unity**

Despite the brutal blows, the calumny and provocation of the Stalinist machine, directed first by Lovestone and then by Foster-Browder, we offered, on the day after our expulsion from the Communist party for "Trotskyism," to give up our separate existence, our own organization, and return to the ranks of the C.P. as simple members, enjoying nothing more than the rights of any other member. We carefully refrained from forming a new or rival party, believing as we did that it was still possible to straighten the helm in the C.P., to set its course towards international socialism, to free it of the bureaucratic ballast that threatened to sink it and finally did.

After we had broken irrevocably with the Communist International in 1933, we continued to work for the union of all revolutionary forces on a principled basis. The then Communist League of America gave up its separate organization in 1934 and merged into the new Workers Party together with the young American Workers Party (Muste group).

As sections of the Socialist party moved to the left and sought a clear-cut Marxian position, we did not content ourselves with calling upon them to leave their party and join ours. Without abandoning a single principle of our program, we dissolved the Workers Party and entered the Socialist Party to work, side by side with the old S.P. left wing, towards a common revolutionary program and a common revolutionary party. If that aim was not accomplished under the name of the S.P.—it was realized under the banner of the new Socialist Workers Party instead—it was only because the vote-catchers for LaGuardia and the toolies of the needle-trades unions' bureaucracy could not tolerate revolutionists in their ranks and proceeded autocratically to expel us en masse.

There, briefly, is our record, in action, on the question of unity.

**Lovestone: Trickster**

Now Lovestone knows that there is as much chance of the three organizations he names fusing into one as there is of the proverbial camel passing through the eye of a needle. Lovestone knows perfectly well, that an instructive experiment was just concluded in the unity field between the Thomasites and the Trotskyists, the former of whom brutally expelled the latter. He knows this so well, that he finds in the call for unity a most inexpensive device for acquiring popularity at the expense—he calculates—of both Thomas and the Trotskyists, whom he will singly and jointly blame for the failure to adopt his proposal. But like all cheap gadgets, this device is too poorly constructed to work.

It is not necessary to dwell here on all the basic political questions which divide us from the Lovestoneites, questions which their leaders apparently consider organizational trifles: the Popular Front, support of bourgeois candidates in the elections, war, trade union policy, the International, etc. These have been dealt with more than once in our columns.

But it is interesting to point out that save for the purely hypocritical advocacy of "unity," Lovestone hasn't changed his attitude towards the Trotskyists by one iota. It was he and his clique who expelled us from the Communist Party which he then led—expelled us merely because we had the audacity to ask for a discussion, on the eve of a party convention, of the problems raised by the Russian Left Opposition. Before that, he helped to organize the international machine of Stalin-Bukharin for expelling the Trotskyists everywhere else in the Communist International.

He is still dedicated to that aim in life! As shown by the Paris letter we printed last week, his main concern, during his visit in France to the P.S.O.F., was to help the right wing and centrists—the Freemasons, pacifists and all other varieties of middleheads—to expel the Trotskyists from that organization. He loudly proclaims his solidarity with the right-wing leadership of the P.O.U.M. which, although itself expelled from the Comintern years ago for "Trotskyism," is now engaged in expelling its revolutionary critics on the same grounds.

At the same time this trickster has the effrontery to instigate and encourage in his paper a campaign for "unity" with the S.W.P. in this country!

**Engels on Unity**

"We must not let ourselves be misled by the clamor for 'unity,'" wrote Friedrich Engels to August Bebel on June 20, 1873. "Those who have this word most often on their tongue are the greatest instigators of discord, like the Swiss Jurassian Bakuninists at this very moment, the instigators of all the splits, who clamor for nothing more than for unity. These unity-fanatics are either feeble-minded people who want to mix everything into a shapeless mush which needs only to settle in order to bring back all the differences in much sharper conflict, because they are then all together in one pot (you have a fine example in Germany in the people who preach the reconciliation of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie), or else they seek to falsify deliberately. That is why the greatest sectarians and the greatest squabblers and scoundrels are at certain moments the loudest unity-shouters. In all our life we have never had more trouble and spite than from the unity-bowlers."

Sound words then; sound words now.

**With Italy as His Model, Coughlin Agitates for a Totalitarian State**

By GRACE SAUNDERS

Father Coughlin seeks to install in the United States an out-and-out fascist dictatorship. He uses the term "corporative state" instead of fascism, because fascism is too malodorous. But his model is the brutal, repressive, anti-labor government of Mussolini's Italy.

Coughlin tries to destroy confidence in democratic capitalism while spreading the illusion that fascism opens the road to a full life. He refers hypocritically to the evils that do exist under democracy, and hopes the dissatisfied workers, influenced by his fake sympathy, will leap into the arms of the fascist butchers. He wants Americans to jump out of the frying pan of decaying democratic capitalism into the fire of decadent fascist capitalism. He conceals the extent to which the ordeal of the fascist fire will sear and maim the bodies and minds of the workers.

Like all demagogues, Coughlin resorts to misrepresentation. The choice before the American people, he says, is one between the chaos of unemployment and misery amidst plenty under the New Deal (or the Old Deal)—and fascism. (Roosevelt is backed by those "who oppose fascism even though they must support chaos.")—Social Justice, May 22.)

Coughlin fails to mention the third choice—the road to socialism.

Coughlin hammers a way steadily at the props that support the American government. He denounces Roosevelt. But he also hits out at the Republicans. "It is well for the Republicans to know now that the American people," says Coughlin, "will not take a step back towards Hooverism. . . . The Republicans [in Michigan] have discredited themselves to such an extent that the majority of persons in the Wolverine State now recognize that a mis-

take was made" (in electing a Republican governor).

**HIS "CONSTITUTIONAL" CASE FOR FASCISM**

So long as we have the party system of government, Coughlin goes on, we are doomed. "Partyism," he states, was not provided for in the Constitution. When it suits him, Coughlin pretends he is a firm upholder of the Constitution. He says: "Partyism, like many other abuses, was introduced into our national lives many years after the Constitution was established." The right to vote as one sees fit, Coughlin terms an "abuse." Under fascism, one does not vote as one sees fit.

To replace "partyism," Coughlin plugs for the "corporative state." He says: "A corporative system in nowise destroys representative government: it perfects it"—a patent lie. In passing it should be noted that Coughlin's concern for "representative government" is so fitful that he fails even to mention it in his "Sixteen Principles."

Says Coughlin again: "A corporative system will abolish many of the sins and shortcomings of our present brand of political partyism." Coughlin, of course, doesn't speak of the sins and shortcomings—to put it mildly—of the fascist dictatorship.

Coughlin leaves no doubt that he looks to fascist Italy as his model. "Mussolini," he tells us, "is no longer an arbitrary ruler. Italy has taken her place with a Christian Social order."

What is this "corporative state" under which Coughlin would chain and gag American workers?

Coughlin's "corporative state" means government by corporation heads, who, in turn, are ruled over by a dictator. The corporation heads would form a "corporative council," such as exists in Italy, and would be composed of men like Tom Girdler (representing steel); the DuPonts (munitions); Morgan and Rockefeller (banking interests); Ford (automobiles); and others of America's sixty ruling families.

It is these people who would control the destinies of American workers. They would decide how many hours the worker would toil per day; where he would work; what salary he would receive; what he would eat, wear, say, and think; how much he would pay in taxes; how much "free labor service" he would perform. These are the people who would determine the prices of farm products; clamp down an iron censorship over the press, the radio, the theater, the movies, and the school. They would have complete power to force the country into war.

As in Italy, trade unions would be destroyed, workers' organizations ruthlessly smashed. Any who protested the arbitrary and discriminatory acts of the corporation heads would be summarily tried by court martial, if they weren't simply sent to concentration camps or shot without the formality of a trial.

This, in outline, is what Coughlin and America's ruling families are urging upon the workers. It is not a pretty picture. It is therefore no accident that Coughlin always avoids stating what will really happen if the workers follow him into the fascist abyss.

The radio priest does all in his power to blur the real issue that faces American workers and anti-fascists, which is not, as he would have us believe, the fight between decaying democratic capitalism and fascism.

The fight against both the rottenness of present day society and the fascist blight is the fight for socialism. The issue is clearly fascism or socialism, fascist chains or a full and expanding life, slavery or liberation.