

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

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

By JOSEPH HANSEN

INSTALLMENT III

## Coughlin Opposes Social Security

Yes, Coughlin is thoroughly devoted to capitalism. He opposes capitalism granting even the slightest concession to labor.

To guarantee food and clothing to a laboring man and his family when some sordid capitalist throws him out of a job would threaten the capitalist structure Father Coughlin thinks!

"Studying it (the Social Security Act) closely, one discovers that basically it is socialistic in its conception and aims. It is socialism of the old school; socialism that offers a remedy more disastrous than the threatened evil; socialism that demands we take from those who have and give to those who have not." (Social Justice, October 17, 1938.)

In the same editorial he advocates giving everyone an "annual living wage" instead of Social Security.

What Father Coughlin considers an "annual living wage" in dollars he does not state. It must be less than social security to gain his approval!

And what would be wrong with giving a decent annual living wage (not less than \$2,500 at present cost of living) and Social Security? A labor government could easily obtain that as a minimum for the workers in the richest land on the face of the earth.

## Coughlin Favors Regimentation of Labor

The industrial barons have long been struggling to enact changes into the Wagner Act which would benefit them. Coughlin backs up the changes they want. There must be "no conflict" between labor and the employers, Coughlin says. "National unity" is what he wants.

"Make the United States Department of Labor a real power. Let it take over the functions of collective bargaining—the functions which the American Federation of Labor is now trying to fulfill. Let it supplant the A. F. of L. entirely." (Interview published in the Detroit Times, October 10, 1934.)

Does this sound like giving labor the right to organize? What Coughlin advocates in the quotation above is exactly what Mussolini and Hitler advocated and what they put into effect.

Concentration camps, forced labor, prisons, starvation, endless hours for labor—this is what Father Coughlin's plan means.

## Father Coughlin Favors War

Father Coughlin claims that he is opposed to war. But close attention to his words shows that he is opposed only to war against Germany and Italy at the present time. And even on this point he will shift quickly enough when the war actually breaks. He supported Roosevelt's war program once before. It will not be difficult for him to flop back again during the war hysteria and cry sternly over his network: "Roosevelt's War or Ruin!"

There is no dearth of statements he has made on this point too, disclosing his real views.

On January 19, 1930, in the discourse entitled "Christ or the Red Fog," Coughlin attacked a Milwaukee students' conference for adopting a resolution opposing war. He condemned the students because:

"They are unwilling to assist in building up a better navy and a stronger army to protect a country where Christ is still a King." (Father Charles E. Coughlin, p. 68.)

Coughlin is not less devoted to capitalism and private property than Roosevelt. He too wants a big navy and a big army. He too wants unemployed youth marching behind bayonets.

## The Fine Art of Jew-Baiting

So incensed are the American workers at the unparalleled brutality with which Hitler has persecuted the Jews, and so great has been the wave of sympathy for them that Coughlin has attempted to deny that he is a Jew-baiter.

"We disavow all participation with those who hate Jews because they are Jews. . . ." (Social Justice, May 1, 1939.) "If and when anti-Semitism shows its ugly head here, I shall be the first, without hope of receiving reward to condemn it both by voice and deed." (Reprinted in Social Justice, May 1, 1939.)

But a fascist movement if it is to be successful must have a scapegoat on whom the frenzied masses can vent their rage in place of the capitalists who deserve it. (Naturally the capitalists pay well for this service.) And so Coughlin too must have a scapegoat. Coughlin like Hitler and Mussolini has selected the Jew for his scapegoat.

In order to maintain that he is not anti-Semitic, he divides Jews into two categories. Five per cent of them are religious, he postulates. This five per cent he favors—and if they are ever persecuted, he declares, you will find him in their front ranks! The other ninety-five per cent, he says, are not religious. They are communists, socialists, atheists, international bankers, and dealers in gold. In fact Father Coughlin does not pause at words far more lurid than these in marking the Jews for victims on the reeking altar of capitalism.

At the very height of Hitler's persecution of the Jews, when the whole world watched horrified, and even reactionaries scurried to place themselves on record as opposing this persecution, Father Coughlin defended Hitler's bloody pogrom and attacked the Jewish victims. (Radio speech, November 20, 1938.)

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# Socialist Appeal

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BUILD WORKERS'  
DEFENSE GUARDS

3c a Copy

# Organized Labor Stages Great Comeback In Minneapolis Elections

## Roosevelt Offers Jobless 22c a Day

Congress Committee  
Accepts Bill Lopping  
Billion from W.P.A.

\$1.57 per week is enough for any unemployed person to eat, house, drink and be merry—so says President Roosevelt and so say after him the reactionary members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee.

Twenty-two cents a day for all the needs of a human being! That is the concrete, horrible meaning of the 1940 relief bill introduced Wednesday into Congress by the House Appropriations Subcommittee, embodying the main recommendations on relief made by President Roosevelt in his April 27 relief message to Congress.

The sub-committee's bill accepted Roosevelt's proposed figure for W.P.A. for the fiscal year which begins July 1: \$1,477,000,000, which is far more than a billion dollars less than the amount allotted to the W.P.A. in the current year, which was \$2,539,805,000. By Roosevelt's own computation, the most his figure would permit is a total of 2,000,000 W.P.A. jobs during the year beginning July 1—500,000 fewer jobs than those actually working on W.P.A. today, and 1,350,000 fewer than were working in November, 1938. Immediately after being re-elected, Roosevelt started the W.P.A. slashes which he still continues ever further.

The American Association of Social Workers, authoritative professional body of persons engaged in relief management, on May 31 issued a report that 23,000 persons in this country were dependent on relief, and that \$3.59 of W.P.A. Federal funds were being expended for every dollar spent by local relief agencies. On this basis, all relief, W.P.A. and local.

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## French Dictatorship Jails Another Young Militant

Rigal, Steve, Schmit Held Incommunicado  
—Technicians' Federation Protests

Repression of working class militants continues in France with unabated fury. Latest in a series of persecutions directed against those revolutionaries who conduct consistent anti-war activities, is the "preventive arrest" of comrade Schmit, a young Fourth Internationalist. Rigal and Steve whose "preventive arrests" have already been reported in the Appeal have not yet been released. No explanation of the arrests has been given by the Daladier government which acted under the anti-labor decree laws.

The arrest of Steve, Rigal and Schmit for their anti-military agitation is only the most flagrant of many instances of repression. Thousands of workers are still in jail for their participation in the November 30 general strike. Many working-class editors have been imprisoned, their papers seized.



## New World War Crisis Breaking On European and Asiatic Fronts

Japanese Challenge  
British for Supremacy  
in China

War this summer is the prediction of some, the fear of many. The renewed crisis is breaking simultaneously on two fronts—Central Europe and the Far East.

These recurring crises are really part of one permanent and continuous crisis that will be with us until the gangster-imperialists in London, Paris, Washington, Rome, Tokyo, and Berlin resort finally to arms in a general war.

The developments in the Far East revolve around a direct Japanese challenge to Britain for supremacy in China. Despite the apparently broad sweep of its military victories,

the Japanese drive for robber conquest of China has actually been stalemated. Economic and financial weapons wielded by Japan's British and American and French rivals have contributed almost as much to this stalemate as the continuing dogged resistance of the Chinese army in the western provinces and the guerrilla forces throughout the conquered territory.

Unable to "pacify" the land over-run by its armies, the Japanese have been unable to make serious headway in exploiting the fruits of their conquest. Especially in the monetary field, the British have employed the weapons of their superior economic resources to block Japan's attempts to float a stable currency capable of competing with the Chinese dollar, which has been kept bolstered up by an exchange stabilization fund manipulated by the British banks. (The recent drop in the Chinese dollar exchange rate was a manipulated profit-taking maneuver that revealed the extent of British financial control.)

The issue of the foreign con-

Blockaded Tientsin  
Forces Far Eastern  
Control Issue

cessions in the Chinese treaty ports is being forced in a highly spectacular manner. The international area at Amoy, south China port, and the British and French concessions at Tientsin, are being blockaded by Japanese forces. The Japanese have made it obvious that they are aiming at the same time at the international area of Shanghai, chief stronghold of the wealth of Japan's imperialist rivals, Britain, the United States, and France. That in the course of the present crisis the Japanese will extend the offensive to Shanghai is a foregone conclusion.

## Browder Announces Purge of C.P. Ranks and Leadership

Report to Party's National Committee Refers to Widespread Discontent in Ranks

A sweeping purge of the ranks and especially the leadership of the Communist party in this country—a purge as thorough-going and vicious as those conducted by Stalin in the Soviet Union—is now being conducted under the direction of Chief Stalinist Commissar Earl Browder, party general secretary, according to his own announcement.

The news of the purge is contained in the text of a report delivered by Browder on May 6 to 8, 1939, at a meeting in New York of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Although the text of the report as originally printed in the Daily Worker deliberately omits any reference to the purge and the discontentment among the ranks of the membership, it is contained in detail in the text of the report as published by "Workers Library

By Staff Correspondent  
FLINT, Mich., June 11—In a desperate attempt to recoup his lost and rapidly withering following, Homer Martin staged a strike Thursday at the Fisher Body No. 1 plant, hoping against hope that it would take hold and spread throughout General Motors.

Martin pulled the purely factional and jurisdictional "strike" without a vote of even his own members. Martin threw a picket line of between 50 and 100 men around the strategic Fisher No. 1 plant. C.I.O. men, seeing a picket line, and in confusion as to who called the strike, did not enter the plant. A few sporadic fist fights occurred, but in general the men refrained from going into the plants.

Only later did the C.I.O. members learn that it was a Martin move, called without discussion or vote, and having no meaning for bettering conditions. Learning that the so-

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## MARTIN STRIKE IS DESPERATE FACTIONAL ACT

Fails in Attempt to  
Regain Following by  
Calling "Strike"

Margaret Larson, labor-endorsed, captured one of the two library directorships. Owen Cunningham, trade unionist, rolled up 81,447 votes to win the election for the unexpired term on the school board. Roy M. Weir, Central Labor Union organizer, came within an eyelash of capturing another post on the school board.

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## Labor Candidates Poll Huge Vote

Shows Labor Has Reformed Political Ranks  
Since Gubernatorial Defeat—Several  
Candidates on Labor Slate Elected

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, June 13—Organized labor made a great comeback in Monday's city elections, almost but not quite wiping out the crushing advances made by the Republican machine eight months ago.

T. A. Eide, the labor candidate for mayor, received 74,962 votes, losing by only 7,257 to the incumbent, Mayor Leach.

The extraordinary significance of this vote can be understood by comparing it to the gubernatorial elections eight months ago, when Farmer-Labor Governor Benson lost to the Republican Stassen by over 250,000 votes in the state, with comparable figures for Minneapolis.

Organized labor resisted the reactionaries all along the line.

In the fight for the Board of Estimate and Taxation, Al Hanson, laborite, squeezed out a victory over the capitalist candidate, Benton, by 70,734 to 68,610.

H. G. Knight, candidate of the labor slate, was elected to the Board of Park Commissioners.

Margaret Larson, labor-endorsed, captured one of the two library directorships. Owen Cunningham, trade unionist, rolled up 81,447 votes to win the election for the unexpired term on the school board. Roy M. Weir, Central Labor Union organizer, came within an eyelash of capturing another post on the school board.

**Boss Proposal Defeated**  
The charter amendment, No. 10, sought by the reactionaries, was voted down, 69,753 to 66,108.

In the aldermanic race, Syl Biosky, member of the Milk Drivers Union and on the labor slate, upset the incumbent, Sullivan. Eide also carried this ward, the first labor candidate ever to win a first ward majority over Leach.

In the sixth ward, Al Bastis, old-time laborite, smothered his capitalist opponent, and Stanley Anderson, in the tenth, won over his opponent by 9,106 to 5,521. Another laborite, John Nelson, carried the eleventh ward and, in the twelfth, Mike Foley lost to the reactionaries by only 221 votes.

The returns show that Eide carried a majority of the city's thirteen wards. Eide won out in the first, third, sixth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth. It was the fourth, seventh, eighth and thirteenth that won for Leach, particularly the upper-middle class eighth and thirteenth. Leach polled 21,970 votes from these two wards, and that gave him the election.

The unions had been able to break down several of the border wards. The second, always reactionary, was carried by Leach by less than a thousand votes, and in the fifth, Leach got less than 800 majority.

**Extent of Comeback**  
When, last November, the Farmer-Labor movement, which two years before had won by a quarter of a million votes, instead lost by an equal number, and that half-million vote change in the state was paralleled in Minneapolis, political commentators predicted that the Farmer-Labor Party—and by implication, all labor party movements—would be dead for years in Minnesota.

Yet, a scant eight months later, the trade union movement has been able to reform

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## S.U.P. BUCKS GOVERNMENT HIRING HALLS

The showdown fight between the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the U.S. Maritime Commission is still going on full blast at Seattle, Washington, where the commission is vainly attempting to get one of its ships equipped and loaded.

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# More Discussion from Members of Party on Convention Problems



"Sorry to see that the Appeal is having a hard struggle to keep going. It would be just too bad if the Appeal should fail! It would be like cutting an artery in the working class struggle." — A reader in Wiscasset, Me.

**THE BRANCHES AT WORK!**  
"Send us 100 copies of the next Appeal. We may increase our order permanently. We now sell the paper in the downtown section where Social Justice is sold. Three of us were down today and we sold all of our 50 copies. It is our opinion that the Appeal can be sold if we'll take it out in the streets." — E. Ponicali, Detroit.

"Enclosed find money order for \$7.00 to apply on our bill. We will forward the balance just as soon as we raise a little more cash. Every effort will be made to clean up the balance." — Rochester, N. Y.

At the last meeting of the Central Branch in Chicago the comrades were informed of the condition of the Appeal. They were asked to take up a collection to help insure its continuation. They responded immediately to the tune of \$16.50. Every comrade without hesitation realized the need of continuing the semi-weekly paper and each contributed a dollar to the collection.

"Our new literature committee, since its organization, has succeeded in doubling our street sales." — Sam Richter, Chicago literature agent.

**CAMPAIGN FOR SUBSCRIPTION RENEWALS:**  
Our drive to obtain 250 renewal subscriptions has finally really begun to go.  
So far New York City, Bos-

ton and Minneapolis have been doing the best job.

We again remind all branches that every former subscriber who failed to renew his or her subscription has now received 4 sample copies of the Appeal.

If you haven't visited the ex-subscriber in your area, do so this week. If he is not home then pay another visit and get a sub!

Here's the list of new subs for this past week:

CHICAGO	10
Minneapolis	8
Lynn	8
California	6
Foreign	5
Akron	3
Connecticut	2
Iowa	2
Boston	2
New York City	2
Colorado	2
Wisconsin	1
Washington	1
Pennsylvania	1
New Jersey	1
Total	53

New York comrades, please notice where you are—near the foot of the list!

We introduce into our ranks a new agent from Worcester, Mass.—the second Appeal agent in the growing Worcester unit of the Party.

**REMINDER NO. 1:**  
What action have you taken on the Appeal bill you have just received?

**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.

## First Twice-a-Month Challenge Ready July 1st

The first issue of the twice-a-month CHALLENGE OF YOUTH will come off the press in time for national distribution before July 1. The work of hundreds of devoted members of the Young People's Socialist League, and the financial response of many branches and individual members of the Socialist Workers Party, has carried the campaign for a \$500 reserve fund, to guarantee the appearance of the youth paper during the first period of its increased frequency, to within striking distance of the goal.

The issue, dated July 1, will feature the answer of the revolutionary youth to the demagogic appeals by the Coughlin fascists to America's locked out generation. The main article will analyze Coughlin's speeches and articles on the problems faced by youth and expose Coughlin's complete bankruptcy in the sphere of concrete proposals to solve their problems.

This issue, expanded to six pages to accommodate the many ads and greetings secured during the campaign, will further feature articles by James Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Max Shachtman, editor of the Socialist Appeal, and Martin Abern, business manager of the New International. Other articles will deal with the history of the Challenge, the Y.P.S.L. during the last six months, "The Y.P.S.L. in Action," "What is the Y.P.S.L.?" and similar subjects.

A new permanent feature will be added in the form of a regular column of political comment on problems of interest to young people, conducted by Nathan Gould, the national secretary of the Y.P.S.L.

Among the other features will be an exclusive interview by a Challenge correspondent with Edsel Ford, on the labor policies of the Ford Motor Co., and a first hand description of the activities of the fascist groups in liberal, pacifist, and labor meetings in certain sections of Philadelphia.

have been on the rolls for eighteen months.

**Stick to Main Fight!**  
Though the fight against the restrictive provisions is important, it is above all vital that trade unions and W.P.A. workers' organizations make their main fight against the main injury: the eleven hundred million dollars relief slash initiated by Roosevelt himself.

Otherwise, there is danger that a sham battle may be carried on in Congress over the restrictive provisions, while the basic question of more funds for the unemployed will be soft-pedaled, and under the plea that the beginning of the new fiscal year is almost upon us, "progressive" Congressmen will unite with their "opponents" in shoving through President Roosevelt's proposed figure.

"Even the conservative members (of the committee) were said to regard Mr. Roosevelt's request for \$1,477,000,000 for the W.P.A. as 'most reasonable,'" reported the N. Y. Times, June 13. Why shouldn't they appreciate him? He has done for them what these often reactionaries could never do for themselves. In the name of liberalism, the grinning ghoul in the White House pushes us down a road with only two forks: one to starvation, one to death on the battlefields.

## 22 CENTS A DAY FOR UNEMPLOYED IS ROOSEVELT PLAN

(Continued from Page 1)  
cal inclusive, will amount to \$1,888,420,613, during the coming year, if Roosevelt and the Congressional committee have their way. For 23 million persons that means an average of \$1.57 a week, 22 cents a day!

**Union-Busting Provisions**  
Adding insult to injury, the House Appropriations Sub-committee has appended to its bill nineteen restrictive provisions designed to strangle unionization of W.P.A. workers. This is openly admitted by Chairman Woodrum of the committee, who stated:

"This bill contains restrictions that would strike a body blow at the relief racketeer. There are some organizations that flourish today because they are able to hold it up to the W.P.A. worker that by affiliating with them they will be able to perpetuate his job, as it is called, with the Federal government."

These restrictive provisions include abolition of the prevailing wage provision of the present law, which gave some protection to union wage standards in the community; and another automatically dropping all W.P.A. workers on October 1 who

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**COMRADE WISHES** unfurnished room in downtown area. Preferably West Side. Address Socialist Appeal.

**CHICAGO BENEFIT** for The New International "CARNIVAL IN FLANDERS" Voted the world's best picture in 1936

**SATURDAY, JUNE 24**  
Two showings: 7 and 9:30 P.M.  
Admission 35c  
**CAFE IDROTT**  
1308 N. Wilton Ave.  
Chicago, Ill.

**BY POPULAR DEMAND!** Repeat performance of "Bury the Dead," presented by the Theatre of Youth at the Downtown Labor Center, 51 East 7th St., Sat., June 24, 9:30 P.M. Dancing, refreshments. Subscription 52c. Audiences, Downtown Branch.

## On Translating Party Program into Practice

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

After ten years of permanent crisis in American capitalism resulting in the development of fascist movements, increased war preparations, and a sharpened attack upon the conditions and liberties of the masses, the S.W.P. has failed to emerge as a capable-revolutionary force. Like its forbears, the Communist League of America and the Workers Party, it has failed to find its way to the masses and lead them into combat with the forces of capitalism despite favorable opportunities presented by the upsurge that took place in the labor movement; the development of the C.I.O., the growth of the A.F.L., the introduction and extension of the sit-down strikes, and a widespread anti-war sentiment.

Unless we are satisfied that the American revolution goes down to defeat, it becomes vitally necessary that at this convention, perhaps the last before the coming war, we search for the causes of our failure. The P. C. resolution omits a tally sheet of the failures and activities that have marked our past period, therefore accepts them, and it is logical to believe will repeat them. This must not happen.

The party which sets itself the task of leading the way to socialism must have a correct analysis of the general characteristics of capitalist society and a program for the destruction of that society; but it cannot stop there. It must have the ability to understand the desires of the workers at each

juncture and to translate them into revolutionary terms; it must participate in the day to day struggle, prove itself the leader in these struggles, and show the way step by step toward the achievement of the goal.

**Program and Practice**  
An examination of the history of our party reveals in startling form the inability to translate our program into practice. With notable exceptions we have remained an isolated group. This was recognized by the Founding Convention of the S.W.P. in its adoption of the slogan "A TURN TO THE MASSES" and "90% TRADE UNION WORK." A year-and-a-half after the adoption of these slogans we still find it necessary to pose these questions: Why is it that our party still finds itself isolated from the masses? Still finds the most elementary tasks so difficult? Still has not even begun to put its program into practice?

Explanations have been given in the past . . . that our membership was of a poor make-up, non-proletarian, etc., that conditions made it impossible, that comrades were impatient and expected too much, it was all part of a process. Such excuses are insufficient. The events of the past year-and-a-half have made evident that the fault does not lie in the membership nor in the period in which we live; but that our party leadership has failed in the elementary tasks which its very name implies. A party which does not have a competent leadership is doomed to disintegration and it is for this reason that we find it necessary at this time to sound the alarm.

What national directives and guidance has our leadership given us and what could it have done?

**The War Question**  
The party that was to have led the way in the struggle against war, took issue with all others on this question, said it was the most important question, what is its record? The first test on war was completely flizzed by our leadership. The past year witnessed the worst war scare since 1914. This has been the year which revealed the Roosevelt administration as unmistakably leading us to war, and the Stalinists as the leading recruiting sergeants. Among the masses, however, a strong anti-war movement developed. This was expressed by their support of the Ludlow Amendment. It was given a mighty impetus by the United Auto Workers, quickly spread to other unions, and soon had the attention of the entire labor movement.

While this movement was taking place, the National Committee spent months in discussing what our attitude should be toward it and finally adopted a position of complete condemnation. The movement was characterized as the usual pacifist war preparations; we were declared too small to attempt to influence it along militant lines, and the Ludlow Amendment was opposed as an instrument for instilling illusions among the masses. The only directives received at this time for the guidance of the comrades in the trade unions were distinctly opportunistic and unrealistic.

When the movement was in a period of decline, the National Committee suddenly reversed its position on the Ludlow Amendment and called for its support. But even this did not find its way outside of the pages of the Socialist Appeal. The Political Committee resolution calls for a continuation of its support of the anti-war referendum. It fails to mention that a continuation of such support as we have given in the past must result in our failing to actively support it in the future.

(Continued in next issue)

## SUBMITS TWO AMENDMENTS TO RESOLUTION

In accordance with "Notice to Members" appearing in the May 23 issue of the Appeal, I submit the following points for revising the political resolution also appearing in that issue.

1. Paragraph 8 should not remain in its present form. It gives the impression that Yankee imperialism is the only brand in Latin America. Latin America has been meat for all the imperialist nations, even though the U. S. grabbed the lion's share. Recently the inroads of Nazi Germany in parts of Latin America have been considerable and furthermore have been given wide publicity. We, of course, support the struggle of the Latin American masses against the whole imperialist racket. Our particular concern with U. S. imperialism must not lead us to state our position in such a way as to allow the accusation "pro-Nazi" to be made against us or our enemies.

2. In the section of the resolution "The Struggle Against Fascism" a new part should be added. It is imperative in the fight against fascism that the unions enter into the struggles of the unemployed. The more solidarity created between the unions and the unemployed the less chance does fascism have to gain the support of the unemployed and use the latter for smashing the unions. We must get this idea over. Our comrades in the unions must work along this line. We must hammer on this idea in the Appeal and in special leaflets for distribution at union meetings. This work has to be done by us.

SUSAN GREEN

## Party Must Overcome Organizational Defects

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE CALIFORNIA STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S.W.P.

(Concluded from last issue)  
7. Intimately connected with the question of trade union work is the campaign against war. The Political Resolution correctly states that the struggle against war cannot be confined to episodic propaganda campaigns. It must become an integral part of the party's activity in every field, at all times. This, however, cannot exclude organized campaigns around specific slogans. These campaigns must raise the whole level of party anti-war activity so that the main features of what is started in a campaign becomes the normal activity of the party.

It is necessary to state that while the Appeal carried an excellent agitation in a sustained and forceful form during the entire period the party as an organization did not utilize half of the opportunity to carry the slogans contained in the Appeal into the living mass movement.

(a) On the People's Referendum. The Party should have organized a national petition campaign which would have enabled the organization to have utilized the referendum slogan in many forms as a wedge to introduce our full anti-war program. The resolution campaign within the unions on the Referendum begun about a year ago was never carried through with any effect.

(b) The current legal offensive against labor and the increasing government intervention into the unions, must be exposed as an integral part of the war preparations of the New Deal Government. Our press has carried an insufficient amount of material on this question. Moreover the question has not been posed as a problem on which all sections of the labor movement must unite in order to organize a militant counter offensive to the political attack of Capital. In the course of such agitation the slogan for a Labor Party should be introduced. It is also necessary for the party to organize a systematic drive within the union to gather the most progressive elements together to fight for the united action of the unions in this situation. In gathering the progressive forces together and launching a campaign within the unions the party would be able to raise concretely all of the main points in the transitional program: 30-hour week, Relief Cuts, Defense Guards, Trade Union Unity, Labor Party, War Referendum, etc. It is precisely in such matters as the development of our work within the trade unions on a unified national plan, with national information and directives that our weakest side has been revealed.

8. On the Transitional Program and the Labor Party. The Political Resolution sums up our experience in regard to this question and establishes our approach to the problem in the future. Regardless of our agreement or disagreement with the resolution's formulation it is necessary to recognize that since the adoption of the Transitional Program there has been a sad absence of discussion, exchange of experience and a nationally directed attempt to learn how to apply the program in practice. Throughout the whole period one statement was issued by the P.C. clarifying the important question of the sliding scale of wages and hours. It must be understood that if the party is to learn how to wield the Transitional Program and correctly raise the slogan for a Labor Party, intensive and continuous discussion and experimentation must be carried on, on a national and international scale. The important thing to keep in mind is that the program will never have any meaning until it can be raised forcefully within the mass organizations of the working class. To learn how to do this, to find the correct slogans, to gain confidence and audacity, the collection, correlation and dissemination of our entire national experience is required.

9. In conclusion we feel that the past period has been a severe test for the party. Against the great weight of accumulated international defeats and the demoralization of the radical workers, our party has on the whole, been going forward. It is therefore of the greatest importance that everyone of

our weaknesses be scrutinized in the light of the period just before us which will undoubtedly be a much greater testing period of the party's mettle.

In weighing these criticisms of the party's shortcomings we cannot be oblivious to the fact that in this last period the leadership of our party was actively participating in the tremendous task of launching the Fourth International. The sacrifices in money, time, leading personnel, cannot be regretted by serious revolutionists. Far more than this will have to be done in the future. The constant changes in acting secretaries nationally as a reflection of this condition, has undoubtedly been a contributing factor to the deficiencies in party work.

However, this in itself, should serve as a warning to the party. The task of strengthening the leading cadres of the party, of developing new leading material, should in the light of the experience of the past year and the prospect of war, be approached with great care and seriousness.

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## MPLS. LABOR IN COMEBACK

(Continued from Page 1)

labor's political ranks and put up a fight of major significance to the labor movement of the entire country.

The Republicans and Democrats will find little to console them in Monday's returns. Stassen has the unhappy prospect of being a one-term governor. If the labor movement in the rest of Minnesota is able to dress ranks and come back along the trail being blazed in Minneapolis, 1940 will see a labor party candidate in the state capital.

**Preachers Aid Reaction**  
The uphill fight the labor movement made in the elections could only be fully understood if one were to give a detailed description of the way in which the church leaders and the daily press came to the aid of Leach.

In the primaries, the city's religious mentors were unanimous in condemning Leach for the gangsterism and vice that abounds under his regime. Yet, when the choice finally narrowed down to Leach and the candidate of the labor movement, the preachers led their sheep back to the Leach fold. The boss daily press distorted and suppressed campaign news and presented a thoroughly biased picture of the real campaign issues.

The fact that Leach had a dollar for every dime behind Elide's campaign naturally was a factor, though by no means a decisive one. Altogether the unions contributed approximately \$4,000 to the main campaign headquarters, and this was all the Trade Union Campaign Committee had to spend in the campaign. Corrupt election practices of the Leach machine also played a role.

**Denounce Stalinist Sabotage**  
Progressive trade unionists are particularly bitter about the sabotaging role of the Communist Party. Harold Seavey, chairman of the union campaign committee, Ole Ogg of the Milk Drivers, and many others, have declared that Stalinist sabotage was a decisive factor. The major difference in political program between Benson's disastrous campaign eight months ago and Elide's campaign was that Benson clung to the coat-tails of the "New Deal" and went down with it, while Elide made a beginning of differentiating organized labor from the New Deal. Precisely for this reason, the Stalinists, Roosevelt's most vociferous backers, knifed Elide. Controlling the empty shell of the Hennepin County Farmer-Labor Association, the Stalinists were determined that if Elide would not run as a New Deal candidate, he would not get elected.

Fortunately, many leading laborites from other parts of the state were in Minneapolis as observers during the closing days, and did not fail to observe either the leading role played by the trade unions, nor the treacherous maneuvers of the Communist Party. These lessons will not be lost, in the reorganization of the Farmer-Labor movement.

(SEE EDITORIAL, PAGE 4)

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## Who Is Father Coughlin, What Is His Program?

(Continued from Page 1)

*Social Justice* from one end to the other is crammed with insinuations and innuendoes attacking the Jews. In issue after issue, Coughlin published the infamous "Protocol of the Elders of Zion," which was proved a vile forgery years ago.

In the December 19, 1938 issue of *Social Justice*, Coughlin attempted with the following lurid allegation to blacken the Chinese who have been defending themselves against the attack of Japanese imperialism:

"Abraham Cohen, who has been variously known as General Ma and General Moi Sha, is the power behind the Nationalist government."

Even if it were true, there would be nothing wrong in a Jew fighting with the Chinese against the oppressing Japanese armies. But not even Japanese propaganda claims that such a person exists.

Outside his editorial page, Coughlin does not pay the slightest attention to differentiating the religious Jews from the ones HE thinks are non-religious. They are ALL Jews in the news articles.

For example, in the issue of *Social Justice* for June 5, 1939, he attacks Leslie Hore Belisha as "the only Jewish member of the British cabinet." (Who certainly as Minister of War is devoted to capitalism, and cannot be dubbed a "communist" by the wildest stretch of the term.)

"Dissatisfaction within the British Army over the fact that England's military arm is led by a Jew, fed by a Jew, and now clad by a Jew, despite severe censorship to hush the matter," the article asserts.

In his fantastic efforts to prove that there is an "international plot of Jewry" to enslave the world, Coughlin stops at no lie or distortion of the truth. That is one of the things he must accomplish: construct a hook-nosed wolf with golden fangs and label it JEW, if he is to succeed in becoming Fascist Dictator of America.

With all the deliberate intent of a fascist demagogue who knows exactly what he is about, Coughlin has charted the moves which he hopes will bring him to power.

What does Father Coughlin hope to accomplish by his Jew-baiting?

Split the labor movement into warring camps.  
Hack and chop these camps into splintered bits.  
Grind these bits into dust.  
That is the purpose of Jew-baiting.

First the Jews, then the militants, then the trade-unions, each in turn will be sucked into the ravenous maw of American fascism; each of them tagged: "agent of international Socialist Jewry."

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## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Testimony of the Goodyear officials before the National Labor Relations Board in hearings going on at Akron produced a powerful boomerang this week that sent the company reeling from the blow.

The company officials claimed, in their testimony, that they had negotiated and bargained with Local 2, United Rubber Workers of America, and their smooth talk seemed to have an effect in the hearings.

However, Goodyear Local, over the week end, passed a resolution calling on the company to negotiate for a signed agreement immediately, in view of the policy that its officials outlined at the N. L. R. B. hearings.

Company lawyers professed to the belief in collective bargaining when this resolution was introduced in the hearing. So a suggestion was made by union officials that the hearings be postponed while negotiations were carried on. "The company has denied charges that it refused to negotiate," Stanley Denlinger, union attorney declared. "The union resolution asks the company to show proof of its willingness to sit down and bargain."

Refusal of the company to permit a recess in the hearings to enter negotiations with the U. R. W. A. exposed testimony of witnesses as lies and frauds, and proved the union charges against Goodyear.

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By Dwight Macdonald

# SPARKS IN THE NEWS

## How George Dobbin Lost His Job

I am turning over this column to a guest conductor: George Dobbin, one of the Southern workers who tell their life stories in *These Are Our Lives*, an extremely interesting compilation made by the Federal Writers Project and published by the University of North Carolina Press. The story begins in the boom years of the War:

"Mills was beginnin' to pay good," George continued. "It wa'n't long till I was makin' \$20 a week."

"We done some good livin' then," Sally remarked. "It seemed like we never had to study and contrive so hard, I could buy all the milk my children needed."

"Groceries kept agoin' up," George began again, "and they took up most of the wages, but then we did have enough to eat."

"In 1919 we moved to Durham and first thing I knowed I was makin' from 25 to 35 dollars a week. Times stayed good with us up to '21. When I say times was good, I don't mean we done no fancy livin' at all but we sat down to the table three times a day and always found somethin' on it."

"Then one day I went in the mill and seen a notice tellin' of a twenty-five percent cut and a shortenin' of time to three days a week. Hard times really set in like always but groceries never come down accordin' to the cut."

"Them was miserable days for us," Sally declared, "and many a time my little ones cried for milk."

"And when it began to look like the livin' wa'n't worth the worry of gettin' along I lost my job complete—left without any little piece of a job."

"It was human kindness that caused me to lose it too. A body is hard put to it to understand how kindness can work against him sometimes but it sure happens. Word got out amongst the neighbors that we was havin' a struggle gettin' along with me one workin' and seven children lookin' to me for a livin'. First thing we knowed a woman come out and set to talk awhile with my wife. She asked her how we managed to live on what I made and the old lady answered we done the best we could. At different times three women come out and done just about such talk as the first one, and Sally, she answered 'em all alike, but not any times did she ever ask help of 'em. But it wasn't long till baskets of groceries started comin' to us and it seemed just like manna from heaven. That's been goin' on a few weeks when my boss told me Mr. Wilder, the superintendent, wanted to see me."

"Soon as I could I went to Mr. Wilder's office and told him Mr. Henry said he wanted to see me. He answered right quick, 'Yes, Dobbin, I did. The comp'ny's decided all who can't live sumptuous on what they make at this mill is to be given ten-day notice. I'm givin' you yours now.'"

"'But Mr. Wilder, I says, 'I don't understand what's causin' this. I have never raised one word of complaint against this mill.'"

"'Mr. Dobbin, it's awful knockin' on the mill,' he says, 'to have folks workin' for this company that calls on the welfare and the Salvation Army callin' up this office and tellin' us they'd like a contribution from us to help them take care of our hands.'"

"I looked at Mr. Wilder settin' there behind his desk and I knowed he couldn't help feelin' I was tellin' the truth when I spoke. 'Before God, Mr. Wilder,' I said, 'to my recollection I've never spoke to a Salvation Army man or woman in my life and I've never been to no organization to ask for help.'"

"'But you've been agettin' help, ain't you?' he asked."

"'I've got help and I highly appreciate it,' I said. 'It's kept my children from goin' hungry.'"

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## MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

# OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

VINCENT ST. JOHN  
(1873—June 21, 1929)

(The following account of a great fighter's life is from an article written at the time of St. John's death by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party (The Militant, July 1, 1929). Comrade Cannon worked with St. John in the glorious days of Wobly militancy and activity.)

The death of Vincent St. John at San Francisco marks the passing of another of the great figures of the American revolutionary movement whose deeds helped to make its tradition and whose names will not be forgotten. "The Saint," as he was known to those who knew and loved him, died at the age of 56 after a long illness complicated by high blood pressure. He will be sincerely mourned by thousands whose lives were influenced by him, particularly by those who belonged to the old guard of the I.W.W. in its bravest days when he was its moving spirit and guiding intelligence.

Vincent St. John, like Haywood and Frank Little, was trained in the hard school of the Western Federation of Miners, that model labor union whose mighty struggles threw their shadow across the world in the latter years of the Nineteenth Century and the first years of the Twentieth. A metal miner by trade, he joined the Western Federation in 1894, and became one of the most militant fighters in its ranks and an influential voice in its councils. Despite his modesty of disposition, his freedom from personal ambition and his lack of the arts of self-aggrandizement, his work spoke loudly and brought him widespread fame. His stirring deeds as a pioneer organizer became legends of the movement and remain such today. Until 1907 he was a member of the executive board of the W.F.M. and in that strategic position became the leader of the left wing in the struggle between conservative and revolutionary unionism which centered around the question of affiliation to the I.W.W. which the Western Federation had played a role in founding in 1905.

## Led "Direct Actionists"

At the second convention of the I.W.W. in 1906 St. John headed the revolutionary syndicalist group which combined with the S.L.P. elements to oust Sherman, a conservative, as President and to establish a new administration in the organization with a revolutionary policy. He became the general organizer under the new administration, breaking with the W.F.M. on the withdrawal of the latter body, and giving his whole allegiance to the I.W.W. He presided at the 1908 convention which saw the split with the S.L.P. and the elimination of the "political clause" from the preamble. St. John was the leader of the proletarian "Direct Action" forces which defeated the "political" wing of De Leon. Thereafter he served as General Secretary of the I.W.W. until 1914, and undoubtedly did more than anyone to shape its course and prepare the ground for its later development under the active leadership of Haywood.

He withdrew from activity on leaving the office of General Secretary and engaged in a mining enterprise, doubtless with the illusory hope of acquiring a fortune to help finance the organization of the workers. Despite his retirement at the period, fear of his abilities, and the prospect of his return to the office vacated by the imprisonment of Haywood, dictated his own arrest and subsequent conviction with the Chicago group of I.W.W. war-time prisoners. He served two and a half

years at Leavenworth before commutation brought his release.

From his earlier concepts of revolutionary socialism St. John, in revolt against the parliamentary reformism of the Socialist Party and the sectarian, ultra-legal concepts of the Socialist Labor Party, developed along the line of revolutionary syndicalism, the path taken by many of the best proletarian fighters of the period. In many respects this represented a step forward from parliamentary socialism, but the prejudices and theoretical falsity of the syndicalist or industrialist position were storing up disasters for the future. The philosophy of the I.W.W., which St. John did so much to shape, was too simple for the complex situation brought about by the entry of the United States into the World War. The great sacrifices and heroic deeds of its members were unavailing against this handicap and were greatly discounted by it. The spirit of the I.W.W. died in the war, and not the least of the signs of this tragedy was the loss of faith of practically the entire body of the old guard which had made its history and its glory. St. John was among them. Spiritual death is the real death of revolutionaries.

To the great loss of the workers' cause, St. John, and with him the great majority of the leading militants of the I.W.W., failed to make the theoretical and tactical adjustments necessitated by the experience of the World War and the Russian Revolution. Their limited industrialist concepts remained unchanged. Communism, especially its American representatives, impressed them unfavorably and they could not swim with the current of the new movement. The enormous errors, presumptuousness and tactlessness of the Communist party leadership are partly responsible for this calamitous state of affairs. American communism should have been a natural growth out of the soil of the pre-war movement represented in part by the I.W.W. The early years of the Party were weakened and hampered by this failure and the I.W.W. movement, alienated from Communism, lost its old time vigor and passed into an inevitable degeneration and decline.

## A Tradition to Be Valued

But despite the tragedy of the after-war years, the earlier work of the I.W.W. militants—and St. John in the front rank—retains all its validity. They wrote much of the tradition of the American revolutionary movement in letters of fire that will never be extinguished. The modern movement of Communism, which is the heir to their achievements, should value this tradition highly and honor the memory of the men who made it. The memory of Vincent St. John will always be a treasure to the revolutionary workers of America in their aspiring struggle for the workers' world.

For those who knew the "Saint" as a man and friend, his untimely death brings a deep and poignant grief. He was a most admirable personality—brave and resolute, loyal and honest. He was a gifted and inspiring leader and organizer who gave himself, throughout the years of youth and manhood prime, untiringly and unsparingly to the workers' cause. And with the highest executive qualities he combined the rare gift of friendship, of warmly human consideration and concern for others, of loyalty in personal relations, which bound men to him in life-long affection. Those who were so bound to him, who knew the warmth of his handclasp, enshrine his memory in their hearts along with the best memories of the great cause for which we live and strive.

Hail and farewell, Soldier, Man and Friend!

# Martin Strike Call Is Desperate Move

Effort to Win Back Auto Following Fails as Workers Refuse to Respond to Call

(Continued from Page 1)

strike, was no strike at all, but only a desperate adventure, the men then spread the word around, and foiled Martin's attempts to carry the "strike" to other plants.

## Martin Men Balk

At the Fisher No. 2 plant, formerly Martin's outstanding stronghold, and where the C.I.O. has not even chartered a local, the membership bitterly denounced Martin's dictatorial methods, and refused to support an action about which they had not been consulted in advance. At a meeting of the Martin union in Fisher No. 2, attended by several hundred men, attempts to speak by Elmer Dowell, Martin Executive Board member, were thwarted by boos and catcalls. A motion to go out on strike in support of Martin's move was unanimously defeated. A motion was then passed to poll the members of the local by means of a referendum, on the question of returning to the U.A.W.-C.I.O.

Attempts to close the Chevrolet and Buick plants met with dismal failure.

In the Chevrolet plants where Martin had comparatively sizeable blocs, he was met with rebuff by his own members. Here Martin's red-baiting reactionary program slapped him in the face. In these plants Martin had gathered around him all the worst reactionary and anti-union elements. These men are against militant action of any kind, and refused to support Martin's strike under any circumstances, having joined with him only to indulge in red-baiting and class-collaboration. These men are no longer Martin men, but have dropped back into their original roles of company stooges and flunks.

In the Chevrolet No. 2 plant, where it happened that Martin had a half dozen men in key positions, the plant was forced to shut down for about an hour, but quickly resumed production.

In Buick there wasn't a tinker's dozen to support the bureaucratic and adventurist "strike." Instead of rallying men to his side, Martin's clumsy and stupid tactics alienated even his own meager forces.

But "Strike" Is Warning

In spite of its dismal failure, its dictatorial methods, and its thoroughly anti-union character, the strike nevertheless sharply calls to attention the necessity for the U.A.W.-C.I.O. to begin to do something about the wretched state of organization in General Motors.

Martin knew very well that C.I.O. members were dissatisfied with the timid and do-nothing policies of their leaders, and hoped to re-establish himself by playing upon this feeling. This should serve as a strong warning, and faces the C.I.O. leaders squarely with the task of showing their members, and the great number of men outside the union, some real action or suffer the consequences.

Contrast with Briggs

The inspiring strike and victory at Briggs body plant, in Detroit, is a glowing call to arms. The union must return to the bold and militant tradition of the past, when it was an unconquerable force. The Briggs strike was successful because it was fought along the old, militant lines that have always won victories, and which the workers, particularly in Flint, know they must use. The Briggs strike has done much to reawaken desire for militant action; if followed up with a militant campaign of organization, it can point the way toward a complete rejuvenation of the U.A.W.-C.I.O.

While Briggs, under an anti-Stalinist leadership, has made healthy strides ahead, the Flint U.A.W.-C.I.O. locals lie

inert under the pall of Stalinist domination. Militants who turned to the Communist Party, because they hoped to find there a bold and radical leadership, are becoming rapidly disillusioned. It is time for them to break with this reactionary machine.

Smashing the Martin action alone will not satisfy the thousands of men in the plants who have been disillusioned both by the dragged out factional war, and by the floundering, union-wrecking policies of the present leadership. These men want their bargaining rights restored, they want the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay, they want a closed shop agreement with General Motors. And when they see the U.A.W.-C.I.O. getting into action they will readily take their places in the ranks of union fighters.

Whether Martin makes headway in the auto field, and whether the company succeeds in smashing the union altogether, depends entirely upon whether or not a militant organizational campaign is begun by the U.A.W.-C.I.O.

Yellow "Leaders"

In Flint the C.I.O. leadership, and their army of Stalinist flunkies, have distinguished themselves by their timidity and fear, lest they do something to irritate the police. A plan to hold colorful and militant rallies at plant gates, after having been voted upon by the Chevrolet Executive Board, and passed, was quashed by Art Case, regional director, because the action might possibly have led to a little trouble with the cops.

Militants know the United Automobile Workers was not built with this kind of a craven belly-rawling attitude, but by bold action.

# S.U.P. BUCKS GOVERNMENT

Showdown Fight Going Full Blast on West Coast

(Continued from Page 1)  
West Coast Sailors, S.U.P. weekly, June 8, reports:

Hiring Halls Issue

"Maritime Commission representatives called on the Sailors Union and asked the Secretary why the sailors had a picket line around the ship when there was no crew on the vessel. . . They believed the S.U.P. ought to let them lead and said that 'meanwhile we could negotiate further in regard to getting ship crews from union halls.' (Oh, yeah!)"

"The representatives were told that the S.U.P. will keep a picket line around the ship until such time as the Maritime Commission sees fit to get a crew from the S.U.P.—Marine Firemen halls through the regular channels."

The showdown came when the Maritime Commission, Roosevelt-appointed body, ignored the declaration of the sailors that no ship will move on the West Coast that is not manned by crews dispatched from the union hiring halls which the sailors have shed their blood to establish as the sole method of obtaining crews.

The Commission's attempt to hire through non-union channels is believed to be instigated by the shipowners who, although pushed into line during the strikes of the last few years, are still hoping to break the union. Admiral Land, chairman of the Commission, has openly defined the merchant marine as an auxiliary of the Navy, and appears to be determined to try to reduce the merchant sailors to the robot-like military discipline of the Navy.

# MASS MEETING

Greet The Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party! Hear The Internationalist Position on War!

Chairman: JAMES P. CANNON

Reporter for the Political Committee: MAX SHACHTMAN

Speakers: V. R. DUNNE of Minneapolis, GENORA JOHNSON of Flint, GLEN TRIMBLE of San Francisco, GEORGE CLARKE of Detroit, REUBEN PLASKETT of Newark, NATHAN GOULD, National Secretary Y.P.S.L.

FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 8 P.M.

Irving Plaza, Irving Place at 15th Street

ADMISSION 25c

## Toward the Party Convention

# New Directions Require New Methods of Party Work

By JAMES P. CANNON

A revolutionary party begins with an idea, and the idea—that is, the program—becomes an all-conquering power capable of transforming society when it permeates the mass. The work of attracting the masses to the revolutionary program does not proceed along a straight line by the simple repetition of propaganda. If that were so, working class politicians would not be necessary; a good phonograph—or a sectarian, which is the same thing—would suffice. The struggle for the support of the majority of the working class, the prerequisite for the socialist victory, is an extremely complicated struggle, and one which, moreover, is constantly changing and constantly imposing shifts in emphasis and different methods of work. It is necessary to keep a clear view of the goal but that alone is not enough. The art of revolutionary politics consists in recognizing the most favorable immediate objective and of concentrating, according to the military motto, all forces on the point of attack. Only thus is it possible to move forward.

Lenin spoke of the necessity of seizing the right link in the chain. And Trotsky crammed all practical political wisdom into a single sentence when he said the most important of all questions is, what to do next. The tactical orientation of the moment depends on what is necessary and what is possible at the moment.

## The Way Is Cleared

Our goal is and has been always the same—the winning over of the masses for the revolutionary struggle for power. It was the same in our formative days when we disregarded the "mass work" windbags, as later when we turned to broader fields of political activity and broke with the sectarians. If we say today, with at least the formal agreement of the whole party, that our work must now be concentrated directly on mass work it is because the road has been cleared for such a turn. The rather sad fact that our practices in this respect have by no means caught up with our resolutions does not signify any intention on our part to deceive ourselves by our unanimous declarations. We mean what we say and will learn how to act accordingly.

Nobody at the convention will argue against the necessity of a full concentration on mass work. Nobody will propose that we go back and chew the fat once again with the sectarian cliques who have theorized themselves into a secluded corner and remain there to everybody's satisfaction—their own, and ours and that of the world at large. It is unimaginable that anyone should suggest that we go back and fight over again the factional struggle within a common organization with the Thomastite "socialists." That chapter is finished. What was once alive and revolutionary there belongs now to the American section of the Fourth International.

As for the spurious "unity" campaign of the Lovestonites—is it possible that any member of our party can be caught on this hook? Hardly. This petty strategem of the Lovestonite leadership—is as transparently crooked as its authors—is designed only as artificial stimulation for a doomed and dwindling sect without program or prospects or good repute, and a cover-up for the real object of the maneuver—unity with the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation. No, there is nothing there for us. Let the Lovestonites unite if they wish with the Thomastites and the flag-waving Social-democrats. That is their affair, and we have no objection; they all need a bit of "unity." God knows. But let us attend to our own work—the penetration of the workers' mass movement.

I repeat, if we have not been about this business it is not from lack of conviction as to its necessity. It is simply that we hesitate—or don't know how—to begin in earnest. We have more faith than works and faith without works is dead.

## What We Still Lack

The situation within the radical labor movement has been long since ripe for a decisive turn to mass work, and the objective circumstances are becoming increasingly favorable. What is lacking, primarily, is the necessary psychological readjustment and change in methods of work imposed by the new tasks. The expert programmatic critics, propagandists and internal faction fighters of yesterday—that's what we were and that's what we needed to be in the conditions of the time—

have not yet mastered the art of mass agitation and of simple day to day work in the trade unions and other mass organizations. Too many of our comrades, who can debate any question of the program at the drop of the hat, find difficulty in speaking the language of the unskilled worker who is ready for action and willing to learn.

This is not said to disparage those who have mastered the program and the ability to defend it against all opponents, nor to contrast educational work to mass agitation. Far from it. It is a question rather of supplementing the one with the other. The problem which presses hard today and will press harder tomorrow is to interpret and expound the program in such a way as to enable wider circles of workers, hitherto unacquainted with Marxist doctrine, to understand it and act upon it. That is an art which we must learn. We must put ourselves to school in the living movement of the workers. To do that we must get into it. In spite of everything the water remains the only place where one can learn to swim.

## Learning by Doing

The workers' mass movement is the source of power, and also of compensating inspiration and enthusiasm for those revolutionary militants who intelligently participate in it. It will see it demonstrated once again at the convention—that those comrades who are learning by doing in the mass movement are the least tainted with pessimism and discouragement, that sickness of isolated, helpless and hopeless people who contemplate life without living it and see the world mirrored by their own weakness.

The convention will do well to listen attentively to those comrades who come fresh from active participation in the recent class battles—the Briggs strike at Detroit, militant actions of the unemployed at Flint, the epic struggle of the seamen on the Pacific coast, the magnificent campaign for the independent labor ticket in Minneapolis. The invincible power of the laboring mass in action communicates its enthusiasm and its confidence to its participants and they, in turn, will help to communicate it to the convention of the party and determine its spirit and orientation.

We have every right to confidence in our future, for we alone, out of a 15-year period of unprecedented defeat and disintegration, have fought a way forward. Beginning with nothing but a revolutionary program and a handful of people, we have become a movement, if as yet but a small one, and have swept all rivals from the field. Our party is the sole organization of the revolutionary vanguard. Our programmatic disputes with the futile sectarians of the right as well as the pseudo-left—unavoidable in the struggle to clarify the doctrine of the movement and sift out the basic cadres, although they cost us precious years of time and effort—are finished and done. They are things of yesterday and we shall not return to them. Nothing is more foolish than to chase a street car after it has been caught.

## The Road Is Pointed

Our road now points directly to the mass movement and to the recruiting of hundreds and thousands where once we counted our new adherents in ones and twos. If we have been suffering a certain stagnation, which we do not conceal from ourselves or others, it is primarily because we have not yet made the necessary readjustment of our work to new times and new conditions. From all indications there is every reason to be confident that the convention will survey the situation realistically and give the signal for a speedier readjustment.

I have not mentioned the struggle against the Stalinist Party as one of the tasks that are behind us nor one that can be separated from effective work in the broad workers' mass movement. Indeed, it is precisely in the trade unions that our militants encounter the Stalinist machine as the greatest obstacle and the greatest enemy. Profoundly wrong are those comrades who, in their commendable zeal to concentrate all activity on trade union work, try to jump over the Stalinist obstacle and "constructive work" to the unrelenting frontal attack against the party directed by degenerate turncoats. The party must be clear on this. Otherwise it will not succeed in the mass movement. I will take up this question in my next article.

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11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilantes and Fascist attacks.

**Minneapolis Elections**

T. A. Eide, organized labor's candidate for Mayor in last Monday's Minneapolis elections, was hardly known to anyone except active trade unionists before his nomination. All the more significant are the 75,000 votes cast for him, but a few thousand short of victory.

All the more significant were these votes, too, in the face of disastrous defeats of labor-endorsed candidates throughout the country during the last year, in the face of the indubitable growth of reaction. All the more significant in contrast to Farmer-Labor Governor Benson's annihilating defeat last November.

The key to understanding Eide's splendid run is to understand why a half million voters who were for Benson in 1936 were for the Republican Stassen in November, 1938. Two years of the New Deal had intervened; all its promises had proved empty, and the New Deal had become the War Deal. When the labor movement, instead of presenting its own candidates, backed the War Deal, millions of votes that would have gone for independent labor candidates were instead cast against the status quo; and since the only alternative to the status quo was the Republicans, these deluded millions voted Republican.

The Minneapolis trade union municipal campaign represented the widening rift between labor support and the War Deal—a move from Rooseveltism to independent class action. That break was not clearly etched in positive terms, but the tendency was indicated by programmatic demands on issues which the War Deal has ducked — jobs and relief, housing, rights of unions, etc. Almost all the candidates were active trade unionists. Unfortunately an apparatus had to be built overnight, and on a temporary basis, for the old Farmer-Labor Party was dead and the unions were not ready for a permanent Labor Party organization, many union leaders hoping to re-organize the Farmer-Labor Party on a state basis afterward. But essentially the municipal campaign was a great step forward in presenting independent labor political action as the real alternative to the War Deal.

Equally significant is it to understand that in making this turn from being a tail to the War Deal to standing at the head of the oppressed masses, the labor movement will find its most perfidious opponent to be the Communist Party. That organization, which is neither communist nor a party, is the most frenzied supporter of the War Deal, and will leave no stone unturned in destroying an independent Labor Party movement.

A Stalinist dispatch dated June 12—the day before the election—to the Daily Worker says that "Trotskyite activity has weakened the progressive campaign" — how? By "constantly claiming that the united progressive ticket is a 'trade union slate'!" And the next day the Stalinist sheet had the effrontery to report that "the narrow gap that separated the progressives from victory . . . resulted mainly from the failure to make clear to the people of the city that the Farmer-Labor candidates defended the New Deal objectives." The argument itself is of course beneath contempt, for precisely because he identified himself with the New Deal, Benson was annihilated and with him the Farmer-Labor Party last November. But what is significant is that the Stalinists are so determined to keep organized labor yoked to the War Deal that they will do anything, literally anything, to maintain

that yoke. Anything includes sabotaging a campaign which, like Eide's, was a break away from the War Deal and a step toward an independent Labor Party program.

As in the task of furthering militant tactics in the trade unions for economic demands, so in the task of militant labor politics, the trade union movement can advance only as it rids itself of the syphilis of Stalinism.

**Hague and the C.I.O.**

Following the anti-Hague decision of the Supreme Court and the more or less undisturbed meeting of the Civil Liberties Union in Jersey City, the liberals and the labor bureaucratic friends of the Democratic party have again filled the air with their praises of the Supreme Court, the virtues of democracy and the burial of May- or Hague.

We've heard that before, in fact every time some court, or some statesman signed his name to what immediately became a scrap of paper in Hague's domain. Hague did not come into power by means of solemn and imposing sheets of paper, and he will not be unseated that way. He rose to power because he represented a growingly aggressive organized force, with a clear-cut, unambiguous anti-labor program. He can be smashed, and labor's rights restored in Jersey City, only by an equally militant, organized force, with an equally clear-cut, unambiguous pro-labor program.

The secretary of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, C.I.O., who apparently knows the situation a little better than some of his starry-eyed fellow officials, was, according to the C.I.O. News Service, "skeptical about the decision's ability to take the sting out of Hague's vehement anti-unionism."

"The Supreme Court decision will help a lot," he said, "but it will drive Hague underground. There he will try to mobilize his supposed-to-be veterans and his other stooges to foment trouble against us."

Secretary Goldsmith is substantially correct. Hague is not demobilizing his reactionary mobsters. They are still on tap—functioning a little less ostentatiously for a time, perhaps — prepared to maintain Hague in power and keep labor under their heel.

To try facing these mobsters with a copy of Supreme Court paper is foolhardy as well as futile. Hagueism, like fascism in general, can be smashed only by mobilizing the militant, trained forces of the labor movement.

And that means: Union Defense Guards, the shield of labor in its resistance to reaction's march.

**Martin Dies' Ideal**

In his May report to his National Committee, Earl Browder, party secretary, who looks under his bed each night for "Trotskyist and Lovestoneite spies," describes them as follows:

"They are impatient for 'revolutionary action'; their talk runs to 'blood and thunder'; they are the advocates of 'violent overthrow of the government' who are Martin Dies' ideal of a Communist."

We pick up a book called *State and Revolution* issued in a new edition by Browder's publishing house seven years ago. The author of the book was a man named Lenin. Also, he was a Communist and, if we may say so, a genuine Communist.

On page 18, Lenin writes: "Fifthly, in the same work of Engels, from which every one remembers his argument on the 'withering away' of the state, there is also a disquisition on the significance of a violent revolution. The historical analysis of its role becomes, with Engels, a veritable panegyric on violent revolution. This, of course, 'no one remembers'; to talk or even to think of the importance of this idea is not considered good form by contemporary socialist parties [Hear, hear, Browder!], and in daily propaganda and agitation among the masses it plays no part whatever."

On page 20: "It [the bourgeois state] cannot be replaced by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through 'withering away' but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution."

Again, on the same page: "The necessity of systematically fostering among the masses this and just this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' teaching. The neglect of such propaganda and agitation by both the present predominant social-chauvinist and the Kautskyst currents brings their betrayal of Marx's and Engels' teaching into prominent relief. The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution."

Browder ends his report by saying that "we have the party for which they [the people] have been looking, a party worthy of our great principles and aims, a party worthy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

If only he had left out the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin, he would have been literally and scientifically exact.

**Browder Starts Sweeping Purge of C. P. in Grand Manner of Stalin**

Report to Communist Party's National Committee, Which Undergoes Several Changes in Its Published Versions, Announces Plans for Purge to Meet Growing Discontent

(Continued from Page 1)  
or work in state office technical staffs; some are found in section leading committees."

Browder further reveals that he has had his own G.P.U. at work hunting down malcontents and all others who, for one reason or another, are scheduled for the axe. The espionage work, he declares, has been carried out for some time without the knowledge of the party membership, of even the whole leadership which is supposed to direct all the work of the party and its secretary.

"This knowledge is the result of intensive investigation by the National Committee, without engaging the whole Party membership or even the leading cadres in a spy hunt. A considerable number of these enemy agents have been removed from the Party; others disappeared as they realized they were under suspicion. BUT THE PROBLEM IS STILL BEFORE US."

(Our emphasis.)  
In his report, Browder further indicates that one of the reasons for the frank "spy hunt" which is now on in the open, is to find scapegoats for the debacles of the Browder leadership, which is itself probably under heavy pressure and criticism from its bosses in Moscow.

**LOSING GROUND ON MANY FRONTS**

The Stalinists have been losing ground on many fronts, including the trade unions, and the revulsion against their reactionary policies is producing the inevitable reaction in the membership records. Twice in his report Browder takes note of this phenomenon:

"As our Party membership approaches the 100,000 mark, we have noted a slackening of the rate of growth. This is an almost infallible sign of the accumulation of unsolved problems of adjustment of the Party to its tasks and environment."

The "unsolved problems" re-

ferred to evidently include the problem of the "purge."

"We have adjusted our expectations of growth," Browder says later on in his report, "to that which can reasonably be expected to be assimilated into long-term activity. Our immediate problem is revealed by the rate of growth beginning to fall even below this reasonable expectation."

Another reason for the purge is indicated by Browder elsewhere in his report, namely, that all criticism of the reactionary, pro-imperialist policy of the Stalinist leadership made by discontented party members, is to be discredited in advance as the work of spies and informers. Here too the Kremlin technique is being copied to the letter, and any party member who dares henceforth express his disagreement with the almighty party bureaucracy and its policies will be subject to immediate expulsion as a "Trotskyist-Lovestoneite spy and wrecker" — to use Browder's own terms.

"Their (the 'Trotskyist' and 'Lovestoneite' 'spies and provocateurs') main occupation is furnishing 'revolutionary' reasons for the performance of reactionary deeds. They are constantly searching for 'contacts' among Party members, especially discontented ones, for whom they have an established technique to transform into active agents."

(The last sentence is not a defect in Browder's syntax; it's the literal translation from the Russian.)

**DESCRIBES VICTIMS OF THE PURGE**

That there is dissatisfaction with the official Stalinist line—pro-war, pro-Roosevelt, anti-revolutionary — may be gathered from the way in which Browder describes the intended victims of the purge.

"A higher type of provocateur is the one sent into the Party to obtain, or already equipped with, political training which he is instructed to

utilize for creating differences and disputes, which he tries to lead toward the crystallization of factions. Such agents are always 'more revolutionary' than the Party leadership and the members generally; they are impatient for 'revolutionary action'; their talk runs to 'blood and thunder'; they are the advocates of 'violent overthrow of the government' who are Martin Dies' ideal of a Communist. Their special purpose, besides furnishing employers and police with 'evidence,' is to exert influence upon the activities of the Party toward sectarianism, to create an atmosphere of conspiracy and suspicion, to appear themselves as 'spy hunters.'"

That the purge is not directed at the occasional real stool-pigeon, and not even only at discontented rank and file, but also and perhaps primarily at prominent party officials, is also made clear by Browder. Just as Stalin had to have men like Zinoviev and Bukharin presented as "enemies of the people" for a period of time dating back to the Bolshevik revolution and even before that, Browder, on his own pettier scale, is framing up his present colleagues, unnamed for the time being, as "wrecking agents" for the past twenty years!

In his report he hints broadly that the leadership of the Communist Party as far back as 1922—that is, nineteen years ago—was composed of "clever and subtle wrecking agents" and spies. Added significance is given to these references by Browder's pointing to the fact that such "agents" not only "abound in the trade unions and work among the newer, less experienced organizations of the Party," but are also represented in the higher committees of the party.

There can be no doubt that the Stalinist party in this country is in for a tremendous shakeup along the lines made so notorious by Stalin in the Soviet Union.

**Texas Bosses Resort to Courts In Offensive Against Unionists**

By a Special Correspondent

HOUSTON, June 10—A month ago a Harris County Grand Jury began an investigation of "labor violence" and "communist activities" in the Houston labor movement. This followed directly on the heels of a year of rapid progress of both the C.I.O. and the progressive A.F.L. unions. Houston has had some hard fought strikes: the Coco-Cola strike of the Teamsters, the Shell strike of the C.I.O. Oil Workers Union, the A.F.L. Longshoremen's strikes, the 7-Up strike of the Teamsters and, recently, the N.M.U. Tanker strike. The courage and endurance of the organized labor movement having proved too much for the bosses, they have resorted to the law courts to stop the rapid organization of Houston.

**Pretext and Reality**  
The immediate excuse for the Grand Jury investigation was the threat of American Can Co. to close its strike-bound plant for good, as the small Bewley Mills, where the Teamsters were striking, had done the week before. This old dodge failed to impress the striking members of the C.I.O. Steel Workers Union, but it served as an excuse for the bosses to throw the labor hating press into a panic.

The boss papers, including the "liberal" Scripps Howard Press, carried scare headlines day after day, predicting that Houston would become another "ghost city" like Akron is supposed to be, featuring fantastic statements of the Real Estate Board that "\$16,000,000 worth of investments was being driven away from Houston." This forced temporarily onto the back page the very news that gave the lie to the front page propaganda: the continued rise in 1940 building permits (industrial and residential) toward the second million dollars' worth, the fact that Houston is almost the only city in the United States that is building at the 1929 level.

**Labor Skates Cowardly**  
The first move of the A.F.L. Central Trades Council, in which the progressives are in a minority, was to decree that no strike will receive their support unless they are consulted beforehand. This they followed

with newspaper statements promising to "clean house" of all radicals—thus giving their sanction to the boss lie that is being used to smear and smash the labor movement here.

A delegation of reactionaries from the Trades Council visited the Mayor to assure him that they were as worried as he over the influx of "radical agitators" and they would do everything possible to stop the violence that was ruining our fair city.

**Violence Against Labor**

Meanwhile the Grand Jury performed an amazing job of glossing over the real cause of violence here, while daily smearing the union movement. Frank Hamer, ex-Texas Ranger, and notorious anti-labor deputy, on the pay roll of most of the town's largest concerns, testified concerning the highly imaginary "beef-squads" imported from Chicago for various strikes, but entirely overlooked the role of the notorious men, commissioned by the state government, whom the companies hire at the first threat of a strike to "protect their property." These company police have followed, in strike after strike, the worst traditions of their kind, by provoking violence in order to hold their jobs longer. They have even offered to pay strikers to continue to "stir up disturbances."

Workers, beaten up by bosses' thugs are refused the right to file charges in the city courts. Notices are left on the doors of union members warning them to "get out of town." Bondsmen have been stopped from bonding union men.

**Mayor Leads Pack**

Mayor Holcombe, elected last fall as "labor's man," with the endorsement of most of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. unions secured by the Stalinist stooges and old line labor leaders, has taken the lead in this vicious anti-labor campaign. A true boss politician, as soon as the bosses needed him he dropped all pretence of being "pro-

labor." He has started his own investigation, and is making a blacklist of "agitators, communists, and bad eggs" in the local Teamsters and C.I.O. unions, whom he demands that the unions expel, or else, "the city will get rid of them its own way."

Monday, June 5, Sewall Meyers, city attorney, who is also retained by the State A.F.L. Federation, declared before the Ministerial Alliance that "28 Communists had been imported from Detroit" who were responsible for this "labor disorder"—as this A.F.L. lawyer terms the exercise of labor's right to picket and fight off boss violence. He also charged that a certain firm of labor lawyers—Mandell and Combes—who are retained by the Teamsters and C.I.O. unions, were responsible for the violence. This is a joke to those who know the real role of these legal parasites on the labor movement. They have done everything in their power to keep the workers from militant action by raising the fear of boss injunctions on each and every occasion, and by encouraging them to put complete confidence in the N.L.R.B. and the "liberal" Holcombe administration.

"Is it against the state law to be a communist?" asked E. J. Cunningham, N.M.U. strike chairman. "It is as far as I am concerned," replied the Stalinist-supported mayor.

Mandell and Combes have just counselled the N.M.U. Strike Committee to turn over their picket records to the Grand Jury. (Contrast this with the way the same problem was handled by the Minneapolis Teamsters.)

This boss offensive has well even closer together the progressive C.I.O. and A.F.L. unions.

The response of the progressive unions has included leaflets, protest delegations and newspaper statements. On Friday, June 10, there was a 10-hour boycott of The Rice, Houston's most aristocratic hotel, by the Taxi drivers in answer to unreasonable police restrictions. This showed the real fighting spirit of the Houston workers. They will fight for the unions they have built.

**IN THIS CORNER**

By Max Shachtman

**Some Additional Comments On Earl Browder's Report**

Elsewhere in this issue is reported the purge that has been going on quietly in the Communist party for some time and is now openly proclaimed in Earl Browder's report to the party National Committee early in May.

There is one part of Browder's report, however, which is so sensationally important and at the same time so deliberately obscured by its author, that it deserves and requires elaboration. Speaking of "spies" who "are always 'more revolutionary' than the Party leadership," Browder adds:

"A historical example was the government police agent, Morrow, who was sent to the Bridgeman Convention of the Communist Party in 1922, and cast the deciding vote between the two equal factions that deadlocked the convention. Those two factions, as we learned later, were the work of more clever and subtle wrecking agents, who came to blossom later as the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, who were not cleaned out of the Party until 1928-1929. Since that time, this type of agent has had a more difficult job, but they abound in the trade unions and work among the newer, less-experienced organizations of the Party."

And: "We know that some of them ('spies') have been or are members of state committees or work in state office technical staffs; some are found in section leading committees. This knowledge is the result of intensive investigation by the National Committee, without engaging the whole Party membership or even the leading cadres in a spy hunt."

**Who Will Be the Victims?**

Those familiar with the gradual but inexorable manner in which Stalin, starting with obscure figures, ended up with men like Zinoviev, Bukharin and Rakovsky, will not fail to recognize the stereotyped pattern disclosed by the quoted paragraphs. Those familiar with the history of the Communist Party in the United States will not fail to recognize, in Browder's anonymous references, the names of the victims slated for the American purge.

The first victims of the Stalin murder-bund following the death of S. M. Kirov were, it will be recalled, obscure and for the most part unnamed young communists in Leningrad. Zinoviev and Kamenev merely bore the "moral responsibility" for Kirov's assassination. Only later were they charged with directly plotting and organizing the killing of the Leningrad party boss. And still later, Zinoviev, Rakovsky, Bukharin and Trotsky had the origins of their crimes located at the very dawn of the revolution, which, considering the names of the men involved in these charges, "proved" that the Bolshevik Revolution was organized and led by a gang of German and British spies.

Following the same procedure, Browder now presents the "Trotskyists and Lovestoneites" who have been counter-revolutionists and spies since they were expelled in 1928-1929, as having been spies and "more clever and subtle wrecking agents" as far back as 1922. And since it must have required some time before the convention to organize their "wrecking" they must have been at it for two or three years before 1922, that is, at the very birth of the Communist Party in the United States.

But more important, for the moment, is the self-evident fact that not all the leaders of the "two equal factions that deadlocked the convention" are expelled and triply-accurSED Trotskyists and Lovestoneites. Many of them, and not the least important of those days in 1922 at Bridgeman, continue — "clever and subtle wrecking agents" that they are! — to occupy commanding posts in the Communist Party leadership today. And it is they — and not Cannon or Lovestone — whom Browder has in mind when he utters these ominous sentences.

**A Few of the Men Involved**  
Who are the men involved in this "historical example"? Here are a few of the leaders of the two 1922 factions which, "as we learned later" (When?) From whom? Who confessed?) "were the work of more clever and subtle wrecking agents."

There was William Weinstone, first New York and more recently Detroit party commissar; William Z. Foster, still chairman (as we go to press) of the Communist party; William F. Dunne, about whom so very little is heard nowadays; Max Bedacht, boss of the International Workers Order; the two New York state party satchems, Israel Amter (a violent opponent of the Comintern decision in favor of a legal party in 1922—looks bad for him!) and Charles Krumbeln; Herbert Benjamin (is he referred to in Browder's remark about "their main fields of work are in mass organizations of a progressive character"?); Alexander Bittelmann, one of the fiercest factionalists of them all, and without doubt a British spy from that day to this; Alfred Wagenknecht, removed only the other day as St. Louis organizer of the C.P. (already! Remember Yagoda!); and last but far from least, BROWDER HIMSELF!

Now, if the two factions of 1922 were the "work of more clever and subtle wrecking agents," are we going to be so glib as to believe that Browder, who led one of the factions, was only an innocent victim of the wreckers? To be sure, he will protest that he was guiltless and didn't know the foul ends he was being used for; so also, when their time comes, will Foster and Bittelmann and Minor and Amter and God knows who else. But who will believe them? Didn't they all protest their innocence at first in Moscow—only to "confess the truth" in the end?

Fortunately for Foster and/or any of Browder's other intended victims, the "General Secretary" in this country does not have at his disposal all of Stalin's means for extorting confessions which Krivitsky describes in such horrifying detail in the current Saturday Evening Post. Browder has no armed bands of G.P.U. assassins, no private prisons, no concentration camps, no Siberia, no cemeteries for the recalcitrants. He only has a powerful machine for lying and the power of expulsion from the party.

But these two weapons he intends to use to the full. Foster, Weinstone, Dunne, Wagenknecht, Amter and Co. cannot possibly have any illusions on that score. Haven't they already used them against others?

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