

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 28 Saturday, July 13, 1946

Published Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board:
FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN
General Manager:
GEORGE CLARKE

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle
orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Registered as second class matter December 4,
1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1937."

Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES — OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM.
4. THIRTY-THIRTY—\$30-WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSION.
6. EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES.
7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
8. A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND ALL WARS.
9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY.
10. AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.
11. WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS.
12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

A Bitter Lesson For Labor to Learn From

Can you imagine Roosevelt and Willkie and all the other big-shot Republicans and Democrats getting together to put fascism over on this country? Can you conceive of Congress convening and voting unlimited power to a triumvirate of Hoover, LaGuardia and Garner, including the power to scrap the Constitution and to wipe out Congress?

No? You can't imagine such a thing happening? It does sound fantastic, doesn't it—
But that's exactly what happened in France last week!

The members of the French Chamber of Deputies who, last week at Vichy, voted to establish a totalitarian government, were no better and no worse than any group of Republican and Democratic Congressmen. Their top-leaders were men who, until last week, had spouted democracy just as much, maybe even more, than the top leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties here.

Reynaud, who weeks ago was still Premier of "the French democracy" and swearing he would fight to the death against fascism, voted for the fascist regime. Two weeks ago anybody would have conceded that Reynaud was as much a democrat as Roosevelt.

Chautemps, vice-premier under Reynaud, was also at Vichy and also voted for fascism. During the hey-day of the Popular Front, Chautemps was Premier of a Popular Front government of bourgeois liberals and socialists and supported by the Communist party. That makes him at least as much of a democrat as Willkie will ever be.

Petaín, Laval, Weygand and all the other "French republicans" at Vichy could, until last week, paint a picture of themselves as "good democrats." As good, that is, as the democracy of the president of the United States and Congress.

What that democracy is worth, they showed last week at Vichy. They joined in setting up a regime which wipes out the French constitution, replaces bona-fide trade unions with fascist "unions" and, in a word, attempts to turn France into a Nazified country.

As long as it had served their purposes, they had spouted about the sacred cause of democracy. In the name of democracy they had sent the youth of France to their death. But they feared the French workers and peasants more than they feared Hitler. The war laid bare the incompetence of the French politicians and capitalists, and a day of reckoning was coming. Rather than submit to a day of reckoning at the hands of the French workers and peasants, the bosses preferred to surrender to the foreign invader. And now, behind Hitler's protecting bayonets, they are imposing a fascist regime on the French people.

The French armed forces could still have fought on, especially the navy and the armies in the colonies. But the commander-in-chief Weygand warned the Reynaud cabinet that the military reversals were creating a situation like that in Russia in 1917. "It must not come to that,"

he said. In plain English: rather surrender to Hitler than to the French people.

That's what the patriotism of the bosses amounts to! That's what the democracy of boss parties amounts to!

Do you want the same thing to happen here? Then make the same mistake as the French workers and peasants made. In the name of "national unity," submit to the heavy hand of Washington and Wall Street. In the name of "national defense" let the boss politicians bamboozle your unions into ceasing strike action. In the name of the "national emergency" let them lengthen your hours of work. Let them take you or your sons and turn them into unthinking cannon-fodder. All this in the name of "democracy." Then, when it serves their purposes, the bosses and their politicians will put the people of this country into the straitjacket of fascism.

That's what will happen if we, the workers of America, repeat the mistakes of the French workers.

But those mistakes need NOT be made by the American workers. Let us learn from the terrible tragedy of our French brothers.

Let us resolve to build our trade unions into powerful weapons defending all the interests of the working class against the capitalist class and its government.

In the factories and shops, let us give away nothing to the bosses in the name of "national unity." Workers recruited by the government shall be paid wages at the trade union scale.

If we are conscripted into the army, let us go there to learn the military arts with the determination that we shall eventually use our knowledge in the service of the working class.

The world we live in is a military camp. Let the unions themselves, then, organize the military training of their members, and especially train outstanding workers as officers, so that workers can be led by their own officers instead of the reactionary breed from West Point.

In every field in the coming days, let us always keep clear the need of defending the interests of the working class against the capitalist class.

Learn well the lessons of France! Then we can be sure that neither the capitalist enemy at home nor the capitalist enemy abroad can prevail against the might of the American working class!

Workers' Plattsburgs!

We wish to call special attention to the letter of W.F.W., which we print on page 2 of this issue. What he has seen in Connecticut is also seen by workers everywhere in the country: formation of "home guards" and other armed groups under the auspices of the American Legion and other reactionary sponsors. Perhaps the most vivid example of this process is the Plattsburg camp whose personnel is strictly limited to big-shot business and professional men.

Let this process go on for a year or two, and the country will be covered by a network of armed groups under reactionary leadership, ready at a moment's notice to smash workers' meetings and strikes, "radical" headquarters and union halls.

To try and stop this process by pacifist arguments is worse than a waste of time. In a warring world pacifism reveals its utter impotence. For the workers to stand aside with folded arms while the business and professional men become adept in the military arts would leave the workers defenseless against coming attempts to foist a fascist or military dictatorship on the country.

The only realistic response of the workers to the "home guards" and businessmen's Plattsburgs is—for workers' Plattsburgs!

The trade unions should answer the American Legion by forming their own military-training groups. Every worker should be required to undergo military training under the control of the trade unions.

The training of officers is, however, a more difficult task. It requires facilities and equipment which only the government possesses. Therefore the trade unions should insist that, in the same way that the government has made Plattsburg available to the business men, it should make available other Plattsburgs to the unions. Plattsburg is being run by the businessmen. The workers' Plattsburgs should be run by the trade unions.

On July 8 the self-mobilized Plattsburgers held a meeting at which they laid the groundwork for a permanent organization to perpetuate the military training program which they began. A steering committee, consisting of three men from each of the seven companies, has been set up to run their organization.

Labor should do no less. The trade unions should immediately set up a permanent committee, with representatives from each union, to organize the military training of the workers under trade union control.

Military training is here in any event. The real issue is whether the workers shall be trained as puppets for boss-controlled military groups, or whether the workers shall be trained and officered by the trade unions.

The New New Deal



Christian Fronters Boast How They Fixed Treason Trial

By SAM MARCY
Gathered to gloat over the whitewashing of fourteen members of the Christian Front, more than two thousand persons packed Brooklyn Prospect Hall to listen to the most frenzied, anti-Semitic, anti-Labor outpourings ever heard in New York.

The meeting was called by the fascist Christian Front under the guise of a "patriotic" July 4th celebration to honor ex-Magistrate Healy, chief defense counsel for the acquitted fascists, to glorify the acquitted fascists—and to cheer for federal prosecutor Harold M. Kennedy, who tried the case!

The meeting was started by Thomas Ryan, Christian Front leader of Queens. He whipped his boisterous audience into lusty cheers as he introduced, one by one, each of the thirteen defendants who had stood trial in Brooklyn Federal court on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the government and of stealing government ammunition.

Priest A Speaker
John F. Cassidy, national director of the Christian Front, received a standing ovation. He was described by the next speaker, Father Brophy, a Catholic priest, as a Christian martyr.

In describing him as such, Father Brophy was merely following the line laid down by Cassidy himself. His tactic during the whole trial was to camouflage the most virulent attack against the labor movement by dubbing it "defense of Christians who fight Communism." The essence of his technique, copied from Coughlin, is summed up in the cry he shouted at the trial, "Long Live Christ, the King—Down with Communism."

By the use of such slogans, the Frontist hoodlums have escaped unpunished for numerous stabblings of innocent Jews, beating of militant workers, provocations against trade union meetings, and confessed armed preparation for assaults on the labor movement.

A Fixed Jury
Father Brophy is pastor of Precious Blood Church in Long Island City. Author of a booklet full of anti-Semitic filth and venom, he has earned the title of "ideologist" of the Christian Front movement. At the meeting he boasted that Mrs. Helen Titus, foreman of the jury which acquitted the fascists, was his first cousin. That ought to supply no small clue as to how the jury arrived at their verdict.

Macklin Boettger, one of the defendants in the case, boasted that "at least ten members of our jury are going to apply for membership in the Christian Front." That should surprise only those who don't know that the prospective jurors were not asked whether they were affiliated with the Christian Front, or were in sympathy with it, or were followers of Father Coughlin. They were merely questioned as to whether they had any sympathy

or connection with any of the radical or working class organizations! Mere membership in the American Labor Party was sufficient to disqualify anyone from serving on the jury.

Prosecutor Praised Them
The prosecutor, Harold M. Kennedy, had openly praised the Christian Front as based on "good sound American principles." No wonder he received such loud cheers from the fascist audience.

No wonder the lawyer for the fascists apologized for him for having prosecuted the fascists!

Church Connections
Two features of the meeting which indicated official sanction by the Brooklyn Diocese of the Catholic Church were the appearance of Patrick Scanlon, editor of the Brooklyn Tablet, official Diocesan organ of Brooklyn, and the music furnished by the band of St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Church. The Tablet has been the only paper in New York which openly defended the indicted fascists.

The main speaker of the evening was ex-Magistrate Healy, chief defense counsel. He, more than anyone else, wove the lie of the twin menace, "Jews and Communism." It was he who had raved at the trials that he would like to hang a few thousand Communists from the lamp-posts and shoot others.

Fascists Encouraged
The effect of the acquittal has been to encourage the Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy gang to take the offensive against the working class and racial minorities. Quick upon the heels of the acquittal of the fascists came a brazen demand from Father Curran, President of the International Catholic Truth Society, to "investigate" the reasons why the government indicted the fascists. This demand is addressed to Attorney-General Jackson and its aim is to make scapegoats of lower functionaries in the Civil Service, who are of Jewish origin. In some of the churches, last Sunday, there was discussion of Curran's letter demanding an investigation. The Brooklyn Tablet publicized the letter.

Social Justice, Coughlin's mouthpiece, went further than it ever did before in its anti-Semitic incitement.

"Whether the Jews like it or not," it said, "they will bear more than their brunt for some of their co-racials having used the majesty of government to reap revenge upon a group of men who were intent on saving America from Communism, from Jewish domination and from Semitic ideology."

The Christian Front is making much capital out of an editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, reactionary, anti-New Deal, anti-labor daily. This editorial justified the acquittals of the Christian Front purely on the issue of a "blow against Communism."

For the workers, the lesson of the Christian Front trials is clear. No reliance upon the capitalist government to fight Fascism! Only the independent organizations of the working class can successfully combat and conquer Fascism.

CIO ORGANIZERS SEIZED AS "FIFTH COLUMN"

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The CIO has started an organization drive here. Henderson of the Inland Boatmen and Will Watts, organizer for the SW-OC, are leading the drive.

So it wasn't surprising one night that the cops raided Henderson's home, and took him, Watts and some workers meeting with them, to the police station as—fifth columnists!

Afterward the cops said somebody had called the police and warned a fifth column meeting was taking place there. Maybe some boss who doesn't like being organized got the bright idea.

What this organizing drive of the CIO must buck up against may be gathered from the recent arrest here of the well-known photographer, Henwar Rodakiewicz and two young aides, who were on a tour making a movie short of Negro education. They were arrested as fifth columnists and it took the intercession of Republican Congressman Bruce Barton to get them out. Because after their arrest Chief of Police Lee asked one of them the question he always asks of any "Communist" suspect: "Do you think a Negro is as good as a white man?"

"Why they're a Communistic setup," Chief Lee said. "One of them told me a Negro was as good as a white man. They're down here stirring up the Negroes."

The Picnic of Tomorrow
On the Sunlit Shores of CLOVE LAKE
TASTE . . . the Proletarian Meal of Tomorrow
PLAY . . . the games of today
LISTEN & DANCE . . . to the music of yesterdays immortals
SUNDAY, JULY 21
Auspices:
East Side Branch, S.W.P.
Save the date—More details next week

Willkie Belongs To Inner Circle of Wall Street

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

The mutilation (fortunate or unfortunate) in the printshop of my article dealing with the Republican party convention, which appeared in the last issue of the Appeal furnishes me with an excuse to touch on certain aspects of the convention that were not mentioned in last week's article.

One of the most striking features of the nomination of Willkie is the fact that he is not an agent of Wall Street in the same sense that Taft or Dewey or Vandenberg are agents of Wall Street. In Willkie we have one of the Wall Street boys himself. If he doesn't come from the innermost circle he is certainly close to it.

As director of one of the biggest utility holding companies in the country and one of the biggest banks in New York he mingles with the select few who hire and give orders to politicians but rarely participate openly in politics.

Of course he went through the motion of resigning his post in the companies in which he holds office, but only the most gullible will pay any attention to this kind of mumbo-jumbo. Willkie the candidate for President of the United States remains Willkie the head of one of the biggest utility companies. Some smart fellow may find that he forgot to resign from some company or other and try to make a point out of it. To us it makes no difference whatever that he resigns or fails to resign. He is the same Willkie.

An Open Challenge to Labor

It is in the sense that Willkie is not a mere agent but one of the principals that he constitutes an open challenge to the working class. Instead of nominating some one who can try to pose as a "friend of Labor," the Republican party proceeds to throw the gauntlet into the face of Labor by nominating one who has become the champion spokesman against the New Deal and all social reforms.

Not that such reforms as the New Deal brought will remain even if Roosevelt is elected. The war situation and the defense program will result in the loss of a good many if not all of the social gains achieved by Labor during the hey-day of the New Deal. Roosevelt, however, will try to convince the worker-voters that these social gains will remain intact. Not so Willkie. Himself one of the big business men, he knows exactly what they want and will try to get it with the least amount of hokey.

Why They Named Willkie

How is it that the Republican party dared nominate a man so openly a member of the ruling class? The first and most important reason, it seems to me, is that the Republican party cannot and does not hope to obtain the support of Labor. The time has gone by when even Republicans could pose as friends of the workingman. The men behind the Republican party rightly felt that under the circumstances the labor vote was lost to them anyway. No matter whom they nominated the labor vote could not be depended upon.

Moreover Willkie was obviously the best man for the Republicans in so far as getting the vote of the middle class is concerned. There can be no denying the fact that Willkie is a far more colorful and able person than Taft or Dewey or Hoover. Granting that the newspapers were consciously determined to give him a build-up it must nevertheless be recognized that the man has enough in him to furnish the basis of such a build-up.

It must be recognized that the press has succeeded in creating quite a following for Willkie from middle-class layers of the population. Willkie's rise from a middle-class environment to the head of a huge utility company and his nomination for the presidency still has an appeal to a great many amongst the middle-class elements.

That his nomination was supported not only by his own fellow-capitalists but also by the lower ranks of the middle-class Republican voters was made clear to the old wheelhorses of the Republican party who looked askance upon a newcomer and wanted one of their own number to get the nomination. It is this overwhelming support which made the old-line politicians capitulate.

Big Business is fortunate in having him as a candidate for other reasons, too. What is most important is that Willkie's attitude on questions of foreign policy coincides with that of Roosevelt. With his nomination, the "isolationist" plank in the Republican platform becomes meaningless. The aggressive foreign policy of Roosevelt, a policy which the captains of banking and industry support wholeheartedly, will be carried on by Willkie should he be elected.

In fact if Roosevelt should decide to refrain from running for a third term we shall be safe in attributing his decision partly to the nomination of Willkie. For now he can rest assured that his foreign policy will be in safe hands, even if the Republicans win the election.

For the class-conscious workers the danger is not so much from the Republicans with Willkie as from the Democrats with Roosevelt or some other demagogue. The working masses will readily recognize what Willkie means for them: longer hours, lower wages, no relief, loss of every gain they have made in the last seven years. But it will be difficult for the conscious workers to convince the masses that essentially the Democratic party with Roosevelt will mean the same as the Republican party with Willkie.

KLAN PRAISES ROOSEVELT

The June issue of The Fiery Cross, official publication of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, praises Roosevelt, as follows:

"Never before in the history of America have so many millions of citizens united behind the program of the Ku Klux Klan as in the past few weeks. For twenty years the Klan has spoken out day after day and year after year against alien influences boring from within in the United States.

"Today millions of Americans are acknowledging for the first time that the things the Klan has long warned against now spell imminent danger to this country if left unchecked. . . . It must be a source of great satisfaction to Klanspeople everywhere that the President of the United States has come out boldly in defense of the Klan program. He has joined the Klan in sounding a warning against 'alien influences.' The words of the President are 'foreign poison' which is almost the exact phrase and means the identical thing the Klan has warned the American people for years to beware of."