

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Are Our French Comrades Facing An "Espionage" Trial?

Last week we gave several instances of the wave of persecution unleashed against the anti-war forces in France and its colonies. As a result of the rebellion among the soldiers of the Maginot Line against the indefinite retention of the reservists, which we reported in this column, the persecutions have multiplied. In addition to numerous local headquarters, the central offices of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party in Paris have since been raided twice. Similar raids have been made on anarchist and syndicalist centers throughout the country. But more startling than all these incidents is the case of our comrades Steve and Rigal, young militants of the French section of the Fourth International.

Steve and Rigal have been held incommunicado since their arrest several weeks ago. They were arrested for anti-militarist articles appearing in our press and all efforts to see them up to the present have been unsuccessful. In the name of the coming war for "democracy", the most elementary democratic rights are thus being abrogated even before the outbreak of hostilities. Outrageous as this procedure is, the rumors being spread about the case are even more alarming. As in the case of the rebels in the colonies, according to certain sources, the government is going to try the revolutionary anti-militarists under charge of "conspiring with foreign powers."

If the frenzied lynch-agitation of the Stalinist Humanite and its parliamentary expert on military affairs, Gitton, are any indication, a frame-up espionage trial against Rigal and Steve is being cooked up behind the scenes. Already the recruiting sergeants for imperialist war in the ranks of the French labor movement are every day hatching amalgams in their press between the P.S.F. (Colonel La-Rocque's Fascist French Social Party) and the "Pivertists-Trotskyists" in preparation for frame-ups.

Of course, our French comrades are not being intimidated by this campaign. They are carrying on their anti-militarist work with even greater vigor than before. But the whole revolutionary movement of the world must stand ready to aid them against the frame-ups and persecutions which French "democracy" and its Stalinist and reformist agents are hurling at them.

Revolutionary Socialists of Ceylon Mark Important Advances

Among the signs of revolt against British war preparations in the colonies, we recently cited the struggle of the Socialist Party of Ceylon. As we pointed out at the time, this party has consistently opposed "collective security" and at its recent national conference

adopted a resolution on war which affirmed the revolutionary class struggle as the only means of fighting against war.

That the Ceylon masses have responded to this policy is attested to by the fact that the party has since elected two members to the State Council and combined its parliamentary activity with powerful street demonstrations in Colombo and other towns. The Ceylon Socialist Party celebrated May Day by converting its weekly paper into a daily. Our heartfelt congratulations and warmest greetings of solidarity to the revolutionary socialists of Ceylon!

Unspeakable Stalinist Attacks Against Revolutionary

The Stalinists in France are leaving no stone unturned to make life as miserable as possible for the revolutionary Spanish refugees who have found a precarious and temporary asylum in that country. Because of the revelations of these refugees, which exposed the counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin in Spain, the G.P.U. agents are redoubling their efforts to silence these opponents by even more despicable methods than they have employed hitherto.

These assassins of Erwin Wolf, Nin and Moulin now have the unmitigated nerve to accuse Spanish anti-Stalinists of plotting the assassination of a Stalinist deputy, Andre Marty! Nor do they confine the accusation to their press. They have taken it directly to Albert Sarraut, Minister of the Interior, whom they have repeatedly been denied, teachers have been summarily discharged or disciplined for their views, violence by the militarized police has resulted in deaths and in injuries running into the hundreds, and courts of law have been used as instruments to support American colonial rule.

The President's letter to Winship, as printed in the New York Herald-Tribune of June 7, follows in full:

"My Dear Governor Winship: I have received your resignation of June 3, 1939, which I accept, knowing of your desire to be relieved as soon as convenient. As I have already indicated to you, Admiral Leahy will be able to assume the governorship on Sept. 1 of this year, subject, of course, to his confirmation by the Senate. Therefore, the arrangement of your time as outlined in your letter will fit in satisfactorily. I am sure that you already know of my high regard for you personally and officially, but I can not refrain at this time from expressing my appreciation of your long and distinguished career in the service of your government. This applies not only to your work in Puerto Rico but to other special and difficult assignments that you have had previously, and which so remarkably equipped you for the Governorship of Puerto Rico. You took office there at a most difficult moment in the history of the island; you inherited problems of unique and unprecedented gravity. I am proud of the way in which you carried through this most arduous task in the interest of the people of Puerto Rico. "May I thank you for your loyal support during the years we have known each other and express my best wishes for the future. Very sincerely,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

An excellent account of the civil war in Spain, submitting its experiences to the searchlight of Marxist analysis, has just been published by our French comrades in a special issue of their theoretical review, *Quatrieme Internationale*. The pamphlet is entitled *L'Espagne Libre: Comment le Front Populaire a ouvert les portes a Franco* (Spain surrendered: How the People's Front Opened the Gates to Franco). The author is M. Casanova, one of the leaders of the Spanish section of the Fourth International, whose miraculous escape from Spain was related in the *Appeal* last March. Pioneer Publishers is planning to publish it in English soon. Its appearance is another important blow directed against Stalinism and will be invaluable in educating the cadres of the new revolutionary international.

Germany and the Germans were mad at the Irish and so it went. The Catholic workers were told that the Protestant workers were to blame for bad conditions, and they would fight each other. One day the workers got wise to this racket and they organized regardless of nationality and religion and then the boss had to figure out a new way to keep the workers fighting among themselves. And when workers fight workers the boss wins every time. He can't lose when the workers are divided. When one worker kicks the fellow next to him in the shop he doesn't realize that the fellow on the other side will soon kick him.

It works the other way around when workers cooperate. If a fellow who is better paid and has better conditions helps out the fellow who is not so well off or who is not so skilled, then both are helped. If the average wage level can be raised to the point where all the guys in the shop are making a decent living then the higher paid worker is just that much better off. And on the other hand when there is a large number of underpaid and overworked men on the job the fellow who is a little better off is in constant danger of being cut or fired. And when the skilled and unskilled, the better paid and the underpaid, stick together the boss is hogtied to maintain higher pay and good conditions. It works like that every time.

The Old Army Game
I once worked for a boss who took me aside after the second day on the job and said, "Look here, you are a nice American fellow and a gentle and you will go a long way in this business if you just keep away from all the Wops and Jews and Swedes and stick to me." I didn't answer him but he must have figured I fell for his lie because he went on to say how all the others were no good, etc.

The very next day I happened to overhear him telling another new man on the job the very same thing only this time he was praising the Swedes. He said, "Look here, you are a nice smart boy and if you mind your own business and keep away from the Irish and Jews and the Wops and you stick along with me you will be all set." And after all the guys in the shop got together we found out he had tried to pull the same thing on every one. To one he would praise the Italians and to another he would knock the Germans or the Jews or the Swedes. But we got wise to this little trick when we found that each guy in the shop was getting a different wage and had been promised a promotion if he would keep his ears open and stool on the others. We fixed that boss, believe me.

You may think you are saving your little job or are fixing things nicely for yourself if you reach down and take a swing at the guy below or alongside but what you are doing is nothing more or less than greasing the skids for your own exit.

When things get tough it is time not to fight with your fellow workers but to gang up on the boss with a few immediate demands and a bunch of brand new picket signs all ready in case. That is the way to ease up the tension on the job and it works every time. If you don't believe me, try it out sometime. You'll be surprised.

Don't Lead with Your Chin
There is a moral to this story. Timothy learned it very well that day. Mr. Murphy learned it especially well. And everyone else should consider it carefully. If everyone learned it there would be much less trouble in the world today.

Years ago in Pennsylvania the bosses used to divide up the various nationalities and religions so that whenever they decided to cut the pay they could blame it all on some other group of workers. The Poles were sore at the

Admits Brutal Puerto Rico Rule

F.D.R. Reveals U. S. Role—Cannon Second's Pineiro's Call for Independence

By DIEGO MONTANEZ

In a public letter to General Blanton Winship, his infamous Governor of Puerto Rico, President Roosevelt completely gave away the contentions of the Stalinists and their Congressional pet, Vito Marcantonio, that the President is not responsible for the brutal rule of Winship. The people of Puerto Rico will long remember the cold-blooded massacre of unarmed paraders, men, women and children, on Palm Sunday, 1937, in the city of Ponce at the direct instigation of Winship, whom Roosevelt appointed and kept in office for five long years.

The American Civil Liberties Union, mild and respectable though it is, uses unusually strong language in characterizing the administration of this "loyal supporter" of F.D.R.: "Under his administration freedom of speech and assembly have repeatedly been denied, teachers have been summarily discharged or disciplined for their views, violence by the militarized police has resulted in deaths and in injuries running into the hundreds, and courts of law have been used as instruments to support American colonial rule."

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Admiral Replaces General
This letter serves as added proof of the statements made both by the Socialist Workers Party and the Puerto Rican Nationalists that Winship was by no means the "main enemy" of the Puerto Rican people, but merely a tool of the Wall Street Government headed by Roosevelt. Both the

S.W.P. and the Nationalists are equally opposed to the appointment of the new Governor, Admiral William D. Leahy. The gist of the opinion of the Nationalist Party was contained in the statement of Lorenzo Pineiro Rivera, their U. S. Secretary-General, that: "The Puerto Rican people know that their freedom from Wall Street oppression cannot be attained by being shifted from military to naval control or by the removal of any individual or group of individuals, but only by smashing completely the grip of Yankee imperialism."

James P. Cannon, national secretary of the S.W.P., commenting upon Pineiro's statement, said: "I am in complete agreement with Pineiro's statement. The Socialist Workers Party, United States section of the Fourth International, and the Partido Comunista Independiente, our brother party in Puerto Rico, stand for the immediate and unconditional independence of Puerto Rico and all other countries that are under the yoke of imperialism. The working people of the United States have every reason to sympathize with the struggle of the Puerto Rican masses against the common enemy: the Wall Street-White House gang of oppressors."

Brooklyn Businessman Gives S.W.P. Lesson In "Americanism"

(Continued from Page 1)
Sitting on the corner spot the meeting and the meeting was ordered closed for 15 minutes. The meeting was successfully concluded in spite of the policeman's interference. A few days later Raphael's paper, the Boro Park Herald devoted its entire front page to the street corner meeting. After denouncing the "Trotskyites, the real Bolsheviks, receiving their orders from foreign agitators", and invectives about the Party for flying the flag from the left instead of the right side of the speaker's platform, the editor made the lying statement that the crowd tried to stop the meeting by surging forward to tear the speaker from the platform. Although this act did not occur, it is significant that Raphael cheers hoodlum actions.

Approves Thugery
"The crowd cheered when they started to tear down the platform", he wrote. "This is the way real Americans of Boro Park should still voice their disapproval of anti-American rallies."

Raphael's super-patriots on the Chamber of Commerce of Boro Park haven't the sense to realize that the hoodlum actions that they are encouraging are setting in motion the forces of fascism. The Chamber of Commerce members are, for the most part, Jewish and when the fascist axe falls they will not spare these "Americans" at the head of the Chamber, just as the fascists did not spare Jewish "patriots" in Germany.

Up till now, for explainable reasons, we have been a party primarily of literary propagandists and critics. On the organization side we have been woefully weak, and we have made only a few feeble experiments with mass organization. This lop-sidedness, which had its justification in our days of preparation, must be corrected now by a drastic shift in emphasis. Propaganda, which Plechanof defined as the dissemination of many ideas to a few people, must be counter-balanced by a ten-fold increase in agitation work, which he defined as the spreading of a few ideas to many people. That is the true meaning of our transition program. To accomplish this in a few months' time—that is all we can allow for the change—we need a concrete program of expansion as follows:

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Camp. Make reservations, please! You may also pitch your tent at Seven Oaks. We equip it and you can have use of Camp Kitchen. \$20 for the summer. Phone: Eaten-town 515.

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Before the Party Convention

Blast a Way Forward With a Program of Party Expansion

By JAMES P. CANNON

The question of war, which leads directly to the question of revolution, confronts every workers' political organization with its supreme test. It is as clear as day and nobody any longer denies that capitalism, which has overstayed its time as a social and economic system, is about to inflict upon humanity another world-wide military explosion.

It is self-evident that America, the greatest and most rapacious imperialist power, will be directly involved in the war, as it is already involved in the diplomatic maneuvers which precede and prepare it. Irreconcilable opposition to the war is the pre-requisite for the development of a revolutionary struggle to end the war with a workers' victory. As the only party in the United States whose opposition to war is taken seriously either by itself or others, we have to consider now the practical ways and means to make our opposition effective and emerge from the revolutionary crisis, which will inevitably ensue from the war, at the head of the revolting masses. This question will of necessity dominate our forthcoming anti-war convention from beginning to end.

But what does it mean to begin now to prepare an effective opposition to the war? Obviously it cannot be done by a passive waiting for war to break out. On the contrary it means to gear up all our work to a speed and intensity which breaks completely with the snail-pace movement of "normal" and peaceful times. That is the gist of our problem. Unless we solve it we are lost. The trouble with us, the mortal danger that confronts us, is that our revolutionary anti-war program may remain on paper. We have repeated again and again that the fight against war is not a special task to be accomplished by some sort of sleight-of-hand. If war is only the continuation of politics by other means, then the revolutionary struggle against war is the multiplied extension and intensification of revolutionary agitation and organization. We must prepare for war by building a stronger party and reshaping it for war conditions. And we must make haste and perform miracles of energy in the brief time left to us.

Old Methods Outmoded

The social crisis of capitalism is unfolding at such hurricane speed, with a world war on the order of the day, that the slow, modest growth of past times, the patient enrollment and education of new recruits, one by one—the only thing possible in our preparatory years—is fatally inadequate now. We must drive ahead; everything must be done in a hurry and on a many times multiplied scale. Fortunately, we are ready for such a radical transformation of the nature of our work and activity. In cooperation with our co-workers of the Fourth International we have worked out the program. We have educated cadres who constitute the skeleton of a national organization. We are ready, prepared by the past, to drive forward and become a proletarian power if we have the will to do so.

This we can do without undue strain. In our ranks we have great reservoirs of untapped energy. We are not tired; nobody in our organization has hurt himself very much yet. True, our militants have done much more than others, and have made sacrifices which astounded the other parties of half-and-half politics and half-and-half people. But we are not like the others; we aim to conquer the world. We need to put the party now on a war footing and move ahead by a forced march. We need to break with the habits of conservative routine and blast our way out of isolation by a bold and ambitious program of expansion.

"Moral Rearmament"

Our anti-war convention must give the signal for a "moral rearmament" of our own, in the sense of transforming our more or less placid, easy-going propaganda circle into an army on the march; an army whose disciplined militants are determined to conquer and who shrink back from no endeavor and no sacrifice. We must aspire to build such a party as Lenin built, and to adapt to the conditions of America his concept of professional revolutionists who live and work all the time for the party and with the party. The convention, in calling for such a transformation, should implement it by setting concrete tasks which, by their very nature, will operate to hasten the process.

Up till now, for explainable reasons, we have been a party primarily of literary propagandists and critics. On the organization side we have been woefully weak, and we have made only a few feeble experiments with mass organization. This lop-sidedness, which had its justification in our days of preparation, must be corrected now by a drastic shift in emphasis. Propaganda, which Plechanof defined as the dissemination of many ideas to a few people, must be counter-balanced by a ten-fold increase in agitation work, which he defined as the spreading of a few ideas to many people. That is the true meaning of our transition program. To accomplish this in a few months' time—that is all we can allow for the change—we need a concrete program of expansion as follows:

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more qualified comrades to work at full time for the party. One each should specialize in and direct Trade Union, unemployed, and Negro work on a national scale. The others should be assigned to work in the field—at least one full-time organizer in every important district or center where we have party organizations and a few men roaming the field to organize new branches and develop new activities.

3. Agitation: Regular speaking tours by party leaders at intervals of not more than two months.

4. Finances: Raise a special fund of \$10,000 to finance the foregoing undertakings.

This program, so modest in comparison with the magnitude of our task and the limited time at our disposal is, of course, only a beginning. But once it is fairly in operation it will produce the new means and possibilities for further expansion. It should be realized within a period of three or four months after the convention.

There is no doubt whatever that we can realize the program in full without any real strain on the resources and energies of our members and sympathizers. To be sure, any other party of comparative size would be flabbergasted by half these demands. But again—we are not like the others. We set ourselves tasks which are in some degree commensurate with our great aims and the quality of our militants. The demands of this expansion program will appear as child's play compared to the real tasks and sacrifices which are yet to come, and for which the minor efforts and sacrifices of this expansion program will help to prepare us.

Our convention, I venture to say, will not stutter over the sacrifices this program entails; more likely it will ask proof of its practical feasibility. From this standpoint I will discuss the question here briefly.

Isn't it foolhardy to undertake a three-a-week publication when the two-a-week is admittedly in serious financial difficulties which, only a few weeks ago, threatened its suspension? No, it is not foolhardy, but on the contrary is entirely feasible. We need the paper three times a week in order to get ready for the *Daily* which will be on the agenda tomorrow.

The twice-a-week *Appeal* is already four months old. It is an inestimable weapon, as all recognize. We strike now twice as hard and twice as often and we distribute approximately twice as many papers as before. The only trouble is a very small one. Naturally, we operate on a close margin. Some of the branches became careless in the payment of their bundle order accounts. Quite a few have been too sluggish in getting subscriptions. Remedy these defects—and the convention, by its authority, undoubtedly can and will remedy them—put a stop to horse-play about the payments for bundle orders, and increase the subscription list by only 1,000 by the mandatory assignment of quotas, and the twice-a-week *Appeal* will be financially stabilized. The decks cleared for the next necessary step—the three-a-week *Appeal*.

Half for Organization Work

We will, of course, require a reserve fund to cover the deficit and help the paper over the first period. One-half of the \$10,000 fund should be allocated to this purpose. The other half should be spent exclusively on organization work as outlined above.

Ten thousand dollars is quite a sum of money for a small organization of poor people to raise at one time. But the rank and file of our organization have shown in the past that they are capable of responding with enthusiasm and sacrifice every time real needs and serious tasks are presented to them in a rational fashion. The 100% achievement of the quotas for the twice-a-week *Appeal* and the simultaneous collection of the international fund should be eye-openers to those who doubt that our militants are ready to take a step forward and to pay for it, if necessary, with their own skin.

The whole party is dissatisfied, and properly so, with the way our organization work lags behind the literary propaganda. Part of the difficulty can be attributed to individual delinquencies which may or may not be corrected in the coming months. But a convention discussion on this level and a chorus of recrimination cannot yield anything very valuable. That would be simply nibbling at the problem, anyway. We need not merely an adjustment here and there—although that will be useful—but a drastic, wholesale reconstruction of our conceptions and methods of organization. We must have done with amateurism and the lackadaisical organizing methods of a propaganda sect that does not contemplate big actions. We need a bigger staff, not only in the center but also, and especially, in the field.

We have the qualified people to make up such a staff, young militants who have received their political education in our incomparable school, who balk at no sacrifice and are ready for any assignment. At the same time the party has reached the point where it needs and must have their undivided labors. The three-a-week *Appeal* and the augmented staff of organizers can soon lift the party higher and prepare it better for bigger things to come.

The convention will mark a real step forward if it adopts a program of expansion along these lines.

showed. You may bring your friends along.