

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**  
 Vol. III, No. 45 June 27, 1939  
 Published twice a week by the  
 SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.  
 at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
 Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.

Brooks and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$1.00 for one year.

Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN  
 Associate Editors: HAROLD ROBERTS, FELIX MORROW  
 Staff Members: EMANUEL GARRETT, JOSEPH HANSEN  
 Business Manager: S. STANLEY

- 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. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
  6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
  7. All war funds to the unemployed.
  8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
  9. No secret diplomacy.
  10. An Independent Labor Party.
  11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilantes and Fascist attacks.

### Party Convention

The significance of the coming convention of the Socialist Workers Party as the only political organization that is conducting a consistent and systematic drive against the second World War to divide up the globe again among the imperialist bandits, has been stressed in these pages on previous occasions.

The present issue of the Appeal, containing a special supplement devoted to a membership discussion on party problems, is itself a commentary on another, and perhaps not less important aspect of the convention and of our party itself.

No political party of labor will ever lead in the establishment of a workers' democracy if it does not establish party democracy in its own ranks.

Party democracy is one of the jealously-maintained traditions and practices of the Socialist Workers Party. If we have not been, or pretended to be, without a single flaw in this respect, we have been ever on the alert to check promptly and to eliminate any abuses. Without party democracy, we have learned from the bitter experiences of the international labor movement, a living, fruitful working class movement is impossible.

Unbreakable unity in action—full freedom of discussion inside the party; democratic discussion and decision of all policies—united execution of those policies once adopted. These axioms guide the life of the Socialist Workers Party.

The present pre-convention discussion conducted inside the party and in the pages of the Socialist Appeal give a picture of a democratic regime which cannot be found elsewhere. Readers have but to examine the contents of the articles printed to understand the organizational principles and practices of our movement.

What a contrast to the Socialist party of Norman Thomas and Daniel Hoan! Their way of dealing with members who differed with the party leadership was—speed, bureaucratic expulsion of scores of dissidents.

What an even clearer contrast to the Stalinist party! For proposing a discussion during a pre-convention period, we were expelled for "Trotskyism." Nowadays, expulsion is the least of the punishments meted out by the party hierarchy to anybody guilty of entertaining "heretical" thoughts.

Like the Fourth International as a whole, the S.W.P., its American section, stands for the real victory of workers' democracy. The practice of party democracy in its ranks is a guarantee of that future.

### Chinese Loot

The jingo press, in which the Daily Worker is of course included, is sweating bullets in an effort to work up a pro-war spirit among the American masses in connection with the Japanese aggressions in Tientsin and elsewhere in China.

Once more "our interests" are at stake, "our honor" involved. It's high time, our foaming patriots clamor, we sent a few (hundred thousand) "boys" over the Pacific to clean up the Japanese.

They are all liars—literally MURDEROUS liars. Our attitude towards the war of Japan against the Chinese people needs no elaborate amplifica-

tion. Despite the dictatorial regime of Chiang Kai-shek and his labor-hating clique; we stand unconditionally on the side of China against imperialist Japan, just as we stand unconditionally on the side of any colonial or semi-colonial country at grips with its imperialist exploiters.

But we do not distinguish by a hair's breadth the imperialist gangsters of Japan from their ilk in Britain or the United States. The latter are interested in "freeing" China from Japanese invasion so that they may have it for their own exclusive exploitation.

And in that respect, Japan differs from her imperialist rivals only in that she is an amateur, a newcomer in comparison. Most of the sweat and blood of the Chinese masses was coined into fabulous profits long ago by England and America. Even now, in their conflicts with Japan, they are cold-bloodedly defending their "right" to extraterritoriality, their right to special imperialist privileges in China, their right to squeeze profit out of the Chinese people.

Any war, any military or economic action which the capitalist government of the United States takes against Japan (or any other of its imperialist rivals) will be an imperialist war, having nothing at all in common with the defense of China from aggression or with the struggle for democracy.

Roosevelt, Hull and Co. are just trying to drag the American masses into a profit-mad war against Japan in the interest of Big Business and its lust for a greater share of the loot which is China.

### Stalin as Scientist

Stalin, the Sun God, the Father of the Peoples, the Builder of Noah's Ark and the Pyramids, is about to deliver another Stroke of Genius.

The press reports that he's going to "repeal" the Mendelian law, now stigmatized in Moscow as "formal genetics."

We hail this bold and long overdue step in the advancement of science. The man who repealed the world revolution should not be fazed by the theories and law of Mendel. Lucky for Mendel, too, that he's no longer alive, otherwise he'd get what's coming to him.

But if we may suggest it, Stalin shouldn't stop there. A more dangerous and pernicious law ought to be repealed too, before it starts affecting Stalin's powerful position.

We refer to Newton's law of gravity. If Stalin is as slick a scientist as he has already proved himself to be, he ought to wipe out that law too, before he falls to earth like Newton's apple. It would only be giving Newton what he deserves.

### Another Blow

The announcement of the National Labor Relations Board that it has revised its rules to permit employers to petition the board for an election to determine which of two or more rival labor organizations should be certified for collective bargaining is a stiff blow against labor.

The new provision comes at the request of the employers and their agents and is designed for no other purpose but to interfere with labor's right to organize, especially where a plant is not yet organized and a union has not had time to present to the unorganized employees the full benefits that derive from belonging to a union.

The crimes of the employers, who stop at nothing in their drive against unionism, have long been notorious. In their bitter fight against labor, the employers used rifles, tear gas, machine guns, thugs, intimidation, coercion, spies, and even deliberate murder. It was against these practices of the employers that labor unions demanded their legitimate right to organize.

The National Labor Relations Board was set up a few years ago. Its rules do not forbid the employer from appealing if in his estimation the unions engage in "unfair practices". It carried no criminal penalties, imposed no fines.

All it did was declare that the employers may not INTERFERE with the rights of workers to organize.

The new rule of the Board lets down the bars for every crime against labor conceivable in the grasping and sordid imagination of the most brutal thug employer.

With all the force of a steam-hammer the new rule drives home the truth that when labor relaxes its vigilance and begins to trust capitalist courts, capitalist lawmakers, and capitalist political parties it can expect nothing but a stab in the back.

This fresh attack from the reactionary forces of the bosses, who control the New Deal, must be answered blow for blow by labor.

Organize Workers Defense Guards to protect union men from the violence of the employers!

Organize an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY which will put into power for the first time a government of the workers and farmers that will represent their interests, and forever end the rule of the handful of stockholders who govern through a puppet Congress and a Charley McCarthy President!

There is no other way to safeguard the rights of labor!

# Stopping the Cancer of Fascism - By C.P.'s Methods, or By Ours?

Workers Can Choose the Daily Worker's Line of Persuading All "Decent Americans" to Pass Resolutions, Or the Line the S.W.P. Recommends—Class Struggle Action

By HAL DEAPER

In its issue of June 14, the Daily Worker issues a call for "action" against the Coughlinites. Citing the shocking case of the Jewish Baltimore school-boy who was attacked by 40 knife-wielding Coughlin-inspired school-mates, it runs a front-page editorial under the head, "Stop the Cancer Before It Spreads!"

The workers, who echo the cry, "Stop Coughlin now!", are thereby given a full opportunity to examine the line which the Communist Party recommends for the struggle against American fascism. For the Daily Worker editorial (1) cites what it considers the significant steps taken recently to stop Coughlin, and (2) lists in categorical, unambiguous fashion the additional measures that would be required to finish off this menace.

What, in the eyes of the Daily Worker, has been done to block the spread of Coughlinism? Here is the paragraph: "Decent America recognizes the danger. There has just been formed the Catholic Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. The Sons of Italy have condemned race bigotry. The General Synod of the Reformed Church of America has condemned anti-Semitism. Others are moving to action."

**A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION**

Now every worker must welcome any sincere expression of hatred and opposition to the poisonous spread of anti-Semitism. He is entitled, however, to raise the question: Are these people "moving to action", or are they passing resolutions as a substitute for action?

The group of Catholics featured by the Daily Worker, for example, gives the following prospectus in its statement: "In order to oppose the dangerous aberration of anti-Semitism in the fullness of Christian charity, we are forming this Committee of Catholics to Fight Anti-Semitism. . . Our approach will be positive and dignified, and there will be no personal attacks against any one." Anti-Semitism will be fought by explaining the Catholic teachings on racial bigotry; so far the Committee's fight has consisted of quoting various Popes. This is action! We must not attack any one—that is, we must not attack Father Coughlin—says the Committee, for after all, anti-Semitism is only an aberration, and can be wiped out by properly explain-

ing the meaning of Christian charity.

More action! The Reformed Church passes a resolution: "Even America is not free from the blight of anti-Jewish prejudice. Both Jew and Gentile are responsible for existing conditions and both must cooperate for their betterment. Christians must rebuke all anti-Semitism." (Our emphasis.) That's all. What this organization means by "action" may be gathered from its simultaneous handling of the question of conscientious objection; it adopted a report upholding the admissibility of religious objection to participation in war but rejected a sentence immediately following promising to "support and protect him and his rights in the event of his taking such a stand."

The Sons of Italy condemn "race bigotry". It is perhaps enough to point out that this organization was a vehement propagandist in America for the justice of Mussolini's war on Ethiopia and went so far as to vote a revenge boycott on British goods at that time.

**WHICH LINE WILL STOP COUGHLIN?**

It is this spurious "struggle" against anti-Semitism that the Communist Party puts before the workers as good coin! Now compare the C.P.'s attitude toward real action.

50,000 workers of New York City staged a counter-demonstration outside the meeting of the Nazi Bund, Coughlin's allies, in Madison Square Garden. At this late date, Father Earl Browder finds that he has to return to this subject in his latest pamphlet on "The 1940 Elections", answering an obscure Congressman who credited the C.P. with the action: "There is no doubt that the Nazis were very happy about their Trotskyite disorders outside their meeting, and there is little doubt that the whole thing was, by mutual agreement, a mere division of labor." No doubt, mark you, just as the "disorders" in Harlem County are a mere division of labor between John L. Lewis and the mine owners to embarrass the government. But the C.P., continues Browder proudly, "called upon the workers to boycott the meeting, to stay entirely away from it, once the authorities had authorized it and given it police protection."

Two lines! The line of the workers who moved to action against the Nazi Bund—or the Communist Party's line of hav-

ing all "decent Americans" pass resolutions: which will stop Coughlin now?

The Daily Worker editorial calls for some more action: "The Department of Justice of the U.S. must seize the criminal gully of anti-Semitism incitement. The Federal laws against anti-democratic incitement, the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, make such action possible and necessary."

Mr. Browder! Some questions from a worker!

—O.K., so you ask the G-men to jug Coughlin. But Coughlin's been going on for some time and Murphy hasn't gotten around to him. While you're writing editorials, "the cancer spreads". What should we do NOW?

—Why don't you ask your friend LaGuardia to use his police to "seize" the Coughlinites who are shouting anti-Semitic and fascist slogans on the streets of New York? How about some mass protest against the protection his police are giving the anti-Semitic scum?

—Your editorial doesn't mention a word about what the working class should do. We're not only decent Americans but decent trade unionists. How can our trade unions get into the fight to smash Coughlin—after we've finished passing a resolution and writing letters to Washington?

**WORKERS, NOT COPS, WILL BEAT FASCISTS**

—Do you mean we ought to depend 100% on the Department of Justice to take care of the Coughlinites for us? In the unions we take care of scabs ourselves. When the government steps in, it's usually to protect the scabs. Who's the National Guard shooting at in Harlem County?

—Will we have to wait as long for Roosevelt to act against the anti-Semites as we've waited for him to act against the negro-lynchers?

—If the trade unions formed Workers Defense Guards to "educate" Coughlin's anti-Semitic riff-raff the way we do other scabs, would that be "anti-democratic incitement" too?

Yes, Mr. Browder—  
**IT'S THE TRADE UNIONS THAT CAN SMASH COUGHLIN NOW!**  
**IT'S THE WORKERS THAT CAN SMASH THE COUGHLINITE MENACE WITH WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS!**  
 Go ahead and pass a resolution to that effect.

# Kremlin Kultur--Annotations to A Clipping From a Newspaper

(Continued from Page 5)

### Literature

"The Soviet Union is purging its writers. The tallest reputations to fall so far have been those of V. Kirshon and A. Afinogenov, the two best-known playwrights in the Soviet Union. . . They are only two of many. The current purge . . . has turned up a nest of 'enemies of the people' in nearly every newspaper, magazine, and publishing house. . . Until the new 'party line' becomes clear, it would be a foolhardy Soviet writer who would advance a new idea. One of them, asked recently why he had written so little recently, quoted an old Jewish proverb: 'While a pogrom is going on, don't rush out on the street.'"—N. Y. Herald-Tribune, May 11, 1937.

### Music

"Dimitri Shostakovich officially went into eclipse today as the Soviet Union's favorite living composer. . . Pravda branded his music as 'unSoviet, unwholesome, cheap, eccentric, tuneless and Leftist' and pleaded for music with a tune to it that one could whistle on the way home. . . His ballet, Limpid Stream, was removed from the repertory of the Bolshoi Theatre. His opera, Lady Macbeth of Minsk, was cancelled on the eve of its opening in a theatre that had been rehearsing it for months."—N. Y. Times, Feb. 14, 1936.

"Joseph Stalin . . . yesterday attended the revised version of Glinka's nineteenth century patriotic opera, Susanna. . . The original version, entitled, A Life for the Czar, glorified Czarism. . . The revised version retains the famous finale music but changes the words from 'Glory, glory to the Czar!' to 'Glory, glory to the fatherland!'. . . Mr. Stalin repeatedly applauded his approval."—N. Y. Times, April 4, 1939.

### Philosophy

"Professor Shatkin, who said in a lecture at the Moscow Power Institute that Aristotle had laid down the fundamental principles of Menshevism and that Plato was the father of fascism, has been summarily removed. . . This action was followed by a full faculty meeting at which both the Communist Party and the Young Communist organization were represented, as well as the administration of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. . ."—N. Y. Times, Oct. 22, 1938.

### Theatre

"Vsevolod E. Meyerhold, head of the famous theatre bearing his name and long revered by Leftist dramatic groups abroad as a prophet of the revolutionary theatre, has received a terrific drubbing from Platon Kerzhentseff, chairman of the arts committee of the Council of People's Commissars. . . Meyerhold's first play in 1920, after he organized his new theatre, Mr. Kerzhentseff says, had a Menshevist traitor for a hero and the second was dedicated to Leon Trotsky."—N. Y. Times, Dec. 18, 1937.

"The long-expected axe fell today on V. E. Meyerhold. . . The arts committee of the Council of People's Commissars ordered his theatre dissolved and members of his acting company transferred to other theatres. . . The arts committee charged . . . the Meyerhold Theatre throughout its existence was unable to free itself from the utterly bourgeois, formalistic positions alien to Soviet art, had distorted the classics for the sake of Leftist tricks, and formalistic stunts, and had failed in the production of Soviet plays, such few as it had produced being saturated with ambiguity, even downright and anti-Soviet sneers."—N. Y. Times, Jan. 8, 1938.

### Et Cetera: Anthropology, Archaeology, Buddhist Lore, Ethnography and Soil Culture

"The directorate of the All-Union Academy of Science has recommended the immediate expulsion in disgrace of Nikolai Bukharin. . . The grounds given were that Bukharin presided over the most dangerous counter-revolutionary nest within the academy. According to the report of the permanent secretary, N. P. Gorbunov, who presented the expulsion resolution, many departments of the academy were riddled with counter-revolutionary tendencies which disrupted the work of the scientific institutions. . . Mr. Gorbunov's report specifically condemned the Pulkovo Observatory . . . the Soil Institute, Literature Institute, Law Institute, the Institute of Buddhist Lore, which was accused of publishing an organ of the Buddhist lamaist religion, and the Institutes of Archaeology, Anthropology and Ethnography. . . He attacked Germany for expelling her best scientists and falsifying science. . ."—N. Y. Times, May 21, 1937.

# IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

Of the type of "open letter" calculated to put its recipient on the spot, few we know of are as profoundly important as the one Norman Thomas addressed last week to Father Coughlin.

### Polite . . . But Firm

Its loftiness of purpose is matched only by the spirit of tolerance animating it. It is polite, yet firm in its resolve to seek out and find the very essence of Truth. Just read a few of the sentences:

Tolerance: "We who believe in democracy and civil liberty" do not contest the Detroit fascist's right to proclaim his views.

Alarm: "What troubles us is that so many of your professed followers are leaders in denying or trying to deny these rights to others."

Regret: "These things are bad enough in themselves. They are worse in the light of their parallel to the rise of totalitarian dictators in Europe."

Politeness: "I do not hold you responsible for all the merchants of Social Justice may do or for the young hoodlums who may attach themselves to your cause."

Firmness: "I do hold you responsible, however, if when the matter is brought to your attention you use your influence to defend this interference with America's democratic practices or by silence condone it."

Punch line: "Your name and fame make this a matter of such importance that I am releasing this letter to the press in the full assurance that your reply will receive equal or greater publicity. Let's know where we stand!"

With this document Thomas takes his place by the side of such outstanding contemporary open-letter-writers as Bruce Bliven, editor of the New Republic and author of famous unanswered epistles to Al Smith, William R. Hearst, Roosevelt, Hitler and Stalin (also, it is said, he is now contemplating addressing the Almighty Himself), and Israel Amter, local Stalinist leader, whose open letter memorializing the late Pope Pius is reported to have been the final straw that broke the falling prelate's back.

Now every fair-minded person will agree that Coughlin, if he's half the man he ought to be, is duty-bound to answer Thomas's letter, and finally show where he stands. There has been altogether too much uncertainty about the views and aims of the Detroit priest and it is high time the public at large was put straight about them.

Thomas, for example, comes right out with an assurance that he favors civil liberties for Coughlin. That's fair and square. The least Coughlin can do, if he's going to be decent about it, is to give a personal assurance that he favors civil liberties for Thomas and all other democrats. That alone would immediately give a more gentlemanly and scholarly tone to the disagreements between the fascists and the anti-fascists. It would make it possible to discuss divergent opinions calmly, over a dish of tea and an after-dinner Cubeb—removed, from the hurly-burly and above all the deplorable rancor hitherto attendant upon such discussions in the streets. Best of all, a timely declaration by Coughlin in opposition to totalitarianism and violence would automatically act as a restraint upon his more youthful and ardent adepts who, in their mistaken zeal, sometimes act like fascists.

### A Way to End Fascist Menace

If Coughlin would only take Thomas's letter in the spirit of humaneness and tolerance that conceived it, the whole annoying problem would be resolved. We could all breathe a big sigh of relief, because that would simply mean the end of the fascist menace to American labor. That is, if Thomas also sent a letter like that to Pelley, Roy Zachary, Deatherage, and Moseley.

If, on the other hand, Coughlin doesn't answer the letter, or answers evasively, there are a lot of people who will begin to get the impression that he's not as sound a democrat and Christian as he might be. Thomas himself—and he's obviously not the man to believe readily that any one is really bad at heart—will feel that his efforts to redeem the fair name of the Coughlin movement were, to put it vulgarly, a flopper. Still others may even be led to believe that Coughlin just doesn't believe in democracy and is actually flirting with totalitarian ideas.

Yet, upon reflection, we would see no grounds for discouragement in such an outcome. We would set it down to one of those all-too-human aberrations to which all mortals are subject, and we wouldn't relent for a moment—that is, if we were Thomas. He shouldn't stop with one open letter. He ought to keep hammering at Coughlin—not too vigorously, to be sure—until the priest softens up. As a next step, he might send him one of his latest pamphlets; or photostatic copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. They couldn't help making a deep impression on the Gentleman from Detroit. Or he might introduce the homely touch, just to show that he bears him no ill will personally, and send him a jar of homemade apple butter or a box of cookies. Or invite him up to the house some evening for a bowl of borscht.

We don't swear that this will work, but what can you lose by trying? Nothing, it seems to us. And if it does work, just think of the vistas of progress and peace for humanity opened up to us by the outcome of similar letters from Norman Thomas to Hitler, Mussolini and other erring souls.

Columnists Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner say: Attorney General Murphy has carried out an intelligent and much-needed reorganization of the justice department. He has launched a campaign to drive the worst of the numerous shabby political judges from the bench.

**BULL-ETIN:** The board of directors of the National Manufacturers declares "its unalterable opposition" to war and pledges the organization to make "every effort to maintain peace."

Japan does not object to the open door principle but believes that the United States and Great Britain should set an example by applying it throughout the world before they demand its application in the Far East, a foreign office spokesman declares. Gad! but these gangsters can spot each other's weaknesses!