In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens =

South American Situation Fraught With Revolutionary Possibilities

(This week's column by Diego Montanez)

Unrest and turmoil continue in Latin America. Chile and Ecuador have just had a little trouble. Mexico had a minor outbreak last week in the rich mining state of Guanajuato and United States diplomatic sources hint that they expect further developments. Information from Brazil indicates that the constant jockeying for control of the government is fast approaching the point of eruption into open civil war. In Argentina the reactionary, pro-British President Ortiz, with the aid of the Stalinists, whips up an anti-German spy hunt. Throughout the Latin part of the continent one finds the same ferment that preceded the sweep of revolts that took place in 1930.

With so many capitalist governments tottering, a splendid opportunity for revolutionary action should exist. But, with the exception of the numerically small sections of the Fourth International, and to a certain extent the Nacionalista Party in Puerto Rico, the clever smile of Roosevelt and the pro-imperialist turn of the Stalinists have wrought havoc among the labor and progressive movements of the continent.

The situation of the capitalists is complicated by several factors. There are the struggles between the "democratic" and "dictatorial" powers for control of the industries and markets and military bases, the struggles between the U.S. and British capitalists, the struggles of the native capitalists for a larger share of the booty, the fusses occasionally raised by sections of the native capitalists who prefer "liberal" means of ruling, the continual battles between sets of job-hungry officials, the maneuvers of the labor bureaucrats and Stalinists, and under them all the restless stirring of the hundred million workers and peasants.

The fresher bureaucratic government cliques that took power in the wave of revolts nine or ten years ago have become worn out. New and still fresher strata are being pushed forward. In Brazil a large section of the ruling class, in-

cluding many of the army leaders, has grown tired of the inept and unsteady Vargas dictatorship. They are preparing for an attempt to replace it with one more to their own liking. 1914 This attempt will be bitterly resisted by the Vargas group, probably to the point of bloody

civil war. In the course of such a war both sides will ferociously turn upon any section of the working class that raises its head. The advanced workers, who supported the large and influential Communist Party in the past, have by now lost all faith in the Stalinist relic that preaches support of the very government that murdered and jailed thousands of its old militants and keeps it illegal even today. Whole masses have voted against the "new line" with their feet. Others, to a surprising and significant extent, have drawn the lessons of the Stalinist degeneration and have come over to the Fourth International.

Though the Stalinist lackeys of the imperialist police "reached the depth of announcing over the Moscow short-wave radio the real names of party members who they knew were opposed to the support of Yankee imperialthe Sao Paulo Regional Committee of the C.P.), the Communist organizations in Parana and Sao Paulo (the latter the Brazilian equivalent of New York State), as well as many individual militants, have broken with Stalinism and joined the Leninist Workers Party (Fourth International section in Brazil). Even in the prisons and dungeons of Rio and Fernando Naranho Island where Vargas keeps five to six thousand anti-imperialist fighters, the same process is going on, as new arrivals bring news of Stalinism and the new Fourth International. The Stalinist henchmen now find themselves forced, by the appearance of so many manifestos of disaffiliation by militant C.P. groups, to sign their leaflets: "Commun-

ist Party (section of the Third International)"! The revolutionary, Bolshevik movement in Brazil, inspired by its new gains, has held a congress to consolidate its forces to prepare to move forward to winning the masses of downtrodden, underfed workers and landless peasants for the decisive struggle against the corrupt native and foreign capitalists.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Is there anybody who does not know the story about the sixteen blind men who made a special trip to the Bronx Zoo just to become acquainted with that most extraordinary of all beasts, the elephant? I thought so. Well, it seems these men all walked up to the animal in question and reached out to feel it so that they could determine its size and proportions. As soon as the beast felt sixteen pairs of hands on his hide he turned away and ran for cover leaving the sixteen blind men standing around in a circle. Each had grabbed at the elephant and each thought he knew what the beast looked like.

"It is similar to the snake" said the first because he had felt only the elephant's trunk. "No, not at all," said the second who had touched the feet, "it is more like a tree".

"All wrong, all wrong," muttered a third, "a beast with ears like that is more like a jackass."

And so every blind man went home with his own idea of what an elephant looks like. And each blind man went about describing this beast to all his friends. You can imagine the result. Today many people are under the impression that an elephant is little different from a seagull.

Some Can See, But Won't Look

And now we come to the people who can see but who refuse to look. These people go about spreading stories about beast and man which would make your few remaining locks turn a cold, stone grey. As has been said: "There are none so blind as those who will not see."

Now then, unless we are to be in the same boat with the blind men, we must take a good look at the people we want to talk to and about. The blind had an excuse but we have none. If we are to really convince the workers that they are on the receiving end of a baseball bat we must get out and take a good look at them and spend a little time talking with them. Some of us are in for a shock.

Take my friend Thistlethwaite for instance. Here is a guy who has read all the books and newspapers. He can recite the constitution of his union backwards in pig latin. He has a reputation as a crackerjack motion maker on the social committee. In other words, a smart guy. But like the hero in the Palm Olive Soap ads he lacks a certain something. And without that certain something his social life is about as gay as a crutch.

He tried everything. He asked his best friends. He even took up physical culture but it was not until he decided to re-examine his ideas with some original research that his life took on a new meaning. Try it sometime.

Follow an Idea Through

Take some idea which has been politely accepted and never investigated and follow it down to the ground. A good problem and one which has been the subject of discussion for a long time is the composition of the Communist Party. It's not what you think.

If you are under the impression that all members of the C.P. are in full agreement with the line of Holy Joe (better known as Butch) you are showing all the earmarks of a guy who has been living in a tightwad's pocketbook.

Matter of fact, if you take the trouble to really sit down and discuss with rank and file members of the C.P. you will discover that they, for the most part, have some good, healthy instincts. Many are really for this line of democracy and it comes as a shock to learn the real meaning of the "peace and democracy" baloney which Browder & Co. have been slicing. Many really mean it when they say they are against fascism-only they don't understand how to fight fascism. Most of them are not aware of the policy followed by the Stalinists in Germany when Hitler took power. Many are trying to establish democracy in their union and find it hard to understand just why the Stalinists keep stalling and stalling

The clause in the Stalinist constitution which bars all members of the C.P. and the Y.C.L. from holding a discussion (or a debate) with a Trotskyist is beginning to get under their fingernails because they are anxious to discuss with us. They are willing to talk and we should Communist Party meet this Masses' method of fighting against all the Western powers provide every opportunity to make discussion threat of civil war against the America's fascist demagogue and Russia. possible. If you think they are unwilling to talk labor movement? with us you should get a load of the situation The New Masses, official that he is taking "Franco's as it exists in certain sections. Many of the voice of Stalin's American secsame C.P.'ers who yesterday wouldn't be seen tion, declares in an editorial of anywhere near one of our comrades today August 8, that it didn't hear comes around and starts the discussion.

When you pass a rule forbidding a person it couldn't locate any radio stafrom thinking or associating with people who tion which had broadcasted think, you are only doing what the bosses so Father Coughlin's speech, that frantically attempt to push over on the discon- it couldn't even get a printed tented population-laws forbidding people to copy of the speech (Coughlin criticize the state or to object to the boss's mails them out by the hundreds methods of breaking strikes. In other words of thousands, postage free) and the C.P. bureaucrats are attempting to save hence had no way of knowing their skins by passing decrees.

If you think it is not worth while to come in day speech. contact with the ranks of the C.P. you are mistaken. There are today hundreds of workers New Masses? Studying how in the unions who are supporting the Stalinists. their comrade General Miaja Without this support the Stalinists would fade sold out the rank and file in away like a bad smell.

talk with anyone who is friendly and who does was still good? Or listening to not call them names right off the bat. We must WHN, 1250 Kilocycles on the be careful not to do this in a way which would dial (announced in Sunday's put them on the spot. They may still have a New York Times radio section) sister or brother in the C.P. and so must be as Father Coughlin told Amercareful where and when he talks with us. In ica what he thought of the "nonone union there are two members of the Stal- leligious Jews," the "red inists who meet and discuss with us but can- leaders" of the American labor not leave the C.P. or even be seen with our movement, the "cowardice" of At an outdoor meeting attend- lies. comrades because they have a father and his opponents, and how he ed by 75 Negro workers, S.W.P. mother in the U.S.S.R. whom they must pro- would establish the worst fas- speakers exposed the companytect. They know what would result if they ever cist dictatorship the world has union role of the Workers Alopenly joined the S.W.P.

Must Be Reached with Truth

Many of the newer members joined the C.P. because it seemed a force for peace and de- speech, without having read it, ceived a warm reception when mocracy. The recruits had no way of knowing they considered it dangerous he took the stand and explained what they were in for. They thought peace and and important enough to dis- the part of Roosevelt as initiademocracy could best be achieved by an organized force. They were right but the C.P. Communist Party and hence to as strikebreaker. played them dirt. It exploited their honest, nat- deserve an answer. They deural sentiments. It attempted to turn them in- clared that Coughlin's "incitto Trotsky-baiters and Roosevelt-vote-catchers. It gave them a mis-education in the form of Stalinism and in the name of Lenin. And if we day" is not the "persecution abandon them to this fate we will only be cut- mania of dementia praecox" ting off our noses to spite our faces.

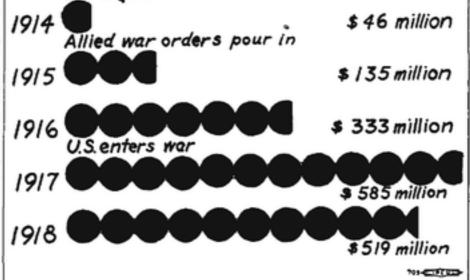
These rank and file members of the C.P. must be reached with the truth. We cannot expect to win over the C.P.'ers by some miracle. We must talk with them, explain and do all we can to show them where their party is leading the working class. They know little of revolutionary history. They think the C.P. is still revolutionary. They have all sorts of strange ideas about the U.S.S.R. And as for the S.W.P. -they have never read our paper or attended a meeting of our Party. They see the dangers of fascism and want to fight against it. We can show them the way to fight. We can demonstrate the correct policies. But we must first give them a chance to meet with us and to discuss.

Democracy versus Fascism?

"A modern war between the great powers does not signify a conflict between democracy and fascism but a struggle of two imperialisms for the re-division of the world. Moreover, the war must inevitably assume an international character and in both camps will be found fascist (semi-fascist, bonapartist, etc.) as well as 'democratic' states. . . Finally, in France itself, parliamentary democracy, already sufficiently weakened today, would undoubtedly be one of the first victims of war if it is not upset before its start." (from Was and the Fourth International)

Who Won the World War? MILLIONS OF

WAR PROFITS = U.S. Steel Co. war begins



"Manufacturers must have reasonable profits to do their duty." —Judge Gary, head of Steel Institute, 1917.

opposed to the support of Yankee imperialism" (quoted from the unanimous decision of the Sao Paulo Regional Committee of the Father Coughlin

By JOSEPH HANSEN On July 30 Father Coughlin of fascist methodology." openly and brazenly declared The New Masses couldn't

radio stations. Coughlin called on his storm well what he threatened. troop organization, which he The New Masses got a terri-

fight you in Franco's way!" as the world has not seen."

me or against me." THAT IS A DECLARATION tail damn quick. OF WAR!

Didn't Hear Him

Father Coughlin's speech, that what Coughlin said in his Sun-

Where were the editors of the Spain to fascism and then

Judge for yourself. Without having heard Coughlin's ark unemployed leader, returb the rank and file of the tor of recent cuts in WPA and ing to violence", "the central theme of his speech last Sun-

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The arrangements committee tinue. is preparing a varied and inmusic, swimming, etc. There adjourn until midnight. will be dancing to the music of a first-rate orchestra on vations early.

AMP SEVEN OAKS. Eatontown, N. J. Tennis, swimming, ping-pong, Plumbing. Make reservations, please! Phone: Eatontown 515.

but "a smooth and effective bit

civil war on the American la- find out what stations Coughlin so long as they believe there is bor movement when he broad- utilizes for his nation-wide hope of "neutralizing" the Ruscast a speech entitled "The broadcasts every Sunday in the sians. Call to Action" over a nation- year and which he publishes wide hook-up of more than 50 periodically in Social Justice! That's a lie! They knew very

calls the "Christian Front," to ble headache when they heard to shoulder" with anyone who the streets. They know that the full swing. opposes Coughlinism. "We will only way to defend yourself from violence is by organizing voking the trade treaty, signi-Coughlin threatened to estab- Workers Defense Guards! But fying to the Japanese that they lish a 'defense mechanism' in these heroes are the last ones will certainly have Yankee im-America like Fascism in Italy in the world to lift up their fists perialism to contend with in and Nazism in Germany "such even in self-defense—much less any case, the Nippon militarists defense of the labor movement. are pressing for the axis alli-"It is a death struggle!" he Like a little toy dog that sud- ance link. The Japanese civildeclared. "You are either with denly decides his own bark is ian leaders are angling for a too dangerous, they pulled in more flexible stand which

A Smelly Proposal

gressives to learn where and that they will fight if Hitler from what stations Coughlin is lays a finger on the fair face broadcasting and to make their of "Polish" Danzig. The Nazis feelings immediately known to declare they will fight if Pothe owners."

Coughlin with hard cash!

democratic and on your toes, will enable him to come before grandmother!

MEN AWAIT CALL TO WAR

13,000,000 Million Men Under Arms in War Crazy World

(Continued from Page 1) ave gone as far as to send military missions to Moscow to discuss matters of strategy even before the political pact is concluded. This step, designed as pressure on Hitler and Stalin alike, is regarded as a coverup for the continuing deadlock of the pact negotiations. 2. In Tokyo: the issue of

Japanese adherence to the talo-German military alliance has again come sharply to the fore. The Japanese have been engaged for three months in undeclared warfare against the Russians on the Mongol frontier. They have so far been reluctant, however, to join the axis alliance for fear of finding themselves confronting Britain, France, and probably the United States, as well as Russia, in war. The Germans, on their part, have been none too anxious to bring Japan in

But in the last month the Japanese have come to grips with the British in a determined effort to win a deeper Japanese foothold in the allimportant foreign concessions. take to the streets and fight Coughlin preparing his "Chris- An anti-British campaign, spon-"cheek to jowl" and "shoulder tian Front" to use violence in sored by the Japanese, is in

With Roosevelt's move in rewould leave Japan some negotiating leeway if they do find But here's the pay-off-last themselves in the tight spot of How did the heroes of Stalin's sentence in the editorial, New facing war simultaneously

> 3. In Danzig and Warsaw: the seesaw continues. The "It is the first duty of pro- Poles repeat and repeat again land prevents the restoration to Make their feelings known to the Reich of "German Danzig." the bosses who are backing up Neither side wants a war over this issue and Hitler is still an-Doesn't that sound sweet and gling for another cold coup that the Nuremberg congress in But it smells like Stalinist September with another tri-General Miaja's way of fighting umph to present to the starving people of Germany.

And these workers are ready and willing to scrammed while his passport Negro Workers at Phila. Rally Hear SWP Position on WPA, Relief

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) PHILADELPHIA, July 29-

Reuben Plaskett, Negro New-

Prominent Stalinist whips stood aghast as point by point Party in the Workers Alliance his pocket.

Stalinist Tries to Interrupt

Sterling Rochester, member HOLD AUGUST 27 OPEN!!! of the C.P. Philadelphia execu- less workers asked for free The Friends of the Russian tive committee, attempted to copies. Bulletin will hold an all day interrupt a speaker, presumouting on Sunday, Aug. 27 at ably because a profane word Rye Beach. The boat will was used. (Really these Trotleave the Battery at 10:15 skyltes should be sent to Sun-A.M. The entire day will be day school!) However, the spent at Rye Beach and the workers present, intent upon return trip will be made by the message of the S.W.P., inboat, leaving in the evening, sisted that the speaker con-So interested were the work- Come on all you fellows

teresting program of games, ers, that the meeting did not Who work on the WPA

Alliance Members Friendly Plaskett, surrounded by a the boat, with a Broadway dense crowd of listeners, turned The government's all against show on the return trip. Tick- the reactionary slander of Stalets are available at the office inist questioners into boomerof the New International at angs. Workers Alliance mem- But let's all keep together the nominal rate of one dol- bers directed good political And victory we will shout. lar. Please make your reser- questions at him, and received answers that left them friendly Colonel Harrington is the man to the program of the S.W.P. The workers liked the S.W.P. But if I say no and you say no

program of a 20 billion dollar We will send him to the Federal Works and Housing \$2.50 per day. \$14 a week. Program, of turning all war funds over to the unemployed, of opening the idle factories

junder workers' control, and of expropriating the Sixty Fami-

One listener shouted: "You can't tell me Roosevelt gave us the W.P.A. We fought for every

A member of the Philadelphia Workers Alliance executive committee acted as an "impartial" chairman in a debate between a Stalinist and a Trotskyite. Before long he forgot himself and began asking questions that demonstrated interest in the program of the the treacherous, class-collabor- S.W.P. He left the meeting ation policy of the Communist with a copy of the Appeal in All copies of the Socialist

Appeal were sold out before the meeting was half over. Penni-A large list of promising con-

tacts was collected.

LET'S ALL STICK TOGETHER

Let's all stick together And we'll get more pay.

Of this we have no doubt

Who says we'll get more hours showers.

> WPA striker Streator, III.

Stop Fascism In America!

(Continued from Page 1)

Depression Sweeps Italy

When the great imperialist bandits called off their World War and proceeded to split up the booty, recording the details of this transaction in the Versailles Treaty, the Italian overlords of industry came out at the short end of

Instead of vast colonies teeming with slaves and wealth which they had expected to chain to their profit machine, they got little more than what was already under their domination when they first ordered the Italian workers and farmers into the trenches.

As a result, the war debt rested unusually heavy on the shoulders of the workers and farmers and they were filled with discontent.

On top of this, the tremendous factories and mills which had been constructed with feverish haste by the big industrialists during the World War in order to rake down as much as possible of the highly profitable war orders, now faced a greatly narrowed market. Factories and mills began shutting down.

Unemployment swept Italy.

Hundreds of thousands of hungry workers drifted from city to city searching for jobs. Young people found themselves facing a blank and desperate future, without hope of work. And with the pillars of the buying power of the workers thus torn out, thousands of small merchants came crashing down in bankruptcy.

Everybody cast about desperately for some way out of

Nor were the big industrialists or the big land owners any too happy. Their profits continued to decline. Excepting only their own living standards, they slashed every possible cost to the bone. Nevertheless, profits declined still lower. Goods piled up to the roofs in the warehouses, and still no one came to buy. The capitalists cast greedy eyes on the concessions which the powerful trade unions had managed to wring from them. With all the hunger of a safe-cracker sizing up a small-town bank, they even studied the insurance reserves and the savings of the poor. After all, they decided, the Italian workers and poor farmers were used to starving!

Many of the most clear-sighted workers, small farmers and merchants felt that there was only one way out and that way was socialism. That is, shifting the wheels of industry into high gear under the ownership of all the working people as a whole and producing for the use of everybody instead of the private profit of a small handful of stockholders.

When the strikers began operating the mills and factories in September 1920, all the workers who had been suffering from the depression felt jubilant. It was only necessary to continue and to extend this action. Open up all the idle factories and set the machines to work! Then there would be jobs for everybody, short hours, plenty of food, clothing, and the good things of life.

But the small handful of stockholding families, who had until then owned and controlled the national industries for their own private benefit and who, like similar families in other countries, consider themselves the axis around which the earth revolves, felt a cold sweat break out on their brows. It was necessary to do something and to do it quick. They put their heads together. There was only one way out so far as they were concerned and that was to increase profits by drastically cutting wages. But how break through the trade unions?

At first they tried ordinary strikebreakers-\$10-a-day men who will swing a club on the head of any worker who dares to stand up for his rights, or for a slight extra commission shoot him in the back.

But the entire working class was too strongly united and militant to be overcome by these raw time-worn tactics. They repulsed this offensive of the bosses.

The capitalists saw that there was no way to bring back their profits except by streamlining the attack with cunning and deception. If the throat of the labor movement could not be cut by a frontal swipe, then it was necessary

No one was better fitted for this job than Benito Mussolini.

(Continued in next issue)

The Army Has a New Rapid-Fire Rifle . . . The anti-war agitator has a new weapon too-

Just out—

to stick the knife in from behind.

"Let The People Vote On War"

By JAMES BURNHAM

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