

More Discussion from Members of Party on Convention Problems



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTICE: Please make all checks, money orders, etc., payable to the SOCIALIST APPEAL. Do not make them out to the manager or editor of the paper. Please observe this request.

First Twice-a-Month Challenge Ready July 1st

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

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

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

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

22 CENTS A DAY FOR UNEMPLOYED IS ROOSEVELT PLAN

(Continued from Page 1)
cal inclusive, will amount to \$1,388,420,613, during the coming year, if Roosevelt and the Congressional committee have their way. For 23 million persons that means an average of \$1.57 a week, 22 cents a day!

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

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

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

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

Party Must Overcome Organizational Defects

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

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

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

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

(b) The current legal offensive against labor and the increasing government intervention into the unions, must be exposed as an integral part of the war preparations of the New Deal Government. Our press has carried an insufficient amount of material on this question. Moreover the question has not been posed as a problem on which all sections of the labor movement must unite in order to organize a militant counter offensive to the political attack of Capital.

In the course of such agitation the slogan for a Labor Party should be introduced. It is also necessary for the party to organize a systematic drive within the union to gather the most progressive elements together to fight for the united action of the unions in this situation. In gathering the progressive forces together and launching a campaign within the unions the party would be able to raise concretely all of the main points in the transitional program: 30-hour week, Relief Cuts, Defense Guards, Trade Union Unity, Labor Party, War Referendum, etc. It is precisely in such matters as the development of our work within the trade unions on a unified national plan, with national information and directives that our weakest side has been revealed.

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

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

SUBMITS TWO AMENDMENTS TO RESOLUTION

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

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

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

SUSAN GREEN

On Translating Party Program into Practice

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The War Question

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

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

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

(Continued in next issue)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

CHICAGO BENEFIT for The New International "CARNIVAL IN FLANDERS" Voted the world's best picture in 1936
SATURDAY, JUNE 24
Two showings: 7 and 9:30 P.M.
Admission 35c
CAFE IDROTT
1308 N. WILSON AVE.
Chicago, Ill.

Who Is Father Coughlin, What Is His Program?

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Split the labor movement into warring camps.
Hack and chop these camps into splintered bits.
Grind these bits into dust.

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

That is the purpose of Jew-baiting!

(To be continued in next issue)

Do you want to see this series of articles on Coughlin published in a popular pamphlet, at a low price, for mass distribution? Pioneer Publishers is undertaking to get out a large edition immediately—IF it receives contributions from all friends and comrades to make it possible. Readers are urged to send contributions for the Coughlin pamphlet to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City.

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

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

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

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

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

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

Guild Contracts

A reader asks for information on the kind of contracts the American Newspaper Guild obtains for editorial workers. A brief digest of a contract just signed between the Guild and the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin will answer this question.

Minimum wages under the Guild contract are: experienced rewrite men, \$65 a week, copy readers, \$65, reporters, \$55, district reporters, \$50, photographers and artists, \$50, copy boys \$18 after one year experience. These rates are for journeymen. During the first three years of work, a graduated scale of wages applies. Night men get \$5 a week more than day men on similar jobs.

An important section of any guild contract is dismissal pay. In this contract it is provided that dismissal pay for anyone employed more than 6 months and less than a year amounts to two weeks salary. The scale goes up until a man with ten years service is guaranteed six months dismissal pay. Sick leave pay is also provided for.

Wages and Hours

Another query is for information on wages and hours in certain major industries. The following is presented from the Labor Information Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, May issue.

Weekly hours: 38 in the foundry and machine shops; 37 in sawmills; 36 in brick manufacturing; 34.5 in blast furnaces and rolling mills; 33.5 in auto.

Hourly earnings: 92.5 cents in auto; 83.5 in blast furnaces and rolling mills; 71.5 in foundries and machine shops; 64.5 in brick manufacturing; 53.5 in sawmills.

Weekly earnings: \$31.10 in auto; \$28.80 in blast furnaces and rolling mills; \$27.00 in foundries; \$19.00 in brick manufacturing, and \$19.35 in sawmills.

In another classification of industry, namely the non-durable goods, we have the following wages and hours:

Hours weekly: 40 in paper and pulp; 40 in packinghouse; 36.5 in cotton goods manufacturing; 36.5 in petroleum refining; 34 in tire and tube plants and divisions.

(SEE EDITORIAL, PAGE 4)