Let the People Vote on War!

"Let the People Vote on War!," a new series of articles by James Burnham presenting the position of the Socialist Workers Party on the Ludlow Referendum and the fight against war will begin in the next issue of the Socialist Appeal.

Roosevelt, who is pouring billions of dollars into the war machine, pretends to be a democrat. Why then does he oppose a popular expression of opinion by those who will lose their lives when war comes? The Stalinists speak as "friends of peace." Why then do they, who support the administration's war moves, oppose a popular vote on war? Do you workers want to fight in a war for boss profits? Do you workers want an opportunity to vote on the war that U.S. imperialists are now preparing? Why shouldn't you, whose lives are at stake, have that right? Read "Let the People Vote on War!" Don't miss a single issue of the Appeal in which this vital series of articles will appear!

Labor-Haters Pour Money into Growing **Coughlin Movement**

By JOSEPH HANSEN

That the increasing boldness of Father Coughlin's movement in attacking meetings of workers and wrecking their. headquarters is bearing fruit with a large dollar sign is clearly shown by a number of significant occurrences.

Within the last month he has begun for the first time a daily radio program. He has* contracted with a radio sta-tion in Detroit to appear five MPLS. DRIVERS times daily with a program of organ music, prayer, an "in-WIN GAINS IN spirational" talk for "shutins," and a commentary on **NEW CONTRACTS** the news events of the day interpreted in the light of Father Coughlin's sixteen principles of so-called "social justice.'

E.

*

Significant Expression Father Coughlin himself comments in his personal magazine on the significance of this expansion. From one station ne now hopes to increase his netthe entire country just as he

network of forty-eight.

200 Employers Sign Renewals as Local 544 Pushes Drive

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS—Despite last work of daily broadcasts across November's election of Republican Governor Stassen and the increased his weekly "golden recent re-election of Republihour" from one station to a can Mayor Leach, and working in the teeth of the vicious State

THE STATE OF The latest issue of Social Labor Law, General Drivers

Socialist Appeal

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TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1939

BUILD WORKERS'

DEFENSE GUARDS

3c a Copy

W.P.A. Construction Strike Will Force Congress to Change Law! A.F.L. Raps New York Set for

New Deal 'Strike to Finish' **StrikeStand**

Meany Issues Sharp Attack on Threat by N. Y. Welfare Head

York City Welfare Commissioner William Hodson's threat to refuse home relief to W.P.A. Hodson more than he bargained for.

Hodson's threat appeared in the press Monday morning. By afternoon the A.F.L. Publicity Bureau had issued the text of a letter from George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor.

'Unspeakably Contemptible' Unspeakably Contemptible" The letter was undoubtedly the sharpest attack ever issued against a New Dealer by the official labor movement. "Un-speakably contemptible"__that speakably contemptible''---that vas the State Federation's de-**DEFENSE GUARDS** cription of the action of Mayor La Guardia's lieutenant.

The Building and Construcion Trades Council of Greater New York, Long Island and vicinity, in the meeting in which they voted to stop all work on W.P.A. projects by heir members, also seconded he State Federation letter to Hedson.

else take themselves and their

NEW YORK-The Executive gle. The major development President Meany sardonicaltold Hodson that "if you had Board of Local 66, Internation- was the strike action taken by aken a little more time to con- al Ladies Garment Workers the powerful building trades sider this matter, you could Union, devoted most of its June council in New York, reprehave also fluently quoted to 22 session to consideration of a senting some 130,000 skilled hese good Americans the mu- proposal to support the forma- workers in 45 crafts and 135 tion of a contingent of Anti- A.F.L. locals. nicipal regulations against pub-After the two-hour session of lic begging." Fascist Union Guards. the council on Thursday after-**Hodson Gets It** At the conclusion of the dis-Then President Meany gave noon had authorized the strike cussion, the Executive Board Hodson the works: decided to table the question "Your speedy action in tellfor a week to permit absent See page 4 for editorial on the strike of the W.P.A. portunity to join the discussion workers.

Refer Proposal Sub-

International G.E.B.

the General Executive Board of

Milton Speaks

Strike Move by Building and Construction Trades Council Is Labor's Answer to the **Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Bill**

By TONY CHAPMAN

"Strike to the finish"-the words are those of Thomas Within a few hours of New | Murray, President of the Building and Construction Trades Council of greater New York, Long Island and vicinitythat's the answer of organized labor to the Roosevelt-Woodstrikers, organized labor gave rum W.P.A. Starvation Law which, enacted by Congress and signed by President Roosevelt, became a law on June 30 and began to be enforced on the W.P.A. projects Wednesday morning.

> Labor's answer was speedily demonstrated. Hundreds of thousands of construction workers throughout the country refused to report for work on Wednesday morning. Few

local unions in the country had as yet acted officially---the national A.F.L. leadership hadn't even put up a fight against the bill when it was up in Congress-but the overwhelming sentiment of the labor movement was already. clear when, Wednesday, the W.P.A. officials had to admit that project after project was mitted by Milton to closing down.

But Wednesday only began it. Thursday the unions began officially to move into the strug-







It's a "Trick"!

QQ

TORIES



Carlo

Justice announces the winners Union Local 544 is succeeding of his \$16,000 prize contest for | in its drive to renew working essays on war. The contestants agreements that bring signifiare scattered over eighteen cant gains to thousands of its states, centering mainly around members. With the season for Royal Oak, Michigan, but ex- contract renewals now on, Lotending as far as California. cal 544 has already secured

With the announcement of agreements from about 200 emthe winners, Coughlin announc- ployers, covering several thous es also that besides the prize and workers.

money distributed in this con-In almost every case gains test he has already given out either in wages, hours or worka total of \$27,460 in previous ing conditions are recorded. contests and that in the next This is particularly significant issue of Social Justice he will since 544 contracts have been open a new contest with prizes for several years models for amounting to \$6,500 which may teamsters locals elsewhere. be doubled to \$13.000.

Renewals secured cover pro Demagogic Propaganda duce. printing, newspaper The subjects on which the drugs, coal, sausage, tent and

contestants were permitted to awning sections, the big Gam-(Continued on Page 2) ble-Skogmo outfit, and others.

Sailors Spike F.D.R. **Order on Fink-Halls**

Tie Up Two Ships on West Coast—Journal of Commerce Reveals Presidential Order

By C. THOMAS Journal of Commerce dealing Sailors Union of the with the dispute in Seattle, the The Pacific has put the finger on following statement appeared: the Little White Father at "The Commission, according to Washington, D. C. And thereon, L. L. Bates, general manager my friends, hangs a tale. of the Pacific Northwest Ori-

Two U.S. Maritime Commis- ental Line, which has been en sion ships, the Satartia and the gaged as managing agent for Coldbrook, have been tied up in the new service, is acting un-Seattle for a number of weeks der a presidential order . . because the Commission re- that employment of crews fused to hire crews from the through the shipping commisunion hiring hall. The Maritime sioner is required by law." In Commission was appointed by other words, the Maritime Franklin D. Roosevelt and is Commission is acting under responsible to the President. direct orders from Roosevelt to

The Chairman of the Com- hire crews through fink-halls. mission, Admiral Land, was Meanwhile, the partisans of appointed over the objections the "third term for Roosevelt" of the seamen and of the or- movement, among whom the ganized labor movement. Re- Stalinists are the most vocifer cently, one of the commission- ous, have been telling the seaers, Truitt, a vigorous oppo- men that Roosevelt was their nent of union hiring halls, was friend. It was the tories, the reappointed by the President, economic royalists, that were again over the strenuous ob- the main, nay, the only enemy. At the recent convention of the jections of organized labor. President Ordered Finking C.P.-controlled Maritime Fed-(Continued on Page 3) In a recent article in the

THE NATION The Worcester, Mass., Trade School has room for 80 new students in its mechanical department for its coming fall term. 900 applications were filed.

In New York, 6,500 men apginemen paying \$1,200 to \$1,500.

Ends Spirited Sessions

Anti-War Convention

NEW YORK-Winding up the Anti-War Convention of the ing these men that they can members of the Board an op-Socialist Workers Party with a burst of enthusiasm, 76 delegates either take the monstrous scab and 34 alternate delegates Wednesday morning headed for home wages now offered to them or and make a final decision.

in 33 different cities to put into action the many decisions of plied for city jobs as auto en- the convention.

children away to some quiet local's Executive Board, it was Concluding four days of convention session, the delegates late place to starve is unspeakably Several hundred men spent all Tuesday reached the final point on the agenda, the election of contemptible.

'The wage now given to la- the International, which meets night outside the office of the the new National Committee. Envisaging the major task of the party as preparation for bor by a breadline Congress is in about eight weeks. Municipal Civil Service Commission. 58 will get appoint- the coming war, the delegates tied up each of various issues only one step removed from (Continued on Page 3) (Continued on Page 2)

Convention Adopts Program of Expansion In Organization Drive to Build the S. W. P.

The full text of the Program of Expansion adopted by the Socialist Workers Party convention is as follows:

A party of the Leninist type, such as we aspire to build, is distinguished from reformist organizations and propaganda sects in its organization methods as well as in its political principles.

The Leninist party is a combat organization that aims at the conquest of power. It conducts its activity on the campaign principle. It is democratic in its internal life and centralized in action. It coordinates organization work with the work of literary propaganda and agitation and implements political decisions by organizational measures. It constructs a strong apparatus, and it relies on the leadership of a staff of professional revolutionists in the center and in the field.

Proceeding from this Leninist concept of organization. and aiming at an expansion of our activities by a forced march in the next period, as projected in the political resolution, the convention sets before the party the following program of expansion:

1. Press:

- (a) On the proposal to publish the Socialist Appeal three times a week: authority is given to the National Committee to decide the frequency of issue.
- (b) Pamphlets: The publication of at least six cheap, popular pamphlets on the following topics:
 - (1) "Let the People Vote on War" (already prepared)
 - (2) "Build Workers Defense Guards"
 - (3) "A Job for Every Worker"

(4) "Thirty-thirty"

- (5) "Expropriate the Sixty Families"
- (6) "Labor and the 1940 Elections"
- (c) Periodic issuing of four-page leaflets on key slogans for mass distribution nationally.

2. Staff:

- (a) Increase the staff by the assignment of twenty more full time organizers for field work and in the center.
- (b) The object of extending the departmentalization of national work, under full-time direction as the National Committee finds feasible.
- (c) Full-time functionary for the direction of national trade union work.

3. Conferences:

(a) Active workers conferences in Far West, Middle West, Ohio-Michigan, East.

4. Tours:

National and regional tours at intervals of not more than two months.

5. Recruitment:

A systematically organized and centrally directed recruiting campaign.

6. Finances:

Raise an Organization-Press Fund for \$10,000 within three months to be equally divided between the organization work and the Socialist Appeal.

One-third of the \$10,000 Fund is to be raised by the National Office. Two-thirds to be raised by quotas accepted by the Convention delegations.

At the June 29 meeting of the -covering 32,000 men, most of them already out - Thomas decided to refer the question to Murray, president of the Council told the press in his office: "This will be a strike to the finish.

The official authorization of At the June 22 meeting the strike was particularly signifidiscussion was opened by Har- cant since, a few hours before ry Milton, a member of the lo- the strike decision, Col. F. C. cal, who had previously sub- Harrington, national W.P.A. inited a resolution for the for- administrator, had wired to mation of union guards. In urg-New York that all men absent ing action by the union, Milton five days from projects would pointed out that the Coughlin be dropped from the rolls and fascist paper, Social Justice, William Hodson, city welfare was able to boast that more commissioner, had declared than 5,000 members of the New that the strikers would be re-York police force were Coughfused home relief. In the face linites. This single fact alone of the action by Harrington and indicates that the police in this (Continued on Page 4)

other European countries, who Circulate Petitions worked with the fascists in Against Reactionary Board members asked nu- Mass. Election Law

merous questions, in the dis-WORCESTER, Mass. - Apcussion which followed. The prevailing sentiment of the proximately two months ago Board was in favor of the prothe Massachusetts State Legislature passed a law requiring President Friedman. known to be a sincere anti-fasany candidate for governor

cist, stated however, that the other than those of the two maproposition was so important jor parties to collect 50,000 signatures before his name will be that it should be a matter for the Executive Board of the Inplaced on the ballot. Petitions are now being cirternational to take up before

ulated to get signatures in

the local should act. Task Is Defensive

posal.

protest against the law. If 15.-000 signatures are secured Most of the Board members' questions were concerned with clarifying the immediate purposes of the guards' activities. It was brought out that the pressing problem is one of defending union halls, union members, and other labor organizations, from onslaughts by the fascist gangsters.

own union is broken into and Party and the Socialist Work smashed by fascist gangs, as ers Party. The (Continued on Page 2)

within three months of the passing of the law, the question is automatically placed on the ballot for a referendum and does not become law unless voted so on the referendum. The petitions are being circulated by the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, the "We must not wait until our Communist Party, the Socialist

Worcester they will attempt tomorrow or C.I.O. Council has passed a mothe day after, but to stop the tion endorsing the petitions fascists now, wherever they at- which are now being circulated in the unions.

country will act no differently from those in Germany and their rise to power.





Spontaneous and, in several of our literature spoke on the improvement and we now sell failure to grow as fast as it Several items were unfortuncases, officially called strikes without the miserable dole on workers a golden opportunity lin's speeches and writings can various problems he faces. all our papers. When the 3-ashould have grown, the conven- ately not taken up by the conof A.F.L. craftsmen on W.P.A. which they depend for food be- to cram their phoney line down be given to show that he favors Many valuable experiences and week Appeal comes through tion decided to convert the vention because of the amount construction projects began cause "there are no funds", ac- the throat of an unsuspecting the building of a mighty capicording to Mr. George Janssen, working class. Using the once talist navy and army in the party into a campaign party of time given to the other points hints as to the best methods of you can count on Oakland dothis week in protest against the selling the Appeal and New ing its share—and then some!" which pushing boldly and vig- on the agenda, notably the pro-Chairman of the Alameda powerful Workers Alliance as a United States, the subjects for -Bill Morgan, Oakland organdestruction of the union scales International were given. prously ahead on the various gram of action. These were re-County Board of Supervisors. political football the Stalinists the contest were as follows: The State Relief Administra-have wrecked all semblance of "How to Keep America Out of most will build the next will be under the new relief appropri-In the next few months it is izer. ation measure passed by Con-The State Relief Administra-tion has announced a "surplus" militant organization and War," (adult section) "Foreign The State Relief Administra-militant organization and War," (adult section) "Foreign a movement of truly mass pro-of specific programs on each the intention of our National gress. Office—after carrying through The subscription list slowed of \$450,000 for the current year | maintain the Alliance as a post- | Entanglements Lead to War,' In the New York area the certain centralization and re- up slightly this past week be-(Twelfth Grade) "The Cost of portions. point. strikes were so widespread that which will be spent for new au- | card writing agency. organization steps-to devote a cause of Convention activity. **Items Discussed** Organization Work Thomas Murray, president of Face Workers' Wrath War'' (Eleventh Grade), "Ofrajor portion of its time to the But New York emerged out of tomobiles for the use of relief | the Building and Construction cfficials. At the same time, As reported in the last issue Now these Stalinists are fac- | fensive Wars Settle Nothing" In the discussion of the pro-problem of organizing a broad-its temporary slump and heads of the Appeal, the first items 4,100 W.P.A. workers received ing the wrath of an aroused and (Tenth Grade), "Offensive War taken up and decided by the gram of action the desire of the er distribution on a more dy- the list. Here's the new subs Council of Greater New York, has called a meeting of his orindignant working class com- Will Hurt America (Ninth convention were the main po-members to make of the party namic basis. Old, careless dismissal notices. obtained this past week: Claiming that the county has posed of Negro and white work- Grade), "I Don't Want War" ganization and says that offimethods must give way to the NEW YORK CITY litical resolution on the Per- a campaign party which will no money for relief, Mr. Jans- ers , of Mexican and Italian (Eighth Grade), cial strike sanction is likely. "Mothers stream-lined methods of our Chicago spectives of United States Imdraw the masses into the orbit Campaign Party! workers, of men, women and Don't Want War" Murray estimated that 90 per (Seventh Massachusetts sen urged that credit be experialism and the prospects of the party, the preparation of of its work was especially mancent of the 32.283 skilled worktended to relief clients "until youth of all sections of the Grade), "Daddies Shouldn't We also want to thank those Minneapolis ers on W.P.A. in New York the party for the coming war, ifested. Eight hours of solid dis- delegates who, as branch litersuch time as funds are forth- | county. Have to Go to War'' (Fifth and Los Angeles City have stopped work. Within the Alliance there is Sixth Grades). ature agents, came up to the coming" but since debts of re-Newark the growth of fascism, the fight cussion were devoted to the oragainst it, and the Workers De- ganization resolution-the first Appeal business office for a returmoil at every meeting. At Through these slogans Cough-Washington, D. C. Resent A.F.L. Policy lief clients are not recognized fense Guard, and the Negro time in its history the party has port and a talk on their probevery local meeting there are lin hopes to capitalize on the Detroit by the State Relief Administra-Resentment against the reduction in wage rates is direct- tion, local grocery and meat expulsions and "trials". Many widespread and completely jusquestion (see page 3 for the res- devoted so much time to what lems. All in all, it was highly Rochester workers are voting with their tified anti-war sentiment of the St. Louis stores have refused and conworth while. olution on Negro work). is essentially the key to the ed not only against the Roosetinue to refuse the credit asked feet and the Alliance grows American people. But previous **OAKLAND BRANCH GETS** Pennsylvania Following the disposition of party's success. In the course velt administration but alsosmaller week by week. And on statements by Coughlin in fa-DOWN TO WORK! for by Mr. Janssen. he above points, the convenof the discussion, the party's and this is very importanttop of everything, the Youth vor of the war machine, the **Plan** Action "Enclosed find a payment of Total ... against the A.F.L. top leader weaknesses came in for con-Alameda County has 7,834 local of the Alliance recently fact that he was one of the key \$5.51 on our account. We expect Washington, D. C. has iniderable criticism. ship in Washington for having aged, 479 blind and 2,500 needy drew up and unanimously men in putting Roosevelt's War cott succeeds," he claims, to be completely paid up by creased its bundle order by 4 In the credentials report which will be printed in the July 15 and on July 21 we are per issue and has an additional allowed Congress to delete the adopted a militant anti-war Deal into power shows that he "Germans will be forced to go children on its relief rolls. Othprevailing wage clause in the er classifications raise the total program which demands jobs will be among the first when to war to prevent their ecohaving a mass meeting at literature agent in Comrade N. coming issue in tabulated form, relief appropriation measure. to 12,000 according to official for youth at trade union wages war breaks to pound the drums nomic annihilation . . . meant was pointed out that the Under the present schedule, reports. If there are no funds and that all war funds be used of patriotism which will drawhile the boycott continues its notified that they will have to forthcoming within the next for the unemployed. The bur- goon millions of Americans into disastrous effect in the United party is a young party. The SHOE WORKERS I.L.G.W. LOCAL work 130 hours a month to get ten days the physical condition eaucrats are now "investigat- the coming slaughter. average age of the delegates was 28 years. Yet the greater OUT ON STRIKE States. Watch millions of bales DISCUSSES FORMING the same pay they have been of the workers will be a danger ing" the Youth. Milks the Poor of cotton rot in Southern warepart of the delegates had years **DEFENSE GUARDS** Name-Calling Futile While the main sources of houses. American farmers have to the entire community. WORCESTER, Mass.-Eight and years of experience in the getting, on a monthly basis. The use of intimidation and Coughlin's huge income have to plow under or destroy their There are indications, howa union scale, craftsmen ob- ever, that the workers of Ala- name-calling is the Stalinists' never been revealed—Ameritrade union and political move- cutters and one hundred stitchfood surpluses" (page 5). With (Continued from Page 1) ment behind them. And most ers working for the National a union scale, craitsmen ob- cvor, and the workers of the only defense. The youth who ca's colossally rich Sixty Fami- this argument Coughlin blames tempt to deprive any worker or significant, the greater part of Shoe Manufacturing Co. which and worked much less than 130 starve peacefully. Recent want to fight against boss war lies stand like a sinister shad- the terrible want which exists the delegates were experienced employs about 300 workers. workers' organization of its events in the Elmhurst and are called agents of Trotsky ow in the background-Father in the midst of plenty in Amerhave been out on strike for a rade unionists. constitutional rights," Milton West Oakland sections have and, as one member of the Coughlin overlooks no possibil- ica not on the capitalist system, hours. These delegates who lent the week, demanding the return of ceived before the reduction on given rise to the formation of Youth Local remarked when ity to milk the poor. On page 19 the system of turning over the explained. "The Coughlin gangyouth and vigor of their ideas a 10% cut which they received an hourly basis with union a new, fighting unemployed this charge was made at a of the July 3 issue of Social wealth of the nation to a misersters have already broken into o the convention problems are a year ago. and project workers union de- meeting, "If Trotsky and the Justice he projects a lurid pic- able handful of stockholdersnow on their way back to Cali- There is no union at the a workers' headquarters — the to be earned under the new spite the frantic efforts of the Fourth International agree ture of America in 1945. the Sixty Families-but on the fornia, Detroit, Minneapolis, plant. An independent union Debs Labor School — and have schedule shows that most scabby Workers Alliance and with us why should we remain "Six bishops, three Catho-Jews. Despite the fact that he tc., to put their vitality, spirit, (with the reputation of being a succeeded in breaking up nuskilled craftsmen will get 60 its company union, Stalinist here with these pie-card artlic and three Protestant, were alleges he is not anti-Semitic enthusiasm, and energy to the company union), the A.F.L. merous meetings of labor orists!' executed yesterday morning and that he attacks only noncents an hour less! And work leadership. execution of the convention de- and the United Shoe Workers of America (C.I.O.) have all ganizations in the city. Last The workers who want to in the basement of Tombs religious Jews, Coughlin does unemployment Increasing cisions. many hours more! prison. Thousands of priests, not make even this distinction week they tried to break up an conduct a struggle for their They carry the message of tried to contact the workers. Facts and Figures ministers and nuns are in in his Jew-baiting. right to live, to eat, to have de-American Labor Party meeting revolutionary socialism. In the The C.I.O. union has made Here is what the New York Cement mason 1,786 Ornament'l iron 49 85.7 battle for the emancipation of some head-way with about where Michael Quill, president concentration camps . . . or-On the same page which carcent homes and to get jobs at mankind they wield the might twenty workers signing up. The of the Transport Workers 85.75 decent wages and who dare to ders have been issued at ries his Jew-baiting, Coughlin craftsmen got before: worker Paver (block & expose the reactionary line of **Comintern** headquarters that lashes viciously against the la-Union, was the speaker; for-Pay Juestone and granite cutter Blacksmith Waterproce 86.27 of Marxism. In the day to day workers would have nothing to Number Hours 180 52per four weeks \$78.00 81.02 82.19 84.00 84.00 84.00 84.00 79.21 79.21 $\begin{array}{c} \text{on } \quad \text{per} \\ \text{rolls} \quad \text{fiscal} \\ \text{May 31 period} \\ 766 \quad 39 \\ 221 \quad 42 \\ 1.13 \quad 42 \\ 1.514 \quad 42 \\ 1.280 \quad 42 \\ 627 \quad 42 \\ 268 \quad 42 \\ 2.459 \quad 42 \\ 415 \quad 42 \end{array}$ the Stalinists in the Alliance persons displaying pictures bor movement, attacking the tunately the transport workers struggles of the masses they do with the other unions. $\begin{smallmatrix}1&2&3\\1&5&3\end{smallmatrix}$ ${}^{52}_{52}$ of George Washington or C.I.O. and its right to strike. are called agents of the Chamwere prepared. carry with them the intelliotherwise paying homage to In Coughlin's plan to estab-Plasterer "Organized labor in New ber of Commerce and the As- $\begin{array}{r} 604 \\ 145 \\ 2.593 \\ 108 \end{array}$ gence of revolutionary politics. Important Notice Stone cutter Stone setter Electrician tar roofer... Marble polisher this bourgeois individual will lish fascism in America—by sociated Farmers by the finks York has a membership of An invincible army of proleany name, even "Social Jus-AMERICA'S 60 FAMILIES' be shot without trial." Painter Burner 84.00 78,40 84.00 in the Alliance who hope to conmore than a million. Together tarian revolution they march Plumber . Steamfitter This, says Father Coughlin. tice"-the Jews will be only the fuse and confound the workers by Ferdinand Lundberg with other workers' organiza-Welder orward. Asbestos w'ker Bricklayer is a picture of America under first to dangle from his noose. Fimbermar of Oakland. But the name-callnow available at \$1.49 tions and the anti-fascists in Long live the Socialist Work-Pipe caulker.. Mechanic (auto) $163 \\ 190$ $\frac{36.00}{100}$ ing campaign is not producing Communism, and if his readers The next on the list will be ne mason book that reveals who the general population, it ers Party! Long live the Fourth Structural iron It can hardly be wondered the desired results because would "save" America from whoever belongs to a trade really controls America and would be a cinch to organize 931 84.70 International! Forward to So-44 worker Sheet metal wker or roofer that the A.F.L. members are now the workers are asking this Red peril they must imunion. 50,000 anti-fascist labor guards, how they keep their power. eialist Victory! 932 197 172 316 $\frac{46}{48}$ up in arms over this. William themselves, "Just who are the mediately send in their contri-Coughlin's movement is grow-No revolutionary agitator if the labor unions get behind lazic. Rigger Tile layer No cutter Glazier Green, president of the A.F.L., | agents of the Chamber of Com-| butions of \$1, \$2, \$3, \$5, or anying, and growing dangerously. should be without a copy. the idea." If it is to be stopped it must be and other top leaders have a merce and the Associated thing higher. LABOR BOOKSHOP $\frac{81.02}{84.00}$ real explanation to make for Farmers — those who want to $\frac{84.00}{84.00}$ their bad mistake in allowing fight for jobs and homes or At Your Service Metallic lath'er 1,099 Dock builder . 671 Anti-Jewish Campaign stopped NOW. And the only 48 48 48 116 University Place Father Coughlin's campaign way to stop it is by organizing THE APPEAL Subscribe to The New York City the reduction to go into effect those who are trying to keep us against the Jews continues un-labor defense guards in every Add 3c per book postage Compressor op-'tor (p'table) POSTER SHOP New International 182 7,981 84.00 85.75, without a serious fight. diminished. "If the Jewish boy- union local in the country. quiet?"

COUGHLINITES Jobless Go Without Relief, **Officials Get New Cars**

Rebelling Against Scabby Tactics of W.A.A., WELL FINANCED **Oakland Jobless Form Fighting Union**

By BILL MORGAN (Special to the Socialist Appeal) thousand

with distribution and handling Systematic work shows great many of them aged and blind, creased, critical of the party's tasks of the coming period. are being forced to go ten days who see in the misery of the quotations from Father Cough-

GROW, ARE With Spirited Action Program Organization Discussion and Election of Na-

Anti-War Convention Ends

tional Committee Brings Sessions to Close

(Continued from Page 1)

constant slashing of W.P.A. write in the \$16,000 contest (Continued from Page 1) ition discussed the situation of rolls and sharp reductions in which has just ended reveal that followed. under discussion with the war the unemployed, the party It will be only a matter of time OAKLAND, Cal., July 1- relief funds plus the ever deep- very clearly the demagogic Practically every delegate before we will be in a position problem. Realizing that the press, the program of action workers, ening reaction in California has character of Father Coughlin's who was in any way connected to double our present bundle. Twelve tempo of work must be in-(printed on page 1) and the been accepted by the Stalinists propaganda. Although many



PRESS REPORT which a special speaker will **CONVENTION:** take up a collection for the One of the most constructive paper.

aspects of our Convention was "The branch now sells the the Press Report given by com- Appeal at union meetings and rade Abern and the discussion does house-to-house canvassing.

, then

TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1939

SOCIALIST APPEAL

By Dwight Macdonald A. F. L. Head Raps SPARKS IN THE NEWS New Deal Ruling

For four days I have spent most of my waking hours-and a few of the sleeping hours as well!-at Irving Plaza listening in on the second national convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Although I am not a member of the S.W.P., as a regular contributor to the Appeal, I was invited to sit in on the sessions. It was an enlightening, and heartening, experience

From the convention I carried away chiefly an impression of youth-the average age of the delegates was announced as twenty-eight and a half years-and seriousness. This was no convention of middle-aged cafeteria-table Marxists, splitting fine points of dialectics over the coffee cups. In fact, the convention seemed to indicate that the S.W.P. has struck its roots far deeper into the American working class than I had supposed. These were for the most part working class leaders-in steel, in auto, in rubber, in the maritime field, among the unemployed. There were also, of course, a number of middle-class delegates as wellteachers, journalists, even an accountant or two

But whatever their class origin, the delegates all quite clearly took with the utmost seriousness the sharpening crisis of American capitalism and the imminent threat of war. The high point of the convention, in many ways, was Cannon's brilliant speech on the war question, and the discussion from the floor that followed it.

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The convention revolved around a central axis: the problem of changing the S.W.P. from a propaganda-discussion sect into a mass party, how to turn the party's face toward the masses. The level of the discussion was extremely high, and a great many excellent suggestions and illuminating bits of data came from the delegates' comments. So far as I could see, the sessions were conducted in completely democratic fashion. I was particularly interested in the discussion on the press, with its constant hammering on the point that the Appeal must be written in simpler language, that its articles must be shorter, more concrete, and that it must be changed from a journal of comment into what Burnham called "a campaign paper", concentrating its fire on certain definite objectives. Much the best suggestion seemed to me to be that there should be more letters and news stories from workers in the field, and less journalistic comment written in the editorial office. The responsibility for the lack of original material from the field is hard to place. The Appeal staff pointed out that their correspondents out of New York just didn't write in usable stuff, while, on the other hand, comrades from Chicago and from St. Paul charged that the Appeal had failed to print what they had sent in. Whatever the reasons the lack of first-hand stories from the field is the glaring weakness of the Appeal today.

Two Dangers

The convention illustrated pretty well the two great dangers in this transformation of the S.W.P. into a mass party. On the one hand there are still some bad hangovers from the old propaganda-sect days, not so much in the rank and file as in the top leadership. The sessions, for example, all began from forty-five minutes to almost two hours late. On Tuesday the last day , when many extremely important items on the agenda had not yet been taken up, the session, scheduled for ten a.m., did not approve. begin until ten minutes to twelve. As a result the unemployment discussion was cut so short as to be of little value, and the convention never did get around to several important items on the agenda. There was not the slightest reason, except sloppy management, that the report on unemployment could not have been presented as scheduled at ten.

I am told that at the last convention, in Chicago, meetings began promptly on time. The atmosphere of New York doesn't seem to demoralize the bourgeoisie--so far as I know, banks open promptly at nine and close promptly at three, and directors' meetings begin on the dot-but it has a terrible effect on the leaders of the S.W.P.

In the old days, punctuality was a minor virtue: it didn't make much difference wheth- that in our nation, as in others, son lost no time in announcing er an all-day discussion on the nature of the it is not and has not been for that persons who refused to ac-Soviet state began on the minute or not. But centuries the practice to refuse cept the 'scab' wages fixed by in an active mass party, punctuality is a mini- food even to the worst of crimmum requirement. How can people make a inals. revolution who can't even make an appoint-

ment? The other danger comes from just the opposite quarter. If the top leadership is, understandably enough, not yet free of the attitudes of the old discussion-group days, the new rankand-file is open to another disease. It was expressed in more than one contemptuous allu- NEW OFFICERS DON'T GO sion to "petty bourgeois intellectuals". It also OVER WITH LOCAL 117 came out in a tendency to set the rest of the Dear Comrade:

country in opposition to New York City-a false and fatal antagonism. Several speakers seemed to think of New York as a nest of sterile. isolated. long-haired and long-winded intellectuals for whom every honest worker can administration out of office have nothing but contempt. This anti-intellectual, anti-New York attitude—which unhappily finds some real justification in the hangovers from the party's sectarian past I have mentioned above-seems to me to be the rankest sort of Philistinism. I see nothing immoral ternational was interrupted, Bucks County, one of the about brains. On the contrary, a party obviously needs all the brains, both practical and theoretical, it can command. To damn all theoretical intelligence because intellectuals have their typical weaknesses, is to throw out the baby with the bath.

It remains to be seen whether these defects will be remedied. The intelligence and seriousness of the delegates, and their closeness to the masses—all this seems to promise that they will.



(Continued from Page 1) the system which obtains in think about the Nazi set-up,

"I would remind you, honorable Commissioner, that the onworst sort. ly difference between the Nazi system and the system that we now face through a combina-

tion of Congressional action and your vile ruling is that the Nazis have concentration camps for those who refuse to lower their standards to an indecent level, with the compensating factor, however, that even in the concentration camps food is not generally denied to

the poor victims held there. "I would also remind you

Unemployment a Crime? "Under your interpretation Nazi Germany and which even of your duty, as you see it, deian revolution. The neglect of Negro work, and ou, Mr. Hodson, regardless of cent American citizens whose of the Negro question by the party is, therewhat you evidently privately only crime seems to be the in- fore, a very disquieting sign. The S.W.P. must ability to find non-existent emrecognize that its attitude to the Negro quesdare not publicly and openly proyment in private industry tion is crucial for its future development. are to be placed in a category Hitherto the party has been based mainly on below that of murderers, privileged workers and groups of isolated in-

thieves and other felons of the tellectuals. Unless it can find its way to the great masses of the underprivileged, of whom "Mr. Hodson, your action is the Negroes constitute so important a section, absolutely without a scintilla of the broad perspectives of the permanent revjustification. Your edict is a olution will remain only a fiction and the party

challenge to all those who sincerely believe in decent Amercan standards of living. "In taking this action you have earned, as you so richly deserve, the contempt of every right-thinking American in the City of New York." Hodson's threat was reported

in the press as follows: "Welfare Commissioner Hod-Congress would not get home relief.'



Negro Nationalist Tendencies

Furthermore, the awakening political consciousness of the Negro not unnaturally takes the form of a desire for independent action uncontrolled by whites. The Negroes have long felt and more than ever feel today the urge to create their own organizations under their own leaders and thus assert, not only in theory but in action, their claim to complete equality with other American citizens. Such a desire is legitimate and even when it takes the form of a rather aggressive chauvinism is to be welcomed. Black chauvinism in America today is merely the natural excess of the desire for equality while white American chauvinism, the expression of racial domination, is essentially reactionary. Under any circumstances, it would have been a task of profound difficulty, perhaps impossible, for a revolutionary party composed mainly of whites to win the confidence of the American Negro masses, except in the actual crises of revolutionary struggles. Such possibilities as existed, however, have been practically destroyed by the C.P. Today the politically minded Negroes are turning away from the C.P., and Negro organizations devoted to struggle for Negro rights are springing up all over the North and East. particularly in Harlem. The nationalist tendencies of the Negroes have been fortified, and in addition to the poisoning of racial relations by capitalism, the S.W.P. has now to contend with the heritage left by the C.P. and the pernicious course it is still actively pursuing.

For a Negro Organization

The S.W.P. therefore proposes that its Negro members, aided and supported by the party, take the initiative and collaborate with other militant Negroes in the formation of a Negro mass organization devoted to the struggle for Negro rights. This organization will NOT be either openly or secretly a periphery organization of the Fourth International. It will be an organization in which the masses of Negroes will be invited to participate on a working class program corresponding to the day to day struggles of the masses of Negro workers and farmers. Its program will be elaborated by the Negro organization, in which Negro members of the Fourth International will participate with neither greater nor lesser rights than other members. But the S.W.P. is confident that the position of the Negroes in American society, the logic of the class struggle in the present period, the superior grasp of politics and the morale of members of the Fourth International, must inevitably result in its members exercising a powerful influence in such an organization. The critical support of such an organization by the S.W.P. does not in any way limit the party's drive among Negroes for membership, neither does it invalidate the necessary struggle for the unity of both black and white workers. But that road is not likely to be a broad highway. Such an organization as is proposed is the most likely means of bringing the masses of Negroes into political action, which though programatically devoted to their own interests, must inevitably merge with the broader struggles of the American working class movement taken as a whole. The S.W.P. therefore, while recognizing the limitations and pitfalls of a mass organization without a clearly defined political program, and while retaining its full liberty of action and criticism, welcomes and supports any attempt by Negroes themselves to organize for militant action against our common oppressors, instructs its Negro members to work actively towards the formation and activity of such an organization, and recommends to the party members to follow closely all such manifestations of Negro militancy.



watchful eye on him all the tıme

The spirit of revolt among THE CASE OF A the cloak-makers which led to JOBLESS WORKER the sweeping of the entrenched

I have just returned from a manifested itself at the instal- trip as a member of a grievlation rally of the new officers ance committee from what my worker friends tell me was recently. For the first time in Germany, and my well-to-do years the president of the In- friends tell me was Doylestown keckled, jeered and finally wealthiest counties in the United States. Bristol, which is

forced to stop his speech. It was a strange meeting in many respects. The flower-be-U. S. Senator, President of the decked platform contrasted Pennsylvania Manufacturers' strangely with the tense mood Association and owner of the of the audience. The officials largest mill in the county. of the union parading on it felt Grundy always has the welthemselves at the mercy of the fare of his workers at heart terest among the more advanced Negro workrank and file. One after an- and keeps watch over them for ers and intellectuals. But the bureaucratic creother the ousted officials of fear that they will earn too ation of Negro "leaders", their subservience Local 117 ran the gauntlet of much and then go out and eat to the twists and turns of the party line, their irony and derision. The apolo- so much that their stomachs slavish dependence on the manipulations and getic speech of ex-manager are liable to swell to such pro- combinations of the C.P. leadership, were Levy did not save him. The de-portions that Uncle Joe would seen by interested Negroes not as a transferfeated chairman of the Local, be compelled to shell out a few ence of the methods and practises of the Zuckerman, who started out pennies to increase the size of Kremlin bureaucracy in Moscow to America, innocently, "The past eight his factories so as to house but merely as another example of the use of were the happiest years in my very benevolent fellow, this Un-



Member of I.L.G.W.U.

understood, the American Negro is profoundly suspicious of all whites, and recent events have deepened that suspicion. Dear Comrades: Negroes Often Deceived In the past, the Negro masses have had

disastrous experiences with the Republican and Democratic parties. The boasted benefits that the Negro as a whole are supposed to have received from the New Deal and the Democratic Party can easily be seen for the fraud that they are when it is recognized that its largest town, is the home of it is the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosepatriotic Joe Grundy, former velt which by force and trickery prevents the Negroes from exercising their votes over large areas in the South.

is bound to degenerate.

The S.W.P. proposes therefore to constitute

a National Negro Department which will in-

itiate and coordinate a plan of work among

the Negroes and calls upon its members to co-

operate strenuously in the difficult task of ap-

proaching this work in the most suitable man-

ner. Our obvious tasks for the coming period

are (a) the education of the party, (b) win-

ning the more advanced Negroes for the

Fourth International, and (c) through them

and the work of the party in wider fields in-

fluencing the Negro masses to recognize in

the S.W.P. the only party which is genuinely

working for their complete emancipation from

the heavy burdens they have borne so long.

The winning of Negroes to our movement on

a revolutionary basis is, however, no easy

ask. The Negroes, suffering acutely from the

general difficulties of all workers under cap-

talism, and in addition, from special prob-

lems of their own, are naturally hesitant to

take the step of allying themselves with a

small and heavily persecuted party. But Ne-

gro work is complicated by other more pro-

found causes. For reasons which can be easily

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. from 1928 to 1935 did win a number of Negroes to membership and awakened a sympathetic inlife," was interrupted by gen- cle Joe. He just recently do- est turn beginning in 1935, the C.P. has become openly a party of American bourgeois work that they are doing in the to exist in this new milieu demanded that it imbibe and practise the contradictory discriminations inherent in that society. The Negroes, very sensitive to all such practises, have quickly recognized the new face of the C.P. beneath the mask of demagogy with which it seeks to disguise the predicament in which it finds itself, and the result has been a mass exodus from the party (80 per cent of the New York State Negro membership) and a bitter hostility to the C.P. which reached a

climax when well-known former members of

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR :

OUT OF THE PAST

WILLIAM MORRIS* (March 24, 1834—October 3, 1896)

William Morris became a Socialist at the age of 49

At this time Morris was already famous as one of the outstanding poets of England. He was also widely known as an artist who had revived a dozen different art-crafts-fine printing, tapestries, textile designing, household decoration, etc. He was wealthy and respected.

Yet, at the height of his career, Morris astonished his friends and "the public" by casting his lot with a small obscure political group and throwing his enormous energies, as well as his wealth and reputation. into their work. This group was the pioneer organization of the British Marxists, the Social Democratic Federation, led by H. M. Hyndman.

Not a Dabbler in Socialism

Morris joined the S.D.F. in 1883. His artistic friends thought he joined as an artist dabbling in politics as a diversion. But Morris soon showed he was no mere dabbler in Socialism. He joined the movement as a rank-and-file Jimmy Higgins. For two years-during which mis literary work lapsed-he crowded his days with street-corner speaking in Hyde Park and in the proletarian quarters of London. He called it "street-preaching" and he painfully sought to develop himself as a Socialist agitator for the masses of workers. He was a frequent speaker before workers' groups, and on occasion his reputation gained him entree to middle class organizations where he lectured the white-collar audiences on the necessity of working-class socialism. He was involved in the Trafalgar Square riot of the late 1880's.

It was against his own desire that he was drafted onto the leadership of the S.D.F. and became a member of its executive committee, for he himself recognized that his bent lay in the direction of propaganda work among the masses. Moreover, he cheerfully admitted that he knew little of Socialist theory. And this indeed was one of the reasons for his split with Hyndman and the S.D.F.

Morris was second in prominence only to Hyndman in the ranks of the Federation, but he found that he could not work with Hyndman. For that matter, neither could anyone else; for Hyndman brooked no division of his controlled power over the organization. This tree of friction was complicated by the exstence of an anarchist wing of the Federation, which in 1885 broke away to form the Socialist League.

Morris went along with the Socialist League, aid became one of its leaders, in spite of the 'acl that he disagreed with the anarchists'

This column on William Morris is contributed by Hal Draper. Readers who wish to submit columns on Men and Women of Labor are u ged to do so.

week?' ideas. It was not long, therefore, before he

found himself in opposition in the Socialist League also, and in 1889 he retired to form a Socialist propaganda group, the Hammersmith Socialist Society. To the end of his days, however, he remained an ardent advocate of the Socialist ideal.

country.

Perhaps no one who has attempted to depict the achievement of that ideal has drawn as Brooklyn and 5,000 in the ad- College with special mention of attractive a picture of the future Socialist society as has Morris, in his "News from No- New York jobbers at half the age, Beekeeping, Silo's, Comwhere." Within his limitations, of course. Knowing little of the economic end of the Socialist transformation of society, he emphasized another angle. This was that the new world would be a place where the beauty and the New York shops during the started to work in a cigar facpleasure of labor could be developed, where cultural advance and the flowering of the hu- of-town shops cannot take care worked at the trade for sevenman personality would no longer be hampered of the orders. by the shackles of capitalism, where art would no longer be something appreciated only by highbrows but where it would become an art

for the masses and by the masses. Morris's "Chants for Socialists," in which

he turned his poetic powers to the service of the movement, are also still well worth reading by workers today.

"Art for the Masses!"

Why is the name of William Morris, which figures so prominently in the history of English literature, also remembered by the Socialists?

Today, when the "cultural front" and the "intellectual periphery" of the revolutionary tary to call the roll of the elect- farm. Mr. Pfaff refused to movement are terms that are bandied about. ed officers. He returned after leave. The next day this man it is important to point out that William Mor- a couple of minutes this time appeared again with a 325ris was, if not the first, one of the first artists without his papers to give some pound bully and gave Mr. to join the Socialist movement BECAUSE he was an artist, not IN SPITE OF that fact.

Morris's social and political consciousness was first awakened by his realization that capitalism was not only harmful to the masses who lived in poverty, but also to the developart be healthy when the great mass of human beings had to spend every waking moment thinking of bread and butter, and when only the social parasites could afford to indulge in "patronizing" art? The result was a parasitic art, which was bound to reflect the degeneration of boss-class society.

"Art for the masses!" was the slogan of driving force behind the oppothe ultimate aim of socialism is not merely to out by a few score votes. Presis only the first step-but to make the world himself on that fact. a more beautiful place to live in.

mouthful of food . . .?

By EMANUEL GARRETT eral laughter and the question nated \$5,000 to his staunch Re-'How much did you get a publican friends for the good democracy. Not only to expand, but merely

The biggest "reception" was county and the state of Pennsaved for president David Du-|sylvania.

binsky when he tried to explain The place we visited is called away the plight of the cloak- an assistance office, where we makers by government statis- took up the case of Mr. Pfaff, tics. Some of these figures were a farmer, cigarmaker, and very instructive, e.g. that there concert violinist, who gradu-

are 7,000 cloak makers in ated from Pennsylvania State joining area working for the his proficiency in Tile Drainwages that the New York work- mercial Fruit and Potato er gets. This explains why the growing and Poultry keeping.

seasons last only a couple of **Evicted** from Farm This man, a Republican, weeks, that is, the jobbers need rush period only when the out- tory at the age of thirteen and teen years, saved his money

The uproar started when he and bought a farm. In 1925 he quoted the Labor-Board that planted 973 fruit trees. In 1932 the cloak makers have the high- he sold 3528 baskets of peaches. est hourly earnings in the In 1934 a Democratic poli-"What about annual tician appeared and repreearnings" was the general cry. sented himself as a Secret Ser-The unemployed cloak makers vice Agent trying to find out and the semi-unemployed were why the farmers are losing in no mood to listen to the apol- their farms. He got all the in getics of union leaders whom formation he wanted, and then

they hold responsible for their left. plight. Dubinsky, rattled and About six weeks later he ap-

disconcerted, stopped in the peared again and ordered Mr. middle of a sentence, packed Pfaff off his farm because he his papers and asked the secre- said that he had bought the

said the figures of the elections without the benefit of counsel relief, and that she needed least saying something in our show that a shift of a few hun- or bail. Mr. Pfaff was then help because her husband was behalf. dred votes could have brought told by the authorities that he sick and she needed somebody In a statement issued by ment of art and the beauty of life. How could an entirely new administration. had to go to the poorhouse or to take care of her orchards. Harry Lundeberg, Secretary of As it stands now, part of the else they would send him to the administration slate was elect- Insane Asylum. He preferred ed. Also some disgruntled un- the poorhouse from which he ion officials and of bureaucrats escaped several days later. who saw in which direction the While in jail they tried to sell

> the opposition. The rank and **Denied Relief** Mr. Pfaff has tried to get refile elements who were the

ief since 1936. But the only an-William Morris. He serves to remind us that sition movement were nosed swer he got was that he should assure bread and security to the worker-that dent Dubinsky congratulated that because a lunacy commis- about jobs, but just try to get it is entirely up to him . . . we est possible moment as you sion had examined him. he one.

The meeting ended with the could not get relief. He tried to After all, is it not a most crushing condem- speech of the newly elected get an appointment to see the pened up to this time. The of the Maritime Commission or Roosevelt now has the oppornation of capitalism to realize that after all manager Kaplan. He was not Head Director without an ap- union is going to continue to whether he has any feeling at tunity of proving his devotion. the ages, the most important problem that received over-enthusiastically pointment, with several pret- fight the case, and I'll write to all for the demands of the Those drum beaters for the still faces mankind is the same as that which but the workers are willing to ty girls trying to bar his way you about the latest develop- thousands of seamen of the third term for Roosevelt, "our faces the lowest animal-how to get the daily give him a chance to see what by hanging on to his coat-tails. ments. he can do while they keep a He talked to the Director, but

the C.P. testified against it before the Dies nade no progress. not mind having girls handing on his coat-tails when he was

was hungry. In March. Mr. Pfaff got in touch with our unemployed union and they took up his case and got relief to him from March 10 until June 2 this year. Several days later he received nctice that he was dropped from the relief rolls.

Fake Story

Then the union took up his **Roosevelt** Called to Act case with the head investigator who is a Mrs. LaSpino. She Roosevelt is our friend, we the told us that she was well ac- seamen will appeal directly to quainted with the case and him to speak out in our behalf that this party refused to work | against the tories. Could anyat all. The writer asked her, thing be fairer than that? Since whom, for instance, did he re- he appears to be reluctant to fuse to work for? And she re- speak, we will make that refree advice to the new officials. Pfaff a clubbing, then went and plied that he often said in her quest. If he is really our The extent of the revolt was had Mr. Pfaff arrested and office that he refuses to work friend, he will presumably revealed by Dubinsky when he thrown in jail for seven days for everybody, that he wants grasp the opportunity of at

> The committee did not be- the Sailors Union of the Pacilieve this story and went to see fic, he makes this request on Mr. Pfaff who said this was behalf of the seamen of the seamen for government ships false and that he would take west coast and says: "As the Pacific Coast. I have repeatedthe job. The writer and Mr. situation now stands (in Seat- ly appealed to Chairman Land Ffaff went to Mrs. LaSpino's tle) there is only one out to set- to hire unlicensed personnel farm and asked for the job. the this entire matter and that through union hiring halls. I She replied that she had no is that the President of the will call on Secretary of Com-

money to pay anybody to do United States is the only man merce Hopkins and at my earthe work. The bosses and their who can change the attitude of liest opportunity upon the Preslive off somebody else, and stooges do' a lot of talking the Maritime Commission and ident and urge action at earliwill see in the next day or two suggest.'

Well, that is all that has hap- whether Roosevelt thinks more Fraternally, Pacific Coast."

Howard Stump "On behalf of the member. "prortunity has been provided.

Mr. Pfaff stated that he did Sailors Spike Presidential young, but resented it when he was Order to Hire Fink Crews

(Continued from Page 1) |ship of the Sailors Union of the eration of the Pacific, the con- | Pacific, we told the Maritime vention went on record to sup | Commission that the crumby port the third term for Roose- tubs could stay tied up alongvelt movement. The National side of the dock until such time Maritime Union , now meeting that the Maritime Commission in convention, will undoubtedly was willing to use the same dc likewise.

methods of employment as practiced by private shipown-Very good! If it is true that ers on the Pacific Coast."

A.F.L. Acts

The Houston convention of the American Federation of Labor went on record to support the position taken by the Sailors Union of the Pacific in this hiring hall dispute. In accord with the mandate of that convention and in reply to a request by Lundeberg, President Green wired the sailors that:

"I regret unyielding position which Maritime Commission has assumed regarding hiring

Franklin "I love labor" friend", should rejoice that this

wind was blowing and joined him dope and liquor.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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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. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante
- and Fascist attacks.

A Political Strike

The nation-wide strike of building and construction workers on W.P.A. against the coolie wage rates established on July 1 by the Roosevelt--Woodrum Starvation Law can and must be successful. Congress is in session and will be forced to amend the law, establishing payment of prevailing hourly-wage rates, if the labor movement puts sufficient pressure to bear.

This is a political strike. It differs from the usual economic strike and therefore requires a different strategy to win. The usual economic strike is directed against a private employer. If successful it cuts off his doing business and making profit during the strike, and he is impelled to settle the strike by the drain on his pocketbook. In the well-organized building trades unions, a few banners and pickets are enough to turn the trick in the usual strike.

But in this strike the boss is-

Not a Private Employer

He is not being hurt in his pocketbook. There He is not being hurt in his pocketbook. There is no drain on his profits. He is Congress and Labor Looks Through New York WPA Building Workers

W.P.A. strikers.

the question of connecting up the demands of the building trades workers on W.P.A. with the desires and needs of the-

Unskilled Workers

The unskilled workers, on the same projects, are today largely unorganized. Top pay for the unskilled is about \$55 a month, not enough to live on by a long shot. These laborers are hungry for organization, and the building trades unions have a responsibility toward them. Their support is needed, not so much to tie up the projects perhaps, but certainly in order to win the widespread sympathy without which the strike cannot win. If Congress can be forced to amend the W.P.A. laws so as to provide the prevailing wage rate, it can also be forced to amend the laws so as to provide better wages for the unskilled workers.

If the building trades unions understand the strategical needs of a political strike, we are sure that they will come to understand the pressing need of linking their demands with those of the unskilled workers.

Meanwhile, more power to the strike!

Aping Their Brothers

This past week the British government in India adopted, by decree, a series of laws strictly regulating the activities of any foreigner who comes to India.

Visitors must register with the police as they move about from place to place; they must convince the British that they come only as tourists or on business; they can stay only for a maximum of 3 months.

And these are the same Britishers who talk about fighting for democracy! If a visitor as much as shakes hands with an Indian nationalist who is fighting for the freedom of his country from British rule he can be kicked out as an undesirable element.

Doesn't all of this have a familiar air about it? Isn't this business of passing laws by decree, preventing people from moving about except under the eyes of the police, etc., quite familiar to all of us?

When we condemn the German and Italian brutal dictatorships let's not forget the dirty work of these British imperialists in their colonies. They are doing their best to ape and outstrip the fascists when it comes to the denial of elementary rights.

But all the King's horses and all the King's men cannot prevent the 400,000,000 people of the Indian Empire from carrying on their battle for independence and freedom from the British imperialists.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

There are other ways, too. There is notably In the Disease Ridden Slums We IN See an Indictment of Boss Rule CORNER

The Facts Collected by the Housing Authority, Though Only Partial, Present a Damning Picture of Vermin Infested Slums in Which "One-Third-of-a-Nation" Lives

By RUTH JEFFREY sion was recorded, as of 1936: | softpedalled fact. The very "Overcrowding was not con- worst slums are more than pro-Couched though they are in conservative figures and confined to cities of any particular portionately filled with Negroes servative phrases, the facts size. It prevailed in small and assistance is far less than which the United States Hous- cities, as well as in those with proportionately meted out to ing Authority has picked up in a population of 500,000 or more. them. Where assistance does ts surface-scratching 'slum-In the Central region over-reach them facts such as these campaign (and crowding among families in are uncovered: clearance'' which it will mail free to anysmall cities was almost as

one) present a shocking picwhile in the West cities with a ure

If we could see the entire population of less than 25,000 Authority of the City of Pittscountry from coast to coast in averaged a slightly greater de- burgh, the notorious Wesley bird's eye view, nearly one- gree of overcrowding than the Row tenement, twenty-four Nehalf of its populated surfacelarger cities in this area. In the gro families were living. There or as the President would have South overcrowding was the were no bathing or sanitary it, "one-third"—would look like greatest in the smaller cities facilities whatever; there were a hideous running sore. where . . Regardless of the size and three disgraceful outdoor toillocation of the city, relief and ets for all twenty-four families; the population, pale, underfed, low income families frequent- the sixty-four children scram diseased, fights a losing battle against a plague of cock-ly shared a hallway toilet or an bled over rank weeds and roaches, bed-bugs and lice, and outside privy. lives in daily embittered inti- FACTS ARE

macy with armies of rats. AN INDICTMENT

In these blighted areas live the American masses - the "free American people." Here ious overcrowding and inade- Negroes—or whites either, for flourishes the American Home guate toilet facilities were not that matter. Forty percent of in (almost) all the touching the only failings investigators Pittsburgh's dwellings are subbeauty of a woman's magazine observed in these slum-dwell- standard in the sense that they editorial. Here are conceived ings, despite their preoccupa- need some form of major re the under-privileged youth who tion with those two factors. The pair. fill our schools, streets, facsummary ends:

tories and employment agen-

START IN THE SLUMS

cles.

"The housing information TO DISEASE, DEATH ollected in the Health Survey

NO WONDER EPIDEMICS Note an incidental footnote in government bulletin on health

facilities. It did not take into | burgh will grow appreciably by conditions in slum areas: account the many other aspects | natural increase. The birth rate "The newspapers recently reported a particularly dramof deficient housing, such as is not sufficient to offset the atic example of the fact that the use of one room as a com- high death rate. In 1933 Neold frame buildings are often bined kitchen, dining room, liv- groes, being 8.2 percent of the ing room and bathroom. Con- total population in this city, infested with vermin, beyond hope or possibility of extermingestion in the halls and on the suffered 14 percent of all the streets, lack of adequate venti- deaths, 15 percent of infant ation. The Syracuse Housing ation, absence of sunlight, in- deaths, 24 percent of the deaths Authority is in process of desufficient natural or artificial from pneumonia, and no less molishing several blocks of illumination, dilapidation of than 35 percent of the deaths slums preparatory to putting up a large housing project with buildings, and fire and other from tuberculosis." U.S.H.A. assitance. Demolition hazards were not recorded. has actually been delayed by The Public Health Service in-scratch the surface. The story

the pressing problem of what to do about the rats. It is esti- lationship of these factors to Americans really live in this mated there are half a million accidents, infectious diseases land of freedom and opporturats in the area as a whole (200 and normal growth of chil- nity has still largely to be told. ver former occupant) and that dren." Maybe it is not an acci-It is obvious that the United it will cost \$500 a block to get dent that these new national States rid of them and thus prevent reports confine themselves to which is at best, by its own neighboring areas from becom- one or two factors at a time. figures, helping only 4 percent, ing doubly infested. No wonder All factors, surveyed in one the "aristocracy" pidemics start in the slums!'

Bad conditions are admitted damning document than any solve the housing question. Onto be of nation-wide prevalence capitalist government would ly the slum-dwellers — that is and not at all confined to large dare issue to its citizens. cities. In a national health survey, "Overcrowding and Sani- to the depths of the slums, one theirs, only they can help themtation", the following conclu-becomes aware of a carefully selves

"In one tenement house just great as in the large cities, demolished on the Bedford Dwellings Site of the Housing heaps of rubbish; and one 9member family occupied a single room. Unfortunately A government summary of Wesley Row is not the only rot this survey indicates that ser- ten slum dwelling occupied by

CONDEMNS NEGROES

. . Unless special public of the U.S. Public Health Ser- measures are extended and vice was confined exclusively radical health measures are apto the problem of overcrowding plied, it does not seem likely and to the adequacy of toilet that the Negro group in Pitts

These few quotations just dicated, however, the close re- of how tens of millions of Housing Authority of slumpaper, might produce a more dwellers, certainly will not the masses themselves-when Going a little more deeply in- they organize the power that is

The action of the Stalinist youth organization's representatives on the resolutions dealing with 'dictatorship'' at the American Youth Congress, offers a significant commentary on the development of the Communist Party line, and on politics in general.

By Max Shachtman

TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1939

THIS

The Stalinists began, a few years ago, to deck themselves out in "democratic" garments for a very deliberate and well-thought-out purpose. The wild-eyed adventurism of the "Third Period" had ended in disaster. The hope that friendly relations could be maintained with the Hitler regime, on the basis of Russia's (and the Comintern's) traditional hostility to the Versailles Treaty, was speedily dispelled by the Nazis' belligerent avowal of designs upon Soviet territory. With the signing of the Franco-Soviet pact, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 decreed that henceforward Bolshevism was equivalent to support of class collaboration, a passionate attachment to "democracy" and a holy war against fascism.

How Serious the Change

Virtually at a stroke, the workers were denied both their independent and their leading roles and assigned the part of voting and fighting cattle of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. The French Stalinists resurrected Joan of Arc and Browder re-discovered his childhood affinity for George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson and that other Great American, the Fourth of July spieler. Communism became Twentieth-Century Americanism, Roosevelt the torch-bearer of Progress, and all C.P. members-vehement Democrats.

How was this drastic change of policy carried through so easily in the C.P.? In the first place, it was not so easy. How many members quit the party in disgust will not be known for a long time. because published figures are not yet available. But it is no exaggeration to say that those members who did swallow the new line did so because it was whisperingly explained to them that it was not to be taken seriously.

Not to be taken seriously? Exactly. We don't believe in this "democracy" stuff, it goes without saying, but it ought to make us popular with a lot of people and gain us a large number of recruits and sympathizers. And, once we have won them on that basis, why, it should be a simple matter to teach them to be "real reds." At the same time, it will take the edge off bourgeois criticism and attack. and enable us to penetrate into circles that would otherwise be closed to us. Our "democratic" pretensions will be, so to say, the Trojan horse which will be innocently allowed to enter into the very heart of the masses and within which will be concealed our "revolutionary" ideas. This is not fantastic speculation; it is substantially how Dimitroff outlined the strategy of the Stalinists at the Seventh C.I. Congress; it is how it was explained for a long time, with a knowing wink, by rank and file communists.

Apart from all other considerations, the main trouble with this cunning scheme was that it was conceived in violation of the laws of nature and of politics. No matter how clever and staunch its originators may have thought themselves, no matter how sure the sincere rank and filer was that he would remain, in his heart of hearts, a real revolutionist and that he would "come out with it" as soon the situation warranted throwing off the shrewd disguise-the murderous logic of the position adopted developed with full and predictable force. Even though he still believed he was playing an astute game, still deceiving both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, Browder let more of the cat out of the bag than he thought when he testified before the McNaboe investigating committee in New York. Quite rightly — at least in one sense — he pointed out that it is impossible to reconcile the accusation of hidden revolutionary aims with the fact that the people recruited by the C.P. nowadays are won to its fold by the emphasis on capitalist Democracy and the need of preserving it. But he was right in only one sense; and wrong in another, namely, in that he secretly believes that if it is ever decided to make another "left turn" in policy, all those recruited by the C.P. on the "democratic" basis will string along merely because Browder's apparatus so decrees.

President Roosevelt.

This difference between an economic and a political strike-what difference in strategy does it demand if the strike is to be won?

First of all, it requires as many banners and pickets as possible. In the ordinary building trades strike, a single bannerman may be enough; he is there primarily to make it clear to prospective workingmen that a strike is in progress there; the sight of him is enough usually to keep the job tied up.

But in this strike, the banners and pickets have a twofold task: not only to keep the job tied up, but equally important, to publicize to the entire public the fact that the job is tied up, and why it is tied up. That requires not only tens of thousands of pickets and banners, but a kind of banner that is not ordinarily used by the building trades unions: big signs explaining to the public just what the union demands are and why they are justified.

Secondly, these pickets and banners must be backed up by---

Loads of Publicity

Massed, organized public opinion will win this strike; the first step to organize that opinion is to tie up the projects; the next step is to explain, explain, explain. To depend upon the daily capitalist press to provide the public with information about the strike and the issues involved would be fatal to the outcome of the strike. It is unfortunate that the labor press is so small, without daily papers, etc. In moments like this, one realizes how organized labor penalizes itself by failing to build a real daily press. For the emergency, this lack must be made up for.

It can be made up for by issuing millions of leaflets and distributing them to the general public, by special editions of local labor papers, by buying radio time for union broadcasts, by strikers' speeches on every possible street corner, by cruising sound trucks, by house-to-house distribution of posters and stickers to be displayed in windows facing the streets indicating that that family is sympathetic to the strike—in a word, by all the avenues of publicity already well-tested by the progressive sections of the labor movement.

These are ways to assure the success of the



Page the Relief Administration-Under the headline, "Here's something college youths have overlooked," a U.P. dispatch tells how a 51-year-old Lincoln, Nebraska, world war veteran has solved not only the grasshopper but the problem of human existence. He carries a butterfly net and is thus able to catch 250 grasshoppers daily which he eats raw. His theory is that they are not only edible but delicious.

France plans to construct a submarine to replace the Phenix, which sank recently with a loss of 61 lives. Gad! What magnificent spirit those French bosses display-with the lives of other persons.

A committee of the United Blind Workers of Minnesota will meet with the executive board of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union to plan a campaign to alleviate the living conditions of blind workers of the city and state. Some Minneapolis workers may be blind, but they're not dumb. * * *

Bull-etin-"Business is fundamentally and necessarily moral as a condition of its own existence,' says Henry Ford's own mouthpiece, W. J. Camer-He assailed "crack-brained" leaders "who preach to gullible people that business is naturally evil and necessarily predatory." * * '

Judge W. Calvin Chesnut, New York Federal District judge, declares that the case of Judge Martin T. Manton, found guilty of accepting bribes and sentenced to two years in prison, is unprecedented in the 150-year history of American jurisprudence. You bet it's unprecedented. He was not only caught, but actually sentenced to prison!

Several thousand bankers attending a convention of the Minnesota Bankers Association at St. Paul met the secret service in the person of John D. Voss, agent in charge of the Wisconsin district. The U.S. Secret Service is composed of quiet, efficient fellows whose duty it is to protect the president, to make life miserable for counterfeiters, and who investigate and stifle all kinds of attempts to defraud the government. Well, John, what are you waiting for?

* * *

Look who's talking!-John C. Gail, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, charges that the National Labor Relations Board "... has been hostile to employers . . . have violated many elementary principles of fair play, and that they have not only not contributed to a reduction of the volume of labor disputes, but have in fact sown the seeds of future discord."

Horror item: U. S. Attorney General Frank Murphy believes the LaFollettes of Wisconsin are "the best political stock in the nation."

Ready for "Strike to the Finish"

announced earlier in the day hours to be worked by the rest (Continued from Page 1) odson-one Roosevelt's direct that "if the A.F.L. doesn't want would more than fill the gap ieutenant and the other an ar- to work for the government, they left. In other words, if the dent New Dealer associated that's its business," Murray present law remains in effect, with Mayor La Guardia—the countered: "When the W.P.A. half the building trades workstrike action meant a head-on wants competent men on its ers employed up to July 1 collision between the labor projects, it appeals to the un- would be fired. For the present movement and the Roosevelt ion." All construction projects law forces the skilled worker administration. will have to shut down. "Labor- to work twice or more hours Indicating his understanding ers cannot work if skilled per month than formerly for of the political nature of the craftsmen are off the job," less wages. A typical example strike, President Murray in his Murray pointed out. "There are is one category, under which interview with the press de-usually four or five laborers at skilled mechanics are now to clared: "The best way to prowork 120 hours of work for tached to one skilled union me-\$85.20 as compared to the pretest is to carry through the chanic."

kind of action we have just envious rate of \$84 for 42 hours Asked by the newspapermen coming from Murray's office Nearly three times as many dorsed. The only people who what would happen in the event hours of work! an change this law are the people who made it"-that is, of a prolonged strike, Somer- DANGEROUS Congress and President Roosevell handed them a telegram PRECEDENT

velt, against whom the strike is from Col. F. C. Harrington, national W.P.A. administrator, ordering dismissal of all men absent from the job for five con-

In grim answer to a question secutive days. rom a reporter whether he be-NO RELIANCE ON jeved the strike would be suc-CAPITALIST PRESS cessful, Murray replied: "This

ogically directed.

W.P.A. STRIKE

WON LAST

ing."

day.

The issues in this strike are is our second experience with the W.P.A. on the matter of the clearly defined, and if the labor prevailing wage. The last movement does not depend on trike, in 1935, lasted six weeks the capitalist press to provide and proved successful in main- the public with the necessary taining the prevailing wage information, but issues leaflets in the millions to explain its rate.'

In a resolution adopted by the stand, overwhelming public building trades council, the opinion will back the building presidents of all international trades workers in forcing Conunions were called upon to gress to amend the Rooseveltadopt "ways and means" of Woodrum Law.

having the Roosevelt-Woodrum Law amended, in order to "pre- admitted by Administrator have for long succeeded in payvent such an atrocious measure Somervell himself, when he ing a certain rate of wages from tempting private industry stated that most of the men on private industry generally to follow the attempt of the strike the first day-Wednes-¹ tends to approximate the same Works Progress Administra-

trades workers from receiving a wage rate comparable with

the American standard of liv-The resolution also set up special committees—in actuality strike committees—within each borough under the jurisdiction of the council. Picketing was to begin Fri \$18 Weekly

Told by newspapermen that Col. Brehon Somervell, N. Y. local W.P.A. administrator, had

That would not only mean that at least half the skilled workers would be dropped from W.P.A. but also that the remaining men would' receive substantial cuts in their actual

income. But over and above these vicious effects of the new law is the dangerous precedent provided by the government tor wage-cutting employers. For years it had been universally recognized and admitted by government officials that wage rates paid by government agencies, whether regular agencies or the P.W.A. or W.P.A., constitute a "floor" for wages in private industries.

The crux of the matter was Wherever government agencies

The Roosevelt - Woodrum edict is, therefore, a terrible blow against the wage rates of skilled workers everywhere, directly, and indirectly against the wage rates of all workers. That is the tremendous significance of the fight now being waged by the building trades unions—a fight to prevent the government from opening the sluice gates to wage-cutting, hour-increasing and mass firings on W.P.A. and private industry alike.

The Logic of Politics

There is a logic in political lines that no person, no movement can escape. Once the Stalinists took their "democratic" course, they were confronted with such widespread skepticism that, ever since, they have had to spend most of their time going to the most radical extremes in order to prove their "sincerity." Where the ordinary bourgeois politician, for example, merely states his patriotism, the Stalinists find themselves compelled to shriek to the pitch of blatant chauvinism. Where an ordinary bourgeois democrat merely states, in a quiet and unostentatious manner, that he is not a believer in dictatorship or fascism, the Stalinists are now compelled to eat course after course of crow and even to denounce communism and dictatorship in the same breath with fascism and Nazism.

That's the meaning of the ignominious, self-humiliating posturing of the Stalinists at the American Youth Congress. To prove that they were not reds, that they were blown-in-the-bottle democrats, they were forced to vote for a resolution which, in sum and substance, places communism in the same bag with fascism. Hitler's regime, Mussolini's regime, were denounced in the same terms as Stalin's regime and, for that matter, the regime of Lenin in the early years of the revolution. For, as we understand it, in those years at least both Lenin and Stalin called the Soviet republic a dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Be it resolved that this Congress of youth record its opposition to all forms of dictatorship, regardless of whether they be communist, fascist, Nazi or any other type, or bear any other name. That's the resolution Gil Green, boss of the Young Communist League voted for. Unbelievable? Yes, yes, but literally true nonetheless. Fa more unbelievable is the fact that his organization still bears the name ''communist.''

We have said for some time: There is nothing communist about the Communist party except its name. How long will we have to wait before it me. comes possible to drop those last three words

INFORMAL HOUSE Box 245 Kerhonkson, N. Y. (Near Ellenville) 120 acres of greenland in the Catskills. 40 acres of pine for sunbathing; handball, ping pong, archery; swimming and horse-back riding nearby; dancing. UNUSUALLY LOW RATES \$6 Weeken Busses met at station Tel. Kerhonkson 118 R

day-would not have to be re-|rate of wages. tion, in preventing building placed because the lengthened