

# Let the People Vote on War!

At the Moment War Breaks, Every Person Will Be Forced Under the War Machine's Totalitarian Heel

By JAMES BURNHAM

## Totalitarian War

IN PAST civilizations, war was usually the business of a restricted class or caste of the population. The great majority not only took no part in the fighting, but, in point of fact, their lives were very little affected, even indirectly, by the conduct and outcome of wars and battles.

In feudal times, for example, most of the people were serfs and *vassals*, who lived attached to the land where they were born. They gained their sustenance from locally self-sufficient agriculture and simple handicrafts, with scarcely any trade or commerce. They were required to turn over a certain percentage of their crops to their feudal lord, and usually also to work for a certain number of days each year on jobs assigned to them by their lord or his bailiffs. They were not, however, subject to any kind of military service.

With the exception of one or two of the Crusades, wars were fought exclusively by members of the feudal nobility itself, assisted by their personal servants who acted, however, in non-military capacities. Fighting was considered, you might say, to be a "privilege" and prerogative of the nobility. In these feudal wars, not many persons, even of the nobility, were killed. Most weapons were crude, suited not for mass slaughter but for individual, hand-to-hand combat; and fairly adequate protective devices, such as armor and shields, were worn.

The results of these wars, moreover, did not greatly affect the conditions of life of the great majority. Sometimes a chivalric army would commandeer all the crops of a given district, or even lay it waste by fire and pillage. But, since the armies were small and slow-moving, the roads few and poor and scattered, this did not happen often in any particular place. And the question of who won the war was of hardly any concern to the average serf. His duties and obligations were the same whether Baron X or Count Y was his lord.

Even in the first centuries of modern times, the situation did not greatly change. In fifteenth century Italy, for instance, where the first stage of modern civilization reached its height, the powerful cities usually conducted wars by hiring mercenary armies. Most of the citizenry kept busy at its industrial and commercial tasks, and the major inconvenience of war was only an added drain on the treasury.

## Everybody Involved Now

Today, everything is changed. The world-wide division of labor, the development of a world economy, rapid transportation and communication, more or less universal education, have transformed war from the sport of nobles or the profession of mercenaries into a mass enterprise involving every single member of the population. Directly or indirectly, *everyone* is part of the war machine.

In the first place, in our day, vast numbers of the population are *directly* concerned in the fighting of a war. The war armies are not restricted groups of professionals but mass armies made up of millions of individuals. Most of these millions are drafted or conscripted from the broad ranks of workers and peasants and farmers. In the battles of modern wars, great masses of people are killed or wounded. In the war of 1914-18 at least thirteen million were killed, and about thirty million more were wounded.

But with the growth of new methods of fighting, such as airplane bombing and gas attacks, many persons who are not soldiers are killed and wounded in modern battles. A bomb or a gas shell does its work as quickly on old women or children as on men with uniforms.

In modern war, moreover, death and wounds and disease are not confined to the battlefields. Scarcity of food, disruption of medical service, dislocation of hygienic and sanitary measures, all extend the casualty lists traceable to the war by untold millions.

These factors, however, all of them directly bound up with war in its fighting aspect, by no means complete the picture. The war of 1914-18 taught us that in modern war, the *entire* population and *all* activities must be assembled into the war machine. The army is no longer just the soldiers in uniform; everyone belongs to the army. Every factory, mine and mill and farm go on a war basis. Education and movies and religion and art are harnessed to war propaganda. All organizations, such as political parties and unions and clubs and fraternal societies, either line up for the war or are illegalized. No "individual freedom" is tolerated. Everyone must think and talk and act for the war, or be subject to the most severe penalties.

## Includes All Humanity

In short, war has become, in our day, *totalitarian*. War is no longer a matter for some sections of the population, and some types of activities. War dominates and controls the total life and activities of the totality of the population. The governments and general staffs of every nation recognize this to be the case. That is why the war plans of all governments include the organization of the whole country and the entire population along totalitarian lines. In the case of the United States, as elsewhere, these plans are fully prepared. Many of them are included in the famous document known as the "Industrial Mobilization Plan," the provisions of which are scheduled to go into effect on "M"-Day—the day that war begins.

The problem of modern war is, thus, a problem for every human being. With the destiny of each one of us at stake, it would seem wise and proper for us to try to decide ourselves what to do, and not to turn ourselves blindly over to the hands of others.

(Continued in next issue: "The History of the Ludlow War Referendum")

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# Workers! One Hundred Percent Support to the WPA Strikers!



## Coughlin Delivers Fascist Blast Against Workers Defense Guards

Hits Proposal Made By Milton to Local 66 of I.L.G.W.U.

By JOSEPH HANSEN

In a violent one-hour tirade last Sunday over his nationwide radio hook-up, Father Coughlin attacked the formation of anti-fascist union guards, as if he feared that any minute they might mop up the fascist gangs he is organizing.

Father Coughlin's attack was specifically directed against Harry Milton's proposal to Local 66 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union that they organize Anti-Fascist Union Guards. Coughlin's attack on Milton should dispel the last doubt which might linger in anyone's mind that Father Coughlin is deliberately planning to introduce fascism in America.

This attack proves once and for all that Father Coughlin realizes perfectly that anti-fascist union guards are the ONE FORCE which can stop him cold.

Father Coughlin began his bitter and slanderous attack against the formation of anti-fascist union guards by reading over the air a resolution which had been introduced in Local 66 of the I.L.G.W.U. by one of its prominent members, Harry Milton.

### Union Guard Resolution

The resolution urges the I.L.G.W.U. immediately to organize an anti-fascist union guard in order to defend itself from fascist groups and preserve the democratic rights and civil liberties of labor.

The resolution is now under consideration by the International Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U.

Father Coughlin slandered Harry Milton throughout his entire period on the air, asserting that Milton "marched against the people of Spain"

He's Got the Idea!



HARRY MILTON

under the domination of the Stalinists.

### Milton's Actual Record

Harry Milton served with the Independent Labour Party contingent of the 29th Division of the Loyalist Army, heroically defending on the battlefields the Spanish workers against the attack of General Franco's fascist legions. Milton was arrested by the G.P.U.-Stalinist secret service—and imprisoned with hundreds of his fellow militiamen, anarchists, socialists, and other militants. Only by the narrowest of margins did he escape death at the hands of Stalin's G.P.U.

In introducing the resolution in Local 66 of the I.L.G.W.U., which was attacked by Coughlin, Milton stated:

"We must not wait until our own union is broken into and smashed by fascist gangs, as they will attempt tomorrow or the day after, but to stop the fascists now, wherever they attempt to deprive any worker or workers' organization of its constitutional rights."

"The Coughlin gangsters have already broken into a

Radio Speech Proves Guards Are Way to Stop Coughlinites

workers' headquarters—the Debs School—and have succeeded in breaking up numerous meetings of labor organizations in the city. Last week they tried to break up an American Labor Party meeting where Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, was the speaker; fortunately the transport workers were prepared."

A few weeks ago beside the above-mentioned attacks against labor, the Coughlinites knifed a school teacher on 14th Street in New York City and attempted to break into the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, knifing an anti-fascist who was on guard.

Father Coughlin fears the formation of anti-fascist labor guards more than any other single force which might attempt to stop him in his plans to thug his way to fascist power in America.

"Only one thing could have broken our movement—if the adversary had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed, with the most extreme brutality, the nucleus of our new movement," (Hitler)

"If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly. . . . It would have crushed in blood the very beginning of our work." (Goebbels)

Coughlin understands that the formation of anti-fascist union guards will prevent him from introducing fascism in America!

That is why he opposes the formation of anti-fascist union guards with such a deadly fear!

## The Fight of the Building Trades Workers Is the Fight of American Labor

### President Roosevelt--Strikebreaker

Colonel F. C. Harrington, national administrator of W.P.A., sent the following telegram of instructions to all W.P.A. State Administrators: "Those who do not desire to accept employment under these conditions and who absent themselves from work for five consecutive days or longer, shall have their employment terminated."

Colonel Somervell, New York W.P.A. Administrator, has declared that "next Tuesday" (July 11) is "the date for discharge of those who stay off the job."

Colonel Harrington is an appointee of President Roosevelt.

Colonel Somervell is an appointee of President Roosevelt.

The Roosevelt Government—STRIKE-BREAKER!

### NEW YORK

#### Launch Drive to Get Backing of Unskilled Workers for Strike

NEW YORK CITY, July 10—Intensified drives to organize the largely unorganized unskilled W.P.A. workers in support of the strike movement called by the A.F.L. building trades were launched early Monday morning, notably by the Jamaica and Astoria divisions of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union of New York.

In a leaflet issued in the tens of thousands to the workers on W.P.A. projects, the locals called upon the unskilled workers to organize and strike.

The leaflet makes clear the role of the Roosevelt administration. "The \$10,000-a-year stooges of the bosses in Congress have joined

See page 4 for editorial on the W.P.A. Strike.

with \$100,000-a-year President Roosevelt to destroy the living conditions of the W.P.A. workers, to slash their wages and lengthen their hours.

"The entire labor movement of the United States," the leaflet continues, "is keenly aware that this is nothing but the first step to grind ALL WAGES below SLAVE levels and to throw every W.P.A. worker out into the streets."

Calling upon the unskilled workers to join the picket lines of the skilled workers already out, the leaflet concludes by saying: "Your wages, your hours, your livelihood, the very existence of W.P.A. depend upon the successful outcome of this fight. The army colonels are threatening the strikers with arrests. But American labor will not allow W.P.A. to be turned into a concentration camp."

Flying squadrons of speakers have been dispatched to the projects to win workers to the strikers' side. Large numbers of militants are participating in the mass distribution of leaflets.

### AKRON

#### Unskilled Workers Plan Joint Action With Construction Strikers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, O., July 10—Fighting desperately to defend its organization and wage scales, the A.F.L. building trades unions in three counties surrounding Akron struck the W.P.A. today.

Announcing that they intend to strike until "Congress passes some emergency legislation to correct the situation," the A.F.L. Tri-County Building and Construction Trades Council, centering in Akron, tied up work on all major W.P.A. projects today.

Major Projects Affected Although only 300 skilled craftsmen are immediately affected by the call, their strike will close the major construction projects. The building trades unions ignored threats of mass firings and of criminal prosecution, with which the new W.P.A. law threatens all who interfere with work on the projects.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party-controlled Workers Alliance worked feverishly to head off any genuine protest from the thousands of unskilled project workers. Under complete Stalinist control, the Alliance openly ordered 800

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### MINNEAPOLIS

#### Local 544 WPA Section Joins Strike as Labor Movement Backs Action

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 8—The Minneapolis Building Trades Council will open strike headquarters Monday morning at the Central Labor Union hall.

The St. Paul Building Trades Council plans to follow the same procedure as the Minneapolis Council and endorse the strike. A Protest Action Committee, constituted by the St. Paul Workers Benefit Association, the W.P.A. and unemployed organization, and the trade unions, has been established to direct the strike in that city.

The C.I.O. in Minneapolis has officially endorsed the strike.

The Minnesota Workers Alliance this afternoon issued a call for a statewide W.P.A. strike, only to take all the guts out of the strike call by lamely suggesting that "workers could meet on projects every morning, discuss next steps and leave after an hour or two."

In Duluth, W.P.A. strikers have threatened to close up city W.P.A. headquarters if an attempt is made to operate projects.

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### ST. LOUIS

#### Thousands in Strike Protest Against Gov't Starvation Bill

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ST. LOUIS, July 7—Nearly 10,000 W.P.A. workers are now on strike in seven southern Illinois counties, and the A.F.L. Building Trades of St. Louis voted today to call its 500 skilled workers off the W.P.A. projects in St. Louis and St. Louis County beginning Monday morning. The strike movement has reached a peak. Workers on W.P.A. projects throughout this region are eager to fight the reactionary Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Law, and are proving it by pouring out on the picket lines. The chief demand of the strikers, so far, is the rescinding of the 130 work week under the new relief law.

The action of the St. Louis Building Trades Council came after the inspiring news that 650 W.P.A. workers had walked out on strike

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### ROCHESTER

#### Strike Action Spreads Fast as Men Down Tools Spontaneously

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ROCHESTER, N. Y., July 9—When the orders increasing W.P.A. hours to 130 appeared on the projects last Wednesday, spontaneously the workers downed tools and walked out on strike. Before the end of the day, about 2,000 workers were on strike and by Friday the number had increased to 3,000. Flying squadrons, in the majority of cases organized on the spot, made lightning trips to projects in the area, while the A.F.L. Building Trades pulled its members out on strike.

Administrator Fires "Agitators" In spite of these threats, which on Friday were added to by the threat of arrest and no relief,

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# New Deal Officials' Threats Fail to Slow Up National W.P.A. Strike

## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Victory for organized labor in this W.P.A. battle can mark the beginning of a real offensive against the wave of reaction that gathered strength in the past two years.

This fight should serve as an inspiration for the unemployed and project workers throughout the country. Unless the Workers Alliance, and this is doubtful, can completely divert the energy of the workers.

Strong attention to the need of organizing all W.P.A. and unemployed workers has been brought on by this strike.

### Life or Death

To the A.F.L. unions involved this battle is virtually a life and death struggle. Unless union scales are maintained on W.P.A. projects, the door would be opened for a nationwide employers' drive against the building trade union contracts.

Considerable dissatisfaction already exists among the building trades rank and file unionists. The C.I.O. has been exploring the possibility of entering that field.

Reports from Washington indicate that top A.F.L. leaders are already looking around for the scapegoat in the situation. Mathew Woll, prominent in legislative lobbying, it has been hinted, was responsible for the fact that the A.F.L. didn't put up a fight against the Woodrum bill.

The A.F.L. simply can not afford to lose this strike, and the top leaders apparently know it. The whole problem of the unemployed and project workers has received a nationwide spotlight because of the current strike wave. Never again will it be easy to hide it on the last pages of the newspapers.

Victory in this battle brings the possibility of further struggles and victories for the unemployed and project workers. Just as the first C.I.O. strike victories became a national trend, an A.F.L. victory now should serve as a powerful stimulant for all labor.

### Up to Unions

The value of organized labor taking up the problem of organizing the unemployed and the W.P.A. workers has been clearly demonstrated by the present situation.

Contrast the "Right to Work Congress" of the Workers Alliance and all its phoney baloney, to the militant action of the A.F.L. building trades unions. The Workers Alliance served simply to fool the unemployed and project workers into a false sense of security "by trusting our friend Roosevelt."

It weakened the will to struggle of the workers. The A.F.L. building trades not only have showed themselves as more militant than the Alliance but more capable of putting up a fight for its rights.

And when one reads the Northwest Organizer, organ of the Minneapolis teamsters movement, on the real fight and victories of the unemployed section of the truck drivers union, one sees again the tremendous value and vital necessity of organized labor directly handling the problems of the unemployed and project workers.

### FASCISTS THREATEN NEGRO ACTOR

NEW YORK—Lou Layne, acting executive secretary of the Negro Actors Guild of America this week received a swastika-signed letter which threatened to "finish Jew kikes and Niggers."

The vilifying message scrawled in a semi-literate hand, asserted "We American Nazis will finish the Jew kikes, then we will get rid of you Niggers and we will have all White Nazis and will keep you for horses, till we kill you all by order of our Hitler."

This letter is another indication that the fascists will attempt to whip up a tremendous race hatred campaign in this country against the Negro and the Jew.

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## 'WE ARE NOT INTIMIDATED IN THE LEAST' SAY UNION LEADERS

The strike clash between the A.F.L. unions and the government over W.P.A. wage rates grows more grim each day as government officials make threats to carry out punitive actions against the strikers.

**BULLETIN**  
The A.F.L. National Council has called a conference for July 12 of all heads of its international unions on the W.P.A. strike.

and union leaders answer with sharp condemnations and redoubled strike efforts.

Above all, the stage is set for head on collision by the threat of President Roosevelt's appointee, national W.P.A. administrator Col. F. C. Harrington, that any striker absent from work five days would be permanently removed from W.P.A. rolls.

Answering a similar threat by the N. Y. administrator, Col. Brehon Somervell, Thomas Murray, president of the New York building trades council, told him off Monday afternoon: "We are not intimidated in the least by the threat of Col. Somervell that men who do not return to work tomorrow will be dismissed."

"Our work-stoppage protest against the vicious new W.P.A. law will continue tomorrow and thereafter until the prevailing rate principle, which Congress had steadfastly upheld for five years until July 1, is restored."

"Utterly contemptible," was the characterization applied by George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, to New York City Welfare Commissioner William Hodson's threat to refuse home relief to all strikers, and President Meany applied the same extraordinarily sharp term to a like threat by David C. Adie, N. Y. State Commissioner of Social Welfare.

In Rochester, N. Y., the Roosevelt-appointed W.P.A. director, Robert Hoffman, fired permanently 68 W.P.A. workers as "agitators." Police were called in by W.P.A. directors in the Twin Cities and other places to "protect" the projects.

Murray vs. Somervell  
In New York, Monday afternoon the W.P.A. administrator, Col. Somervell, moved to direct

strikebreaking attempts, ordering skilled men from other jobs to report to work on projects closed down by the strikers. "Work will go on, regardless of what the unions say," said Somervell. But the men so ordered in almost all cases refused to check in on the job when they found it had been struck.

On Friday, Col. Somervell had attempted to frighten the strikers by announcing that he would prosecute on felony charges all persons who interfere with work on W.P.A.

He got the answer he deserved from Thomas Murray, president of the building trades council:

"The demand of Col. Somervell for the arrest and confinement in prison of these men is at once a long step away from our cherished American democracy and a running broad jump in the direction of a dictatorship of the Nazi-fascist type."

"It is the most unspeakably shameful and vicious attack ever made on American workers in the entire history of our country. The workers will not be intimidated one iota by his monstrous and utterly contemptible threat."

When Somervell pulled the old trick of saying he had lots of letters from "loyal workers" who wanted to go back to work but wanted protection on the job—the "back to work" formula which has come to be known as the "Mohawk valley formula" because of its use there in breaking a strike by the Remington-Rand company, President Murray said:

"It appears that Col. Somervell is trying to employ the noisome Mohawk Valley formula. . . . The people of New York are thoroughly familiar with the despicable tricks of this strikebreaking formula and won't be deceived one iota by it."

"Back to work on Monday or lose your jobs," threatened John C. Clarke, Supervisor of W.P.A. in Upstate New York. In Toledo, O., O. P. Van Schoik, Chief Relief Examiner, told 14,000 striking W.P.A. workers that they will be ineligible for relief while on strike, and gave them until Tuesday to return to work.

## Strike Sidelights . . .

By STAN LAUREN  
At the Strike Front, North Beach Airport, Queens, Monday.

The North Beach Airport W.P.A. construction project, the biggest project of them all, is completely tied up. Picket lines are maintained at all times. The airport project usually employs 23,000 men.

A mass meeting was held this morning by the Building and Construction Trades Council on an open lot a few blocks from the airport. A better demonstration of workers' solidarity could not be found. Every union involved in the strike was present. Speakers from every union pledged to continue the fight until victory is assured. Thousands attended.

Hundreds of men, coming to report for work, saw the picket line, put their tools aside, and joined the line.

A worker, Herman F., told of the plight of the North Beach airport workers. He lives in the Bronx, and works on one of the electrical construction projects at the airport. Herman F.'s story is practically the story of every W.P.A. worker who works on one of the six hangers under construction at North Beach.

"We found it damn difficult before the cut, when we were making \$85 a month for 120 hours' work. Now it's the same pay for 130 hours. I live way uptown in the Bronx. To travel here to work every day costs me thirty cents a day, plus three and a half hours wasted by traveling. That's about \$6 alone for carfare. Rent costs me \$35 a month and my family don't live like kings. Before I get done spending money for food for my wife and child there is nothing left. If any one can figure out how we can buy clothes, or pay for a doctor when someone in the family is sick, we would damn well like

to hear about it. We just can't do it."

Another worker told of the hazards the men go through daily when they work for this starvation wage. "The men are always in danger," he said. "I have been out on this project since last September and I know of about twelve men who have lost their lives in that time. Nobody knows how many hundreds have been injured. And we are expected to lose our lives and take pay cuts without a whimper. Like hell we will. Why, only the other day, one of the Negro workers got his foot caught as he tried to take a truck out of the mud. He lost his foot, and he was taken to the hospital after he was bleeding for two hours. He was dead an hour after he arrived at the hospital. We haven't even a doctor at the project where 23,000 of us are constantly facing danger."

Still another worker told of the conditions on the job. "A lot of people say that W.P.A. is a racket. Far from it. We sweat like hell while we're working and it's no bowl of cherries. When it rains, we have to spend our time getting out here to report and then get told there is no pay that day. If we miss three days' work because we have to . . . well, we're just fired. When we work we give everything we've got and don't think they permit us to let up for a second. The story that we W.P.A. workers sleep on our shovels is just a lot of hot air."

All the building trades craftsmen were sorry to see the laborers unorganized. "Something should be done about it" was the unanimous sentiment of the strikers. Even without a union, hundreds of laborers walked off the projects.

The laborers want organization too. Every laborer that I talked to explained his desire to be a union man and strike with the skilled workers. "The only trouble is that no union

## American Fund Answers Somervell Threat By Offering Free Legal Aid to Arrested W.P.A. Strikers

With an offer of free legal defense to all W.P.A. workers who are arrested for striking or picketing or other issues connected with the strike, the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 125 W. 33rd St., New York City, yesterday attacked the threats of Colonel Somervell, W.P.A. Administrator, that he would arrest those going out on strike on W.P.A. projects.

"Section 28 of the Federal Relief Bill cited by Colonel Somervell says absolutely nothing about strikes," stated the American Fund in a legal opinion. "The right to strike is one of the democratic rights gained by the workers which has been recognized by all the courts of the country. The workers on W.P.A. have this right as well as all other workers and there is nothing in the Federal Relief Bill or any other act of Congress which takes away this right. It is therefore utterly monstrous for a federal official to threaten the workers with arrest."

"That the government operates the W.P.A. projects in no

way deprives the workers of the right to strike," maintains the American Fund. Where the government places orders with private industry the right of workers to strike has never been questioned. Merely because the work is not farmed out but handled by a subsidiary of the government does not make the least difference."

Intimately tied up with the right to strike is the right to picket. This right is guaranteed to workers under the Wagner Act.

**Law Requires Relief**  
"It has been contended by Colonel F. C. Harrington, W.P.A. Administrator, and local Relief Commissioner Hodson and Mayor LaGuardia that striking W.P.A. workers are not entitled to relief. Such a contention has no basis in law or precedent."

"Striking mine workers in Pennsylvania recently received relief from that state while on strike. Many cases of similar nature are well-known."

"Mr. Hodson and Mayor LaGuardia object to paying relief because it imposes a burden

upon the City of New York which does not allegedly have the necessary funds. That is a question which must be settled between the city and the government officials or the city and the bankers. The needy must not starve."

"Mr. Hodson further states that 'persons who voluntarily refuse to work' should not be given relief. It is amazing that workers who are striking to defend a union scale of wages which has existed for more than a generation should be accused of 'voluntarily refusing to work.' The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees supports the strikers in their attempt to defend the union scale of wages and will do all in its power to assure them of the relief to which they are entitled."

"It offers free legal defense to any and all W.P.A. workers who are arrested either for striking or picketing or for inducing others to strike and picket."

The telephone number of the American Fund is Longacre 5-8891.

## WORKERS SECURITY FEDERATION LEADERS SCAB ON WPA STRIKE

Newly Formed S.P. Organization "Advises" Members to Return to Work

By E. R. MCKINNEY  
The Workers Security Federation is the organization of the unemployed formed in Washington a few weeks ago by the Socialist Party under the leadership of Art McDowell, National Labor Secretary of the S. P. While thousands of W.P.A. skilled workers are on strike against wage cuts and increase in hours, the S.P. leaders of the Workers Security Federation provide the capitalist press with a statement that they are instructing members of the organization to return to work.

J. Clark Waldron, S. P. national publicity chairman of the federation, said that the members were only being "advised" to return to work and "we are leaving final decision in the matter to them." Waldron said that the federation is not giving up the fight but that the leadership does not want

the members to lose their jobs. **True to Type**  
This scabbing action of the leadership of the Workers Security Federation is right in line with their actions when they set up the organization in Washington. There these leaders—McDowell, Leith, Waldron and Rourke made it clear and unmistakable that not only would they personally be opposed to the federation being a militant unemployed organization, but they would be against the admission of individuals with political beliefs that would drive the federation inevitably in a militant direction. This was the real meaning of the clause, inserted in the constitution, excluding workers from membership who held certain political beliefs, including the belief in a dictatorship of the working class.

**Opposed Demonstration**  
This attitude on the part of Waldron, McDowell, Leith and Rourke was further demonstrated in their attitude toward the demonstration which was scheduled for the White House. Leith and Rourke were flatly against the demonstration, the others giving only lukewarm support. In the face of this opposition, the militants could only get through a vote to hold the demonstration on Sunday night with the White House empty and the streets deserted. This policy now bears its thoroughly rotten fruit. The federation members are told to return to work, to scab on their fellow-workers who are fighting the government for the right to eat and against long hours and reduction in pay. Waldron says that the leadership of the federation has not ceased to protest. That is, Waldron will continue to give out press releases. Rourke will interview congressmen and Leith will sit in his office in Baltimore. But the rank and file who have proven indisputably that they want to fight, have been told to surrender, to scab, to betray their fellow workers on the picket line.

The membership of the Workers Security Federation have a job to do. First they should refuse to carry out the instructions of the leaders of the federation. Support the strike by remaining away from work; participate in the picket lines, bombard the Security Federation leadership with protests, repudiate them. Maintain solidarity in action with the W.P.A. striking workers.

A universal complaint of both striking and non-striking W.P.A. workers on projects throughout the city is the inability, not only to get all the facts about the spreading strike from the capitalist press, but even to trust the facts that do appear.

"We don't what's really going on," workers complain to Appeal reporters. "You can't trust these fellows on the big papers to tell the truth. They make us out to be a pack of relief-fakers. They're not on our side." Strikers add, "They lie, and we know it, about how many of us are out; and they keep trying to scare off the non-striking who want to come out and join us."

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**Opposed Demonstration**  
This attitude on the part of Waldron, McDowell, Leith and Rourke was further demonstrated in their attitude toward the demonstration which was scheduled for the White House. Leith and Rourke were flatly against the demonstration, the others giving only lukewarm support. In the face of this opposition, the militants could only get through a vote to hold the demonstration on Sunday night with the White House empty and the streets deserted. This policy now bears its thoroughly rotten fruit. The federation members are told to return to work, to scab on their fellow-workers who are fighting the government for the right to eat and against long hours and reduction in pay. Waldron says that the leadership of the federation has not ceased to protest. That is, Waldron will continue to give out press releases. Rourke will interview congressmen and Leith will sit in his office in Baltimore. But the rank and file who have proven indisputably that they want to fight, have been told to surrender, to scab, to betray their fellow workers on the picket line.

The membership of the Workers Security Federation have a job to do. First they should refuse to carry out the instructions of the leaders of the federation. Support the strike by remaining away from work; participate in the picket lines, bombard the Security Federation leadership with protests, repudiate them. Maintain solidarity in action with the W.P.A. striking workers.

A universal complaint of both striking and non-striking W.P.A. workers on projects throughout the city is the inability, not only to get all the facts about the spreading strike from the capitalist press, but even to trust the facts that do appear.

"We don't what's really going on," workers complain to Appeal reporters. "You can't trust these fellows on the big papers to tell the truth. They make us out to be a pack of relief-fakers. They're not on our side." Strikers add, "They lie, and we know it, about how many of us are out; and they keep trying to scare off the non-striking who want to come out and join us."

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## Popovich Raps Strike-Breaking Of Federation

NEW YORK, July 11.—Condemnation of the strike-breaking statement issued by J. Clark Waldron, publicity chairman of the Workers Security Federation was voiced today by Otto Popovich, President of the Unemployed and Relief Workers' Union, Jamaica Division, an affiliate of the Workers Security Federation.

Mr. Waldron had advised members of the Workers Security Federation to return to work in violation of the A.F.L. Building Trades strike called to restore the prevailing rate of wages on all W.P.A. projects. "Waldron's advice," declared Popovich indignantly, "does not reflect our sentiments. W.P.A. workers in Jamaica are supporting the strike 100 percent and will continue to do so despite the press releases of publicity chairman Waldron."

"Who gave Waldron permission to issue such strike-breaking statements? Certainly not the Jamaica Division. We condemn and absolutely repudiate this stooge of the brazenline Congress and President Roosevelt."

## Y.P.S.L. WILL PICKET FRENCH CONSULATE

On July 14, Bastille Day, members of the Young People's Socialist League (4th International) will participate in a picket line before the French Consulate, 610 Fifth Avenue (near 49th St.) at 1 P.M. This demonstration has been called in protest against the repressive measures taken by the Daladier government against the French Fourth Internationalists, including the Youth, and other working-class militants, for their anti-war and anti-imperialist activity.

As reported by the Challenge of Youth, twice-a-month organ of the League, "Among the 4th Internationalist youth who have been jailed in Paris is Suzanne Charpy, administrator of 'Revolution,' until recently the monthly organ of the French Fourth Internationalist Youth. She was sentenced to 10 months in prison for asking the French workers not to support the coming imperialist war. Comrades Morel and Boheys were arrested and jailed on similar charges."

"Subsequently, comrade Steve was arrested on the charge of putting up a sticker which said 'This is not our war.' Comrades Schmidt and Regal were also arrested for anti-militarist work."

The French Government has also imprisoned the leaders of the Constitutional Party of Tu-

## MONDAY MORNING TEST FINDS NEW YORK STRIKE LINES SOLID

By TONY CHAPMAN  
NEW YORK, July 10.—The W.P.A. strike gained ground in its Monday morning test, 68,000 out of 75,000 workers being recorded off the job.

Picketing began this morning, with thousands of building trades workers reporting for picket duty.

When Col. Somervell, W.P.A. local administrator, tried to belittle union estimates of those striking, his bluff was called by Thomas Murray, president of the building trades council, who telegraphed him:

**Calling His Bluff**  
"The figures which you are giving out reveal that you either do not have the facts in your possession or else you are deliberately concealing the truth. As the administrator of W.P.A. in this city, it would seem like a good idea that you should take a look-see so that it will be possible for you to appear a little less laughable."

"Tomorrow morning (Tuesday) at 10 o'clock, we will have several automobiles available to take newspapermen on a tour of the projects. I shall be very happy to have you come along on this trip. I think you will find it illuminating."

"Will you accept my invitation and come along to learn the facts at first-hand or are you determined to continue to play the ostrich?"

Col. Somervell ducked the invitation, and continued to deny union estimates.

**Union Proved Right**  
But even the daily capitalist press, checking Somervell's claims with eye-witness accounts of their own reporters, had to lean toward the unions.

The chief test was at the huge North Beach airport project, usually employing 23,000 workers. Somervell claimed the work was moving along.

"It will take twenty years to finish the airport at the rate they are going today," declared Thomas Murray for the unions, and the press reports had to concede his point.

Adding to national W.P.A. administrator Col. F. C. Harrington's arguments for the 130-hour work month, Col. Somervell today went further than his chief. Harrington had argued primarily on the pretext of efficiency; Somervell, answering reporters' questions, went on to indict skilled workers as "chisellers." "The short hour system permitted workmen to work on W.P.A. and then go out and chisel on their fellow workers at less than prevailing wages during the rest of the month," said Somervell.

This slimy piece of hypocrisy won't get Somervell out from under. The unions of this city know how to defend the prevailing wage, on W.P.A. and private industry, and don't need Somervell or the government's help. And what help! By destroying the prevailing wage on W.P.A., according to Somervell, he is helping the prevailing wage in private industry. Unionists greeted Somervell's alibi with a horse-laugh.

This professional militarist, who has had nothing else to do all his life but play soldier-boy and get three square a day on the government cuf, has the nerve to call decent union men chisellers. The workers have answered the colonel with the only action he could ever understand: STRIKE.

## Rochester Gears into Nat'l Anti-Coughlin Campaign

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The opening gun in its campaign against the Coughlin fascists was fired this week by the Rochester local of the Socialist Workers Party, when it put salesmen on the streets selling the Socialist Appeal and the pamphlet "Father Coughlin—Fascist Demagogue."

**Cops Interfere**  
Despite the fact that for sev-

nis, as well as other anti-imperialist militants in Algiers and Syria.

The demonstration will express the solidarity of the Y.P.S.L. with the anti-war fighters in France who have fallen victim to the reactionary measures of the Daladier government. A committee will approach the consul with the following demands: (1) Immediate release of Rigal, Steve, Schmidt, Boheys and Charpy. Stop the persecution of the anti-war fighters of France. (2) Immediate release of the three leaders of the Constitutional Party of Tunis, of Chabane Ali of Algiers, and of Munir Rayer and his comrades in Syria. Stop jailing the anti-imperialist fighters of the colonies. (3) Full right of all organizations of France and its colonies to publicize and fight against the arrests.

**Important Notice**  
"AMERICA'S 60 FAMILIES" by Ferdinand Lundberg now available at \$1.49  
A book that reveals who really controls America and how they keep their power. No revolutionary agitator should be without a copy.  
**LABOR BOOKSHOP**  
116 University Place  
New York City  
(Add 3c per book postage)

Thus far, over 500 pamphlets have been sold in this town by the Rochester branch. The workers of this city are learning from the Trotskyist activity and the rest of the organizations' inactivity who the real anti-fascists are.

## THE CONVENTION PHOTOS

By an unfortunate error, the descriptive lines underneath the series of photographs of men and scenes at the National Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party printed in the last issue, were omitted. Interested readers may compare the photographs with the following:

**TOP ROW** (from left to right): Howard Stump, Quaker-town, Pa.; Robert Birchman, Indianapolis, Ind.; Vincent R. Dunne, Minneapolis, Minn.; Ernest Erber, editor of Challenge of Youth; Ernest R. McKinney, New York City.

**BOTTOM ROW** (from left to right): Reuben Plaskett, leader of Newark, N. J. unemployed, speaking at convention mass meeting; James P. Cannon, national secretary, S.W.P., opening the meeting; Genora Johnson, Flint, Mich., women's leader, addressing meeting; Max Shachtman, editor, Socialist Appeal, delivering anti-war report.



# In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

## Marceau Pivert Joins List of Persecuted Anti-Militarists

In addition to our comrades Rigal, Steve and Schmitt, a whole series of other militants in the labor movement, ranging from the anarchists to the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.) are now facing full-barrelled persecution for anti-militarist work in France. Latest among the attacks against the anti-militarists is the prosecution initiated by the Daladier regime against Marceau Pivert, leader of the P.S.O.P. Pivert has been indicted for "provoking the military to disobedience." The charge is based on a leaflet issued by the party at Cherbourg, calling upon the reservists to act against their arbitrary detention in barracks beyond the twenty-one day period they were called out for. A local leader of the organization, comrade Mariette, had already been charged on the same grounds.

In a statement to the court, comrade Pivert takes full responsibility for the action of the Cherbourg branch of the P.S.O.P. Defending their action, he reaffirms its correctness and denounces the war-mongers in the following terms:

"I declare that the appeal to the reservists seems to us especially justified since, as we have proved in the columns of our paper Jun 36, the big capitalist powers which are the origin of the war threat continue to exchange among themselves the materials necessary for war—minerals, gas masks, airplane motors, etc."

The first hearing of the case was held on June 21. The actual trial is due to be held later this month.

## Strikes Against Lower Living Standard Spreading in Indo-China

Numerous important strikes are spreading throughout French Indo-China, linked with mass demonstrations against the new pro-war taxes. Both the strikes and the demonstrations are directed at the declining living standards.

On May 8, more than 3,000 workers went out on strike at Haiphong with the following demands: 1. Increase of 30 per cent in wages; 2. Regular payment; 3. Sick benefits; 4. Recognition of shop delegates; 5. Suppression of

unjust fines. The strike started with the weavers of the "Cotonniere" factory, and soon spread to the whole textile field. After sixteen days of struggle the basic demands of the strikers were accepted and the strike settled.

On May 31, more than 2,000 workers at the navy yard in Saigon went out on strike against an attempt to cut down the rate for overtime work. The strikers are demanding time and a quarter for overtime during the day and time and a half for night work. At the present writing the strike is still spreading.

A strike of 3,000 unskilled coolies in the Saigon-Cholon region has broken out recently with a demand for a twenty per cent increase in wages.

Anti-tax demonstrations have been held in Saigon, Hanoi and Haiphong.

At the same time, the colonial lackeys of French imperialism have cracked down on the native working class press. No less than three editors of working class journals have been arrested in recent weeks, among them our comrade Nguyen Van Qua of *La Lutte*, organ of the Indo-Chinese section of the Fourth International.

## Canadian Comrades Organize Farmers Branches in West

Within the last month, our Canadian comrades, the Socialist Workers League, have organized two new branches in the Western part of the Dominion. The branches are located in the towns of Wiseton and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan and are composed almost exclusively of farmers. So popular has the party become in these towns that for the first time in its history the local authorities granted the use of the schoolhouse for a meeting of a political party. A meeting held there on June 14 attracted farmers from the whole countryside who came to listen to Carl Hichin, Western organizer of the League. Most of the participants braved heavy rainstorms and almost impassable roads in order to attend.

Congratulations to the Canadian section of the Fourth International! In breaking the ground among the farmers they have accomplished a real pioneering job for our movement in North America. It is an example worthy of emulation by our comrades in the farming regions right here in the States.

# On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Here is a story which ought to be read and thought over carefully by every worker no matter what industry he works in—especially if he is still waiting for President Roosevelt to come through with the many promises he made about the one third of the nation which, said the President, "are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed."

Today the U. S. Government, the shipowners and the Stalinists are frantically engaged in a three-way attack on the Sailors' Union of the Pacific in a desperate effort to smash the union hiring hall and set up in its place a government-controlled hiring hall.

Now it is a fact, admitted by everyone concerned, that prior to 1934 the seamen on American ships worked and lived under conditions which no human being should be forced to endure. This was admitted by Mr. Kennedy, Chairman of the Maritime Commission, in his report to Congress in 1934.

Starvation wages, miserable, clammy, and insect-ridden quarters; rotten food, poorly prepared; long hours with no overtime pay and harsh treatment were all the order of the day.

It is also a fact, and one admitted by Mr. Kennedy, that many steamship lines subsidized by the government were then pocketing more than half the amount allowed for wages and at the same time threatening the men with the fact "there is another man on the dock to take your place if you don't like the treatment."

Where was the government then? It did not "help" the seamen then.

At last, no longer able to endure such conditions, the seamen banded together and went on strike.

It was a bitter strike. Long, weary days and nights of picket duty in thin-soled shoes and thin, ill-fitting clothes were followed by hunger and cold and tear gas and bullets. Union brothers were shot down. Martial law was declared against them. Police squads charged their ranks with clubs and horses. But because they knew they were right, because they knew they had the strength of their individual brothers welded together in compact resistance against a common wrong, the seamen won that strike.

Out of that victory the seamen won decent wages, livable quarters, conditions comparable to those won by workers in other industries. They established an organization of competent, confident, efficient seamen. They are proud of their record as seamen—proud also of the fact that in little over four years they raised the standard of their calling from veritable slavery to that of militant union men aware of the class struggle. They call their organization the Sailors' Union of the Pacific.

## New Strikebreaking Method

And now, because they know they cannot defeat them in any other way, the shipowners have turned to the government of the people. . . ? and have managed to induce a government agency to attempt to wreck the S.U.P. by doing away with the union's control of hiring by setting up halls run and controlled by the government.

The Maritime Commission is made up of men selected and appointed by the President and approved by Congress. The Board is supposed to be impartial; supposed to represent the people. But President Roosevelt deliberately went out of his way to select and appoint Mr. Joseph Kennedy, a man who openly represents the shipowners and who openly declares he is opposed to the Sailors' Union of the Pacific in particular and to all unions in general. He was opposed by the union because the union knows he is a shipowners' stooge. The union notified Roosevelt of this opposition and the reason for it. But Roosevelt merely smiled and said, "I approve of Mr. Kennedy."

And just why is the government so anxious to restore the 1934 conditions? This liberal government and this liberal President is trying its damndest to smash the S.U.P. because unless the S.U.P. is smashed, the government and the bosses will have a hell of a hard time trying to wage a war for "democracy".

Unless the government and the shipowners can browbeat and fingerprint every worker, every seaman, it cannot hope to "defeat reaction".

Unless the government and the bosses can regulate wages and hours and conditions, outlaw strikes and prevent meetings and smash picket lines it will be unable to conscript the millions of necessary cannon-fodder.

If the government and the shipowners are unable to employ scabs and finks and dicks they cannot insure a campaign to plunder for profit which they will undoubtedly call a "war to end all war" or a "war for democracy".

The Sailors' Union of the Pacific understands this very well. The seamen of the S.U.P. know they have not gone through years and years of bitter fighting for nothing. They are well aware of the situation. And the S.U.P. knows it can rally thousands and millions of workers around its banner so long as it keeps the issues clear and maintains a militant stand on the question of the fink hall.

Stalinist Strikebreakers

The government and the shipowners are fighting to smash the S.U.P. openly and without hesitation. But what about the Stalinists—the bootlickers par excellence and union wreckers of the first water. . . ? Here is where the rats really give a demonstration of their abilities as finger men and finks. If you have not learned how the Stalinists work from the many unions they have already wrecked, take a gander at this slimy maneuver—

The tactic (and it follows naturally from their line of betrayal) is to outwardly pretend to some extent that they are against the fink hall. Then, with this thin covering, they carry on a frantic and scabby campaign of petty cheap slander against the S.U.P. and its leadership. They have no following in the S.U.P., but they have money which they use to issue a phoney paper known to the seamen as the "Rank and Filthy". No names are signed to any of the articles in the paper, no names of financial contributors and most indicative of all, NO PROGRAM.

They attempt to magnify every little issue and every little beef in the S.U.P. in the hope that some one will be fooled into believing the Stalinists are the champions of union democracy (do you hear me laughing?), and they try to get their filthy hooks on any and all who will be bought or bulldozed or scared into pulling their chestnuts out of the fire.

Now, if they were concerned about these vital issues—democracy, militant action on each and all questions, there are such unions as the Furriers in New York, the Longshoremen on the West Coast, the Teachers Union and the Workers Alliance—not to bring up the Painters in New York where the champions of democracy and militant action were just heaved out on their fat behinds for using rule-or-ruin strong arm methods to suppress the membership and where the finky role of Weinstock, the Stalinist, in his dealings with the bosses almost wrecked the union.

It's a three-way fight to smash the strongest, most democratic, most militant and class conscious union on the West Coast if not in the U.S.A. Any little trick to force the S.U.P. to fight on some minor issue, to be drawn out of its present stronghold, i.e., the fink hall fight, is all meat to shipowners, the government and the Stalinists. But don't be surprised if the Sailors' Union of the Pacific dumps all three overboard. It will if we all recognize the real issues and get behind the fight with both fists.

# WAA Head Snipes at WPA Strike

## Term Strike Action "Impractical"; Hang On to Roosevelt

By RAY ROBBINS  
NEW YORK CITY, July 1.—Almost three thousand W.P.A. workers and unemployed, eager for action under the inspiration of the strike wave now in progress on the W.P.A. projects, gathered tonight at a mass meeting of the New York Local of the Workers Alliance held at Stuyvesant High School, to hear the program their organization had to propose to back up the fast-growing strike.

But what did they hear? A dastardly, underhanded attack against the valiant strike led by the building trades unions!

Yes, that is what the statements made by Sam Wiseman, Stalinist chieftain of the Workers Alliance, meant. Here is an exact quotation:

"The A.F.L. leaders say that they are going to fight to a finish. Now that means that the W.P.A. workers have been called out on an unlimited strike until they win, and that means when Congress changes its mind. To us such an action is impractical."

"Impractical"—that is the Stalinist way of looking at a mass movement which has raised anew the hopes and aspirations of every worker, employed or unemployed, skilled or unskilled.

"Impractical"—a movement which the most conservative stratum in the labor movement has been impelled to undertake, because that is the only way to save the skilled crafts from starvation wages and joblessness.

The main part of the meeting was consumed by the long-winded speeches of Benjamin and Wiseman, Stalinist big shots. Desperately they tried to distort and gloss over the real anti-Roosevelt meaning of the strike movement and re-direct it into the safe channels of a fight only against Republicans.

Wiseman once again pulled out the moth-eaten apology the Stalinists use to explain away Roosevelt's leadership of the relief-smashing campaign. According to his fantastic tale, the Roosevelt-Woodrum starvation law was solely the work "of a small band of fascist minded Republicans like Senator Carter Glass" who put over their slick conspiracy in the dark secrecy of a smoke-filled congressional conference chamber.

Finally, after a long harangue filled with evasions and sniping remarks against the strike, Wiseman perfunctorily put the Workers Alliance on record in support of the strike. But the A.F.L. called the strike, Wiseman quickly added, "and they're the only ones responsible for it. We take no responsibility." This "no responsibility" refrain cropped up time after time in the Stalinist speeches.

But the masses wanted a real program of action, and the Stalinist leaders, caught in a tight corner between their loyalty to the Roosevelt war deal and their desire to remain militants in the eyes of the membership, had to come through with some sort of proposal.

The four point program which the Stalinists proposed, apart from the building trades strike demand, were: restoration of the Federal Theatre Projects; maintenance of the former wage differential for the North, abolition of the eighteen months "rotation" plan. These four points are completely within the confines set by Roosevelt's hypocritical criticism of his own relief-slashing bill. Not a word is said in the program about the amount of the appropriation itself. That is sacred ground, for the figure of the new appropriation, cutting one third off W.P.A., is Roosevelt's own figure.

As usual, the Stalinists propose legislative action to win such proposals, but impelled by the strike wave they also proposed a local one day stoppage on W.P.A. Suspicion of the good faith of the Stalinist leaders was aroused, however, when after proposing the stoppage, every speaker apologized in advance for the possibility of failing to put through the action. That is certainly not the best way to mobilize the fighting enthusiasm of the Alliance membership for militant action.

Voice of Workers  
When the floor was finally taken over by the rank and file, the wide gap that separates the

# Workers! One Hundred Percent Support to the WPA Strikers!

## Akron

(Continued from page 1)  
strikers back to work last week. The Stalinists rushed to the press a statement that they could do nothing since the new W.P.A. regulations were law.

The Akron branch of the Socialist Workers Party distributed hundreds of copies of the *Socialist Appeal* to project workers who massed in front of the W.P.A. headquarters in an attempt to get their jobs back. Workers surrounded the comrades who distributed the *Appeal*, and listened with keen interest as the party's program of action was explained.

Other Workers Act  
On the projects, unskilled workers planned their own protest after seeing that the Alliance had sold them out for the last time. One plan is to mass hundreds of unemployed to besiege the Chamber of Commerce and rubber factory employment offices, demanding the jobs which Congress said they could find if they only looked hard enough.

Many workers who will not be laid off intend to put out one-fourth less work since their wages have been cut one-fourth.

"Our wages have been cut from 60 to 46 cents. So we'll give them 46 cents work for 46 cents an hour!" is the battle cry.

Both C.I.O. and A.F.L. cattle bodies in this county have passed strong resolutions condemning the new law. But thus far only the A.F.L. has backed up its words with action.

Forced by mass indignation to make some show of opposition, the Workers Alliance has called a half day "holiday" tomorrow.

The urgent need of the day is united militant action by both the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. to aid in organizing a genuine project workers and unemployed organization backed up by the rubber workers.

## Minneapolis

(Continued from page 1)  
(Special to the *Socialist Appeal*)  
MINNEAPOLIS, July 8.—The strike of W.P.A. workers that began spontaneously July 5 in Minneapolis and St. Paul has now spread to Duluth, the iron range, southern Minnesota and the Dakotas. An estimated 10,000 are out in Minneapolis, 7,000 in St. Paul, 5,000 in Duluth, 10,000 in the iron range, and thousands more in southern Minnesota and the Dakotas. The Minneapolis Building Trades Council of the A.F.L. has officially sanctioned the strike and agreed to stay out until all W.P.A. workers receive union wages and conditions, and to encourage support for the strike from all other working class organizations.

Friday morning the Policy Committee of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, authorized to speak for all the unions on strike questions, endorsed the strike.

F.W.S. Joins Strike  
Saturday morning the Federal Workers Section of General Drivers Local 544 held a mass meeting in the strike headquarters of 544's Transfer Section at 7th and Bryant, and voted to concur in the program of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council, to strike all W.P.A. projects until the government backs down and restores the prevailing wage scale.

Speakers made it plain that conditions on W.P.A. will get worse and worse, that even more ugly aspects of the Roosevelt-Woodrum act will confront the unemployed, such as the "30-day holiday"—actually permanent—to go into effect August 31, and the shower of 800,000 Four-o-Three slips which Roosevelt has handed the jobless.

Hudson Speaks  
The mass meeting voiced its vigorous approval as Carlos Hudson of the Northwest Organizer, Teamsters' Joint Council organ, spoke in favor of supporting the Building Trades Council and urged the unemployed to demand a Twenty Billion Dollar public works and housing program, to be financed by expropriating the Sixty Families; to transfer all war funds to the unemployed; to force the government to appropriate billions to open up the idle factories and give jobs to all workers at union wages and conditions.

"I. S. Joseph of the Minneapolis Public Welfare Board tells us all to go quietly back to work and wait for OUR representatives in Congress to fix the wages and hour provisions. WE haven't any representatives in Congress. The Congressmen who passed the Roosevelt-Woodrum bill aren't our representatives, they are the representatives of the bosses. And they might as well know right now that we don't want them to come back to Minnesota. Let

Stalinist bureaucrats from the unemployed ready for struggle, became clear from the fighting words of one worker after another.

One worker demanded that the Workers Alliance send a delegation to LaGuardia to demand removal of Hodson, the relief czar who threatened the strikers with starvation if they stayed on the picket lines over the five day limit. Wiseman stepped in immediately and stifled this militant demand, which would have put his friend, LaGuardia, in an embarrassing position, saying that Hodson is not an issue at the moment. "I don't think," said Wiseman in reply to this worker, "that the administration supports Hodson's statement. It was a very stupid thing for him to do."

Another worker asked why the W.A.A. didn't pull out the laborers on all the W.P.A. projects. No answer from the leaders. Another member spoke against the Hodson "scab or starve edict." He was greeted with a thunder of applause when he said, "We're not going to take that bluff from Hodson or anybody else. We'll go right

them stay on the Potomac," stated Hudson. "The new relief bill is shocking proof of the need for real workers' representatives and a workers' government, for a break with both the New Deal and the Old Deal, for the building of an independent labor party both locally and nationally. This won't be the first demonstration provoked by the Roosevelt-Woodrum bill. There will be others. This is a spontaneous action on the part of hundreds of thousands of W.P.A. workers throughout the nation. The demonstrations to come must be better organized, more centralized and coordinated."

Committee of Five Hundred  
The Committee of Five Hundred, set up a few days ago by 544's Federal Workers Section, will meet at 5 a.m. Monday morning to direct the closing of the projects. All W.P.A. workers were instructed to come to the Federal Workers Section strike headquarters at 6 a.m. to aid in shutting the projects.

The Saturday evening papers have just come out and record that Minnesota W.P.A. officials are concerned because even the watchmen are striking the jobs and leaving the equipment unguarded. The W.P.A. heads are planning to call the cops to guard the tools and give protection to those who may try to fink.

It was pointed out at the Federal Workers Sections meeting that the boss papers are hiding the truth about the extent of the W.P.A. walkout. Each locality is seeking to make it appear that the W.P.A. workers in that city are isolated and that very little strike action is being taken elsewhere. A reading of the press from a dozen or so widely scattered cities indicates that the boss press is consciously following out a policy of belittling and underestimating the widespread strike action.

## Rochester

(Continued from page 1)  
the W.P.A. workers continued the strike with undaunted enthusiasm.

The reactionary role of the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance came clearly into view as soon as the strike broke. In the first place, the W.A.A. stooges called on the W.P.A. officials and announced that the strike really wasn't a strike at all but only a "protest." Then at a mass meeting which they held at the Labor Lyceum, they spent a major part of their time attacking the Socialist Workers Party for handing out leaflets to the workers telling the workers the truth about Roosevelt's role as relief-smasher-in-chief.

Robert Hoffman, local W.P.A. director, struck savagely at the strike by immediately dismissing without hearings 65 workers whom he labelled "agitators." He also made public the Roosevelt administration's answer to the workers' demands—that all workers who did not return to work by Tuesday would be fired.

The Postcard Brigade  
In response to the demand of the workers present for the formation of a strike committee, Costa, Stalinist leader of the W. A., called for . . . getting up petitions to send to Congress and "our" President. That, for the Stalinists, constitutes militant action. Clayton Bennem, Socialist Workers Party organizer in Rochester, spoke to the assembled workers, and received a good hearing when he called upon them to fight to the end for a decent living standard on W.P.A.

A meeting of strikers has been called by the unskilled workers of one of the projects to form an organization of W.P.A. workers to meet the growing needs of the strike movement.

## St. Louis

(Continued from page 1)  
at Scott Field, army air base near Belleville, Illinois.

Mass Picket Line  
A mass picket line was formed by the Scott Field strikers, blocking the highway leading to the air base with a human wall of men. Afterwards, a great cavalcade of 150 automobiles and trucks carried flying squadrons of Scott Field pickets through the neighboring counties. The walkout at Scott Field, which became the spear-head of the strike movement in this area, came as a result of a mass meeting of 600 W.P.A. workers at Belleville last night, adopting a resolution to continue the strike movement despite the threats of the Roosevelt Relief Czar, Col. F. C. Harrington. The spirit of the workers is very high, and they are determined to win their fight against the relief-smashers in the only way possible—on the picket line.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS. Eatentown, N. J. Tennis, swimming, ping-pong. Plumbing, \$2.50 per day. \$14 a week. Car leaves every Friday at 7 p.m. from 58 E. 4th St. to Camp. Make reservations, please! You may also pitch your tent at Seven Oaks. We equip it and you can have use of Camp Kitchen. \$20 for the summer. Phone: Eatentown 515.

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# Chicago Relief Slashed

## Officials Introduce Cut with Warning to Case Workers

By S. B. GRANT  
"Don't show any fear! If the relief client thinks you're afraid of him, he'll take advantage of you"

This was the warning that supervisors of the Chicago Relief Administration gave case workers on July 1, when the already deficient client budgets for relief were given still another stiff cut.

Bad as it was, the "scientific" budget worked out by the relief authorities, estimating just how much a family could "live" on, was a long time ago chopped down. On the basis of not having enough funds, the authorities were providing clients with 80 percent of the estimated "scientific" budget. Now they have put through an additional 15 percent cut. In other words, the client is now to get 65 percent of the estimated budget needed for existence! No wonder the officials have to warn the case workers not to show fear.

A Permanent Cut  
Is this cut temporary? No, it may go even lower. Thousands of W.P.A. workers are being driven back to direct relief. The city is putting up no money at all; the state is giving four million dollars monthly out of its average monthly sales tax of eight million. Even this sum is the result of a compromise. Governor Horner offered only three; Mayor Kelly insisted on five. They settled it between them. Both these ardent Democrats, each trying to outdo the other in his support of the New Deal, "settled" the relief question alright. They might just as well have put the clients in trucks, taken them to the nearest quarry, dumped them in and covered them up.

The Chicago Relief Administration does not hire experts at low salaries for nothing. These experts know their stuff. They have everything figured out so that the clients will keep the breath of life in them. But very little more.

Slow Murder  
Food allotments are calculated on the barest subsistence level. Even the best planning in the world cannot prevent rickets, bad teeth, anemia. Children of two are often so undernourished that they cannot walk or even stand. The rent allotment has been reduced but the landlord has not lowered his price proportionately and, as a result, people are compelled to sacrifice some of their food money for rent. And no electricity, no clothes, no household items, no amusements.

Sometimes W.P.A. clothing is given away. But often there is little available besides house-dresses, slips and bloomers for the women; for the men, work shirts and overalls. All last winter there was no warm underclothing for adults and no underdresses for children were given. Shoes are hard to get, but easier than overcoats.

Some families (not all: an extra dollar on the budget and you're out of luck) get surplus foods such as oranges, butter, beans, celery, flour, eggs. But who knows when these are going to be passed out? You never know what you're going to get, or how much. Besides you often get gyped because you have to sign for the articles before you get them.

Bosses Still Balk  
But according to the Tribune and the business men, relief costs are too high and have to be cut. They clamor for more efficiency and they get it.

The Tribune editors and the business men don't have to live on beans and neckbones. They don't have to worry about milk and rent. They don't have to sleep four in a bed and put some of their relatives on the floor or chairs. They don't have to battle rats and bugs. They don't have to go to the johnny in the hall for their drinking and washing water. They don't have to burn smoky Indiana rocks to keep warm. They don't have to wait for days for an interview with some dizzy flunkie who doesn't understand that a client is a human being.

The rich only pay with their money, not with their lives, like the poor.



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

## The Strike Can and Must Be Won

Every decent worker in the United States stands one hundred percent behind the W.P.A. strike.

The building trades unions of the A.F.L. have taken the lead in the fight against the infamous Woodrum Starvation Bill.

The C.I.O. is backing the strike to the hilt. Threats and intimidation haven't stopped the strike. They cannot break it. The power of united, militant, fighting labor is too strong to be broken that way.

That power is not merely the organized ranks of the building trades workers. It is backed by the enthusiastic solidarity of every worker in this country, skilled or unskilled, organized or unorganized, employed or unemployed.

THAT power numbers MILLIONS. All it needs to win is DETERMINATION.

If the building trades workers lose this fight, it will mean a blow, a sharp setback to all labor. But if they win—and they can and must win—they will set an example that will encourage and enthuse workers everywhere.

Who's AGAINST the strike? Mr. Starvation Woodrum, and all the Congressmen and Senators who have been working overtime on only one job: how to cut wages and lengthen the working-day. Of course, the gentlemen in Washington have their differences: some want to cut the heart out of W.P.A., while others want to cut it out entirely. None of them proposes to cut his own wages!

President Roosevelt is against the strike. Roosevelt's Colonel Harrington is against the strike and is ready to use scabs to break it. Roosevelt's Colonel Somervell is against the strike and is ready to use scabs to break it.

All the capitalist newspapers are against the strike and are begging the workers not to "fight the government."

But why worry about them? Woodrum and Roosevelt and Somervell and Harrington and all the newspapers put together can't dig a single ditch.

They can't pour a concrete foundation. They can't nail a stud or a shingle, lay a brick, plaster a wall, install a plumbing fixture or wipe a joint, or frame a window. They can't put up as much as a shanty with threats or intimidation.

They can wave the Woodrum Bill or any other Bill from the Atlantic to the Pacific—but not one single building will go up as a result.

All power—above all the power to win their legitimate and very modest demands—lies in the mighty hands of the striking workers.

The only way the strikers can lose is if they let themselves be kidded out of that power!

## The Government--- Strikebreaker

At 1 o'clock on Monday, the president of the New York and Long Island Building Trades Council, Thomas A. Murray, declared:

"We are not intimidated in the least by the threat of Colonel Somervell that men who do not return to work tomorrow will be dismissed."

"Our work-stoppage protest against the vicious new W.P.A. law will continue tomorrow and thereafter until the prevailing rate principle, which Congress had steadfastly upheld for

five years until July 1, is restored!"

That's the kind of talk we all want to hear! Any labor leader who continues to stick by his guns will deserve the support of labor.

Who is being threatened by the strike-breaking Roosevelt government and its W.P.A. officials?

Labor! Yes, labor!

When election-time rolls around, they all pose as Friends of Labor. They are all Labor's Benefactors. They are Labor's Protectors!

Labor—organized labor, unorganized labor—put the Roosevelt machine into office.

Result? The Roosevelt government has acted like any other employer. W.P.A. has been cut to the bone. Millions have been thrown off relief. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been poured into military and war expenditures.

Roosevelt can't find any money for a decent wage. He finds all he needs to prepare for mass murder.

Now, when workers are striking for a modest wage, Roosevelt and his W.P.A. appointees say:

"You can't strike against the government! Back to your jobs at slave wages and slave hours! If you don't want to work on our terms—then starve! We'll get scabs to take your places."

The answer of the workers must be:

## "We Fight On!"

"We won't work under starvation conditions for any boss—government or no government. We fought for years to get a decent living wage, and we won't give it up without a fight. And we have the power to win that fight."

The workers put their trust in Roosevelt, and got the double-cross.

The workers put their trust in Congress, in the New Deal, in "Labor's Friends"—and they got the Woodrum Bill.

They got the double-cross and the Woodrum Bill because the Roosevelt Government IS NOT THEIR GOVERNMENT, just as the Roosevelt Party IS NOT THEIR PARTY!

Let that be a lesson for a long time to come: Labor needs a party of ITS OWN. Labor needs a GOVERNMENT of its own.

It can get them only by relying on its own ORGANIZED STRENGTH.

And it can win this strike only by its organized strength.

Republican wage-slashers won't lead or win this strike.

Roosevelt W.P.A.-killers and scabs won't lead or win this strike.

## How W in the Strike?

In the first place, the workers must not allow their ranks to be divided.

That means: skilled workers and unskilled workers. UNITE!

The enemies of the strikers can win only if they succeed in pitting the skilled workers against the unskilled, using the one to weaken the other.

This is NOT a fight of the skilled workers alone. Therefore, they must do all in their power to bring the unskilled and unorganized workers into the ranks of union labor.

ONE ENEMY, ONE FIGHT, ONE FRONT!

In the second place, this fight cannot and will not be won by staying at home.

Every struck job must be surrounded by a mass picket line so strong and so tight that all the scabs Harrington and Somervell and all the other W.P.A. directors can scrape out of the mind won't be able to pass through.

A mass picket line of all W.P.A. workers, A.F.L., C.I.O., unemployed organizations—the skilled and the unskilled, organized and unorganized.

Unity of ALL the workers will win the strike!

Militancy will win the strike!

Raise the wage levels of the unskilled!

Restore the prevailing rate for all workers!

Stick it out till the Woodrum Starvation Bill is smashed!

## Roosevelt's Silence

The national W.P.A. relief administrator, Col. F. C. Harrington, is an appointee of President Roosevelt's. He has never been known to enunciate an important policy without the president's direct approval.

On May 23 the colonel appeared before the House Appropriations Committee and declared: "It is my recommendation that persons employed on projects of the W.P.A. be required to work 130 hours per month."

He said that with Roosevelt's approval.

While Harrington mumbles all kinds of threats against the W.P.A. strikers, the president, by his silence, approves these attempts to intimidate the strikers.

This strike is, therefore, not only directed against Congress, which adopted the 130 hour provision as law, but against Roosevelt who initiated that provision. Lick them both, brother strikers!

## Twin City W.P.A. Workers Stage Strike Against Starvation Bill

By CARL O'SHEA

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 6—A spontaneous walkout of W.P.A. workers, estimated by the boss press to embrace 12,500, developed in Minneapolis and St. Paul Wednesday morning after the Fourth of July holiday. The strike was started by the skilled workers, in revolt against the Roosevelt-Woodrum relief bill which has cut wage rates in half.

The strike began at 8 a. m. on the big W.P.A. project at the State Fair grounds. When the men reported for work they found posted a notice of the new wage rates. Skilled workers in the Twin Cities received a cut in hourly wages from \$1.25 to \$.71, brought about by the lengthening in hours from 74½ to 130. Intermediate workers had their hours lengthened from 80 to 130. The hours of unskilled labor were boosted from 88 to 130, all with corresponding hourly wage slashes.

The 160 skilled workers at the State Fair grounds project, members of the building trades unions, refused to start work, as did a large number of unskilled workers. A series of job meetings were held immediately, with the result that both skilled and unskilled workers walked off the job. Strike sentiment spread rapidly to other W.P.A. projects in the Twin Cities, carried along by roving bands of strikers.

Big Cities Solid By the end of the day, 7,500 men in Minneapolis were out and 5,000 in St. Paul. In Duluth approximately the same result obtained. That is, in the large towns where the union movement was entrenched, all W.P.A. work was closed down. Thursday morning a number of workers went out to their projects but refused to work, and orders hastily came from

the W.P.A. office that if any trouble started, any projects still operating were to close down immediately.

The main feature of the walkout so far is its unorganized character. Everyone is boiling mad at the W.P.A. slash, but no one has a program. General Drivers Local 544's Federal Workers Section, at the invitation of the building trades unions, will send several delegates to this afternoon's meeting of the Twin Cities Building Trades Council. Whether the walkout collapses, or whether the movement develops into a mass strike demanding that Congress reconsider its damnable relief bill, restore the prevailing wage, return those fired from WPA to their jobs, and pass a relief bill that will give jobs to all unemployed at union wages, will be determined by the decisions of the Building Trades Council and its sister bodies elsewhere.

Police Chief Forestal of Minneapolis announced Thursday that he would furnish police protection if it were requested, and Sheriff John Wall of Hennepin County said his policy will be "to protect the public." The law-and-order specialists in St. Paul said the same thing.

## RELIEF BOSSES' THREATS

As if to pour salt in the wounds of the WPA workers, relief heads in both Minneapolis and St. Paul announced that no relief would be granted W.P.A. strikers until at least two weeks after the applicants received their last pay check.

To top it off, State W.P.A. administrator Linus Glotzbach announced that "no time lost from voluntary separation will be considered as allowable makeup time." In other words, no strikers will be paid for the time they are off the projects. He gave a final dig by breaking the news that another W.P.A. cut of 3,780 will be made July 10 in Minnesota, in line with Roosevelt's relief bill.

All day Wednesday delega-

tions from the projects were visiting Local 544's Federal Workers Section office for advice and directives, or were phoning in asking for speakers.

Wednesday evening the F.W.S. stewards met and voted to send a delegation to the Thursday meeting of the Building Trades Council, where they will press for a program of demands upon Congress to scrap the relief eave bill and pass a W.P.A. bill that will restore the W.P.A. cuts, restore the prevailing wage clause, and increase the number of W.P.A. jobs available.

The Federal Workers Section has issued a call for a mass meeting to be held Friday morning, 10 o'clock, in the Drivers Hall.

## MOTOR CARAVAN ACTS

Thursday morning a cavalcade of 150 cars filled with W.P.A. strikers, mostly skilled workers, toured the cities, seeing that all projects remained closed. The temper of the workers is very militant. Given any sort of a positive program by the union movement, this strike will spread rapidly to a nationwide protest movement that will command Congress to back down on its starvation program and put through a real public works program.

For years the Federal Workers Section has preached to the unions of skilled workers that they must join forces and give leadership to the unemployed. The lesson is now being driven home with a jolt that will awake even the most smug union bureaucrat.

If an honest-to-God unemployed movement existed nationally to give leadership to this spontaneous strike movement, the W.P.A. workers other than building trades could really smash through with their demands. Thanks to the Stalinized Workers Alliance, no such national organization serving the interests of the unemployed exists.

(Later story on page 1)

## California W.A.A. Exceeds Itself In Gross Stupidity

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

SAN FRANCISCO—It's heads or tails sometimes whether the plain stupidity of Workers' Alliance chiefs is not greater than the deliberate duplicity which leads them to divert the anger of the W.A. rank and file from expressing itself militantly against Roosevelt's slash relief program.

The other day the head chairwarmers of the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance ordered 30 pickets down to 433 California Street in San Francisco to picket the United States Chamber of Commerce.

The pickets assembled at the address with placards and began picketing the Chamber of Commerce, shouting appropriate slogans against this arch-reactionary organization, which the Stalinists hold accountable for the relief slashes instead of the real culprit, President Roosevelt.

It was only after several hours that one of the more alert rank and filers began to detect an odor stronger than that generally given off by a den of the Chamber of Commerce. He investigated... discovered—that the Chamber of Commerce had moved away from that address three months ago.

## Defy Coughlin Fascists at Bronx Outdoor Meeting

NEW YORK—Twenty-five hundred workers roared unmitigated defiance against the Coughlin fascists last Friday night at Fordham Road and Valentine Ave. when Michael Quill, President of the Transport Workers Union, addressed a huge outdoor street meeting sponsored by the American Labor Party.

"Down with Coughlin's Christian Front. Down with All Forms of Vigilantism," Quill exhorted his enthusiastic listeners in the very shadow of Fordham University, neighborhood center of Coughlin's dupes in the Bronx. The scattered and uncertain murmur of protest that escaped from a few run-bums at the meeting was like a pin drop in the yell that followed from the crowd whose size gummed all traffic on the avenue.

Union Guards Present "We have a way of taking care of you provocateurs and boogymen if you insist on trouble," Quill told the fascists. An

organized group of 200 Transport Worker Union militants were standing guard at the meeting. That finished the Coughlinites for the evening. Quill dwelt at length on the plight of the American workers and remarked that the Transport Workers would not only resist all W.P.A. cuts by the government, but would go to bat for additional appropriations. The American Labor Party, he promised, intends to press forward for better housing, collective bargaining guarantees, and the extension of civil liberties throughout the country.

John Santos, International Board member of the Transport Workers Union, attacked the Wicks Bill which aims to destroy union status of all subway workers.

Before the meeting closed, Quill assured the huge crowd that peaceful workers' meetings would be held on the same corner here in the future, as well as in the South Bronx, Coughlin stronghold.

The Bronx branch of the Socialist Workers Party sold 75 anti-Coughlin pamphlets at the meeting.

## Watch Out for Stalinist Scabbing

The Daily Worker pretends to be behind the W.P.A. strike.

BUT—

The Minneapolis Journal of July 6 reports: "The (welfare) board heard Harry Mayville and Jack Lieberman of the Workers Alliance plead that the unskilled workers were 'innocently thrown out of work' by the strike of skilled tradesmen."

Harry Mayville and Jack Lieberman are prominent representatives of the Communist Party—the Stalinists.

The St. Paul Pioneer Press of July 6 reports: "Shortly after 6 p.m. Wednesday, Chester Watson of St. Paul, state president of the Workers Alliance, issued a typewritten statement in which he said his organization is not responsible for any strike."

"The Minnesota Workers Alliance has not called a strike. We are advising our members that whenever a project is struck by another union that your members should leave the project in a peaceful manner and send a delegation to the district W.P.A. office demanding that they be transferred to another job and that they be permitted to make up time lost."

Chester Watson is a well-known St. Paul Stalinist—a C.P. official.

The New York Times of July 7 reports: "The strike movement made no headway

among white-collar and professional workers yesterday. William S. Levner, president of the W.P.A. Teachers Union, said the executive board of his union had not acted on the new schedule of working hours, but that he did not believe a stoppage would be authorized. "Very definitely we will not do anything that will jeopardize or curtail the services of the educational projects to the people of New York," Mr. Levner said."

William Levner is the well-known Communist Party boss of the Stalinist-controlled W.P.A. Teachers Union.

A leaflet issued to "All W.P.A. Workers" by the Workers Alliance of New York says: "We are preparing a one-day general protest stoppage for all W.P.A. workers in the State of New York."

The "Workers Alliance" of New York is controlled by the Communist Party. It is "preparing" a "one-day general stoppage"—after which its members are supposed to go back to work... and to scab.

Watch out for Stalinist scabbing! The Communist Party leaders are Roosevelt bootlickers. They don't want any "strikes against the government." They prefer starvation wages to fighting. That's why, in their usual underhanded way, they are trying to break the solidarity of the workers.

Watch out for Stalinist scabbing!

## Their Government

By James Burnham

The new law which abolishes the prevailing wage on W.P.A. construction projects by decreeing that all W.P.A. employees must work a full 130 hours monthly for the subsistence relief wage is part of a long-term, deliberate plan to smash the wage levels in the construction industries. Like any other similar plan, directed toward a particular industry, this means the attempt to decrease the share of the workers in the total national income, and to increase the relative share drawn by the bosses.

This plan has, also, a political as well as an economic aim. Its author, once more, is none other than Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt has been preparing for the present smashing blow by several years of skillful publicity and build-up. He and his aides have been regularly making speeches, the latest of his own only a few weeks back, on the problem of what is wrong with housing. Beneath layers of rhetoric, the answer always seems to be: wages are too high.

Right now, the Monopoly Committee is conducting hearings on the housing and construction industry. Time and again the experts and witnesses come back to the theme: wages are too high.

The real political purpose is clear. The New Deal's housing program, to which has been devoted huge mountains of ballyhoo, is an utter flop. Roosevelt needs a scapegoat, and he is trying to find one in the construction workers.

## Why Can't Houses Be Built?

The government itself recognizes that at least one-third of the nation lives in sub-normal housing. Unfit from the points of view both of hygiene and comfort. Nevertheless, nothing is done about it. The scattered and advertised projects of the Roosevelt administration are not enough to make up for the additional housing that each year falls below the level of decency.

Is there any truth that high hourly wages are actually to blame?

It is true that hourly wages—though not at all annual wages—are comparatively high in the building trades, and this naturally enters into the cost of housing. But consider:

The cost of financing a \$5,000 house or \$5,000 unit of an apartment dwelling, figuring in primarily interest and the other secondary bank charges, runs anywhere from about \$3,000 to \$7,500. The financing charges, that is, reach up to one and a half or more times the initial cost of the house itself! And for this enormous sum, the banks, with their monopoly of credit, do absolutely nothing in terms of socially productive work. All of this money is directly or indirectly sweated out of the labor that goes into building the house and that of the person who inhabits it.

Labor receives in wages a mere 20% to 40% of the initial cost. Who, then, deserves to receive major blame in this comparison?

But the financing charges are only a small part of the story. The profits of the great building materials corporations (U. S. Gypsum, Johns-Manville, American Radiator, etc.) have continued in the millions virtually all through the crisis. Inflated land prices line the pockets of real estate operators and speculators. In every building operation, contractors and sub-contractors take their big slice of profits. An ever greater percentage of real estate taxes, reflected in the cost of housing and rent, go to interest payment on bonds held by the big banks and the Sixty Families and to other uses of no conceivable benefit to the people.

In a true analysis, made in the light of social functions performed, labor, which gets no profit and asks no interest, is the least burdensome item in the costs of housing.

The truth is that not labor but a decadent capitalism stands irremediably blocking the road to an adequate, or even one-tenth adequate, housing program. Among all the fakes of the dead New Deal, none has been more hopeless or more hypocritical than its housing plans.

## Will Roosevelt Succeed?

The new regulation, which went into effect July 1st, amounts in effect to a cut of from one-third to two-thirds in the hourly wage rate. As I write this column, the workers concerned are replying to Roosevelt's move in their own proper language: a militant and rapidly spreading strike. All the machinery of Roosevelt's relief administration is being brought into line to smash the strike.

Roosevelt, however, counts on a special factor to aid him. The hourly rates for these skilled workers have been in the past far higher than those for the other W.P.A. workers. Roosevelt thinks that he can exploit this as an apparent "injustice," and drive a wedge between the two sections of W.P.A. workers.

There is an injustice, it is true. But the injustice lies not in the fact that the construction workers have a high rate—it is after all low enough—but in the miserable, starvation rate at which the bulk of the W.P.A. workers are paid. This has been, unfortunately, too often forgotten by the construction workers who have been too narrowly concerned with their own craft interests. A lasting strength of all of the relief workers. And this requires broadening the fight to include the burning demands for the lifting of the wage rate of the lower W.P.A. brackets.

If the construction workers inscribe on their own banner the demand for Thirty-Thirty—\$30 minimum weekly wage, 30-hours maximum weekly hours—for all workers, they will find allies in the millions to back them in their own defense of the living standards of the American working class.

Says Sir Roger Keyes, retired admiral of the British navy: "The Tientsin events, with support being given to Japan by Germany and Italy, really amount to a declaration of war against Britain, and is a challenge that must be met," that is, by workers torn from their wives and children, and a rifle thrust in their hands with the order to shoot their foreign brother-workers.