

Let the People Vote on War!

Why Should Not Those Who Must Fight and Suffer in War Vote On Whether They Want the War?

By JAMES BURNHAM

The History of the War Referendum

ACCORDING to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, the power to declare war against a foreign nation is vested in Congress. The President may not declare war; he may recommend its declaration, but it must be voted by a majority in a joint session of both Houses of Congress.

It is true, of course, that this technical separation of powers is not so decisive as it might seem. The Constitution designates the President as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the nation. Directly and through the subordinate Executive departments, he is in charge of the nation's diplomacy, in the case of the actual signing of treaties subject to confirmation by the Senate. Through this military and diplomatic control, a President may, in spite of the Constitutional limitation, have a share in the war-making power equal to or even greater than that of Congress.

We have been taught since childhood that, in theory at least, Congress is the "representative" of the people. When Congress declares war against a foreign nation, it is supposed to be acting as such a representative, to be expressing the "will of the people."

People Are Dragged into War

Whatever may be the truth about this in general, history and experience have made clear that in the case of declaring war Congress cannot at all be relied upon to act as the genuine representative of the people. Experience has already shown that the people can be, and probably have been, dragged into wars against their will.

This seems to have been true of the war fought by the United States against Mexico in the middle of the last century. There is not the slightest evidence that the majority of the people of the country favored this ruthless war of aggression. Nevertheless, Congress declared war and called upon the people to support it. In doing so Congress acted not as representative of the people, but of those special industrial, agricultural and financial interests which had something to gain from the Mexican War.

The same conclusion is even clearer in the case of the aggressive, imperialist war fought against Spain at the beginning of this century. The Spanish War was deliberately cooked up by a small handful of big capitalists and bankers, publicists and politicians. The opinions and sentiments of the great majority of the people were contemptuously flouted. The War itself was the occasion for some of the most shameless graft in history. Young workers and farmers were sent out to die from yellow fever and dysentery in order to give a few bankers and industrial privateers control over the sugar and fruit plantations of Cuba and Hawaii and the Philippines.

The Mexican and Spanish wars were, in a sense, minor undertakings in the history of the United States. The lesson they teach, however, is hammered in by the experience of the Great War of 1914-18. The story of this country's entry into the last war has been studied in great detail during the past twenty years. Much of the material is contained in publicly available records of Congressional committees. Thorough and competent historians have completed the analysis.

The Necessary Conclusion

There is no doubt about the conclusions which must be drawn. The needs and wishes of the people were never consulted in connection with the decision to enter the last war. The gigantic loans made to the Allied Powers, the profits of bankers and big corporations, the maneuvers of a small group of financiers, diplomats and politicians, decided the issue, not the will of the people. Once again, in April 1917, Congress declared war not as the representative of the people, but at the will of and as spokesman for the Morgans and Whitneys and DuPonts and Rockefellers.

We thus reach two conclusions about the problem of war as it faces the United States: (1) war is now a totalitarian enterprise, affecting everyone; (2) the method provided in the Constitution cannot be relied upon to carry out the will of the people on the question of war.

Increasing numbers of people in this country have reached these conclusions. At the same time it is clear to all of us that a new world war threatens to break out at any moment. All nations are directing their chief energies to preparation for it. Last year more than seventeen billion dollars were spent on armaments. Tens of millions of men are under arms throughout the world. Every few months a new crisis occurs, each one bringing the world to the very edge of general war.

In the United States, as elsewhere, the armaments are built up. The government intervenes constantly in the various danger spots. Whatever laws are on the books, banks and corporations become entangled through credits and supplies with warring or potentially warring nations. The pattern of the last war seems to be repeating itself. The people do not want war; but more and more fear that the war is coming and that the people of the United States will be dragged into it against their will.

An understanding of the totalitarian character of modern war, a realization that on the question of war Congress cannot be relied on to carry out the will of the people, a fear that the people are going to be dragged into a war which they do not want; these are the sources that have led to a search for some means of protection against the war and the war-makers, and have brought so many in this country to favor the plan for a popular referendum on war.

The proposal for a popular referendum is an extremely

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BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

New Deal Strikebreaking Moves Fail to Smash W.P.A. Strike Lines

National W. P. A. Strike Continues Solid as Unskilled Join with Skilled in Strike Action

MINNEAPOLIS

Skilled and Unskilled WPA Workers, 50,000 Strong, Keep Projects Shut Tight

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., July 13—Practically all of Minnesota's 50,000 W.P.A. workers are out on strike, including white collar projects.

Each day since the strike began on Wednesday, July 5, the state W.P.A. administrator, Louis Glotzbach, would announce that 90 percent of the projects were open and operating, but each day by afternoon his office had to confess that the shutdown was virtually complete. The daily press lies and lies, but the workers stay out.

Skilled, Unskilled, United

One reason for the strength of the turnout is the direct appeal made by the Minneapolis Building Trades Council last Thursday to the unskilled and all other W.P.A. workers to join them in the walk-out. A joint committee to run the strike was constituted by the building trades council, the Federal Workers Section of General Drivers Local 544 and—none too willingly—the pro-Roosevelt Workers Alliance. A similar joint committee was set up in St. Paul.

Huge mass meetings of strikers Monday and Tuesday night on the capital steps in St. Paul and Monday and Wednesday night at the Parade Grounds here served to strengthen the spirit of the strikers.

The Committee of Five Hundred of the Federal Workers Section of 544 is daily patrolling the projects to see that they stay shut.

Most Popular Strike

W.P.A. Administrator Glotzbach started out by declaring that all men not back in three days

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PHILADELPHIA

Construction Workers Vote To Strike Against W. P. A. Payouts Despite Firing Threat

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—25,000 members of the Pennsylvania Building Trades Council have overwhelmingly voted to go on strike tomorrow at 4:30 P.M. (Friday) against the W.P.A. wage-cuts.

John J. McDevitt, President of the State Federation of Labor openly stated in the press that William Green has nothing to say about the local situation and the strike will be called at the designated hour unless Congress rescinds its action.

The threats of Harry R. Halloran, Philadelphia district W.P.A. director, to fire every worker who was absent five days from his post without permission, did not cool the fighting and militant spirit of the men. The attitude of the strikers around the building council headquarters is that

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Not All Who Work on WPA Are Underpaid

In order to refute the oft-heard charge that W.P.A. workers don't get enough to live on comfortably, the press has published the following list of the wages received by a typical group of workers on W.P.A.:

Col. F. C. Harrington, W.P.A. Administrator, \$10,000 yearly
Howard O. Hunter, Deputy Administrator, 10,000 yearly
Several Asst. Administrators, 9,500 yearly
Lester W. Herzog, N. Y. State Administrator, 8,000 yearly
Etc., Etc., Etc.

TOLEDO

Ohio Building Trades Council Orders Members On W. P. A. to Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TOLEDO, Ohio, July 12—The powerful Ohio Building Trades Council of the A.F.L., one-fifth of whose state membership of 200,000 are employed on W.P.A., yesterday instructed its members on W.P.A. to go out on strike and to stay out until Congress reverses itself on the prevailing wage.

A motion ordering city relief authorities to supply direct relief to anyone in need was carried Monday by the Toledo City Council by a 6-2 vote. The motion was greeted with a roar of applause by strikers and labor leaders, there to demand that the city council over-ride City Manager John N. Edy, who had ruled last week that any W.P.A. worker who struck would be ruled off relief.

In the face of these two big steps forward in making the W.P.A. strike a success, the C.I.O. leaders here ordered their men back to work today, because it was the fifth day they were out. Toledo militants were presented with the paradox that the notorious Francis J. Dillon, "personal representative here of William Green," coupled a denunciation of joint A.F.L.-C.I.O. central executive body meetings with an exhortation of the C.I.O. for sending its men back to work. Dillon declared he would advise all striking A.F.L. members to remain away from W.P.A. jobs until Congress changed its stand.

Dillon's opposition to united front actions between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. will undoubtedly be answered in the central labor body (A.F.L.), but the C.I.O. is in an indefensible position on the W.P.A. situation. The Stalinists, always strong in C.I.O. leading circles here, are pulling the C.I.O. away from a united front struggle against the New Deal's W.P.A. policy.

NEW YORK

"Strike to the Finish" For Union Rate Goes On Says Murray, Union Head

NEW YORK, July 13—That New York's W.P.A. strike will be "a strike to the finish," was reiterated today by Thomas A. Murray, President of the Building and Construction Trades Council of New York after the Washington conference called by William Green.

Murray declared:

"Our work-stoppage program throughout the country is tremendously effective today and all indications are that it will become increasingly effective as time goes on.

"The situation boils down to just this:—Neither North Beach Airport nor any other W.P.A. construction project anywhere in the five boroughs will ever be completed unless union craftsmen resume work, and no union man will work unless he is paid the legal hourly rate for every hour's work put in.

"Under the new W.P.A. law the attempt is made to purchase two or three hours of labor for the price of one hour's toll.

"At all times labor has the clearly defined right to refuse to work and in this instance it is obvious that labor has a more than adequate reason for its refusal to work.

"The mere suggestion that labor should throw on one or two or three hours of work free of charge with every hour for which it is compensated is, of course, a principle for which there is simply no positive justification.

"The same law which tells labor that henceforth it must sell a dollar's worth of toll for thirty cents, it is interesting to note, does not try to treat those who supply materials in the same arbitrary un-American manner.

"The material dealers are not told that they must henceforth part with a dollar's worth of steel or a dollar's worth of brick for thirty cents."

Meanwhile, Fred Hansen, Chairman of the Queens Strike Committee, reported that from Monday up to 9 a.m. Thursday, 508 trucks carrying essential material for North Beach Airport had been turned back at the gate. Fewer than fifty trucks have gone through the gate since Monday, Hansen's report stated.

FLINT

Strike Called by Auto Union Auxiliary Climaxed By Militant Demonstration

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FLINT, July 11—W.P.A. projects here went down quicker than Tony Galento under Joe Louis' punishment when the U.A.W.-C.I.O. Unemployed and W.P.A. Auxiliary issued the call for a one-day

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Million on WPA to Be Fired by Sept. 1st

Announce Cut Under Terms of Roosevelt Starvation Bill

Meeting in conclave with his state and district deputies in Chicago to co-ordinate their strikebreaking activities, Col. F. C. Harrington, national W.P.A. Administrator, announced on July 13 that 31 percent of the W.P.A. workers would be fired by September 1. That percentage, amounting by Harrington's figures to 650,000 workers, would be dropped from the rolls in accordance with the provision of the law requiring dismissal on that date of all men employed by then for 18 months or more.

A Half-Truth

But in releasing his figures, Harrington told only half the truth. For his computation of 31 percent to be dismissed was based on a total figure as of August 31 on W.P.A. rolls of

"Attorney General Murphy Invents Some Law"—See editorial on page 4.

2,100,000. Since, however, on June 31 the W.P.A. rolls stood at 2,500,000, that means that the Administration plans to fire 400,000 men in addition to the 650,000 to be dropped under the 18-month provision.

That means that a grand total of 1,050,000 of those now on W.P.A. rolls are slated for the axe by September 1!

But this is only part of the horrible story.

End Wage Differentials

For on September 1 another provision of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Law goes into effect: the ending of the differential in wages between North and South. In Chicago, Harrington admitted that this would mean universal slashes in pay rates throughout the North.

The end of the differential would not logically require cutting wages in the North. Southern W.P.A. wages could be raised to the Northern level, thereby fulfilling the provisions of the law.

But that is not what the Roosevelt administration will do. It will keep the Southern average wage somewhere around its present level—the appallingly low figure of \$19 per month. That low figure is dictated by the Southern bosses—they want no competition from W.P.A. for their semi-slave labor—who are the backbone of Roosevelt's Democratic machine.

Destroying W.P.A.

That means transfer to the North of the same starvation standards, or as near as the Administration can get to that by pushing the workers back.

What will happen to these million men and their families? Even Col. Harrington had to admit that no jobs are available for them in private industry: "I do not believe it (private employment) is large enough to take care of the number who will be forced off the rolls."

The Roosevelt - Woodrum Starvation Law is thus revealed to be nothing less than a mechanism to practically destroy the W.P.A. and to drive down to an unprecedented low the living standards of the American working class.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

NOT SO FAST, MR. DUBINSKY!

On July 9, Fascist Father Coughlin made a violent radio attack upon Harry Milton, member of Local 66, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and veteran of the Spanish Loyalist Forces, for having proposed to his union the formation of a Workers Defense Guard to protect the workers, their organizations and their democratic rights from fascist assaults.

Two days later, David Dubinsky, President of the union to which Milton belongs, rushed into print to reply to Coughlin's attack.

Running for Cover

His statement was not so much a reply to Coughlin as it was a vicious disavowal of Milton and his proposal.

"As far as the I.L.G.W.U. is concerned, I may state that we are quite a big organization and, like any other organized group, we have, aside from the overwhelming majority of sane and sound trade unionists, some Coughlinites, Trotskyites and some plain lunatics. We cannot forbid them, from time to time, to come out with some crazy

ideas, but they certainly do not speak for our union. It is a pity that Father Coughlin had to go to the waste basket for his latest Sunday speech."

Not so fast, Mr. Dubinsky! Take your time about running for cover and whining about your respectability and sanity. After all, Coughlin only made a speech against you. After all, he hasn't yet swung into the same kind of violent action that his prototypes in Italy, Germany and Spain have already used so murderously against your no less respectable and sane brothers in Europe.

Not so fast, Mr. Dubinsky! Take your time about denouncing as "lunatics" the rank and file soldiers of your union, men like Milton, who fought against fascism with rifle in hand on the Spanish civil war fronts.

When the Thugs Come After all, when Coughlinites and Silver Shirts and other fascist thugs begin the wholesale smashing of union headquarters, the stabbing and clubbing of workers, you may find yourself shouting tardily for help from the millions of "lunatics"

who make up the rank and file of American labor and who are ready, as were their European brothers, to fight fascism to the death.

Not so fast, Mr. Dubinsky! Take your time about denouncing the idea of mobilizing the trade unionists into a trained defense guard against fascism as "crazy."

If They Had Acted Talk to some of the refugees from Germany's concentration camps. They will tell you that they wish German labor had had such a "crazy idea" IN TIME.

Talk to the Spanish refugees living in the horrible concentration camps of your French "democracy." They will tell you that they wish Spanish labor had put that "crazy idea" into effect NOT AT THE LAST MINUTE, when the fascist enemy was already mobilizing and had already pounced upon the unprepared workers, BUT IN TIME.

Talk to members of the Socialist Party whose Debs Labor School has already been wrecked by fascists. Talk to the members of the

Transport Workers Union whose street meetings and speakers have been attacked by Coughlinites.

Talk to the members of your own union, whose working districts are now being invaded by the insolent, audacious, aggressive Coughlinites and their dirty anti-Semitic rag.

Waiting for What?

What are you waiting for? For Roosevelt to "stop fascism"? Like Bruening did in Germany? Like Benes did in Czechoslovakia? Like Azana did in Spain?

Or do you have a passport stuck away somewhere, as did your equally blind fellow-bureaucrats of the European trade union movement who escaped fascism by airplane?

Otto Wels could fly to Czechoslovakia. Benes could fly to America. Julius Deutsch could fly to Spain. Azana could fly to France.

But in the first place, "democratic" shelters are getting mighty scarce, even for "big leaders."

Not get them. They must remain under the yoke of fascism, in its concentration camps or its slave pens. THEY MUST FIGHT OR BECOME SLAVES!

Not so fast, Mr. Dubinsky! Gangs Follow Speeches

Take your time. Think it over. You can't play possum with American fascism. You can't dispose of Coughlin and his ilk by running like a scared rabbit from one of their threatening speeches. After the fascist speeches, come the fascist gangs. The American trade unionists, including the members of the I.L.G.W.U., are going to be looking for leaders who give the signal for a courageous fight.

Your Real Color You've been getting away with a poorly-deserved reputation of a "progressive labor leader" for a long time now.

But the time is coming when EVERYBODY will have to show what he is really made of in the fight against American fascism.

Don't you think you're showing your real color just a little bit too soon?

North Beach Airport Is Center of W.P.A. New York Strike Struggle

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The National Labor Relations Board took a long step backward this week when it announced that hereafter it would permit elections in plants upon an employer's request.

In the past this is a right which the employers have not had and which they sought keenly because it gave them another weapon with which to harass the unions.

Plenty of trouble lies ahead for the union movement under the new ruling. Take the current C.I.O.-U.A.W.A. strike in General Motors. How will the new N.L.R.B. ruling that goes into effect July 14 effect the strike? The strikers are asking, according to press releases, for a contract covering only their own members. Will the new ruling give General Motors a loophole?

Fortunately, in the auto strike, the stories of the militancy of the workers, reminiscent of the glorious days of the 1937 General Motors strike, give promise that the N.L.R.B. or anyone else will have a hard time turning back the boys.

The auto workers certainly are on the march again. And this serves simply to emphasize the capitulation of the N.L.R.B.

Scab Roosevelt
Any doubt that the present reduction in the W.P.A. wages that caused the nation-wide strike was a deliberate move on the part of the Roosevelt administration to bring labor into line for war should be removed in every worker's mind by two events of this week.

President Roosevelt endorsed the wage reduction and the strike-breaking policies of Colonel Harrington, W.P.A. administrator.

Another despicable blow at the W.P.A. workers was hurled by the administration in announcing that 3,500 theatre workers of the Federal Theatre project would be laid off this month although Congress, in cutting out this project, allowed funds for it to continue until Sept. 1. Since Broadway already has hit its low summer ebb, the W.P.A. ruling is an order of starvation to the workers involved.

A.F.L. Conference
A spectator at the A.F.L. conference in Washington to map out a fight against the Roosevelt administration wage cutting policy on W.P.A. would hardly believe this could be an A.F.L. gathering.

There was some pretty strong language used against the Roosevelt administration. Richard Gray, secretary of the International Bricklayers Union, bluntly blamed Roosevelt for the wage reduction.

Another speaker said Roosevelt had given the A.F.L. the run around and had even refused to see a committee to talk over the matter.

Speakers urged a nation-wide strike on W.P.A. until Congress rectified its error.

New Jersey and Pennsylvania delegates said their members would never go back to work until the wage cuts were rescinded. They urged all other states to pursue a similar policy.

Of course, Bill Green tried to divert the sentiment from direct action channels into purely parliamentary pressure. Both are necessary—especially strike action.

Bloody Harlan
When the most conservative section of the American labor movement is thus aroused it is a hint of the days of struggle to come.

"Bloody Harlan" came into its own again this week. One man was killed and six wounded in a day of shooting involving United Mine Worker pickets, National Guardsmen and scabs.

Garbled press reports fail to say on what side the dead and wounded belonged. Two of the six wounded were strike-breaking guardsmen.

First result of the shooting was to give the guardsmen an "excuse" for rounding up strikers. 250 were hurled in jail.

A reign of terror against the U.M.W.U. has ensued. Here is a real job for the C.I.O. The Harlan strike must be won.

Press Tour of Project Gives Somervell the Lie

Union Wins Battle of Figures as Evidence Shows Work to Be at a Standstill

By TONY CHAPMAN

North Beach Airport is the biggest W.P.A. construction project in the country. It employed 23,000 men. The New York Building and Construction Trades Council of the A.F.L. said the airport job was tied up. Colonel Somervell, the W.P.A. administrator, said it was working. The unions accepted the gauge of battle. They issued an invitation to the entire press to join union officials the next day (Tuesday, the 11th) in a tour of the project which would prove whether they or the W.P.A. officials were telling the truth. They invited the colonel to come along, but he ducked. The reporters went.

As the four-car caravan drew up at the main gate, the way was blocked by three city cops and four khaki-clad guards. "Have you got permission?" asked the guard, ignoring their police press cards. Apparently the colonel hadn't cleared the way for them.

Bar Photographers
The reporters and the photos went into conference outside the main gate. It was decided to call the "Brains" at 70 Columbus Avenue. In a little while, the reporter selected for the task returned with official permission from Colonel Somervell. The reporters were to be permitted to enter—but photographers were barred.

Once inside the grounds, the reporters walked to the administration building, where Gayle McFadden, Director of the Airport Project, met them.

McFadden marshalled two cars and personally conducted the tour to the land-plane administration building. Inside the court of the building, men, most of them unskilled laborers, were at work. They did not number more than thirty. Upstairs, four plasterers were at work. In the main upstairs court no one was on the job. High above, surrounded by scaffolding, a blue and gold mural was untouched. The painters had left the job.

"An Open Shop"
Asked by reporters how the job on the airport was coming along, McFadden answered, "we're operating at 75 percent efficiency and have 90 percent of our men on the job." But had there really been even 25 percent efficiency on the job, McFadden would have had to shout above the humdrum of men-at-work to make himself heard.

Asked if the plasterers on the job were union men, McFadden replied evasively, "We make no distinction." Pressed by the reporters, McFadden declared, "This is an open shop."

On return to his office in the Project Administration Building, reporters got down to the business of asking for figures. The figures, released by McFadden, proved more than his eloquence the almost complete shutdown of work on the airport.

"I have purposely unbalanced my schedules to provide for a majority of men working in daylight," McFadden explained.

Grounds Deserted
That same night this writer visited North Beach Airport by car and found that the grounds were almost totally deserted. All work on hangars during the night was at a complete standstill. In other words, in rearranging his schedules, McFadden has shifted all available men to daylight work in order to make a good impression on all who might visit the project.

McFadden's figures revealed that he could claim only 87 bricklayers: 789 are usually employed daily. The day before, McFadden said, there were 54 on the job. Throughout the tour, newspapermen were unable to see any bricklayers.

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BOSTON SUBWAY WORKERS JOIN IN W.P.A. STRIKE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

BOSTON, July 10.—Fifty hoisting engineers employed on the W.P.A. Huntington Avenue subway project today left their cranes to join the nationwide W.P.A. strike. Members of the Hoisting and Portable Engineers Union, they voted unanimously to stop work last night at a meeting in Gainsboro Hall. James R. MacDonald, business agent of the union, said the strike was a protest against a 50 per cent slash in wages. 2,600 laborers, remaining at work and excavating with shovels, endanger the engineers' strike. These laborers do not realize that the engineers are fighting the battle of all subway workers, and need all the support they can get.

SUBWAY LABORERS DEBATE STRIKE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

BOSTON, July 7.—Featured by tense debate, a meeting last night of over 400 W.P.A. workers building the Huntington Avenue Subway, met to consider joining the nationwide strike. A sharp cleavage developed, some men shouting "Who'll pay my rent tomorrow if we go out?" and a small group of progressives replying, "You won't have your job at all unless you strike."

The discussion waxed hotter as the crowd grew larger. A few minutes later a large squad of police and plainclothesmen rushed up. A dick threatened one of the leaders with "inciting to riot." Meanwhile the "anti-strike" elements were winning out and the men trickled back to work.

The meeting was held in response to a leaflet put out by the South End Workers Alliance, which meets Wednesday night at 8 p.m. at the Lincoln House.

Strike Sidelights . . .

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

Despite the fact that 3,900 North Beach W.P.A. workers received pink slips this morning for refusing to accept the Roosevelt-Somervell order that they go back on the project as scabs (and at scab wages too) the ranks of the strikers held firm. Less than a dozen men were scabbing on the strike while thousands remained out.

No work was going on. The W.P.A. officials tried to fool the strikers by filling the roofs with the men they had on hand. But only a blind man would believe that the scabs were working. Those who didn't know that men were on the roof thought that the airport was being decorated with statues.

An attempt was made to get laborers to lay brick. The electrical workers who were out on strike laughed at the stupidity of the W.P.A. officials. All the brick that has been laid must be ripped open because there were no electricians on the job to lay wire. And the bricklayers laughed too. One of the men walked by to see what the scabs were doing. He assured the electrical workers that the scabs didn't know the first thing about laying brick and the walls would have to be ripped down anyway.

If Roosevelt ever heard the names he was called for backing up the W.P.A. cuts, he would have to admit that his bluff about being "a friend of labor" will no longer work.

Joe F., a member of the Painters Union, D.C. 9, said: "I was taken in by the New Deal in the last election. Never again. What we union men need is a party of our own."

Another striker was not convinced. "Roosevelt probably didn't say he was for the men going back without the prevailing rate. You'll see. The newspapers are filled with lies. Wait until he gets on the radio." We hate to think of how many years the men will have to wait before Roosevelt comes out against the pay cut.

One Stalinist tried to apologize for Roosevelt's reactionary

stand. "He couldn't help it. Congress is reactionary." The other workers who were hanging around that spot gave him the razzberry. One of them asked him one simple question "Why didn't Roosevelt veto the Woodrum Bill instead of signing it—if he really was against it?"

One of the workers brought his little daughter out on the picket line. That's the stuff. Not only the strikers' children, but their wives as well, should join them on the line.

One of the men waved his pink slip and said "The way things are now . . . with the government forcing us to work longer hours for a stinking wage, it's just like Hitler is doing in Germany. Hitler tells you that you must work at the wage he wants you to . . . or starve. Now they tell us the same thing in the United States. It looks like they are trying to have fascism here also."

The crying need to organize the unorganized is realized by every striker. "If the laborers were organized now, then they would be out here and not inside," said one plumber. All the others agreed with him. The unemployed and Project Workers Union is on the scene trying to do just that job. They are passing out leaflets to the unorganized urging them to join the union TODAY. This is what the laborers and the strike as a whole has needed. Good luck to you, Unemployed and Project Workers Union organizers.

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Drive to Organize the Unskilled Gains Speed

Jamaica and Astoria Divisions of U.P.W.U. Direct Organization Campaign

By RAY ROBBINS

NEW YORK CITY, July 13.—The intensive drive to organize the unorganized unskilled W.P.A. workers in support of the strike of skilled workers called by the A.F.L. at the North Beach Airport, center of the strike movement in the metropolitan area, has been gathering speed during the last week under the energetic leadership of the Jamaica and Astoria divisions of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union.

A campaign of meetings and leaflets, calling upon the unskilled workers to organize for struggle, led to a marked growth of sympathy for the project union's aims among the striking workers.

Roosevelt Stock Low

The Stalinist leaders of the Workers Alliance have run to cover as a result of Roosevelt's strike-breaking statements. Up until Wednesday morning when Roosevelt made his infamous statement to the press, supporting Harrington, the Alliance had been desperately hanging on to the fringes of the militant strike, drumming up votes for the "friend of labor" in the White House. Now they are in utter confusion, their ranks disillusioned and the workers generally unresponsive to their ballyhoo for the New Deal.

When the workers read the papers Wednesday morning, Roosevelt's stock hit a new low. "Some New Deal," the workers were saying as they stood in groups discussing F.D.R.'s stand, "It's an out-and-out Raw Deal now." The Stalinists, fearful of losing whatever prestige they had obtained in a very delicate situation, circulated rumors that the press was distorting Roosevelt's statement. But nobody fell for that gag, and as the day progressed the anti-Roosevelt feeling among the workers grew despite all the efforts of Communist Party ward-healers.

Dollinger Speaks

The same day, at a morning meeting of 500 strikers in an open field before the Airport, Abe Dollinger, member of the Unskilled Workers Organizing Committee of the Jamaica local of project workers, spoke to the men, presenting a program to win the strike by militant action on the picket line and the unity of skilled and unskilled workers. Stalinists made a vain attempt to stifle the voice of the militants by making speech after speech in the usual slanderous style.

Many workers, fed up to the neck with these crusaders for Roosevelt, demanded that the members of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union get the floor to answer the Stalinist charges. As one worker put it: "You guys (the Stalinists) been running these fellows down all morning. Now I don't know whether you're right or wrong, but I'd like to hear what they have to say for themselves. That is the democratic way to handle it."

The will of the workers prevailed and Dollinger spoke. "Why is the Workers Alliance so scared of us and our program?" Dollinger asked. "Are they afraid of our campaign to organize the unskilled workers? Are they afraid that if we organize the unskilled workers and pull them out on strike in support of the skilled workers, Roosevelt will be embarrassed again? Are they afraid of the militant proposals that make victory for you strikers a dead certainty?"

Exposes Alliance

Dollinger went on to blow up the fake "stoppage" program of the Alliance. "Why does the Alliance set the date for the stoppage so far in advance, nine days to be exact and even this date is only tentative? A nine days' wait before they do anything and they have the brass to attack us as disrupters. Can it be that they are hoping that they won't have to come through with the goods?" Dollinger asked, "in line with their policy of not hurting Roosevelt's chances in 1940? This is undoubtedly the case."

Why Not Now?

Workers in the crowd took up the cry on the question of the stoppage during Dollinger's speech. "Pull them out now," the workers shouted to the silent group of Stalinists. "What the hell are you waiting for?"

The Stalinists suddenly got a bad attack of lock-jaw, and seemed unable to cough up one single word.

Every afternoon this week the unskilled workers pouring out of the Airport have been greeted by organized squads of agitators. All sorts of intimidation and coercion have been brought into play by the W.P.A. administrators. The trolley cars that transport the workers to the subway station have been closely guarded by LaGuardia's cops, who try to intimidate the militants by flourishing their clubs and swooping down on them on charging horses. But the deluge of agitation continues, and the restiveness of the unskilled workers, waiting for an organization that will really fight their battles, is evidenced by many favorable signs.

Wednesday at noon hour a contingent of twenty unskilled workers marched off the job to listen to Dollinger present a program of action. The assembled Negro and white laborers were eager for action, and promised to spread the word of organization throughout the Airport which employs at least 14,000 unskilled workers.

MILITANT W.P.A. UNION ROUSES LABOR SPIRIT

Projects Shut Tight As A.F.L. and C.I.O. Back Strike Action

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
STREATOR, Ill., July 9.—500 workers attended a mass meeting on Sunday, July 9, in City Park as a protest against the nationwide payouts. The meeting was held under the auspices of the newly organized Federal Workers League of Lasalle County.

Aroused by the anti-labor and wage cutting action of F.D.R. and Congress, the W.P.A. workers of Streator, to a man, have joined the F.W.L. thereby solidifying themselves with the thousands of W.P.A. workers now on strike, by closing down every project in Streator, Monday morning. Prospects are that all projects in Lasalle County, employing about 1800 men, will be shut down tight by Monday night.

Union Backing
The Federal Workers League, which is about five days old, was organized on the initiative of John Malone, Amalgamated Clothing Workers organizer, Mat Coley, Gus Mandula, and other leading labor militants in Streator. This new organization has the wholehearted support of both the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. of Lasalle County.

At the Sunday mass meeting the speakers included John Scott, Federation of Glass Workers, Gus Mandula, Chairman F.W.L., Lydia Beidel from Chicago, and P. C. Sunkel, editor of the Streator Labor News. The highlight of the meeting was the speech delivered by Lydia Beidel, who set the tone of the meeting by declaring to an enthusiastic audience, "either we stand up on our hind legs and fight this anti-labor action of the capitalist politicians or remain a bunch of 34-cent-an-hour jackasses."

The revival of militant labor action in Streator has aroused the entire working class in the vicinity with a new spirit and enthusiasm that has not been witnessed here for many years. The demands of the strikers include "Stop the payout and the layoff." "Give every unemployed worker a job at a living wage." "Find jobs by making the 30-hour week a national law" and "All war funds to the unemployed."

Latest reports are that in Streator 600 to 700 are out with only six working. In Marseilles, two projects are out. In Ottowa, a mass meeting has been called for Monday night and 400 strikers are going to Ottowa for the meeting. Sixty-five are out in Peru.



THE READERS HAVE THEIR SAY:

"You are right! I have found the Appeal's interpretation of interest and value. In these dark days yours is the only voice I know of in the periodical field that sounds a clear note in a befuddled and bewildered world."—T.P.P.

"Enclosed find \$4.00 on our account. I am now getting all literature regularly. The Appeal in particular is a tonic to us and we value it immensely both because we are having a tough struggle here and because your success encourages us more than we can say."—L.M., Melbourne branch of the Australian Revolutionary Workers League.

"We are going to try to send in news regularly to the Appeal. What I have in mind is material that can be used by the writers in New York. I think this is one of the ways to help make the paper more readable for unpolitical workers and help educate them to our political viewpoint."

"I feel that with the war danger so near we all have to work harder than ever before. This means a continued effort to sell the Appeal."—Pauline T., Worcester, Mass. literature agent.

ON FINANCES:

Again we must sound the alarm about our financial position. The financial strain resulting from the Convention has seri-

ously affected our regular weekly income with the result that we are once again in a serious situation.

Financial statements have been sent out to all branches and are now in the hands of literary agents. Action is the keynote! We are not asking for special contributions. But we are definitely asking for immediate and substantial payments on all bundle order accounts.

New subscriptions this past week fell off considerably. No doubt the presence of many comrades at the National Convention accounted for this decline, but that is all the more reason to step up the pace for next week and make up for this lost time. Here's the list:

NEW YORK CITY	6
California	5
Chicago	3
New Jersey	2
Nebraska	2
St. Paul	1
Ohio	1
New York	1
Maine	1
Total	22

Phil Axelrod of South Haven, Michigan has joined the list of those taking bundles of papers at his camp. Phil begins with a bundle of 10.

Pioneer Bookshop of London, England has already increased its bundle from 18 to 24 per issue—and pays for them, too! Cleveland, Ohio has doubled its bundle and now takes a total of 50 copies per issue.

Newark Fires Opening Gun in Fund Drive

Pledges \$267 in National Party Building Fund Drive for \$10,000

After an enthusiastic discussion of the Program of Action adopted by the recent Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, the Newark Branch initiated the campaign to raise a \$10,000 Party Building fund by pledging \$267.

Comrades at the meeting dug down in their pockets and handed over the first cash installment on the pledge of \$23.50. This pledge represents a new high for Newark fund-raising, as it is the largest amount they have ever undertaken to collect for the Party.

The drive got off to a good

start even before the Convention sessions had come to a close. In response to the pre-convention articles written by Comrade James P. Cannon, the Boston organizer sent in a donation of \$100 from an anonymous contributor, while convention delegates were still meeting. Close on its heels came another check for \$10 from an active militant in Rochester, New York. With the splendid action of the Newark Branch, the \$10,000 campaign is going at top-speed in the first week since the convention decision.

Two Letters

On Their Morals and Ours

This letter appeared in the Socialist Call, July 8, 1939, page 4.
"Socialist Appeal
New York City
To the Editor of the Socialist Appeal

"In a recent issue of your paper, an article appeared concerning the resignation of two members of the Young People's Socialist League, youth section of the Socialist party. These two individuals, Mitchell Raffer and Ernestine Simon, have supposedly joined the Fourth International.

"May I say that so far as I am concerned, the statement was nothing but a false and vicious lie, calculated to raise doubts in the minds of my comrades as to my status in my organization.

"It is a sad commentary on the revolutionary integrity of your organization when it has to resort to such tactics, perfected only by the Stalinist school of misrepresentation.

"I emphatically believe that if your organization continues in such activity, you will have earned nothing but the disrespect of all honest liberals and radicals.

MITCHELL RAFFER
Brooklyn College
YPSL Circle

"P. S. I should appreciate the reprinting of this letter in the next issue of the Appeal, inasmuch as the article in the Appeal was a misrepresentation of my political affiliation." This letter, dated July 10, was received by the Socialist

Appeal:
"The Socialist Call,
New York City.
To the Editor of the Socialist Call:

"I asked your student director or not to print the letter she wrote and had me sign, accusing the Trotskyist organization of falsifying my political position, having come to the conclusion that the error had been entirely mine and not theirs.

"She assured me you would not use it, and yet in the Call of July 8, found it possible to betray my confidence and take advantage of the political inexperience which led me to accept it.

"I can see that loyalty to the Socialist Party should not have kept me within its ranks, despite my awareness of its ineffectual stand in current struggles. This lack of ethics has killed my loyalty.

"I herewith submit my resignation from the Young Peoples Socialist League of the Socialist Party.

Mitchell Raffer
"May I ask that you give this the same prominence that you gave the letter I was promised would not be printed."

IMPORTANT
Negro Department opening up. Badly needed: typewriter, cabinet file and other office accessories. Readers are urged to donate these absolutely essential items. Their donations will be greatly appreciated. Communicate with National Office.

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Bank Report

The big news in the press this week, bigger than Danzig, bigger than the W.P.A. strike, is a table buried in the financial pages of the N. Y. Times under the not-too-thrilling headline, "FEDERAL LOANS UP IN BANK PORTFOLIOS." The table, based on the newly issued second-quarter reports of the fifteen largest Wall Street banks, shows the percentages of these banks' total assets invested in various ways. It is worth reproducing:

	June 1938	June 1939
Cash	35%	40%
U. S. Gov't securities	29%	31%
Loans, discounts, etc.	25%	19%
Other investments & assets	11%	10%

Total assets 100% 100%
The big news here is not something unexpected has happened, not "MAN BITES DOG," for example, but precisely "DOG BITES MAN — AGAIN!" A trend which was alarming enough—to the bourgeoisie—a year ago has become even more serious in the past year.

Banks make money—and keep the capitalist system going—either by loaning their funds to business men or by investing them in business enterprises. But this table shows us that both loans and investments have in the last year shrunk even below the alarmingly—again, to the bourgeoisie—low levels of 1938. On the other hand, there has been a decided rise in the percentage of assets held in the form of cash—that is, lying idle in the vaults, producing no income for the banks or for any one else—and in Government securities, which yield a very low rate of interest.

In short, only a little over one-fourth of these great banks' total resources of \$15,240,000,000 is at present invested in profit-making enterprises. The rest is either idle or else is siphoned out of the field of private enterprise completely into Government securities.

Bond Addicts

The banks aren't making much money, but there is a great deal more to it than that. Their economic base has been shifted in the last ten years from private to state capitalism, from business enterprise to government enterprise. In 1930, the national banks of the country had \$21,600,000,000 out on loan to their customers, and \$4,100,000,000 invested in government securities. In 1937, they had \$12,700,000,000 out on loan, and \$12,300,000,000 in Government securities.

Small wonder that the conservative Senator Barbour, of New Jersey, recently described the banks as "bond addicts," which have been "all but ruined as lending agencies." The Senator admitted, sadly, that no outlet for bank funds exists in private industry, and that the

banks, therefore, "are helpless and cannot break the habit of putting surplus funds into Federal security issues."

The resulting situation is a curious one indeed. The huge annual deficits of the New Deal have been met not by increased taxation but by selling government bonds and short-term notes to the banks. Thus the New Deal has borrowed the money it needed for its spending programs from those very citadels of finance capitalism most violently opposed to any such program. The banks have lent the money simply because there has literally been nowhere else—except a safe deposit vault—they could put it. The New Deal is dependent on the banks, and the banks are dependent on the New Deal. So far, the political implications of this increasingly closer relationship between finance capital and the state have remained simply—implications. But it is in this sector that we may expect, in the future, especially clear warning signals of the approach of an American form of fascism.

Money Goes on Relief

There are two major indexes of the success of the New Deal's attempt to save capitalist democracy: idle men and idle money. The last two years have been heart-breaking ones for the New Dealers because, after some progress in 1935-6, the whole business collapsed again, and unemployment and excess bank reserves have been steadily mounting ever since. Unless new fields for profitable private investment are opened up in a hurry, the outlook for capitalism as we know it is not bright. The latest S.E.C. report on new security issues, for May of this year, is not encouraging. Only \$31,200,000 in all were registered, only a little more than half the May, 1938, figure—and over half of this measly \$31,200,000 was accounted for by new investment trusts, which means a mere reshuffling of existing investments rather than creation of new outlets.

Meanwhile, money keeps piling up in the banks just as new thousands keep swelling the ranks of the unemployed. In the last three months alone, deposits of the fifteen largest Wall Street banks jumped 6%. Chase National, which a year or so ago outstripped London's great Midland Bank to become the world's biggest bank, has just reported an all-time high of almost \$3,000,000,000 resources, which is \$500,000,000 more than it had last year. Chicago has two billion dollar banks for the first time in its history. And while deposits mount, loans dwindle, investment in new enterprises has practically dried up. These vast accumulations of capital once were reservoirs from which money flowed to turn the wheels of tens of thousands of profit-making enterprises. They have become in our day stagnant pools, breeding places of disease for the whole capitalist system.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

JEAN PAUL MARAT

(May 24, 1743-July 13, 1793)

The Bastille, prison-symbol of the old regime, fell on July 14, 1789 under the surge of the aroused Parisian masses. The Great French Revolution had begun. The struggle between the hereditary-privileged and the newly powerful masters of trade which had been brewing for the greater part of the century reached its climax, and the former had to give way. On August 4 feudal privileges were formally abolished.

There were those who were quite content to let things stand as now established. The wealthy merchants, satisfied that the reins of government were being transferred to them through that section of the nobility which had aligned itself with new class power as well as through their own direct representatives, sought merely to consolidate the gains achieved and to stop the revolution cold at that point.

These plans were spiked however by a small group of far-sighted individuals who stood at the head of the masses, notably Jean Paul Marat, champion "of the propertyless whom the rich call canaille (dogs)."

Seeing the Revolution as of benefit only to the rich, Marat jumped into the fray with the sharpness of his pen, the vigor of his ideas, publishing the most important journal of the day, "L'Ami du Peuple" (The Friend of the People). In it he attacked the proposed limitations on the people's sovereignty, charged the commercial potentates with using the National Assembly (created by the Revolution) for their own advantage, predicted the treason of the liberal nobles.

Trained as a scientist, a well-established, respected physician with a large practice among the English and French aristocracy, the writer of several important treatises on optics and other scientific subjects, Marat had even before the actual outbreak of the Revolution given up science for revolutionary agitation.

From a writer of philosophical tracts, he gradually became a practical revolutionist, an advocate of class struggle.

Persecuted by Counter Revolution

Directing his blows in a series of great polemics against Necker, representative of the new regime, he articulated the "demands of those who have nothing on those who have everything." . . . For higher wages, for equal rights, for abolition of bread and consumers taxes, for a general supply of cheap bread. Ever vigilant he didn't hesitate to speak out, call a traitor a traitor, warn the masses that today's "friend" will be tomorrow's enemy.

Those he attacked in L'Ami went after him viciously. Marat became the most persecuted man of the Revolution. For two years he lived "illegally" in dark cellars, sewers, constantly hunted, working alone with only Louis Simonne Barrad standing by him throughout. His writings were confiscated, his presses destroyed. As the counter-revolution grew stronger,

Marat demanded the safeguarding of the Revolution by the general arming of the people, by the disarming of the counter-revolutionary leaders—even by dictatorial means if necessary. To crush the spirit of the masses, the National Assembly ordered bloody massacres. European powers, working with royalists in France, declared war against the French. Explaining the meaning of the war and the massacres, Marat called for the overthrow of the King and the completion of the Revolution.

Eventually, in October, 1791, a Legislative Assembly elected by privileged suffrage replaced the National Assembly. But, wrote Marat, "The second legislature is not less rotten than the first." Prices and hunger were mounting. Force, he told the workers, would be necessary for the creation of a Republic. "Do you really believe that you can change the inclinations and habits, the manners and passions of the ruling class by the preaching of moral principles?"

Louis was taken prisoner in 1792. A new Communal Council was elected in Paris. Marat was made a member of its Committee of Public Safety which disposed of the counter-revolutionary ringleaders. His influence in the Paris Commune was decisive.

A National Convention was called. The masses, who worshipped him, elected him a member. To indicate the change that had been effected, he changed the name of his journal to "Journal of the French Republic by Marat, Friend of the People." The legend under the masthead of this journal read: "In order that misery may be diminished, the property of the wealthy must be abolished."

Never silent, never willing to compromise, Marat continued his battle against the weak-willies, the vacillators in the Convention. The latter who held the whip hand in the Convention for a time finally had him brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on April 24, 1793. But he was acquitted, and the masses carried him home triumphantly through the streets of Paris. A leading spirit of the Jacobin Club (the Bolsheviks of the French Revolution), he organized the defeat of the Girondists (the vacillators), and helped establish Jacobin rule.

The years of persecution had, however, their toll. Marat became too ill to attend the Convention. Daily from his home he sent the Convention a letter of advice and opinion. Afflicted with a serious skin ailment contracted in the dank sewers, he spent the greater part of his day sitting in a bath, the only relief he had. On July 13, Charlotte Corday, an agent of the royalists, asked to see him. She was admitted. Approaching, she pulled a knife and stabbed him through the heart.

Charlotte Corday became the heroine of the counter-revolution when it wrested power from the Jacobins. Marat's name was besmirched, accused of the vilest crimes, his ideas distorted. By the same token, however, his name was revered by the masses, treasured with all those other martyrs who lived in the cause of emancipation.

Threaten To Spread Strike in Auto Plant

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT, July 13—As the strike of skilled workers and maintenance men turned into its ninth day, 11 General Motors divisions in Detroit, Pontiac, Saginaw and Cleveland remained at a standstill in all die work and retooling on the new G.M. models.

Strike votes have been taken in the Fisher Body, Chevrolet and Buick divisions in Flint and in the Pontiac Motor plant in Pontiac. A general strike was also threatened by union spokesmen in the jobbing shops working on G.M. parts.

The corporation has finally acceded to enter negotiations with the U.A.W.-C.I.O. under whose auspices the strike is being conducted. Unless definite progress is made in these negotiations, all other G.M. plants working to meet the new production schedules will be closed down, union leaders declared.

Hide Behind Martin

With the help of government mediators the corporation continues to hide behind Homer Martin's fictitious organization to deny a renewal of contract and the improvements demanded by the only legitimate representative of the auto workers, the U.A.W.-C.I.O. Strike-breaker Martin along with his corruption-ridden cronies of the A.F.L. building trades and Frank XX Martel have ordered their men to walk through the picket lines.

Pontiac has been the crucible of the struggle. Picket lines running into the thousands have fought off scabs, local cops and State police. Doddering, senile Governor Dickinson, famous for his "Pipe-Line to God" (and General Motors) has been hanging the threat of a state police invasion of Pontiac over the U.A.W. if the militant picketing persists and gives lessons in union organization to Martin's goons and finks.

As sentiment runs high in Pontiac, it will take much more than state cops to smash the picket lines.

Not Our Kind of Job!



S.P. TRIES TO SQUIRM OUT OF DISGRACEFUL STRIKE STAND

Under Rank and File Pressure, Workers Security Federation "Reconsiders" Decision

By E. R. McKINNEY

Mournfully yielding to the refusal of the rank and file to return to work on W.P.A. projects, Lloyd Leith, secretary of the Workers Security Federation, has announced that the leadership of the federation has "reconsidered" its decision ordering their members to scab on the W.P.A. strikers. While the leadership is still in favor of the return to work, Leith admits that they couldn't get away with it. The previous position, to return to work, was reconsidered, says Leith "because of the pressure of the membership which is distinctly for continuance of the strike." While the Norman Thomas Socialist Party leadership of the new Workers Security Federation was attempting to escape from the wrath of its own membership, and the disgraceful sell-out which they had announced to the capitalist press, the Socialist Call appeared with a piece by Art McDowell. McDowell was writing about the formation of the Workers Security Federation and brazenly announced that he and the S.P. "are proud that Socialists could and did take almost as great a lead in this new move as in the once proud and promising Workers Alliance." And what are McDowell and the S.P. proud of? He tells us in his article as follows: "The first in its declaration of principles (Workers Security Federation) was a section barring from membership or affiliation 'any advocate or supporter of any brand of dictatorship domestic or foreign.'" "This was aimed," says McDowell "not only at Stalinist Communists and Fascist Coughlinites and their ilk but also at all the petty Communist sects with their 'one and only' leaders' solutions."

Still Proud?

Now McDowell and the S.P. have something further to be proud of. They do not have to stop at being proud that they have formed a mass organization that excludes workers from membership because of political belief. They can be proud of the scabbing and sell-out roll of Waldron and Leith, S.P. members and leading officials of their Workers Security Federation. They can be "proud" of the fact that the capitalist press used the cowardice, the stupidity and the no-strike order of the leaders of the federation, to initiate an attempt at a national back-to-work movement among the W.P.A. strikers.

The members of the Workers Security Federation have made a good beginning. They refused to return to work. They will learn, however, that this does not complete their task. They will learn that they cannot develop into a militant unemployed organization with a leadership whose militancy is only in the direction of scabbing and running to cover when a fight is in progress.

Workers Swelter, "Society" Opens Swimming Pool

BOSTON, July 7 — Featured on the society pages of local papers today are stories of a new swimming pool opened by the exclusive Longwood Cricket Club. "A swimming and diving exhibition attracted an enthusiastic gallery. . . . Many enjoyed tea on the veranda. . . . later an orchestra played for dancing. . . . a cool breeze blew across the tennis courts. . . . Mr. Herbert Bramwell Shaw played a game of tennis after watching the swimming." The poor coupon clipper—he must have been exhausted. At any rate, we feel sure that the workers from whose sweat Mr. Shaw stole his leisure are not a part of that "enthusiastic gallery".

Protests Hounding of S.W.P. Literature Salesmen by Police

Protesting the continued police hounding of persons selling literature for the Socialist Workers Party, Edward R. Frank, Local New York organizer of the S.W.P., on July 13 demanded that Police Commissioner Valentine investigate these actions and put a stop to them. Comrade Frank's letter reads:

Commissioner Valentine, Police Department, New York, N. Y.
Dear Sir:

On May 25th I communicated with Mayor LaGuardia, requesting that the Police Department refrain from arresting people who were selling literature for the Socialist Workers Party, while at the same time allowing followers of Father Coughlin to sell his magazine without the slightest interference from your Department.

I was assured, by representatives of your department, that no discrimination would be made against people selling literature for the Socialist Workers Party, and that the civil rights of our people would be respected. Nevertheless, last Monday, July 10, 1939, two persons who were selling pamphlets for the Socialist Workers Party in front of Macy's Department Store and who were standing side by side with three other people selling Social Justice, Father Coughlin's magazine, were arrested and booked on charges of "disorderly conduct" and "violating the anti-noise ordinance." Not a finger was laid on the vendors of Social Justice. On Tuesday, July 11, 1939, another arrest was made under the same circumstances and at the same place.

Deliberate Policy

Obviously, these arrests are the result of a deliberate policy of discrimination against the Socialist Workers Party and in favor of the followers of Father Coughlin. I do not know how true might be the assertion of Father Coughlin that 5,000 of his followers are members of various police departments, but in view of the open discrimination against the Socialist Workers Party in favor of Father Coughlin's followers in these arrests, and the violation of the civil rights of our people, our attorney has asked a postponement of the case involving Tuesday's arrest until August, pending an investigation into

the policy governing these arrests.

This letter merely confirms my conversation with Patrolman Boles concerning this matter and my request that an investigation be initiated.

For your further information, these cases were booked at the Magistrates Court of the Second District, 6th Avenue and 103rd Street; Judge Thomas A. Aurelio presiding.

Trusting that you will make an immediate and complete investigation into this matter, and awaiting your early reply, I am,

Yours truly,
EDWARD R. FRANK,
Organizer,
Socialist Workers Party,
Local New York

NEW CASTLE POLICE BEAT NEGRO WORKER

Defense Committee Is Formed as Wave of Police Terror Swells

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—A committee for the defense of Negro rights has been set up here following a wave of police terror instituted against Negro people by the local administration.

Formation of the committee followed the brutal beating of Henry Bell, W.P.A. worker and a former member of the United Mine Workers of America by six white city policemen several days ago. Bell is still suffering from painful injuries.

The committee is composed of Negro and white members representing a number of trade unions and other progressive organizations in the city. It demands the arrest and prosecution of the police culprits as well as full recognition and respect for the civil rights of the Negro people.

Bell was resting in his home when he was startled by the unexpected entrance of several policemen. Fifteen minutes later neighbors were shocked to hear cries of agony coming from Bell's home as he was clubbed and blackjacked at the hands of the police.

Bell was so badly beaten that he had to be taken to the Jamison Memorial Hospital where his wounds were treated. After spending a night in jail he was discharged the next morning without a hearing. The unwarranted attack aroused widespread indignation and the defense committee was organized.

Speakers at Puerto Rican Rally Flay Yankee Imperialism

NEW YORK—Bitterly denouncing the regime of Yankee Imperialism, and demanding freedom for their island homeland, the New York organization of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party celebrated on July 7 the inauguration of its new executive board. Before a packed audience of anti-imperialist members of the large Puerto Rican colony of this city, speaker after speaker flayed the "democratic" imperialist hypocrites in Washington, and reminded the very sympathetic audience of the many martyrs who have fallen in the struggle for independence, heroes whose martyrdom was not in vain.

The speakers were: Antonio Rodriguez Berrios, president of the Nationalist Junta in Harlem; Lorenzo Pineiro Rivera, secretary-general of the United States organization of the party; and Gilberto Concepcion de Gracia, president of the U. S. organization. The struggle against imperialist oppression, for the freedom of Pedro Albizu Campos and the other Nationalists who are kept in Atlanta Penitentiary by the Roosevelt government, and for immediate independence was the keynote of all three speeches as well as of the songs and recitations presented by Pedro Vargas and Paulina Lopez.

Subscribe to the
SOCIALIST APPEAL

50,000 WPA Strikers Keep Minnesota Projects Closed

(Continued from Page 1)

the most popular strike we have ever had in Minnesota.

Last Friday and Saturday the strike spread from the Twin Cities and Duluth to the Iron Range and to southern Minnesota, making the shutdown practically state-wide.

The Federal Workers Section of Local 544, apart from the wage-rate cut issue, has enunciated a four-point program which it has called upon Minnesota congressmen and senators to introduce into Congress:

1. Provide each able unemployed worker a decent job at union wages and hours.
2. Get funds for this by transferring all war funds to the unemployed.
3. Open the idle factories, under union control, to produce consumer goods for the masses.
4. Enact a twenty-billion dollar housing and public works program.

Teamsters Refute Roosevelt The Northwest Organizer, organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, commenting caustically on President Roosevelt's assertion that only 3% of the W.P.A. workers were striking, estimated on July 13 that at least 500,000 had joined the national strike army.

The importance of the W.P.A. strike has compelled us to omit many articles on trade union activities and on world politics. It is nevertheless our hope that our field correspondents, especially those whose contributions have been squeezed out, will continue sending the material in.

Let the People Vote on War!

(Continued from Page 1)

simple one. The Constitution would be amended so that war could be declared by the United States government only through a direct vote of the people, a direct popular referendum.

To an ordinary human being, this proposal seems most reasonable, modest and democratic. It is the people and all the people who must fight and suffer from war (they do not fight and suffer by representation). Should not the people themselves, then, decide whether a war is worth fighting and suffering for? The United States is supposed to be a democracy. What could be more democratic than to decide the most important of all questions, the question of war, by a direct vote of the people?

This is, indeed, what the people of the United States think. Authoritative surveys, such as the "Gallup poll," show that an overwhelming majority, two-thirds at the very least, favor the war referendum. In a democracy, you would think that such a majority would get what it wants.

Why not? What has happened to the war referendum proposal?

(Continued in next issue: "The Opposition to the Ludlow Referendum")

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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.

Atty. Gen. Murphy
Invents Some Law

On the afternoon of Thursday, July 13, United States Attorney General Murphy called the Washington newspaper correspondents to his office and gave them a statement which was headlined throughout the nation as "U. S. Outlaws W.P.A. Strikers."

"There must be no strike against the government of the United States by any one, anywhere, at any time," said Murphy.

Then he showed his New Deal teeth: "Those leaders who have moved to exploit the protests of W.P.A. workers in violation of the federal statutes will be prosecuted."

Federal District Attorneys have been instructed to keep a close watch on activities of W.P.A. strike leaders, said Murphy. He singled out Minneapolis and East St. Louis as two spots where "evidence of labor racketeering or criminal conspiracy against the nation's relief program" may "result in indictments."

We don't have to formulate an answer to Murphy and his chief, President Roosevelt, for whom, of course, Murphy was speaking. (On Tuesday, July 11, Roosevelt showed his colors when he pointedly reminded newspaper reporters that "he had made no objection to the new wage provision when he signed the Relief bill."—N. Y. Times, July 12).

The answer to these gentlemen has already been made, and made by an authoritative spokesman for organized labor. We refer to Thomas Murray, President of the New York Building Trades Council of the A.F.L., and to his biting reply to the threat now repeated by Murphy, but first made last Friday by the W.P.A. administrator of New York, Colonel Somervell. President Murray then said:

"The demand of Colonel 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."

Mr. Murray is one hundred percent correct. These gentlemen who make these threats are—

'Utterly Contemptible'

Murphy, as U. S. Attorney General, passes for something of an expert on the law. And presumably he pretends that he got his "principles" about this W.P.A. strike from the law. If so, we would like to know:

Where did Murphy and Roosevelt get the idea that no one can strike against the government?

Where did Murphy and Roosevelt get the idea that militant organizing of the W.P.A. strike is "evidence of labor racketeering or criminal conspiracy against the nation's relief program"?

While we're at it, we can ask some other pertinent questions:

What law gave Roosevelt, Murphy and Harrington the authority to dismiss striking W.P.A. workers after the fifth day they were out on strike—not the fourth, sixth or first, but the fifth—is that in the law too?

What law gave Roosevelt & Co. the authority to refuse direct relief to W.P.A. strikers?

What law gave Roosevelt and his crowd the authority to send secret servicemen into Minneapolis and East St. Louis—and for all we know, into every other strike area—where they act, of course, as strikebreakers?

The answer to all these questions is one and the same: THERE IS NO LAW THAT GIVES ROOSEVELT - MURPHY - HARRINGTON THE AUTHORITY TO DO THESE THINGS.

Attorney General Murphy has no more authority to call the W.P.A. strike illegal than he has to call any other strike illegal. He just did it in the hope of getting away with it. That is, he and Roosevelt hope that the strikers and their leaders will get scared and quit.

There's no law that says that the most skilled craftsmen of the nation must work for any wage the government chooses to give them. And if there were such a law, it would be a law not deserving of obedience, for to obey such a law would mean to surrender ourselves to slavery.

These weren't the only threats Murphy made. In the same press interview, Murphy announced—maybe it was just a coincidence—that he was conducting an investigation of the "unhealthy and scandalous" conditions in the building trades, on a national scale, "not by isolated indictments." He is going to clean up all conspirators, "whether they are contractors or labor leaders."

How does Murphy know, before the investigation is concluded, that "labor leaders" are among the conspirators he is going to indict? The answer is that he doesn't know, he is just making it up in an attempt to scare the building trades workers.

Pretty crude stuff! But it shows that the strikers have Roosevelt and Murphy plenty worried. It shows that the strike is effective. It shows that all the strikers have to do is to hold on, keep the strike going and spread it, and they will win their demands.

We think the most significant thing about Murphy's threats is the way he singled out Minneapolis and East St. Louis for special mention.

Why did he single these two places out? Because in those places, more than any other places, the strike is also an—

Unskilled Workers' Strike

In Minneapolis the Building Trades Council made a direct appeal to the unskilled workers to join the building trades workers in the strike, and joined with the unskilled workers' organizations in a Joint Action Committee to make the strike 100% effective.

In Minneapolis the famous teamsters union, General Drivers Union Local 544, has for years sponsored a Federal Workers Section for W.P.A. workers and relief clients, and the rest of the trade unions help finance the Federal Workers Section of Local 544 and send their unemployed members to it for aid. As a result of this close link between the unions and the unemployed, the Minneapolis W.P.A. workers and relief clients have had the power to wrest from the administration wages and relief budgets which constitute a beacon-light for the unemployed throughout the country.

The loud howls of rage from Murphy are eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of the Minneapolis system of uniting the employed and unemployed, the skilled and the unskilled. The W.P.A. strike is more effective there than anywhere else in the country.

What makes Murphy howl ought to be taken up by the unions everywhere.

Everywhere the unions ought to seek the unity of employed and unemployed which has been achieved in Minneapolis and which has made the W.P.A. strike there so successful.

If every building trades union in the country followed the example of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council—the St. Paul building trades unions followed that example too—and directly appealed to the unskilled W.P.A. workers to join them in the strike, and helped to organize the unskilled and the relief clients as Local 544 has done in Minneapolis, this strike would be absolutely assured of success.

We repeat what we said in our issue of July 11:

The unskilled laborers are hungry for organization, and the striking building trades unions have a responsibility toward them. The support of the unskilled laborers is needed, not so much to tie up the projects, perhaps, but certainly in order to win the widespread sympathy without which the strike cannot win. If Congress can be forced to amend the W.P.A. laws so as to provide the prevailing wage rate, it can also be forced to amend the laws so as to provide better wages for the unskilled workers.

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

Meanwhile, more power to the strike!

Tightening the Belt!



New Deal Strikebreaking Moves Fail to Crack W.P.A. Strike Lines

Akron

By PAUL FIELDING
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
AKRON, O., July 11—Thousands of fighting W.P.A. workers closed down 95 percent of all projects in Summit County today, and demonstrated in front of the courthouse against the wage cuts.

They responded to the call for a half-day "holiday" issued by the C.I.O., using this only means they were given to protest. But they interpreted it in their own way, with militant strike action.

Defying urgent pleas of the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance to refrain from direct action, roving picket squads closed down practically all projects.

Over three thousand massed in front of the courthouse. They were told there by several Stalinist and C.I.O. officials to "go back to work tomorrow and forget all about the strike, we've had our protest."

The few timid references to the strike in the speeches were greeted with thunderous applause, and a chorus of boos went up at every mention of Congress. When Arnold Johnson, state president of the Workers Alliance, paused for applause after praising Roosevelt and the New Deal, he was met with a stony silence.

The W.P.A. strike called on July 10 by the A.F.L. Tri-County Building and Construction Trades Council, to last "until Congress passes some emergency legislation to correct the situation," was scarcely mentioned in the speeches, although it is going strong, involving about 15,000. Instead the workers were told to go to their dentists and doctors (as if they can afford them) and to the Elks and Moose clubs, etc. for signatures to resolutions to be sent to Congress.

But the militants on the projects drew another lesson, after they saw the widespread response to their strike action among W.P.A. workers. Not by writing letters to their Congressmen, they realized, will they force the government to change the Starvation Law.

The Stalinist leaders of the Workers Alliance were overwhelmed with the response to the demonstration call, they admitted at the courthouse meeting. And they spared no words of warning against further militant action.

"Go back to work. We've had our protest. Now it's up to the Tory Democrats and Republicans. Remain on the job. Support the New Deal," they shouted desperately.

Following the demonstration, the cry went up to form a mass picket line in front of the Akron Dry Goods store where a strike has been in progress for more than three months. Almost 500 formed a giant chain picket line in front of the store. Police started flailing their clubs to

break the line and finally got it dispersed.
This is not the last you'll be hearing from the mass of the Akron W.P.A. workers!

Detroit

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, July 11—According to official estimates 28,000 of the 35,000 W.P.A. workers in this city quit their jobs today in a one-day strike against the Woodrum-Roosevelt starvation, wage-cutting bill. The strike was called by the W.P.A. auxiliary of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. and endorsed by the building trades council of the A.F.L., who pulled their members off the construction jobs. The teamsters union joined forces by refusing to deliver material to the struck projects.

10,000 W.P.A. workers, Negro and white, marched from their project in demonstration through Woodward Avenue, main thoroughfare of Detroit to the City Hall. It was a militant demonstration. The men on the line were prepared to keep the projects at a standstill until Congress could be forced to change its reactionary mind. But the union officials had ordered the strike to be limited to one day.

Cheer Militant Speeches
On the lawn of the City Hall and on the steps of the Hall and flowing over onto the streets of Cadillac Square, the thousands gathered and cheered wildly the speeches calling for a fight to the finish against the coolie conditions Congress is seeking to impose upon them. The very mention of the name of scabber Mayor Reading brought lusty and prolonged jeers from the workers. Reading had declared that those workers striking on W.P.A. would be denied relief.

10,000 demonstrators roared their determination to battle to the end against this starvation program and to see Reading sweeping up the leaves on the City Hall lawn after the next election before they would submit.

It remained for the belly-crawling representative of the Workers Alliance to throw the damp post-card blanket on this militant assemblage. His entire speech was devoted to a tirade against those who would direct the opposition where it really belongs, against Roosevelt and his Congress.

Opening Gun
The one-day protest strike can only be conceived as the opening gun of the battle in Michigan against the wage-cut and lay-off. Within one-month, if congressional plans are carried through to their bitter end, more than 27,000 W.P.A. workers in this state are slated for the breadline.

Meanwhile, it is revealed in the local press that while wages of skilled and common laborers are being reduced by the 130 hour provision that out of a

total of 581 administrators, supervisors and plum pickers in top W.P.A. classifications receiving yearly earnings over \$1,200, 86 of them are receiving over \$2,600 annually. Abner Larned, State Administrator, rakes in an annual salary of \$7,000 and Lee E. Fisher, his deputy, \$5,200 per annum.

Flint

(Continued from Page 1)
protest strike against the Woodrum-Roosevelt starvation law.

Official figures estimate that 3,600 out of 4,000 W.P.A. workers quit the ditches and the street projects in answer to the strike call of the C.I.O. Heated resentment to he wage-cuts and the layoffs reached a fever pitch and it is to be expected that unless the White House and Capital Hill gang change their tune, W.P.A. workers in Flint will take more decisive and drastic action in the future.

The strike was climaxed in a demonstration numbering more than 500 at the old post office. Charles Lewis, representative of Fishers Body Local U.A.W., Claude Workman, International Representative for W.P.A. department of the U.A.W. in Flint and Kermit Johnson, outstanding strike and unemployed leader were the speakers. Wayne Adams of the Workers Alliance was graciously extended a few minutes in which he extolled the virtues of Roosevelt and the New Deal to an assemblage of workers whose necks were still raw after the New Deal's axe blow.

The tone of the meeting was set, however, by the militant speeches of Johnson and Workman who told the men the real score on the Washington raw deal. The audience rang with applause when Kermit Johnson declared: "If private industry cannot operate the factories and make work for the unemployed, the workers can and will operate the factories themselves."

The auxiliary is now launching a drive to enroll all W.P.A. workers into its ranks.

Philadelphia

(Continued from Page 1)
The New Deal Administration is acting as a strike-breaker and should be treated as such.

The Stalinized Pennsylvania Workers Alliance were completely caught off their guard. It took them two days before they could issue a statement saying they supported this "demonstration."

The strategy of the Alliance is to get the workers to turn the strike into a one-day demonstration, and then—go back to work.

The Philadelphia C.I.O. Council is unreservedly supporting the strike, announced Carl Bersing, president. "We are 100% behind the walkout," he said.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

If ever President Roosevelt starts an economy regime in his own household and finds himself forced to do without his valet, he won't have to worry even then about having his pants pressed, and above all, his boots licked into a high polish. Whoever has been following the Daily Worker's treatment of the building trades workers' strike on W.P.A. must by now be convinced that Roosevelt can get free flunkies service from the editors of the Communist party sheet even when he doesn't ask for it.

We do not want to deny that the Stalinists on the Daily Worker are considerably embarrassed and in an unenviable position. On the contrary, we grant it readily. Here they have been trying to sell an increasingly discredited Roosevelt to an increasingly disillusioned working class, painting up the President as a stout friend of labor, and first crack out of the box, their Third-Term Candidate comes out as a strike-breaking boss, no different at bottom from Tom Girdler.

For their embarrassment, a spirit of tolerance, pity and understanding would normally be indicated. But such feelings just naturally turn sour even in a merciful man when he reads how the Daily Worker impudently seeks to extricate itself from its own predicament by shouting Stop Thief!

Playing Down the Reality

First, the Daily Worker has been systematically playing down the strike, which everybody else in the country recognizes as one of the most important labor struggles in recent times: a strike led by conservative A.F.L. officials "against the government" which is supposed to be "friendly to labor."

The Wednesday, July 12, issue of the Daily Worker is typical. While every other paper of that date gave the W.P.A. strike first position, you had to look all over the front page before you could find, in obscure position at the bottom, a colorless story entitled "A.F.L. Group Visits Capital On W.P.A. Talks." The Stalinists refuse to accept the idea of workers striking against a wage-cutting Roosevelt Government, and they hope to dispel the idea by playing down the reality.

Second, the Stalinists have tried their damndest to convey the impression that good old Roosevelt and the New Dealers are friends of the strikers, enemies of the Woodrum Starvation Bill, and conversely, that the strike is in no sense directed against Roosevelt—only against the "Tories."

In its Thursday issue, it prints a characteristically foul story about the distribution of the last issue of the Socialist Appeal and leaflets of the Independent Unemployed and Project Workers Union to the striking workers at the North Beach Airport.

"Ugly words came from groups of project workers as they filed out of the airport gates and copies of the Trotskyite sheet, Socialist Appeal, were handed them. The paper carried a story boldly headed 'President Roosevelt—strike-breaker.'

"The paper was being distributed by the same disruptive groups who arranged the flopped meeting."

"Remarks were heard such as:

"Who are these rats?"

"This ain't what the strikers are saying, is it?"

"They talk like the people who passed the bill."

Now, apart from the fact that the Socialist Appeal was exceptionally well received by the workers involved, the important thing in the Daily Worker story is the obvious attempt to clear Roosevelt from all responsibility. It is "the people who passed the (Woodrum) bill" who are alone responsible, in the words it invents for the mythical airport worker whom the reporter never heard. Roosevelt, however, is O.K.

Keeping Silent on Roosevelt

But if the President is the savior and benefactor of the W.P.A. workers, it seems to us that the least the Daily Worker can do is to quote him. Yet that is precisely what the Daily Worker is stone silent about. The statement from the White House on the W.P.A. strike was printed in every New York paper we were able to get hold of, prominently displayed by New Deal as well as anti-New Deal organs—but not one single syllable of even remote reference to it was contained in the Stalinist paper.

Since it is theoretically possible that it was omitted from the Daily Worker because its space was too occupied by Columnists Amter, Begun and Caccione, let us refer to the Roosevelt statement here:

From a special Washington dispatch to the New York Times of July 12:

"President Roosevelt insisted today that the Administration would attempt to carry out the security provision of the new relief law despite the work stoppages in various parts of the country. . . .

"Mr. Roosevelt refused to indicate whether he would support the Congressional move to abandon the security wage in the new bill in favor of restoration of the prevailing rate of wages, but he recalled that he had made no objection to the new wage provision when he signed the Relief bill." (Our emphasis.)

Strikebreaker! Scab!

From page 1 of the same issue of the Times:
"The requirement that all W.P.A. employees work 130 hours a month for their security wage, even though previously many had worked less than fifty hours for the same pay, was written into the new Federal Relief Act at the suggestion of Colonel F. C. Harrington, National Works Projects Commissioner" (a Roosevelt appointee, of course!).

In spite of the Daily Worker's indignation at our irreverence to the President, we are therefore constrained to repeat what we wrote last week—in a whisper of course, and timidly:
President Roosevelt—Strike-breaker!
And: the Communist Party—Scab!

P.S.—Our last issue referred to the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance call for a "one-day stoppage," and labelled it, properly, a basically scabby measure. The Daily Worker now informs us that the Alliance is calling its "stoppage" for July 20—that is, more than two weeks after the strike was called! Why July 20? Why not Christmas or New Year's Eve? By that time the Stalinists could be absolutely sure that the strike is over.