

TAKE SLAVE WAGES OR STARVE!
DECLARES 'PINK SLIP' ROOSEVELTLet the People
Vote on War!

By JAMES BURNHAM

III

The Opposition to the War Referendum

SEVERAL years ago, Representative Ludlow of Indiana put the war referendum plan into a resolution which he introduced in the House of Representatives; and last year his resolution came up for a test vote in the House. From association with his name, the plan is often referred to as the "Ludlow amendment." It should be noticed that Ludlow's original bill did not embody the plan in its simple and direct form. He attached a proviso: the popular referendum was not to be held if the mainland of the United States were invaded.

Ludlow has re-introduced his resolution, with several more provisos, at the present session of Congress; and a similar resolution has been sponsored in the Senate by a group of Senators headed by LaFollette of Wisconsin. In both of the current resolutions, the referendum would not operate if either the mainland of the United States or any of its territories and possessions or any part of Latin America were invaded or immediately threatened by invasion. In other words, the present Ludlow and LaFollette resolutions provide for a referendum only in the case of a war conducted by the United States in Europe, Asia or Africa. Congress would otherwise retain the present Constitutional right to declare war.

What Is Behind the Opposition?

It might be supposed that these sweeping provisos—about which I shall have something to say in the next section—would remove all the "objections" to the plan. Does not everyone from Roosevelt down assure us that the United States will never go to war for "aggressive" purposes, that the young men of this country will never again be sent to fight abroad, that the armament of the United States is being built up for purely defensive purposes? What possible objection can they have when the people ask to vote, not on all wars, but just on those obviously and blatantly aggressive wars which they say the United States will never fight?

Nevertheless, the fight against the war referendum plan, in any and all of its forms, has from the beginning been as powerful and bitter as the strength of its opponents can bring to bear. Through every channel of public opinion, speech and newspaper and magazine and pulpit, the attack has been conducted.

What lies behind this fierce opposition to this plan, approved of by more than two-thirds of the people? The people have the right to know.

Among the sharp opponents of the war referendum, we discover: the heads of the Democratic Party, including Roosevelt and his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull; the heads of the Republican Party, including Herbert Hoover, Alfred M. Landon, and the influential Henry L. Stimson, Hoover's Secretary of State; the Liberty League, and the American Legion officials; all of the most powerful newspapers, particularly the most reactionary newspapers such as the New York *Herald-Tribune* and the New York *Times*, and the Chicago *Tribune*; all of the most widely read of the big-shot columnists, especially Walter Lippman, General Hugh S. Johnson, and Dorothy Thompson; and the Communist Party.

For the most part, the attacks on the war referendum plan are in a tone of hysterical frenzy; all supporters of the plan are denounced as "unpatriotic" and it is suggested that they are influenced by paid propaganda agents of foreign nations: the lack of real arguments is covered by heavy flag-waving and big adjectives.

Arguments Hold No Water

When we examine the arguments which some of the opponents try sometimes to put forward, they boil down to three: (1) the referendum would be contrary to "our representative theory of government" established by the Constitution; (2) holding a referendum would show other nations that "the country is divided"; (3) the requirement of a referendum before entering a war would "hamper" the government in its foreign policy.

Each of these arguments is a complete absurdity from the point of view of genuine democracy.

Granted that the United States has a representative form of government. But what is the government supposed to represent? The will of the people, presumably. No question could be more important than that of war. If those who claim to be representatives of the people believed that the nation should enter a war, then a popular vote on the issue could only help to prove whether they were in truth

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Minnesota Labor
Honors Its MartyrA.F.L.-C.I.O. Resolution Places Responsibility
for Violence Against W.P.A. Strikers on
Federal and Local Administrations

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 16—Organized labor will honor with a mass funeral this week its martyr, Emil Bergstrom, the unemployed worker killed by a police bullet in the Friday evening attack on the W.P.A. picket lines.

The Joint Action Committee, constituted by all the labor organizations of the city, sent a committee to Governor Stassen Saturday which demanded that all W.P.A. projects stay closed, and that there be no more violence and provocation against the workers by the police. The committee agreed to meet with state W.P.A. administrator Grotzbach Monday only if all Minneapolis projects stay closed. Later in the day, after telephoning his chief, Harrington, in Chicago, Grotzbach announced the projects would stay closed. The Joint Action Committee had won its point!

Responsibility for the murder of Bergstrom and the shooting and injury of 24 others was laid at the door of the Roosevelt administration in a sharply worded resolution adopted Saturday afternoon by a meeting of all union business agents and officials, including both A.F.L. and C.I.O.

The resolution is undoubtedly a landmark in the militant development of the American labor movement. It deserves quotation in its entirety: "Whereas this combined united front of Minneapolis labor holds that the murderous assault of the Minneapolis police grew directly from the actions of persons and agencies named below, and

"Whereas this tragic attack by police upon workers, innocent bystanders and children present, came as a direct result of the actions of the persons and agencies named below,

All the News That's
Fit to Print???

That Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, sent by Attorney General Murphy to "investigate" the Minneapolis W.P.A. strike, joined police in last Friday's attack on the picket lines, was revealed by the following paragraph in a special dispatch to the New York *Times*, July 15:

"The police said Federal agents, cruising the scene in a car to determine whether there had been unlawful interference with persons desiring to work, also loosed gas upon the crowd."

This paragraph was part of the story appearing in the midnight edition of the *Times*. The later editions appeared WITHOUT IT.

low; and is not understandable without the policies and actions taken by these persons and these agencies.

"Be it Resolved: That the combined united labor front of A.F.L., C.I.O., Workers Alliance and the Federal Workers Section of Local 544 places direct responsibility and blame for the Minneapolis situation upon:

"1. The present contemptuous and unyielding policy of the Works Progress Administration, national, state and local, as witnessed by the actions of Colonel Harrington toward the

(Continued on Page 3)

S.W.P. LEADS
ANTI-COUGHLIN
PICKET LINEAnti-Fascist Arrested
For Protesting Police
Interference

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PHILA., Pa., July 15—Despite a detail of more than 200 police and plainclothesmen, who forbade any picketing or holding of street corner meetings, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League went through with their demonstration against a Coughlinite meeting held last night at the Metropolitan Opera House.

The picket line, with banners high and singing loudly, marched down Broad Street until they were besieged by a cordon of cops a half block away from the "Met". Denied permission to proceed further by the police who outnumbered the pickets, the demonstrators turned their banners toward Broad Street where the masses could see them, and then continued voicing their anti-fascist slogans.

When Lou Roberts, a non-party picket attempted to address the crowd on Broad Street and explain that the demonstrators were being denied their elementary civil rights, and that the Coughlinites were always given permission and protection to picket radio stations that did not carry the Coughlin speech every Sunday, he was immediately seized and brutally thrown into a patrol wagon.

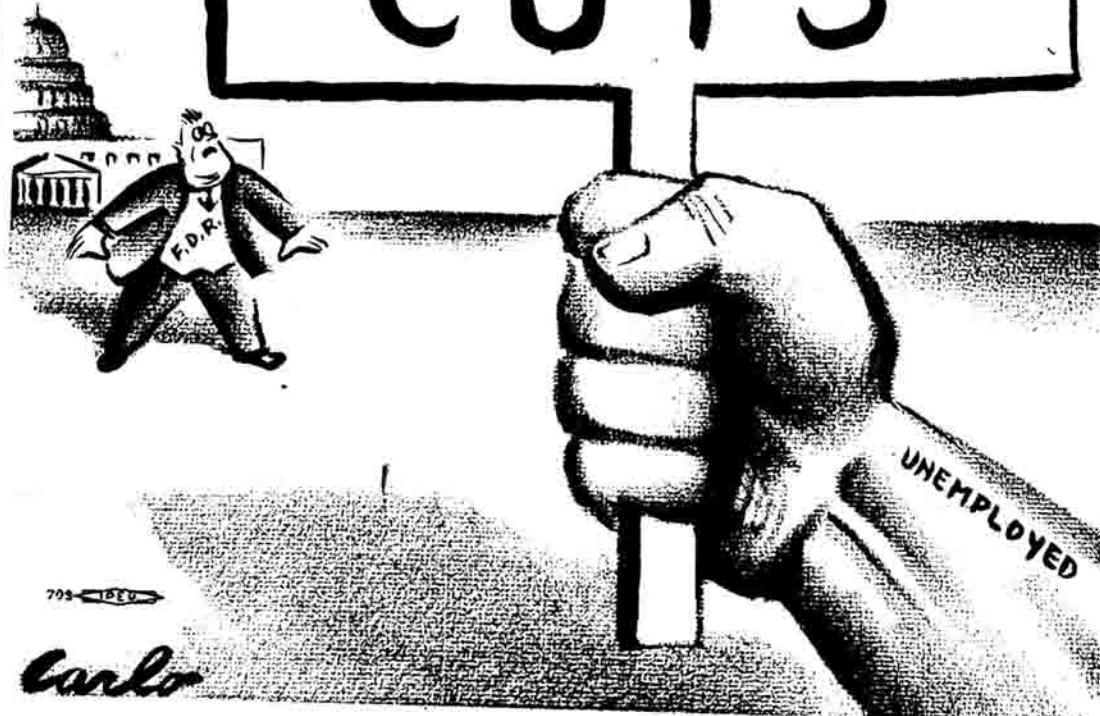
The S.W.P. legal defense staff had him released in less than an hour from the station house where he was charged with unlawful assembly. At the magistrate's hearing Roberts was held in \$500 bail for a further hearing. The S.W.P. furnished the bail to release him from the County prison where he was committed.

Coughlin addressed the audience by a direct telephone wire from Royal Oak, Mich. He went through his usual diatribes against the "Communists" in the trade unions.

The S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. only learned of the meeting three days before it was held. In this short time 5500 leaflets were distributed; scores of street corner meetings were held; and a number of trade unions contacted.

Join the Socialist
Workers Party

Project No. 1

RESTORE
W. P. A.
CUTSNews From WPA Strike Fronts
Shows Picket Lines Hold Solid

CHICAGO

Building Trades Council
Calls Men Out on Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO—In the second week of the nation-wide W.P.A. strike a special meeting of the Chicago Building Trades Council unanimously adopted an order for all building trades workers representing 212 locals to cease work on 65 projects.

The official action brought out many additional workers to swell the strikers' ranks in the city to over five thousand. At the same time the Sewer and Tunnel Miners' Union has called out its skilled workers and have thus compelled the closing of this project which employs in the neighborhood of 10,000.

The official strike figures handed out by the administration in the person of Charles E. Miner, State W.P.A. administrator, estimates 12,250 strikers in Illinois, exclusive of Chicago. Yet, in the same breath, Miner announces that 25,000 W.P.A. workers will be severed from their projects unless they report to work at once.

The strikes are now in operation in Chicago, Southern Illinois, East St. Louis, Carlinville, Belleville and LaSalle County.

PHILADELPHIA

Strike Called On All
Gov't Financed Projects

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PHILADELPHIA, July 17—The Philadelphia Building Trades Council called a strike today on all government-financed projects effective 6 p. m. Wednesday.

"All building construction projects financed in part or whole by the Federal Government will be stopped by removal of all our members in support of our action with regard to the lockout now in existence on W.P.A.," announced Norman Blumberg, secretary-treasurer of the council.

Of 25,000 Pennsylvania building trades workers, 17,000 are affiliated to the Philadelphia locals.

The Pittsburgh building trades unions struck the W.P.A. last week.

Somervell
Orders
Dismissal
Of 75,000Statement Makes It
Clear that Layoffs
Are Permanent

By TONY CHAPMAN

Having spent last week in Chicago conferring with Col. F. C. Harrington, national W.P.A. administrator, Col. Brehon Somervell, local W.P.A. chief, came home Saturday to announce that 75,000 W.P.A. workers in New York would be dismissed by September 1 under the 18-month "rotation" provision of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Relief Act.

Somervell declared that the removal of workers under the 18-month clause "is a straight layoff and not a furlough." This

LABOR SPEAKS

"... The President is definitely aligned against Labor... It was his wish and his will that prompted Congress to completely reverse the Administration's labor policy... From now on Labor can look for few crumbs under the table of the New Deal."—Minneapolis *Union Advocate*. (See Page 3)

is the first official statement indicating that the Roosevelt Administration's interpretation of the W.P.A. law would mean permanent layoffs.

Twenty five hundred pink slips daily—that's the ration that the New Deal is handing out to New York's W.P.A. workers for the next six weeks. The first victims received theirs Tuesday.

Although 75,000 workers will be dropped from W.P.A. Somervell declared that no attempt will be made to replace them with a similar number from the Home Relief Rolls. Only 42,000 workers will be permitted to replace the number of men fired by September 1, Somervell stated.

That those dismissed face the prospect of long drawn out attempts to establish themselves on the Home Relief Rolls was indicated by Welfare Commissioner William Hodson. Hodson stated that it will take at least one month for these workers to get on the municipal relief rolls, and that only one-third to one-half of those fired from W.P.A. would ultimately get on the rolls.

FINKS FIND
GOING TIGHT

ST. PAUL—Things sure are pretty tough for a poor scab these days. Everybody is against him; strikers beat him up, decent people boo him, and the boss coppers, who protect him, hate him. But to top it all off, even his boss, the W.P.A. administration doesn't appreciate his belly crawling. In White Bear, Minn., the scabs who have been working have threatened to strike if they cannot make up their time. It sure don't pay to fink on the workers!

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Three good union men were killed in Harlan, Kentucky, during the last week. Two of them were shot by National Guardsmen. One of them was killed by a scab over the week end.

Three union men dead. What was their crime? They were only defending their inalienable right to organize, to obtain collective bargaining.

In its strike-breaking activities the National Guard was not satisfied, however, with merely trying to terrorize the Harlan miners by threat of armed force. The Guardsmen used force.

Resentment among the miners, already plenty high because of the presence of the National Guard, reached a breaking point after the shootings.

So what did the Guard do? It rounded up 246 active strikers and their wives and packed them into an over-crowded jail.

Guilty of What?

What was the charge? "Band- ing and confederating." Phoney from the first letter to the last. A family eating dinner is "banding and confederating" to eat food. A Sunday school is "banding and confederating" to observe religious exercises.

In so many words, the "Crime" of the Harlan miners, according to the National Guard mentality, was getting together and striking.

The charges against the 246 miners and their wives are pure and simple frame-ups. A desperate move to use "Legal" terror against the solid ranks of the strikers. Bail was put at \$257,000 in an effort to keep the strikers in jail and try to break their morale.

It's the same dirty stunt the National Guard always uses to break strikes. They tried it on the auto workers in Anderson, Ind., when we were there during the General Motors strike.

It served to expose the National Guard to many wavering elements. It forged an iron ring of solidarity among the workers. In Harlan, the result will be the same.

A national campaign of the C.I.O. to free the Harlan miners must begin immediately. The three martyrs among the Harlan strikers can be avenged in only one way. The open shop must be smashed. The United Mine Workers should continue its drive until a closed shop and good union conditions prevail in Harlan, Kentucky.

Perhaps John L. Lewis spoke of the Harlan miners in his Chicago speech Sunday and the press failed to mention it. He should have made it such a big point that omission was impossible.

The Harlan victims should be honored by the C.I.O. with the same reverence as the murdered workers of the Chicago Little Steel massacre.

Honor them by fighting against the oppressors who caused their death. And John L. Lewis hardly looked like a fighter or union leader when his only action after the Harlan killings was to write a letter to Frank Murphy, Attorney General demanding protection . . . at a time when Murphy was doing his best to break the W.P.A. workers' strike against starvation wages.

Green Fails

After all these years of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. dispute, William Green, president of the A.F.L., couldn't split the Salem, Mass. labor movement despite the strenuous efforts on his part.

The current issue of the North Shore Organizer, newspaper of the Lynn, Peabody, and Salem, Mass. C.I.O. movement tells the story of how Green's orders to expel C.I.O. unions from the Central labor movement failed completely in the past.

His personal agent, Aaron Vellman appeared at the last meeting and demanded expulsion of the C.I.O. unions or else the charter would be lifted. The body fought unanimously against this tactic but in the end the purge was carried out, although in a different fashion than Green would have liked.

The C.I.O. unions called a recess and met by themselves. They returned shortly and announced that to avoid the A.F.L. unions losing their charter by disobeying Green, the C.I.O. unions would withdraw,

W. A. A. Publicly Joins Strikebreakers

Labor-Skate Lasser Crawls on His Belly To Assure Roosevelt of Fidelity

Finally, after a week of sneaky underhanded sabotage of the W.P.A. strike, the Workers Alliance has openly joined the strike-breakers.

Dave Lasser, president of the Stalinist-controlled unemployed organization, issued his infamous strike-breaking statement on Monday, July 17 in the form of a message to President Roosevelt, informing him that members of his organization's executive council were being polled on a proposal to halt all W.P.A. stoppages and devote all their strength to "orderly"

pressure on Congress.

Strike-breaker Lasser's action was foreshadowed last Saturday when Herbert Benjamin, general secretary of the Alliance, made the following whining comment on Roosevelt's "You can't strike against the government" pronouncement: "The Workers Alliance has a fixed policy with regard to strikes and has not departed from this policy in this instance. We have not called any strikes and are not calling any strikes of W.P.A. workers." (New York Times, July 16.)

Stalinist Outfit Wrecks Alameda W.P.A. Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

OAKLAND, Cal., July 13 — Five thousand W.P.A. workers in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties returned to work here today after a two-day strike which was deliberately wrecked by the Stalinist Workers Alliance. Urging the workers to "organize on the job" the corrupt "leaders" of the Alliance last night at a meeting held in the Civic Auditorium in Oakland, refused to allow any discussion of the motion to return to work and refused to take a nay vote on the question.

Turning the strike and the strike meetings into a pro-Roosevelt movement, the Stalinists betrayed the workers who had left the projects by the thousands. Deliberately spreading confusion and outright lies and by complete failure to organize picket lines the Stalinists revealed the Alliance as a scab-herding company union.

"You Can't Strike" When the workers responded to the nation-wide spontaneous strike against the Woodrum Bill, the Alliance called a demonstration at which the workers were told "You can't strike against the government." When the Alliance leadership saw that the workers were determined to fight against the coolie wages and the 30-day vacations without pay, they announced a "strike meeting" for the following Monday — two days after the nation-wide strike had begun!

At this meeting the Stalinist bureaucrats of the Alliance tried to head off the movement by pretending it was not a strike but a "protest demonstration." They then called for another meeting to discuss ways and means of picketing the projects which were already closed. In the meantime workers were continuing to walk off the projects and waiting for the Alliance to organize flying squads to bring out the remaining projects.

Intimidate Rank and File At every meeting in Jefferson Park in Oakland the Alliance fakers made long-winded speeches about nothing in particular and attempted to wear out the patience of the workers who saw the strike being sabotaged. At every meeting the Stalinists announced "big plans" for the next day but each day was the same. When the leadership saw that militant rank and file W.P.A. workers were organizing to pull out the remaining projects and were issuing leaflets in support of the strike and urging the leadership to call on the trade union, to organize picket lines and to set up a militant movement to make the strike a success, Alliance leaders became panicky and tried lies and intimidation to prevent the workers from reading the rank and file leaflets.

At the mass meeting held last night in Oakland the Stalinists headed off all discussion by dragging out Lieutenant-Governor Patterson, big-wig in Roosevelt's Democratic Party, who immediately made a campaign speech for himself by urging the people to be calm, to be patient, to continue to vote for Roosevelt's policies, etc. It was a farce and members of the Alliance and Communist Party were overheard trying to figure out what had happened. After a few opportunistic remarks about the "Ham and Eggs" movement, the meeting

but that unity would not be broken.

"We'll find organizational means of working together," the spokesman of the C.I.O. declared.

was adjourned.

New Organization

All during the strike members of the Alliance were kept in ignorance of the plans, members of the Communist Party scabbed, and striking workers were left without instructions or leadership.

As a result of this complete failure of the Alliance, a new militant organization of W.P.A. workers was born during the strike and will begin at once to fight against the sell-out policies of the Stalinists and the war-mongering government of Roosevelt. Affiliated with the Progressive Unemployed Committee which now claims a membership of more than four hundred members, this W.P.A. local will proceed to build a genuine rank and file organization for the purpose of leading the workers to win jobs at trade union wages.

MILITANTS QUIT S.P. JOBLESS ORGANIZATION

Strikebreaking Final Proof of Federation's Reactionary Nature

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—When the pie-card bureaucrats of the National Workers Security Federation ordered their striking members to go back to work, the District Project Workers' Union, of Washington, D. C. called this action by its right name — strikebreaking — and unanimously voted to withdraw from affiliation to this fake outfit.

A week previously, the Washington union had scored the clause in the constitution of the Workers' Security Federation which bars workers from membership because of political beliefs, but had let the matter ride until such time as the Workers' Security Federation proved to the hit its reactionary character.

Publicity chairman Waldron of the W.S.F. was originally a member of the District Project Workers Union, who valued his eighty-dollar a month W.P.A. job in a supervisory capacity more than he did the building up of a militant union. Strictly a desk-boy, he did not want to compromise himself with any unpleasant plugwork. He found a very flimsy excuse to drop out of the D.P.W.U.

At the Washington convention of the Workers Security Federation, when a motion was made to give Washington representation on the National Committee of the W.S.F., Waldron was vigorous in his opposition.

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 the summer. Phone: Eatentown 515.

At Your Service
THE APPEAL
POSTER SHOP

The Way to Victory!



W.P.A. workers, who struck for union wages and against Roosevelt's relief-cutting, as they held a mass meeting at the North Beach Airport project in New York which is completely paralyzed by the strike.

Boston Appeal Salesmen Hold Ground Against Coughlinites

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

BOSTON, July 8—Excitement reached a high pitch here today, as a gang of Coughlinite hoodlums selling their Social Justice rag, and ably assisted by a Mr. Murphy who claimed his official position is Supervisor of Minors' Licences for the School Committee, attempted to chase Appeal salesmen from the crowded shopping district, and to create a lynch spirit against Johnny Taber, energetic Appeal agent.

Murphy, assisted by a cop pulled Taber aside, although Taber was the only Appeal salesman on the corner, and there were eleven Coughlinites. When other Appeal salesmen went to Taber's side, Murphy tried to get the cop to arrest all of them. This so angered several citizens that they intervened. Murphy then told the cop to "pull them in, too, for resisting an officer in performance of his duty."

The Appeal men protested so strongly that the cop finally accepted Taber's proposal of one salesman on each corner, and Murphy, evidently a Coughlin supporter, slunk away muttering "I'll get an ordinance passed in the City Council against you guys." People standing around, including a Communist Party member, congratulated them on their stand, and they returned to the sale of the Appeal, where they did better than the Coughlinites.

Watch the Anti-Coughlin Campaign in New York!

By ABE MILLER

N. Y. Literature Agent

The sale of the anti-Coughlin pamphlet by the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party indicates that in New York we are taking the first step towards becoming a campaign party. In less than three weeks 8,500 copies of the pamphlet, "Father Coughlin—Fascist Demagogue," have been sold to workers in the main thoroughfares of New York.

Never before have we in New York encountered such widespread enthusiasm as was demonstrated in the streets towards our salesmen. Encouraging words are reported by all salesmen. Small donations for the free distribution of the pamphlet are made quite frequently by anti-fascists. In some cases, workers have voluntarily appointed themselves guards in order to protect our comrades from the Coughlin goon squads. Practically all salesmen are unanimous in reporting that rank and file Stalinists throughout the city purchase the anti-Coughlin pamphlet.

Non-Party Salesmen One of the novel features of this campaign has been the recruitment of salesmen both from party and non-party people. One non-party salesman sold 550 anti-Coughlin pamphlets in three days in the heart of the Needle Trades center.

The branches have instituted regular mass sales in practically every neighborhood where the Coughlinites function. We single out for praise three branches: the Bronx for the 819 pamphlets sold by means of its regular sales at Fordham Rd. and elsewhere, the Upper West Side for its sale of 175 pamphlets in one night in Washington Heights, and the small Boro Park branch for its sale of 160 pamphlets sold in the face of many obstacles. All branches have cooperated in assigning comrades to sell at Times Sq. every Saturday, day and night. The Downtown and Lower East Side branches have just insti-

On the W.P.A. Picket Line In Minnesota

By CARL O'SHEA

Squads of youth and women took to the streets Friday selling the Special W.P.A. Strike Bulletin issued by the Northwest Organizer, organ of the Teamsters Joint Council. Twenty-five thousand copies of the Bulletin are being distributed throughout the Northwest.

Here's one for the books. The St. Paul Pioneer Press revealed Friday that Mrs. Chester Watson, employed as a supervisor on a W.P.A. handicraft project in the auditorium, hasn't struck yet.

And who is MR. CHESTER WATSON? He is the president of the Minnesota Workers Alliance, my friends.

The Silver Shirts have organized a rather large group among W.P.A. workers on the University of Minnesota campus, and are opposing the present walkout. Wednesday, July 12, when a group of 544 Federal Workers Section pickets went over to the "U" to picket, one of the fascists pulled a 13-inch hunting knife and stabbed two pickets, Myron Phillips and Lester Wachter. The fink was later jailed, and it was lucky for him the cops took this rat away.

The St. Paul Pioneer Press, traditional reactionary sheet, today for the first time finds itself praising the President for "his firm stand" against the W.P.A. strike.

Thursday morning around 8:30 a group of F.W.S. pickets surrounded Everett school, where some finks were trying to scab. A copper came up, pulled a gun and started waving it at the pickets, yelling: "I'm going to kill a couple of you. I hate W.P.A. workers anyway. And I haven't forgotten what you did in 1934." He was referring to the '34 truck strike, when the drivers mopped the streets with the entire Minneapolis police force. The cop's number is 470, and the F.W.S. is registering a complaint with city officials.

Incidentally, this is the fourth cop to threaten W.P.A. strikers with death. Other cops, whose numbers are known to 544, have threatened to "kill two of you"—so far what you do to Gearty."

Gearty is the cop who died Monday after a scuffle at the Sewing Project. All the boss papers immediately tried to drum up lynch law against the strike by claiming that Gearty was killed by strikers. However, the press quickly choked itself off when Deputy Coroner Callstrom said an autopsy showed death was caused by coronary sclerosis, a heart condition with which Gearty had been afflicted. The minor injuries sustained by Gearty several hours earlier were not a factor in his death, the coroner said.

None of the boss papers told WHY the pickets were so enraged at the fink Frank Fischer and followed him all the way from the Sewing Project to the city hall, where 500 pickets took over the courthouse for an hour.

Fischer had tried to stab a picket with a sharp heavy screw-driver. The pickets were unarmed, and naturally they resented this murderous attempt. Several cops were knocked down while the crowd taught Fischer a little lesson. He was kept in jail for his own protection.

Believe it or not, there's a Stalinist W.P.A. striker in St. Paul who says, "I don't believe those stories in the paper that President Roosevelt is against our strike." A small crowd around him almost laughed themselves sick at the man's credulity.

The Wednesday, July 12 morning papers quoted Richard Adams, secretary of the Duluth Workers Alliance, as calling for a return to work after stating the walkout "here and throughout the nation has received the attention of the people. I feel confident that our elected representatives, being aware of our attitude, will reconsider." Adams was a wee bit previous. A phone call to the Duluth Building Trades Council brought word the town was still tied up tight.

John Janasco, Dan Bell, and the North Central District Council of Federal Workers Sections have got all of western Wisconsin tied up tighter than a bull's-eye in flytime.



MASS DISTRIBUTION OF APPEAL IN W.P.A. STRIKE!

Since the beginning of the present W.P.A. strike the staff of the Socialist Appeal has been working all hours, not only turning out the paper containing the latest news, but also mailing out the orders for extra papers that have come in.

New York City alone has taken 3,000 extra papers. St. Louis and East St. Louis have taken 500 extras. Minneapolis has received 600

extra Appeals. Newark took 200 extra, Detroit 300 extra, Toledo 100 extra, Philadelphia 25 additional, Cleveland 500 total, etc., etc.

The Socialist Appeal is in the front line trenches, supporting the W.P.A. strikers!

The last two issues of the Appeal have already been sold and distributed to the tune of more than 5,000 extra copies! Send in your extra bundle orders immediately for distribution among the militant W.P.A. strikers! Don't lose a minute!

WORKERS' FORUM

THE GOOD LIFE ON A W.P.A. WAGE

Editor: I am working on W.P.A. about 20 miles from Petersburg in the National Park district called Swift Creek Recreational Area. 12 hours for 8 hours' pay. We leave here at 6 and "time" starts at 8. We get 28 cents an hour, 140 hours a month, \$39.20 total pay a month on which to support my wife and baby. It's killing me. For those who stay in the city on city projects the pay is 26 cents an hour.

A rather difficult place to crack the shell—but I'm going to do my damndest. Would appreciate if you have any old Appeals or any beginner's literature which you could send me. You can get pretty blue around here. I'll appreciate hearing from you.

Comradely yours, Jimmie L. Petersburg, Va.

"CHARITY" BEGINS WITH HOUNDING OF SICK

Dear Editor: Do you know about the "charity" and benevolence of our local Los Angeles County Charities officials? If not may I inform you that tuberculars, many of whom are near skin and bones are having their meagre and insufficient "relief" checks reduced from the former eleven dollars to only nine dollars a month. Thirty-six cents a day is evidently too much money for these poor un-

CONGRESS 'LIBERALS' BACK DOWN

Desert WPA Strikers As They Follow Their White House Leader

Declaring that strikes of W.P.A. workers throughout the nation had "embarrassed" the members of Congress, Senator James E. Murray and Representative Adolph Sabath, leaders of the "left wing" New Dealers, announced Saturday, July 15, that they had withdrawn their bills calling for the restoration of the prevailing wage on W.P.A.

Senator Murray said that the strike situation made it "inopportune to immediately press for the restoration of the prevailing wage."

"I never try to do the impossible," said Representative Sabath, who only a few days ago had given his oath to organized labor to push the resolution in the House.

Reports from Washington point to the fact that the "friends of labor" in Congress had asked A.F.L. officials to call off the strike, as the price for their support of the prevailing wage amendments.

What is left now of the carefully concocted fairy tale—invented by the Stalinists—that a staunch band of New Dealers were ready to fight to the death against the new relief-smashing measure?

The Daily Worker, lying in this as in all other things, reports in its Monday, July 17 issue, that Congressmen Murray and Sabath had "refused to concede that the 'prevailing wage' issue was dead."

"Sabath however declared that the possibility of his prevailing wage resolution being reported favorably by the House Appropriations Committee did not look bright." (Daily Worker, July 17).

All a very crooked way of saying that the New Deal congressmen have followed their leader, President Roosevelt, and are trying to force the W.P.A. workers to return to their jobs at scab wages.

fortunates, according to our supervisors or similar parasitic politicians in charge of the "relief."

On top of this, most of these poor people are constantly humiliated by visits from fake "social workers" who are nothing but detectives paid excellent salaries to watch these poor people, how they spend their money or if they are home all the time. Besides this they are constantly made to sign papers, dozens of them which invariably repeat that they are paupers or words to that effect and have no money. In the case of those who own a miserable home, many liens are filled out and their homes mortgaged to the county. Even police are resorted to and come running in at night to see if the patients are home sleeping and not out attending a movie, for you must know that to attend a movie and forget your troubles is a crime.

Hounding the Aged

The aged recipients of state old age "security" are likewise ill-treated. If the so called "social worker" finds that the aged man or woman receives free rent, ten dollars will be deducted from the thirty-five dollars which he is supposed to receive, leaving him twenty-five dollars a month on which to exist. He too is constantly watched and dogged by women detectives as if he were a criminal and asked the same questions over and over again. Such is the "charity" and benevolence of our public paid "servants" who receive enormous salaries to cut down the most meagre and inadequate relief to the sick and aged.

A thorough investigation can readily prove the above statements.

It is about time that we rid ourselves of these political parasites and imbeciles who receive fat pay for making people miserable.

J. L., Los Angeles, Cal. June 28, 1939.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF STALINIST SABOTAGE

On Monday, July 10, a few of us on the newspaper indexing project, members of the American Workers Alliance, issued a petition to our fellow workers, asking them to sign if they were willing to participate in a one-day protest strike and picket line in front of the Stevens Hotel where Col. Harrington and other W.P.A. administrators were in session.

Our protest was to be against the Woodrum Bill and against the coming lay-offs. Since many of us would be affected and laid off because of the 18 month employment clause, we wanted to let the administrators know how we felt about it. Also, we were opposed to the cuts in the prevailing wage scale.

Placing Guilt The workers on the project were ready to strike. They had responded very favorably to a leaflet which attacked the Woodrum Bill, Roosevelt and the New Deal, and which explained the need for strike action. The Stalinists in our local, however, sabotaged the preparations so effectively that only 23 signatures were gotten on the petition and on this basis they called off the strike at the last moment.

They later explained that it would have been wrong to picket Col. Harrington and his aides, since it was not his fault that the layoffs and cuts had to be made, but the fault of the "Tories" who were pushing in that direction. The Stalinists said that Roosevelt was not to blame either. But we on the project who will be laid off in the coming weeks are not interested in finding alibis for Roosevelt and the New Deal. We place the guilt on those who are responsible and who carry through the cuts—the man in the White House and the government he heads.

Project Worker. Chicago, Ill.

Buy the Socialist Appeal at Your Newsstand

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Bevin's Too Radical for Mr. Harry Pollitt

Somewhat scared by the speed with which his conferees were rushing through pro-conscription and pro-war resolutions at the recent Southport Labour Conference, one of the more staid British trade union leaders, Mr. Ernest Bevin, delivered himself of the following quite correct but more or less vague and not too binding opposition speech:

"I do not want this Movement to be fighting for the salvation of the Paris Bourse, the London Stock Exchange, the Amsterdam Exchange and Wall Street. I want this Movement in its peace policy to be fighting for the salvation of the common people of the world."

That Mr. Bevin was not taking himself too seriously may be gathered from the fact that up to date he has not made a single move to actually fight conscription. Like the rest of the Labour leaders, he is taking British war preparations in his stride. His speech was purely verbal radicalism. But even that is too much for Mr. Harry Pollitt, Stalin's chief stooge at the head of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Writing in the current issue of the Stalinist "Labour Monthly," Mr. Pollitt characterizes Bevin's speech in these words:

"Mr. Bevin's line is a direct continuation of the Munich policy. It was a try-out at Southport of the policy of the Cliveden set and the pro-Fascist Chamberlain government."

Nobody was probably more surprised at these darts than poor Mr. Bevin himself. A colleague in the Glasgow Forward comes to Bevin's support with a rather apt quip:

"How long will it be," he asks, "before Harry Pollitt will be demanding that the 'Internationale' cease to be sung at Socialist meetings and that what we want is a good old anti-Fascist song like 'Rule Britannia'?"

There. That ought to reassure any Tory diehard. For Mr. Maisky speaks with authority. He had nothing to do with the Kremlin "when under Lenin there was a lot of emotion mixed up with politics."

On the contrary he was interested on which side his bread was buttered in the camp of the White Guards fighting Lenin. He is still interested on which side his bread is buttered. And so are all the other bureaucratic colleagues of Mr. Maisky, both in the Kremlin and on mission for it. No, these boys don't work for world revolution.

As if to emphasize this last point, to make sure that it is understood properly, the venerable Ambassador answers as follows to the question: Is it not true that the Soviet government is still planning and working for world revolution?

"Absolutely no," says Mr. Maisky. "All that belongs to the past, when under Lenin there was a lot of emotion mixed up with politics. Once the Comintern had that magnificent building near the Kremlin and exerted a dominating influence. Now they have moved over to a small house in the suburbs and the trade unions have taken their great place by the Kremlin. No, we do not work for World Revolution."

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land and a British member of Parliament.

In the London Evening News of June 16, Mr. Beverly Baxter, M.P., makes public his interview with Ambassador Maisky. Some of the passages attributed to the Ambassador sound like a less hypocritical reply that Pollitt might have given Bevin. For instance, asked by Mr. Baxter as to his attitude regarding the present alignment of the powers, Maisky said:

"We have no love for you, but less love for the German. We do not wish to die to preserve the power of France and Britain in the West. That is not hostility on our part—it is just pure reason. First: we do not want war at all. We do not mind war, but it doesn't suit us. We have 50 years' work ahead of us and we must have peace to carry it out. Therefore we ask only one question—Does this non-aggression front help Russia to remain at peace? We are not sentimental like you. We are thinking only of Russia, not of humanity."

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Minnesota Labor, Pressing W.P.A. Fight, Honors Martyr Killed on Picket Line by Policeman's Bullet

(Continued from Page 1)

legitimate protests of hundreds of thousands of workers in exercise of their constitutional civil rights to strike, to walk-out or to picket; and their economic right and duty to make a struggle to live; and proved by (his) inclusion of a five-day firing clause which is in no way mandatory or part of any relief act;

"We have no love for you, but less love for the German. We do not wish to die to preserve the power of France and Britain in the West. That is not hostility on our part—it is just pure reason. First: we do not want war at all. We do not mind war, but it doesn't suit us. We have 50 years' work ahead of us and we must have peace to carry it out. Therefore we ask only one question—Does this non-aggression front help Russia to remain at peace? We are not sentimental like you. We are thinking only of Russia, not of humanity."

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sent to the public press, the President of the United States, Col. F. C. Harrington, Linus Glotzbach, Mayor George E. Leach and the Minneapolis City Council."

Workers Alliance representatives objected to the criticisms of the Roosevelt administrators, but the resolution was adopted.

Another resolution demanded of the City Council a thorough investigation of the actions of the Minneapolis police in the strike.

Telegram to Murphy
A caustic criticism of U. S. Attorney General Murphy was wired to him on Friday, after the press had carried blaring headlines on Murphy's insinuations that the strikes in Minneapolis were connected with racketeering. The telegram was signed by Peter Murck, president of the building trades council, and Walter Frank, chairman of the W.P.A. joint committee, on behalf of the entire labor movement here:

"Your inflammatory statement to the press regarding the W.P.A. strike in Minneapolis has no foundation in any fact," said the message, and then told Murphy that the joint committee "has taken action to investigate the activity of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Minneapolis to determine whether they are involved in a conspiracy of falsification and intimidation against the striking W.P.A. workers and the Minneapolis labor movement as a whole to deprive it and the W.P.A. workers of their constitutional rights to organize, strike and picket."

Demand Projects Closed
The striking W.P.A. workers and their pickets have been

subjected to numerous provocations and intimidations and attacks. We demand that you take appropriate action immediately to close all W.P.A. projects in Hennepin county wherever labor disputes exist.

"The Minneapolis city police have, to our knowledge, made no request for the assistance of the F.B.I. and no direct statement condemning the conduct of the strike, and your unwarranted insinuations of racketeering, etc., if honestly motivated, could only be the result of gross misrepresentation and falsification of the Minneapolis situation by local and state W.P.A. administrators and your own representatives."

"Unless our demands are sustained, we are compelled to conclude that the F.B.I. is conducting strike-breaking activities in Minneapolis," the telegram concluded.

1934 Murderer Again
Instead of acceding to the strikers' demands, the W.P.A. authorities appealed for more police, with the inevitable result that the police Friday, at 7 p.m. poured murder from shotguns, pistols and tear gas into a picket line of 5,000 and as many bystanders. The police murder squad was commanded by Sergeant John Albright, notorious as the commander of a similar squad which killed Ness and Belor during the general drivers' strike of July-August, 1934.

At a Federal Workers Section, Local 544 strike meeting that night, the embittered workers booed Roosevelt and Murphy as strikebreakers.

Police Planned Attack
The police attack was carefully planned, with six armored cars taking part, as well as many squad cars and motorcycle cops.

Even the conservative Minneapolis Tribune makes clear in its story that the firing was deliberate, without reference to any strikers' actions. It states:

"An hour or more before the scheduled quitting time for the sewing project workers, a crowd of pickets and strike sympathizers congregated around the building."

"Roofs of buildings across the street from the sewing project swarmed with people."

"Shooting started as soon as the women began moving out of the building. An armored car lobbed a tear gas shell on to the roof of a one-story building across the street. A policeman crouched and fired his riot gun." (Tribune, July 15).

This was in the strike extra. By later editions, of course, the editors fixed up the paper to read that the police "replied" to a stone hurled from across the way.

A woman's eyewitness story of Bergstrom's death—it will be brought forward in the investigation demanded—was:

"Me and my son-in-law were right in front of this old man (Bergstrom) when the cop shot him. All the police seemed wild that night. The old man didn't have a club or a gun, of course. None of the pickets did. He wasn't doing anything, only standing there. The policeman looked at him quite a while, pulled out his gun, levelled it at his head and fired. The bullet went right in the forehead. My son-in-law ran up to help. When he saw the man was badly hurt, he called to the cop to stop and help him. The cop only started aiming at my son-in-law and would have shot him too, only we both ran. The old man must have died right away."

Bergstrom was 60 years old, unemployed and on relief. His brother, 33 years a member of the painters union, was at a union meeting when notified of Emil's death.

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.

INFORMAL HOUSE
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120 acres of greenland in the Catskills. 40 acres of pine for sunbathing; handball, ping pong, archery swimming and horseback riding nearby; dancing.

UNUSUALLY LOW RATES
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Busses met at station
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It is because they are planning a war for the benefit of the banks and the big corporations, for the Sixty Families, that they oppose the referendum so bitterly. They dare not let their plans see the light of day; they dare not submit them to the verdict of the people

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Associate Editors: HAROLD ROBERTS, FELIX MORROW
Staff Members: EMANUEL GARRETT, JOSEPH HANSEN
Business Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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.

Labor's Road After Roosevelt's Statement

Not the least of the privileges of the President of the United States is his control of the way in which his utterances are reported in the daily press. The President can say what he pleases in his press conferences, but when the reporters prepare to write their stories they must adhere to the limitations dictated to them either by the President or by his aides during the press conferences.

Almost never does the President permit the press to quote him verbatim. He is never directly quoted in the press except by his explicit permission.

It is in the light of these privileges of the President that one must understand the statement made by Roosevelt last Friday against the W.P.A. strike. The day before, Attorney General Murphy had issued a denunciation of the W.P.A. strike. Roosevelt's chief of the W.P.A., Col. Harrington, was punishing the strikers with pink slips severing them from the employment rolls of the W.P.A., and the administration officials, nationally and locally, were declaring they would give no direct relief to the W.P.A. strikers. The reporters asked Roosevelt whether he was in accord with the actions taken by Murphy, Harrington & Co.

Roosevelt backed his subordinates to the hilt, and to underline that fact, made the rare exception: he permitted the reporters to quote him directly:

"You cannot strike against the government."

We are, of course, no more impressed when Roosevelt says it than when Murphy says it. As we made clear in our last issue, these gentlemen are just popping off; there is no law that gives them the authority to deny the right to strike on any job, public or private. We don't have to explain that again. The best answer to Roosevelt and Murphy is the fact that the strikers are going right ahead with their strike.

The War Deal

But Roosevelt's statement puts a final end to the New Deal myth. Whatever the New Deal may have been—we never put any stock in it—it has now beyond all question of doubt become the War Deal and the Raw Deal. "The President is now definitely aligned against Labor"—these weighty words of the Minnesota Union Advocate, organ of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly of the A.F.L., express what millions of workers have only come to realize this week.

The Roosevelt Administration has made its choice. It wants war appropriations and not W.P.A. and P.W.A. appropriations. It is preparing for military adventures abroad and for this purpose slashes all other appropriations. It literally steals from the unemployed, starves the unemployed, in order to build more battleships and airplanes.

From the first the aim of the Roosevelt administration was to save the profits of the Sixty Families. At first it tried to save those profits by "priming the pump," giving funds to part of the unemployed which, it hoped, would upon being spent start industry up again. That didn't work. Roosevelt now pursues his original aim of saving the profit system, now by military conquest.

Tens of millions are to be condemned to death, now by the slow starvation of hunger and un-

employment, shortly by death on the battlefield, so that profits shall continue to flow into the coffers of the Sixty Families. That's what Roosevelt stands for. That's why he is fighting so viciously to break the W.P.A. strike.

What now for Labor?

First and most immediately, to continue and win the W.P.A. strike, and to gird its loins for strike struggles throughout industry, for the bosses will undoubtedly be encouraged by the government's strikebreaking to try some wage-cutting on their own.

Simultaneously, however, Labor must prepare for struggle on the political field. And that can only mean INDEPENDENT action, the launching of a—

Labor Party

clear of all entangling alliances with capitalist parties.

There is no other possible course. Any labor leader who insists on supporting the War Deal in the face of the Roosevelt actions ought to have his head examined or get his spine re-boned. And any labor leader who tells the workers to go back to the Republicans ought to be voted out of the trade unions.

The workingmen and women of this country, with their husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, together with the agricultural workers and poor farmers, constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of this country. If democracy meant anything, they would rule the country. They CAN rule the country.

Break with the capitalist parties!

Build a PARTY OF LABOR for INDEPENDENT POLITICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOSS CLASS!

The Bridges Case

The attempt to deport Harry Bridges from the United States should be food for thought to all those who continue to regard Roosevelt and his Administration as progressive.

What difference there is between the Roosevelt-Perkins persecution of Bridges and the record of the infamous A. Mitchell Palmer of "Red raid" notoriety in 1919-1920, is not visible to the naked eye.

The Roosevelt Administration wants Bridges deported on the grounds of his alleged membership in an organization standing for the violent overthrow of the government—the Communist Party. Apart from the fact that the Communist Party is anything but a revolutionary organization, that it is, in fact, one of the fiercest defenders of the prevailing capitalist "democracy" and private property—the charge against Bridges is, in its very nature, a reflection of a reactionary, anti-labor standpoint.

We don't care a finker's dam where Bridges was born—we know that the deportation threat has always been a measure applied to weaken the labor movement. That is so also in the present case.

Militants in the labor movement, and we among them, have their irreconcilable differences with Bridges. But they aim to settle scores with him and his colleagues in their own way and at their own time. They continue to believe that differences and disputes in the ranks of labor must and will be settled by labor itself.

As for the Roosevelt government—or any other capitalist institution—

Hands off the labor movement!

Stop the deportation of Bridges by a mass solidarity protest.

Stalinist Worries

The Stalinists have again gone into action on the Coughlinite problem.

They have flooded the New York needle trades market with thousands of leaflets.

Are the leaflets a call to action, an appeal to the workers to mobilize for their defense against the Coughlinite gangsters?

Are the leaflets a warning cry against falling asleep at the switch while the fascist mobs increase their aggressiveness and their aggressions?

Nothing of the sort!

They are aimed at "the Trotskyist provocateur Milton, of Local 66, I.L.G.W.U. (who) tried to frame up the union. He plotted to have the union organize a so-called 'anti-fascist guard'."

Terrible, isn't it? A sinister plot, isn't it?

With the Coughlinite and, in general, the fascist danger mounting in the United States, all the Stalinists can think of doing is to try to incite workers against those militants who call for action AGAINST fascism.

Direct your blows against fascism? No, cry the Stalinists. Direct them at the anti-fascists instead!

Do these scoundrels hope to repeat the Spanish tragedy here?

News From W.P.A. Strike Fronts Shows Picket Lines Hold Solid

St. Paul

(Continued from Page 1)

and snoopers, threatened and questioned workers, attempting to throw fear into the militant fighters on the picket lines. Such are the ways of the boss class.

The local police, too, are loyal to their masters. They pick up W.P.A. workers who are collecting food and funds for the strike commissary. The cops, with the cooperation of the G-Men, then parade the arrested workers before the police force and warn them to stay away from strike headquarters. Those arrested are then charged with begging.

Mrs. Chester Watson, wife of the president of the Minnesota Workers Alliance and employed on a handicraft project here which the Alliance claimed to be organized by it 100%, remained on the job until Friday, July 14, when pickets from the Workers Benefit Association bannered the job.

Streator

By BEN MARTIN

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

STREATOR, Ill., July 17—As the strike enters its seventh day, the Streator W.P.A. workers continue determinedly to stay out until their demands are met. Daily flying squads from Streator continue to rally W.P.A. workers in other sections of the country to the Federal Workers League and to strike in solidarity with Streator.

Today in LaSalle County, out of 1,700 W.P.A. workers over a thousand are out on strike and hourly the strike movement grows stronger. F.W.L. officials declare that by Monday or Tuesday, the strike in LaSalle county will become 100 per cent effective.

The LaSalle County C.I.O. has endorsed the strike and is giving material aid. The A.F.L. Trades and Labor Assembly of Streator has also endorsed the strike and numbers of locals are furnishing aid. The strike headquarters is in the office of the Streator Labor News, whose latest issue is mainly devoted to news of the strike. An interesting sidelight is the fact that the Mayor and City Council of Streator have officially endorsed the strike and have sent telegrams of protest to the President and

Congress. Fearing to face the wrath of the workers of Streator, the local politicians have decided it would be healthier to play ball with the strikers.

Last Thursday, a countywide mass meeting was held in Ottawa which, radio commentators announced, was attended by 2,000. Among the speakers were Lydia Beidel, popular Chicago labor leader, Peter Vidmar, County C.I.O. leader, Gus Mandula, F.W.L. chairman, Frank Bates of Peru, and Joe Tonell of Marseilles.

Rochester

(Continued from page 1)

program and have decided that anything is better than continuing in the old rut down, down, down hill.

The trade unions have thrown their moral support behind the strike, but except for words they have given no other kind of assistance. Both the A.F.L. and C.I.O. central bodies have protested the new W.P.A. setup, and the former voted at its meeting last Thursday to go on the air to explain to the public the reasons for the strike. The Socialist Workers Party has been active in distributing leaflets explaining the relationship between the Roosevelt War Deal and the Woodrum bill and calling upon the workers to continue their militant protest.

East St. Louis

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 15—Mass picket lines of W.P.A. strikers yesterday effectively stopped car loads of scabs at Scott Field, Belleville, and halted all work on the projects normally employing 1,750 workers. From 500 to 600 W.P.A. workers also joined the strikers in their struggle against wage cuts.

The C.I.O. Industrial Union Council of St. Louis today called off the one-day stoppage planned for Monday. This was the response of the Council leaders to President Roosevelt's statement that "You cannot strike against the Government." The cowardly and reactionary decision will further divide the unskilled workers on the projects from the skilled A.F.L. construction workers who are continuing their strike.

Role of Stalinism in the Recent Minneapolis Labor Campaign

III

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS — The Communist Party is not only a bitter opponent of the tendency towards independent labor political action, but will consciously utilize the worst Tammany methods to stop the labor party movement, even if it means the election of the blackest reactionaries. This is what is proved by the record of Stalinism in the recent Minneapolis political campaign, and workers in other cities, in the American Labor Party movement in New York and elsewhere, can learn a trick or two about the Browderites by studying the Minneapolis campaign.

On April 8 a citywide conference of delegates from the trade unions, unemployed organizations and Farmer-Labor Ward Clubs held a conference in Minneapolis, adopted a progressive labor platform and nominated union men and women as candidates for office. Because the conference refused with good reason to align itself with the discredited New Deal, the Communist Party carried out its first dirty maneuver.

While still pretending to go along with the labor campaign, the Communist Party prevailed upon Kleve Flakne, a lawyer with no connections with organized labor, to file for mayor against T. A. Elide, the labor candidate.

The Stalinist-controlled Hennepin County Farmer-Labor executive committee was forced to pledge financial and moral support to the labor campaign in the primaries. Here again they rattled, and gave not one penny to the primary campaign nor contributed anything in the way of rallying votes for Elide and the rest of the labor slate.

Following the sensational showing of the labor slate in the primaries, the Stalinists through the Hennepin County FL machine tried to cover themselves by making a small donation to the labor campaign.

But their main aim was to defeat Elide and the labor slate. They continued their sabotage of the campaign. After the June 12 defeat, they whined that "nobody asked us to work."

STALINIST "SUPPORT" A BODY BLOW

As the campaign neared its end, the trade unionists in charge of the Trade Union Volunteer Campaign Committee, remembering the Stalinist tricks of other campaigns, expected a pledge from the Communist Party in Minneapolis that it would not issue any literature "supporting" the labor slate.

Of course it was naive to believe that a Stalinist bureau-

crat would keep a promise.

In the final week of the campaign the opponents of the labor slate became alarmed at the political resurgence of the union movement. Two days before the final vote, the Stalinists distributed tens of thousands of leaflets "supporting" Elide.

The leaflet and its distribution merit two comments: 1. The leaflet distorted the labor campaign by making it appear to be in support of the New Deal status quo. Such a leaflet could only turn a unionist or unemployed against the labor slate.

2. The leaflet was distributed precisely where it would do the most harm to the labor slate—in the middle class wards and in the Catholic parishes. The leaflet did two things: to alienate the workers from Elide by its New Deal talk, and to alienate the middle class from Elide by tagging him with support from the Communist Party.

On June 24 the Hennepin County Council of the Communist Party circulated a post-election statement to a selected list of people, stating "what was wrong" with the labor campaign.

The very first point it makes is that "the objectives of the New Deal (such as government housing, increased aid to jobless, opportunities for youth, clean government, curbing monopolies, etc.) were not championed in a sufficiently clear-cut manner by the union front candidates or campaign leadership."

NEW DEAL SMELLS TO HIGH HEAVEN

The truth is that the success that was achieved by the labor campaign was due in large measure to the fact that the labor candidates didn't touch the New Deal with a ten-foot pole.

The average worker in Minneapolis would laugh you off the platform if you tried to tell him that the "objectives" of the New Deal were better housing, increased aid to the jobless, opportunities for youth, etc.

The objective of the New Deal is imperialist war for the benefit of America's Sixty Families, and to this end they have long since sacrificed whatever progressive aims they might have once proclaimed. And don't think that the Minneapolis workers don't feel this.

"The campaign was confined almost exclusively to Farmer-Labor and trade union ranks, failing actively to involve liberal church groups, small business men, professionals and other progressive middle class groups." This is the second point of the Stalinist document.

All the virtues of the Minne-

apolis labor campaign are

vices to the Stalinists!

"The local Democratic Party failed to concern itself with or take an active part in the campaign while the Farmer-Labor and trade union forces neglected to solicit its support." Quite a point!

Of course the New Deal fought the labor campaign. The New Deal is just as opposed as the Republican Party to independent labor politics. The New Deal friends of the Stalinists turned up in the Leach camp through Leach's all-party committee, a hanger-on from the Stassen gubernatorial campaign of 1938. Workers everywhere can learn a valuable lesson from this, too.

Later on in its analysis, the Communist Party feels the need to try to explain just how New Dealish the people of Minneapolis are.

"The great majority of progressive Minneapolis supports the New Deal and President Roosevelt. It wishes to see the New Deal extended and its benefits brought to more people in the city. In the 1938 elections Harold Stassen and the Republican Party took advantage of this popular desire to ride into office."

Greater confusion could hardly exist. It was precisely because Stassen was the only anti-New Deal candidate in 1938 that he was elected. Had Benson and the Farmer-Labor Party refused to tail the New Deal in 1938, the Farmer-Laborites would have won a smashing victory. If the people of Minneapolis and Minnesota said anything at all in 1938, they said they were deathly sick of the New Deal and would bury anyone who tried to sell them the shabby promises of Roosevelt again.

Finally, the Stalinists indicate the theory behind their sabotage of the Elide campaign:

"The record of the Trotskyites clearly reveals what would be the character of the so-called 'Labor' Party which they propose to substitute for the Farmer-Labor Association. It would be an instrument to fight against the New Deal."

This is what the Communist Party really fears—that the labor movement will really forge a political party that will reject both Democratic and Republican machines, and will fight for an independent labor line. Yes, the Trotskyites jealously guarded the independence of the developing labor party movement in Minneapolis. In our concluding article next week we will indicate how this movement can be preserved and extended.

Their Government

By James Burnham

The attempt to abolish the prevailing wage system on the W.P.A. projects, and to substitute for it what the administration so sweetly calls the "security wage," is neither the beginning nor the end of the drive against the unemployed.

This drive began on the day following last November's elections. It was initiated directly and exclusively by Franklin D. Roosevelt, at a time when Congress was not even in session. Its first stage was carried through during November and December, when, at Roosevelt's orders, 300,000 men were dropped from the W.P.A. rolls.

The second stage consisted in the reorganization of the administrative personnel of the W.P.A. Harry Hopkins, who was associated with the New Deal epoch, which was being buried, was shifted to the Department of Commerce. At the head of W.P.A. was placed F. C. Harrington. Harrington was and is a Colonel in the regular Army. He neither resigned nor took a leave of absence from the Army when he entered the W.P.A. He continues on the Army payroll. His W.P.A. job is a military assignment ordered by his commander-in-chief.

The shift from Hopkins to Harrington is thus an open symbol of the transformation of the New Deal into the War Deal.

Links in the Chain

The next step in the drive against the unemployed was the dropping, again at Roosevelt's exclusive orders, of 50,000 non-citizens from the W.P.A. rolls. The fourth, undertaken jointly by Roosevelt and Congress, was the cutting of the rolls by an additional 400,000 to 500,000 during April, May and June.

The fifth great step was the W.P.A. appropriation proposed for the fiscal year beginning July 1. The figure of \$1,477,000,000 was again set on the sole and exclusive responsibility of Franklin D. Roosevelt. No Congressman proposed less; indeed, no Congressman would have dared to propose so little.

The total money appropriated is far and away the major factor in the relief situation. Roosevelt's figure, \$800,000,000 lower than last year, compels the adoption of harsh new regulations whether these are invented by himself or by Congress.

The sixth step was the substitution of the security wage for the prevailing wage. Who is responsible for this phase of the savage attack on the wage and living standard of the American workers? Once more, the record gives the unmistakable answer.

As far back as 1935, in one of his press conferences, Roosevelt declared his opposition to the prevailing wage and his perspective of eliminating it from relief projects. He has never swerved in his intention.

During the hearings on the current relief bill, the demand for the abolition of the prevailing wage did not come in the first instance from Congressmen. It was put forward from the witness stand by Roosevelt's appointee and military subordinate, Colonel Harrington. Like all military men, Harrington acts under the orders and discipline of his commander.

Any doubts about the origin have been removed during the past week by Roosevelt himself, who has backed Harrington to the limit, and taken the public and avowed lead in the effort to smash the strike.

Preparations for Things to Come

The seventh step was the announcement that those away from jobs for five days would be dropped from the rolls; the eighth, that striking W.P.A. workers are not eligible for home relief; the ninth, Roosevelt's proclamation that "You can't strike against the government."

These three steps—all of them taken by decree and not by parliamentary law—are closely bound together. On the one side, they amount in effect to the institution of forced labor at the government's terms.

On the other side, they are a forecast of the method of organization not merely for relief work but for all industry in wartime. Since, during war, all industry will be part of the government's war machine, the principles now being enunciated will compel all persons to work at the tasks, wages and conditions assigned to them, and will prohibit all protests and strikes against these tasks, wages and conditions.

Not for nothing is a military officer now running W.P.A.

The tenth and eleventh and twelfth steps are now nearly ready to be taken. Under the "eighteen months provisions," all W.P.A. employees who have been on the rolls for a continuous period of eighteen months or longer must be dropped. This means concretely that on July 31 and August 31, Harrington plans to cut off a minimum of 650,000.

In theory, these 650,000 will be eligible for re-employment after a month of patriotic starvation. However, the eleventh step demands that the total on the rolls be cut to a maximum of 2,000,000—around 600,000 less than on July 1.

The twelfth step is ingenious. It is called a readjustment of geographical wage differentials. At present, W.P.A. wage rates in the South are comparable to India or China—in many instances about \$3.50 per week. Under the hypocritical pretense of making wage differentials equal no more than variations in the cost of living, Roosevelt plans to slash WPA wages in the North and all industrial areas. He hopes that a minute rise in the Southern wage will buy off Southern workers from solidarity with their northern brothers, just as, in the case of the prevailing wage, he adjusts his blow to try to divide the skilled from the unskilled workers.

And I have been criticized, even by Marxists, for noting that the New Deal is dead.

Senator Borah (Rep. Idaho) opposes the Wagner-Rogers bill to permit entry to this country of 20,000 Jewish child refugees from Germany. Declaring that he sees a "touch of politics" in the proposal, he adds that he does not know how the United States can justify limiting humanitarianism to 20,000. . . . when suffering is just as great and humanitarian demands just as clear in other parts of the world." Don't these bosses' stooges have the noblest reasons for the foul things they do?