

## Do Not Fall Again For the Vile Lies Of 25 Years Ago!

Twenty-five years ago this week the bosses drove the youth of the world into a senseless slaughter that lasted four years and cost more than 20,000,000 lives.

They called it the "war to end war" and the "war to save the world for democracy."

There has just about been enough time for another generation to grow up. The babies born in 1914-1918 are now young men and in all countries guns are being thrust into their hands and they are being prepared to go out and slaughter each other.

The war of 1914-1918 did not end war. It led only to new wars throughout the two and a half decades that have since passed. It is leading today to a new and infinitely more ghastly mutual slaughter of the nations. It did not save democracy. It led instead to the destruction of what little democracy there was in large portions of the world and will lead before long to the complete disappearance of the remnants.

This is the cycle of life and death that the capitalist world offers to each succeeding generation. Driven by insatiable greed in a constantly contracting world, the bosses of opposing groups of countries cannot find enough of the world's wealth to divide. They are forced to fight each other in repeated bloody wars in order to keep themselves and their system going. That was the point they reached in 1914. That is the point they have reached again today.

That is what the war crisis means. Let's not fall again for the vile lies of 25 years ago! Those in all nations—the Fascist dictatorships and the so-called democracies alike—who are driving us into a new war are not preparing to fight for civilization, for democracy, for international law, for racial purity, for freedom. These are just words they use to dupe the millions they use for cannon fodder.

War is not the result of the crazy dreams of this or that dictator. It is part of the capitalist system and rises out of it just as naturally and inevitably as plants grow from seed. We're not going to fight war by shadow-boxing with a lot of meaningless phrases. We're going to fight war by putting an end forever to the capitalist system that breeds it.

The masters may drive us into a new war but they will never survive it nor their methods of sweating the labor of millions and slaughtering other millions to keep or extend their wealth. The workers of the world will tear this monstrous thing to pieces and will bring into being a new world of which peace and plenty, not war and starvation, will be the natural product.

## Coughlinites Threaten March Through Jewish Quarter of New York

A Fascist march through the Jewish quarter of New York will shortly be staged, declared a spokesman of the Coughlin fascist organization, formerly called the Christian Front and now named the Christian Mobilizers.

"We're holding meetings in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens," shouted the Coughlinite to a large crowd gathered Saturday night at 153rd Street and Third Avenue, Manhattan, "and listen, you Marxists in the crowd, we're holding meetings in Germania Hall (Third Avenue and 16th Street) right in your back yard."

Then he made his ominous threat.

"In the near future, we plan to run a parade down Delancey Street"—the main thoroughfare of the Jewish East Side.

This threat was the highlight of a meeting devoted to long-winded insults against the Jews, "their eagle beaks", etc.

This threat to parade through the Jewish quarter must be taken seriously, for it is a repetition of the notorious tactics of the Nazi movement in Germany during its rise.

East Side workers must organize into neighborhood Anti-Fascist Defense Guards, who will be able to resist this fascist invasion.

## LAGUARDIA GIVES WHITEWASH TO FASCISTS IN POLICE FORCE

Liberals last week published material proving that New York police were members of the fascist organization led by Father Coughlin and appealed to Mayor LaGuardia to dismiss fascist cops. Mayor LaGuardia immediately announced to the press that the claim of police partiality toward the fascists "absolutely isn't so."

Ignoring the numerous incidents of police partiality toward fascists cited by the liberals, and not even offering to investigate specific policemen referred to, Mayor LaGuardia

### This Man Didn't Strike Against The Government

By BLAKE LEAR

This is the story of a man who didn't strike against the government.

This is the story of a man who didn't starve.

Benjamin Hawley was business manager of the W.P.A. federal theater for youth in Cleveland. When congress abolished the federal theater projects he felt pretty blue. He spent a lot of time in his room thinking about it.

Last Friday he finally figured it all out. He went to his closet, took a silk scarf, tied it around his neck, and hanged himself from a clothes hook.

He was a good man. He didn't starve. He didn't strike against the government.

gave his police force a blanket whitewash:

"The police have rendered excellent service and have exercised the proper kind of restraint. Arrests have been made where they should have been made. We will continue to maintain law and order." LaGuardia's only comment on the specific facts cited was, "That absolutely isn't so."

The liberals' statements appeared in the form of an article by James Wechsler and an editorial by the editors in the

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# Socialist Appeal

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## Skilled W. P. A. Workers Still Out; Minneapolis Rescinds Pink Slips

### The American Way?



## Flint C. I. O. Auxiliary Brands F.D.R. Strikebreaker Number 1

### Resolution Calls for Building of an Independent Labor Party

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FLINT, Mich., July 22—Branding Roosevelt as Strikebreaker Number 1, the Flint W.P.A. and Unemployed Auxiliary of the United Auto Workers-C.I.O., adopted a militant resolution yesterday calling for the building of an independent Labor Party, and proposing that the C.I.O. nationally and locally break all ties with candidates of the old boss parties.

The resolution, which placed at the door of the administration, the blame for the current vicious slashing at W.P.A. standards, and which minced no words in condemning the strikebreaking acts of Roosevelt and Murphy, met with immediate support in the meeting, which was the largest since the formation of the auxiliary in Flint.

So enthusiastic were the members, and so bitter were they about the betrayal by their former idols, that attempts by one or two Stalinists to throw cold water on the resolution met with no response whatever. The resolution was adopted unanimously, even the Communist Party members voting for it, in fear of exposing themselves in the role of defending traitors to the working class.

Turning with a sure instinct to the question of independent political action, after the betrayal by the New Deal, member after member took the floor, flayed the old boss parties, and pointed out the potential strength of labor once it pursues an independent course.

Genora Johnson, who introduced the resolution, explained that our task today was to change the whole system, do away with the autocratic rule of the 60 families, and added that although the Labor Party in itself would not necessarily solve the whole problem, it would be a mighty step forward.

### Full Text of Flint Resolution

WHEREAS: The strikebreaking policies of the Roosevelt administration have taught us that labor cannot depend on either of the old boss parties, and proved that the New Deal is nothing but a raw Deal as far as the workers are concerned;

AND WHEREAS: Roosevelt who used to pose as labor's friend has told us we have no right to strike for a decent standard of living, while at the same time he is spending billions for war and throwing hundreds of thousands of W.P.A. workers off the rolls to starve;

AND WHEREAS: The combined strength of labor can wield a tremendous influence in national, state and local elections, this strength having been used in the past to support men who have only turned traitor because they are in reality the agents of Big Business;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the W.P.A. and Unemployed Auxiliary of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. condemn the actions of Roosevelt and Murphy in the current W.P.A. crisis, and go on record against supporting either the Democratic or Republican parties in any campaign for any office;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we urge the C.I.O. locally and nationally to break all bonds with the old boss parties and set up a genuine labor party, the candidates of which will be members of organized labor and responsible to organized labor, and which will rally the workers around a program designed to answer the needs of the workers;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be sent to the Flint C.I.O. Council, the International Executive Board of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. and to John L. Lewis.

## Boss-Court Railroads Two Iowa Union Men to Jail

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

SIOUX CITY, Iowa, July 18—Howard Fouts and Ralph Johnson, officials of the Sioux City Drivers Union Local 383 (A.F. L.) are being railroaded to four year prison terms by the boss-courts of this city in an effort to demoralize the city's union movement and to harm the unionization campaign of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the Middle West.

The character of the testimony, the fact that no union men or women were permitted in the jury, the circumstances surrounding the case and the background of boss-worker relations in the Sioux City-Sioux Falls area prove to the hilt that the conviction of the two union-

ists, who were accused of destroying a truck in Sioux Falls on March 9, is a bald frame-up.

The testimony of the prosecution witnesses is shot through with contradictions and contains not one bit of real evidence against the two men. One witness, a toll-keeper at Yankton Bridge, pretended to identify Fouts, but not Johnson; when asked to identify others who had crossed the bridge and spoken to him he failed. The drivers of the destroyed truck testified that no truck had followed them, that they had had no labor difficulties, that they had never driven a truck in Sioux City, had never seen either of the accused men, never talked with them and had no

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## Skilled Men Continue Strike for Union Wage; Union Raps Murphy

### Endorse Agreement Re- turning WPA Jobs to Unskilled Workers

By CARL O'SHEA

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., July 21—With the retreat of the W.P.A. administration from its previous position that all workers absent five days from projects would stay dismissed, the trade unions and the organized unemployed of this city voted Thursday to end the strike so far as the unskilled workers were concerned.

The Building Trades Council membership—all the skilled workers—will continue to refuse to work on W.P.A. projects, and the projects that cannot be operated without skilled workers will remain closed.

Union Demands  
The Joint Action Committee, representing the unions and unemployed, met with W.P.A. administrator Glotzbach last Monday and advanced a program calling for the rescinding of all 403's (dismissal slips); no reprisals against any striker; the building trades unions to remain on strike until they receive union wages; all projects requiring skilled labor to remain closed until the prevailing wage clause is re-introduced; the building trades to retain the right to picket projects using pink labor.

Unskilled workers will not have to go through picket lines of the building trades, the agreement expressly providing that "those (projects) that cannot then be operated will be closed and the unskilled assigned as soon as feasible to the other projects."

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### MAN BITES DOG— PAPER TELLS TRUTH

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

LYNN, Mass., July 20—Here's news for you all right—a capitalist daily newspaper telling the truth about a strike!

It's the strike of the editorial workers of the Lynn Evening Item, conducted by the Lynn Chapter of the American Newspaper Guild.

The Item's competitor, the Telegram-News, yesterday published a front-page editorial, charging that "the hands of the Chamber of Commerce have not remained clean. But soiled hands are no novelty to the Chamber of Commerce which permits no opportunity to escape to take sides on any issue in which the working man or woman is the underdog."

"Mark the Chamber of Commerce attitude in the past."

"Whenever a strike occurred the Chamber tried in every possible way to suppress news of it."

After listing some instances of slavery conditions here before the unions were established, the editorial asks: "Do we want such conditions to return to Lynn?"

"Every man and woman drawing wages must rise with all the strength and power that is within them to preserve what they have fought for for so many years."

This is certainly news all right! Of course the struck paper is a competitor, and of course the strike is popular and getting wide support. But even so, this is a case of man bites dog! It's never happened before—or, most likely, will never again.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 20—"On Guard against F.B.I. Frameups" is the title of the leading editorial in today's issue of the Northwest Organizer, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council.

"Organized labor in Minneapolis must put its guard up immediately against possible frameups which may be attempted by Attorney General Frank Murphy's stool pigeons, formally known as the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Contemptible Role

"The role of Murphy and the F.B.I. in the W.P.A. strike to date has indeed been an utterly contemptible one, as Thomas Murray, head of the New York Building Trades Council has pointed out. Murphy has issued several slanderous and inflammatory statements about 'labor racketeering' and 'criminal conspiracies' against the nation's relief program."

"Murphy isn't the first labor-baiter to talk loosely of labor gangsterism in Minneapolis. Readers will recall that at the time of the murder of Pat Corcoran the Associated Industries and their daily press, shamefully aided by the Communist Party, tried to brand the union movement with the label of 'labor racketeering.' Only the solid front of organized labor shut the mouths of the enemies of unionism at that time."

On Guard!

"So many rumors have been afoot that the F.B.I. is up to much more than just an investigation of the W.P.A. strike in Minneapolis that labor should

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## PACKARD LOCAL QUITS MARTIN, REJOINS U.A.W.

### Puts Disrupter Label On Martin Who Also Loses WPA Auxiliary

(Union News Service)

DETROIT, July 22—The big Packard local of Homer Martin's rump auto union withdrew from the A.F.L. affiliate today and took steps to rejoin the C.I.O. Automobile Workers Union.

President Ed Linder of the local, strongest in the Martin outfit, said the decision had been taken by the executive board.

The announcement stated that "our brief association with the A.F.L. has convinced us that the federation entered the picture not to organize the auto workers but to attempt to disrupt the U.A.W.-C.I.O."

William Taylor, director of the W.P.A. Auxiliary of the Homer Martin auto union, announced recently that his organization had broken with Martin and gone back to the U.A.W.-C.I.O.

Loss of the W.P.A. setup and the Packard local leaves Martin with no mainstays left to maintain himself with.

## May Strike All Gov't Financed Projects

### Union Head Reports N.Y. Work Stoppage Is Effective

By TONY CHAPMAN

NEW YORK, July 24—As the strike of skilled union workers on W.P.A. projects in this city moved towards its fourth consecutive week, Thomas A. Murray, President of the New York Building and Construction Trades Council, declared today that "it is our intention to continue to exercise our clear-cut right to refuse to work until the prevailing rate of pay is restored."

While plans are being discussed to extend the strike to all government-financed projects in the city, President Murray, commenting on the widespread effectiveness of the four week old strike, stated that "the five borough chairmen report that our work-stoppage program is 100 percent effective today. The projects are not shut down but they might just as well be shut down for all the productive work that is being accomplished."

"Somerville is still obeying orders and issuing optimistic statements for propaganda purposes." Mr. Murray charged, "But privately he admits that that \$100,000,000 worth of public works in process of construction will never be completed if the union men continue to refuse to work for coolie wages."

Colonel Somerville, whom the union leaders again invited to tour the struck W.P.A. projects in another effort to demonstrate the strike's effectiveness, ducked the invitation for the second time. Since late last week, when Mr. Murray publicly described Somerville as a man "whose lucid moments are becoming increasingly rare," the Colonel has shrunk behind his large oak desk with no greater public offering than "No comment today, boys." Somerville is still firing 2500 daily under the provisions of the Roosevelt Relief Act.

### A Fink Gets His Reward

John Connolly of 3 Union St. S., Rochester, is a very loyal man. When 300 workers on his W.P.A. project struck their job last week, John Connolly, loyal servant, told them "Come boys, you can't fight Uncle Sam."

And because he was loyal enough to stay on the job when every other man struck, John Connolly was quoted in all the papers, and his picture was printed . . . and, as was only fair, his W.P.A. director promised him an advance in rating which would carry more pay.

The W.P.A. director was true to his word. John Connolly was given his new rating. But with his new rating, John Connolly who wouldn't strike against Uncle Sam even if it meant bucking everyone of his fellow workers, received . . . a pink slip. For John Connolly had been on the W.P.A. over 18 months and so "under the law" which couldn't be struck against, he had to be fired. Connolly, now 55 years old, is not yet disillusioned. But such is the irony of fate, and the fate of finks.



# In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

## Anti-War Actions In British India

Meeting at Bombay three weeks ago, the All-India Congress Committee, governing organ of the five-million strong Indian National Congress, adopted an anti-war resolution whose practical consequences are bound to embarrass British imperialism.

"Congress has repeatedly declared its policy of uncompromising opposition to Fascism and war," the resolution declares, "and its determination to resist the exploitation of Indian man-power and resources in the interest of British imperialism."

Citing the necessity for active war resistance, the Congress Committee directs affiliated organizations to begin active anti-war propaganda; to agitate among the people against recruitment into the British army; to organize railway and dock workers for preventing the transportation of war materials; to build up a national army of Congress volunteers for militant war resistance, etc.

The A.I.C.C. likewise stated that "they will refuse to help the Central government in war and recruitment, and that they will resist with all their powers the working of the new amendments to the Government of India Act."

According to a dispatch from Peshawar, at a conference of various tribal chiefs it was decided to "accord no support to Britain in any war in which she might be involved. Badshahgul (a chief) who addressed the conference stressed the need of organization of tribesmen with a view to making united action possible in any crisis."

From the looks of things, the war-mongers in Downing Street have far more to fear from national organizations in the colonies than from the Labour fakery at Transport House. In a crisis, however, it is not excluded that the working masses of the mother country will break through the social-patriotic barriers put up by their treacherous leaders and join hands with the oppressed colonials to put an end to the tottering rule of the Chamberlains and the Churchills.

## Workers in the Lead of Independence Movement

The anti-war sentiment of the Indian masses is only one phase, however, of the struggle for independence from Great Britain. Equally

significant is the spread of strikes around economic issues.

On that front, the workers of India are in the vanguard of the independence struggle. In Bombay alone, 50,000 night shift textile workers are on strike. Lockouts and the closing of night shifts are spreading. The textile strike is extending rapidly to Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Cawnpore, Jubbulpore, etc., and may soon assume nation-wide proportions involving hundreds of thousands of textile workers. These workers are engaged in conflict not only with the despotic British government, but also with the anti-labor actions of the Popular Front Congress ministries. In many cases the strikes are directed against native Indian capitalists and mill-owners.

## Behind the Breakdown of Anglo-Russian Negotiations

Anglo-Russian negotiations for a "peace pact" have virtually broken down. Sorely pressed, the British seem to have been prepared to make all manner of concessions. Their lack of success has given rise to greater stress among British publicists on news items relating to negotiations between Berlin and Moscow.

After the revelations of Krivitsky and others, A. J. Cummings, political editor of the London News Chronicle, now reports that he has definite information on proposals made by Berlin. Writing in that paper on July 11, he says:

"Unofficially and indirectly Hitler has made the following proposals to Moscow:

"(1) Freedom of action for Germany in Eastern Europe, involving no threat against Russia or the Ukraine.

"(2) Partition of Poland.

"(3) Freedom of action for Russia, with full German support, in Asia and the Far East.

"(4) Germany's withdrawal of cooperation with Japan—that is, dropping Japan from the Axis.

"(5) Political Russo-German alliance on these lines."

No one can vouch for the veracity of these proposals. But, as Mr. Cummings points out, "for months past there has been practically no anti-Russian propaganda from Germany." That speculation about relations between Hitler and Stalin has reached such a stage of precision and that an actual truth in the bitter propaganda carried on by both sides has been reached, is in itself significant of the real trend in Kremlin foreign policy.

# On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

(Continued from last week)

## Migratory Workers Camp

"The three of us pulled into Marysville dead tired and hungry. The kids were almost asleep. It was about ten P.M. and the dark streets were pretty unfriendly. So were the police. 'Keep moving'—'Keep moving' was all they had to say as we rolled along looking for a place to camp. At about ten-thirty I see a bunch of workers in an old '28 Dodge heading for the D Street Bridge. They seemed to know where they were going so we followed.

"Boy, you ought to get a look at that camping place. There is about a thousand—it seemed—people all trying to keep alive long enough to get enough dough to get out of this pest hole. Old pieces of canvass and card board were tied and stuck together to make tents. Many were sleeping without blankets. Men, women and children all jammed in a disease ridden 'camp.' Concentration camp is what it should be called. No sanitary facilities. Just the river. And you should see the river! We parked the heap and after cooking up what was left of our coffee and beans, turned in for a night's fight with the mosquitoes. And what mosquitoes! Millions of 'em.

"I am up at the crack of dawn to get the low down on conditions and prices for apricots, and I see that daylight is the right time to really appreciate this 'camp' where migratory workers are forced to stay until they find work. It was bad enough in the dark but now it looks like a prison yard. At the river I find men, women and children all pushing and shoving for a place to bathe, to wash clothes and dirty pots and pans. Kids trying to swim around in garbage and filth. Men shaving in water full of dirty clothes. It is the combined washing and bathing and sanitary arrangements for migratory workers as arranged by the City Fathers. What a dump! And we are forced to remain until apricots are ripe.

## How About Relief?

"Everybody is broke. There is hardly a dollar bill in the crowd. They have come from all over. Oklahoma, Washington, Oregon, Utah, Nevada, southern California, Arizona and Idaho. A hundred different accents and a million different reasons for being on the rocks. Each family is a little suspicious of the other at first but poverty and misery soon get everyone talking the same lingo. We swap a little coffee for some sugar. We swap an old tire which has already gone thirty thousand miles, for two gallons of gas. We chip in eleven cents toward a brand new second hand blanket for an old man with the cough.

"We ask what is the chances of getting some S.R.A.-State Relief Administration assistance. Not much chance, says a guy with a wife and four kids, 'I went up there yesterday and they told me to leave town! It seems he gave them an argument and they signed the bulls on him.

"We talk it over. We are without a scrap to eat and there is not only no chance to borrow anything in this crowd but it is criminal to even think of doing so. It will be two weeks before the apricots are ripe and until then we have to hang around. There is no place to go and on two gallons of gas you can't go joy riding.

"Down to the local S.R.A. office in Marysville. In front they got two bulls and you are supposed to have a pass signed by some chair warmer on the public payroll. I leave the boys in the heap to watch out the bulls don't borrow none of our belongings and I walk over to the front door. After a bit of verbal dodging and bluff I get to go in. Upstairs there is an office which is almost as crummy as the 'camp'

under the D Street Bridge. They ask 'What do you want' like you had made a slight mistake and thought you was in the First National Bank.

## Trying to Get Relief

"Well, I fill out the application with the able assistant who is trying to determine how he can give me the go-by without no trouble. This guy is wise to all the tricks and he keeps making cracks about how difficult it is to take care of everybody. I get the hint and I says, 'Look, buddy, you don't have to take care of nobody. I can take care of myself. All you have to do is O.K. this here slip for relief and your little job is finished. The State will pay the bill and I am paying taxes along with about nine hundred other suckers who are living on a dump outside of town. I am a worker and I have two growing sons to feed. If you don't give me relief then give me permission to hold up a grocery store. I don't care which, but act like you was in a hurry.'

"This makes the office-boy excited and he calls in the head man which has overheard the whole conversation through a thin partition. Says he, 'Now, my good man, you must not try to threaten or bulldoze this relief office. We are only trying to carry out the duties assigned by the State government and you are not going to get anywhere by acting tough. I don't like this guy at all. He has a profile like a bird of prey and eyes which remind me of a herring. So I ask him for advice instead of going over the ground twice.

"Ahem," says he like a man unveiling a statue of himself, 'You had no right to come to California in the first place. You should have stayed in the State of Washington. We are not responsible for you or your two sons!

"Is that all you got to contribute?' I asks. 'So I should have stayed in the State of Washington, eh? Perhaps I should have remained in the orphan asylum where I grew up—only they kicked me out when I was sixteen. Maybe I should go back there, eh? And you are not responsible for my two boys, eh? You're god-damned right you're not! I am and I intend to remain responsible—what do you think of that? And as the responsible person in this little gathering of humanity I am going to see that my boys and I eat. What do you think of that? If you don't give me relief I will take some. And I will go back to the D Street Bridge and tell the men that you said it was O.K. to go ahead and help themselves from the local cockroach capitalists. Now what do you say?

"In the end they give me a ticket for some surplus commodities. Corn meal and beans, coffee and canned beef and a few other things. But I do not get certified for regular relief. I am an alien in this country although I was born here and worked most of my life to put aside enough to send the boys to school. And here I am. Now, we got a job to do. You know what it is.

"When them apricots are ripe we are going to get skinned alive on prices unless we begin now to put up a fight. We got to organize. We got to go to the migratory workers and tell them that we know the answer and if we all stick together we will get a decent rate for them apricots. Unless we do we are going to be living in this pest-hole of a 'camp' for the next twenty years. We gotta build the Socialist Workers Party, too, so that we can take over them apricot trees and give them back to the people. We gotta get in there and work and organize and build a revolutionary movement."

# Boss-Court Railroads Iowa Union Men to Jail

(Continued from Page 1)

criticism of them. The owner of the truck admitted under cross-examination that he had had no labor difficulty for over six months. Another witness had seen THREE men in a BLACK car, all wearing striped overalls and checkered jackets. But another state witness had seen three men with Suede Jackets. The chief state witness, Mrs. Hilda Chuasee, positively identified Fouts and Johnson in a "big black car," though at the time she claimed to see them she was travelling in a car at a rate of 44 feet per second and was simultaneously picking some books off the floor of the car and straightening her hat. The union car is blue.

In answering the phony prosecution testimony which bore the obvious marks of coaching, the defense proved that Fouts was registered and answered a roll call in his union on March 8 and 9, and that on those same nights he was home. Three union officials established the fact that Johnson was in their office on March 9; and a newspaper owner testified that Johnson signed contracts in his office on that very day which testimony was confirmed by a former commissioner of Iowa Unemployment Insurance.

Vox Populi, a weekly paper published in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, commented on the trial that: "From all reports that come to this newspaper, those men did not get a fair trial and were railroaded about as much as anyone could be."

The Northwest Organizer, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, points out that the drivers union had become the spearhead of organized labor in Sioux City as elsewhere. The victories of the drivers have inspired thousands of workers in all trades to join unions. Hence the fact that the bosses in Sioux City and Omaha have tried every foul trick to stop the growth of the driver's movement, and have now resorted to the foulest trick of all—frame-up.

Fouts and Johnson are now out on bail. Local 383 plans to appeal the case to the State Supreme Court to prevent the two men who have been identified with the trade union movement of the city for years, from being victimized by the bosses and their lackeys in the courts. Funds are urgently needed for the defense.

All funds and communications of solidarity should be sent to Sid Jarrett, secretary of the Fouts-Johnson Defense Fund, 1021 Fourth St., Sioux City, Iowa.

# LaGuardia Closes Eyes to Facts In Whitewashing Fascist Cops

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July 22 issue of the weekly, The Nation. LaGuardia's answer appeared in the New York Times of July 21.

## Specific Cops Cited

Incidents cited by The Nation included: Coughlinites beating up anti-fascist literature salesmen while police stood by and did not interfere; a policeman, arresting an anti-fascist and telling him: "We Coughlinites have 30,000 men and when the time comes I'll resign from the force and we'll settle the question our way."

Another policeman (in both cases The Nation has offered to produce their shield numbers) boasted that 6,000 police are enrolled in the Coughlinite Christian Front. "On several occasions observers have seen policemen preserve the posts of Social Justice salesmen until they returned from lunch, barring anti-Coughlin venders who try to step in."

## Appeal to LaGuardia

In its editorial, The Nation said:

"The Christian Front is not a benevolent or religious fraternity. It is a faction of political violence, whose police members constitute an armed fascist nucleus. As such its members should be purged out of the police department to the

last man. There is no need for us to tell Mayor LaGuardia or Commissioner Valentine how to go about that job."

## Liberals Act Alike

LaGuardia's answer, whitewashing the cops, follows the familiar pattern in Italy, Germany, Austria and other fascist lands, where liberal governments refused to act in any way against the rising fascists. Why do liberal regimes act that way? The Nation's explanation was that "they did not have the will or the good sense to take even such strong measures against their enemies as were compatible with democratic procedure."

Does LaGuardia lack the will or the good sense? It will be in-

teresting to note the further comment of The Nation.

## Won't Act

The anti-fascist workers must realize, however, that just as LaGuardia has never uttered a word of criticism of the Italian fascist regime but depends on Italian fascist organizations for part of his votes, so LaGuardia, or any other capitalist politician, has direct and indirect ties with fascists or their reactionary financiers, and will do nothing to break those ties.

The fight against fascism cannot be conducted by the LaGuardias. It will be conducted only by the workers, organizing the Workers Defense Guards to meet the fascist menace.

# WORKERS' FORUM

## RADIO UNION RANK & FILE REJECTS LABOR SKATE

Editor:

The June 24 elections in Radio Local B-1010, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, A.F.L. were a vindication of the rights of the rank and file members. Sullivan ran unopposed for President and the arch-reactionary Beedie declined to run for reelection as Business Manager, leaving that post clear for Emil Katz.

Only a few weeks prior to the election, William Beedie, then the Business Manager, and representative of the International Office, suspended Katz and Sullivan, the business agents on the fake grounds that they were behind in dues. The fight between Katz and Sullivan on the one hand and Beedie on the other was smouldering for almost a year.

Beedie wanted complete bureaucratic unchallenged control over the union. Katz and Sullivan, very popular with the rank and file, represented the healthy sentiment of the rank and file for trade union democracy. Katz and Sullivan appealed Beedie's dictatorial move to the International Office and were reinstated. There is no doubt that the fat boys in the International Office felt that if they supported Beedie, the membership would not pay a penny in per capita to the I.O.

## Cheer Declination

At the membership meeting where nominations were held the members cheered when Beedie declined to run — and for good reason. Beedie is a name that is synonymous with everything foul in the radio industry. His record is one continuous string of sell-outs. His latest one was a two year sell-out, in which the majority of union members did not get a penny in increased pay, or a minute in reduced hours. None of the proposals were submitted to the membership. This was an added reason for putting the skids under Beedie.

Members will be wise to continue watching Beedie, who is one of the slickest labor-skates in the country. He may have a few aces up his sleeve.

## Tasks before Union

Now that the elections are over a great responsibility rests on the shoulders of Katz and Sullivan. If they are to continue having the respect of the rank and file they must inaugurate frequent democratic shop-meetings to air the pent-up grievances of the membership. They must begin to educate the members in trade unionism. They must fight to put in practice the slogan of the I.B.E.W.—for the thirty hour week!

They must start a real genuine mass campaign against Emerson. They must fight the rotten speed-up by controlling the rate of output on the lines. Finally they must expose the supervisor-stooges who penetrated the union.

Members have to doubt the sincerity of Katz and Sullivan—too long have they associated with Beedie and done the dirty work for him. They have to vindicate themselves in the eyes of the rank and file.

Fraternally, J. H.

## ANSWER TO DUBINSKY HAILED IN LYNN

Editor:

Congratulations on your slashing answer to Dubinsky in the July 18 issue of the Appeal. It has the enthusiastic approval of the Lynn militants. When a bureaucrat like Dubinsky calls a proposal to form Workers Defense Guards "crazy"; when he labels anti-fascist fighters like Milton who make such proposals "lunatics"; when he starts crawling before Coughlin and sniveling about his sanity, his respectability, such a man must be pitilessly exposed be-

fore the workers. Dubinsky will never fight against fascism, he's proving that now, in advance! Hit hard, comrades of the Appeal, and harder and harder still. Your reply to the smug, supercilious Dubinsky set him right back on his heels. Keep up the good work!

Ralph Stoneham

Lynn, Mass.

## COUGHLINITES OPEN BROOKLYN CAMPAIGN

Editor:

In a meeting that stank with filthy anti-semitic lies, the Coughlinites opened their vicious campaign in Brooklyn MacWilliams, number 1 fas-Read Avenue and Fulton St.), MacWilliams, number 1 fascist of the Bronx and three other Hitler stooges spewed their labor hating demagoguery in a manner that would have warmed the hearts of Mussolini and Hitler.

Although the meeting was mainly attended by half-soused degenerates, there was a group of workers who listened in silent disgust as the fascists spoke. Pausing for breath only, the speakers crammed every phrase with Jew-baiting slanders. While Coughlin hides behind his clerical skirts, preaching charity and brotherhood, his flunkies spread his real doctrine, the message of hate.

## Boycott Racket

"Buy Christian" is their slogan. They intend to distribute printed lists of "Christian" stores and to boycott all those not on the list. This racket will force even those Christians who despise the Coughlin fascists to sign or suffer the boycott.

MacWilliams introduced the leader of the strong arm gang who boasted of the co-operation the police gave to the Coughlinites. As should be the case wherever they go, they are in danger of having their sinister necks twisted by working men who despise the mention of Coughlin's name.

The speakers denounced those Catholics who oppose Coughlin as "more treacherous than the international Jew." In true Nazi style they proceeded to refer to Roosevelt as Rosenfeld and shuddered at the thought that Frankfurter and Lehman held office. MacWilliams' stooges, with tongues oiled by the mania of inquisition, threw the blame of the capitalist society on the Jews but did not mention once the real money grabbers of this country: J. P. Morgan, Astor, Vanderbilt, Samuel Ford, Isaac Dupont. (Are they Jews?)

Fraternally,

I. W.

To our readers: In sending letters to the Workers Forum, please sign your name and address and then indicate whether or not you wish your name to be published.

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## A Letter to the Editor

# James T. Farrell Answers Broun

Editor:

In answering a critic named Mr. Brent in The New Republic of June 28, Heywood Broun made the following remarks concerning me: "If Mr. Brent had attended the Writers' Congress of two years ago he would have encountered a one-man picket line in front of Carnegie Hall. The legion of protest consisted of Mr. James T. Farrell, who wrote A World I Never Made. Now Mr. Farrell in his sincere and earnest way can use as many short and ugly words as any writer living, but his addiction to this theory of literature has not made him a progressive. There is nothing to prevent an author's being a realist and a reactionary. Escape can be found in a swamp as readily as in an ivory tower."

Feeling that these remarks called for an answer, I addressed one to Mr. Bruce Bliven, editor of The New Republic. Without seeing fit to ask my permission to summarize and quote from my letter rather than print in full, he presented a one paragraph summary of it with quotations in The New Republic of July 12th. Inasmuch as I am anxious that my letter in full be printed, I am including it here, and I would be grateful if you would print it in your columns.

Sincerely yours,  
JAMES T. FARRELL.  
New York City,  
July 6, 1939.

James T. Farrell's letter to the New Republic follows:

Bruce Bliven  
The New Republic  
40 East 49th St.  
New York City.  
Sir:

I trust that when Heywood Broun takes his next catechism lesson, or—if he has completed these—when he examines his conscience next year to make his Easter Duty, he will seek to acquire some information concerning the sins of contumely and mischief making. For it is a moot point whether or not the sin he committed against me in the New Republic (June 28) is describable as one of contumely or as mischief making. Personally, I think it is contumely. However, I do not wish to labor the point, and would suggest that Mr. Broun consult his confessor. Likewise the question as to whether or not his sin is mortal or venial is one which he must settle in his own conscience and with advice from the proper authorities. Saint Thomas Aquinas said: "contumely essentially involves a certain dishonour, if the speaker's intention is fixed on taking away the honour of the hearer by the words that he utters, this properly and in itself is utter contumely; and that is a mortal sin no less than theft or robbery." However, while Heywood Broun's sin raises problems in his own conscience, my duty in this matter is perfectly clear. As Saint Thomas Aquinas said: "Sometimes . . . we must rebut contumely put up on us for two reasons . . .

## "And the Angels Sing"



the one is the good of him who offers the contumely, that his boldness may be checked and he may not try such things on us again, according to the text: 'Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he imagine himself to be wise.' the other is the good of the many, whose advancement is hindered by the contumelies put on us."

Since, then, it is my duty to answer Mr. Broun, I shall do so, and my only hope is that he be led to face his own duties in this matter with the proper gravity.

## Statement of Position

Mr. Broun seeks to dishonor me by stating that I am a reactionary. He based his contumely on the allegation that I picketed the second American Writers' Congress. I did not picket that Congress. But had I done so, such conduct would not prove that I am a reactionary. The League of American Writers organized this Congress. Some of the reasons why I am opposed to the League of American Writers are the following:

1: On all major issues and policies, it has followed the line of the Stalinist Third International. When the Third International changed its political line in 1935, the League of American Writers altered its policies to fit the new line. I am opposed to the Third International.

2: I am convinced that the policies of the League of American Writers are calculated to lead this country into war, and I am opposed to war.

## Undemocratic

3: The League of American Writers has already furnished abundant illustrations to prove that it is an undemocratic organization.

4: The League of American Writers has protested against the jailing of writers in Germany and Italy. I agree with

such protests. But this organization has not protested against the equal brutality and equal injustice of the present regime of the Soviet Union in jailing writers. I am for freedom, not only in Germany and Italy, but also in Russia, and everywhere else in the world. The League of American Writers has either defended or remained silent concerning the many brutalities of the Russian regime which refer to political rather than literary life. I am opposed to such a policy.

5: At the second American Writers Congress, the only representative of a political party who spoke was Earl Browder, and when he indulged in wanton political and personal attacks, the majority of the membership was described as having applauded him.

6: In the reports of Congresses held by the League of American Writers, I have clearly observed that the League makes insufficient distinctions between serious literature and commercial writing. I think that such action aids Philistinism, and I have no use for Philistinism.

These are not reactionary reasons for opposition to the League of American Writers. By calling me a reactionary, Heywood Broun proves that he has not changed his political line. But then, I have done my duty for his own good. I leave him to his conscience.

I would like to add that I have presented in detail, my conceptions concerning naturalism and realism in literature and my views concerning the relationship between literature and politics in my book, A Note on Literary Criticism. Heywood Broun's reference to my theory of literature is a misrepresentation.

Sincerely yours,  
James T. Farrell  
New York City June 22, 1939

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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.

### One Out of Five

Conditions were improving so rapidly that in the ensuing months private industry would take up the slack and provide a lot of jobs—such was the argument made by President Roosevelt on April 27 of this year, when he sent his relief budget message to Congress, in which he advocated the one-third slash of W.P.A. jobs which Congress accordingly put through.

Roosevelt's April 27 message set the maximum number of jobs on W.P.A. at two million. Contrast Roosevelt's two million figure with these facts established by the American Federation of Labor in its current report on employment and unemployment:

One out of every five working men and women able and willing to work is totally unemployed.

In mid-May, 42,700,000 people were gainfully employed, and 10,600,000 were unemployed.

Commenting on "cheerful news" of gains in employment, the A.F.L. survey says, "but when compared with figures for last December, when 42,800,000 were at work, we see that American industry, thus far in 1939, HAS NOT EVEN GIVEN JOBS TO THOSE LAID OFF IN LAST WINTER'S UNEMPLOYMENT. We are no better off now than we were last December; in fact we are worse off, for some 240,000 have been added to our potential working population since that date.

"While our working population steadily grows, the need for workers in our factories steadily shrinks." (A.F.L. Weekly News Service, July 15).

These are the facts. The A.F.L. unemployment surveys have always been regarded as extremely conservative estimates. But we don't have to go further than these unquestionable figures to puncture the ballyhoo of the capitalist press and Roosevelt's figure of two million W.P.A. jobs as all that's needed.

One other significant fact reported by the A.F.L.:

"National Industrial Conference Board indexes show that production per man hour in our factories this year has been 9 per cent above last year in the first four months. Part of this increase in productivity is due to the savings which usually occur when production increases; but part are due to labor saving devices, for production per man hour is 3 per cent above 1937 when the pace of production was higher than today.

"Recent recoveries have consistently shown that employment lags behind production and it takes a constantly higher level of business activity to put the same number to work.

"It is encouraging that there are 1,100,000 more at work now than there were in May last year when the 1938 recession was at its worst. But when we consider that, of the 3,500,000 laid off since 1937, less than one third are back at work a year later, the prospect is not so bright. Meanwhile industrial production, by June 1939, has regained half its decline."

While twenty per cent of the total working population is unemployed, among union members only 10.6 per cent are unemployed. But cutting down the hours of work, resisting the speed-up, etc., the unions have been able to save the jobs of a considerable group of members. There's the signpost toward what must be done:

Organize the working class to fight for a job and a decent living for every worker. A 30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs. A \$30-weekly minimum wage. Open the idle

factories—operate them under workers' control. The money for all this is at hand—the billions now earmarked for the war machine and the riches that should be expropriated from the Sixty Families who rule America.

Organize: that means building the unions and building an independent Labor Party free of capitalist entanglements, and building the Workers' Defense Guards to protect the working class against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Fight or die—those are the grim alternatives facing the American working class. Fight like a man for a better world, or die of hunger and uselessness or on foreign battlefields for the Sixty Families—every thinking man and woman will have to make this choice in the coming days.

### The War Crisis

With the approach of the fateful days of August, the continuing war crisis in Europe is heading toward another climax.

In the expectation that Hitler plans to force the issue in Eastern Europe again within the next few weeks or two months, Britain has accepted a new Munich in the Far East. It has ceded to Japan recognition of the "actual situation" in China and promised to do nothing to hamper the operations of the Japanese army in its robber war against the Chinese people.

But the agreement in Tokyo is accepted as a temporary stop-gap. It is not likely to last longer or even as long as the European Munich of a year ago. In all probability the accord will go on the rocks in matters of its actual application. Meanwhile the British calculate on securing some respite from a Far Eastern crisis while it waits to see how things will work out in Europe this summer.

Around the issue of Danzig and the Polish corridor, meanwhile, a veritable smokescreen of rumors and counter-rumors, deliberately manufactured in London, Warsaw, and Berlin, has been laid down. It is interlarded periodically with threats and reciprocal blackmail.

Most spectacular of all was the revelation of a new "appeasement" deal discussed "unofficially" in London by an underling of Chamberlain's and an emissary of Hitler. Both in London and in Berlin these unofficial feelers are promptly denied but meanwhile the Poles wonder increasingly whether they aren't being put behind the eight-ball like the Czechs.

The most permanent feature of the diplomatic tangle remains the stolid hedging of Joseph Stalin in the Anglo-Franco-Soviet pact negotiations. It has now been officially admitted in Moscow and in Berlin that "trade" negotiations are in progress and the air is as full as ever of reports of a German-Soviet deal. That England should make terms with Japan while Japanese troops are actually engaged in undeclared warfare against the Soviet Union along the Mongolian border is not exactly calculated to hasten conclusion of the Moscow talks. Stalin expects to sit tight in his middle position until the guns go off. That they will go off, everyone knows. Only the date and hour remain as yet unfixed.

### Labor Looks Through The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

Robert F. Pack, president of the Northern States Power Company of Minneapolis tells of the situation in England from whence he has just returned: "Many Englishmen told me that England is making a mighty stand against the doctrine that might is right." Uh huh, like the stag at eve that had drunk his fill.

Symbolic of the quicker pace (of army preparedness) is the electrically operated differential analyzer, which occupies most of a large room. With it a mathematician can compute trajectory and range tables in three or four days—work that formerly required a month. It is the army's "mechanical brain". And a damned sight smarter and more human than the brain of an army officer, I'll bet.

On the way to the trenches: Already, activity on the 35,000 acre Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland has increased 75 percent since last year. Colonel C. G. Mettler, ordnance department commandment of the post, predicted the increase would be 150 percent within the next year.

Major activity at the moment (at the Aberdeen Proving Grounds) is the assembling and testing three-inch anti-aircraft guns and carriages. About 15 of the complete weapons are turned over to troops each week. Capable of hurling 20 to 30 shells a minute, each weighing 12.7 pounds, the gun is said to be more efficient than comparable equipment of other armies. I suppose these hopeful murderers call it a killer diller.

Officials of the Minneapolis American Legion announced that ceremonies in the municipal auditorium August 6, honoring the war dead would be the most impressive ever attempted. The exercises will stress dedication to the ideal of self-sacrifice. Expenses in staging the services will be included in the convention budget to which industries and business firms are being asked to subscribe. Now this seems eminently fair; no workers are being asked for money—all that's required of them is their blood.

Frank M. Zedar, chief engineer for Chrysler Motor corporation declares: "There is nothing fundamentally wrong with industry, and if the politicians would clean their own mess and leave us alone we would get somewhere." Now, frankly, Zedar, as an engineer, which comes first—the chicken or the egg?

## The Cloven-Hoof of Democracy Shows Itself in the M-Day Plan

The M-Day Plan, Conceived by the Generals and Approved By the President, Is as Firm in Status As Any Law Though Not Yet Passed by Congress to Avoid Public Alarm

By HAL DRAPER

A number of articles on the Industrial Mobilization Plan of the government—the plan for the imposition of a war-dictatorship on M-Day—having appeared in the *Appeal*, several readers have asked us the same question. It is: Why get so excited about a plan, a proposal? It has not been passed by Congress; and the Sheppard-May bill which embodies the Plan seems to have no immediate prospect of passing. Reactionaries in the legislature propose bills just as bad every day; this is just another example.

This question would not be asked if the government's attitude toward the Plan were known. The I.M.P. is not only as good as passed; its status is more firm than if it were already embodied in a law passed by Congress.

First of all, the War Department which elaborated the Plan does not want it adopted by Congress at all—at present.

The text of the Industrial Mobilization Plan itself states that its enactment before war is upon us "is not desirable because such action would probably result in enactment into law of measures so detailed in their provisions and accompanied by so many restrictive clauses as to be a hindrance rather than an assistance in war."

#### THE REAL MOTIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The War Department officials know well enough that most Congressmen would refuse to take the responsibility before their constituents for such a measure, at the present moment. And in point of fact, this is just what happened in 1935 when the McSwain mobilization Bill, providing for a draft, was ripped to pieces by Congressmen who had their ears to the ground.

At the hearings of the Nye

Committee at the end of 1934, Senator Clark accused the War Department representative of the real motive: "You propose to wait until after the declaration of war, then send it all up to Congress to be passed in one bunch as an emergency measure, at a time when the cry will be raised that if Congress takes time to scrutinize it or study it in detail, they are delaying the defense of the country in a national emergency. Why is it not possible to send that legislation up there and have it examined in the meantime, before the declaration of war?"

The War Department (as well as General Hugh Johnson, who participated in the elaboration of the I.M.P.) admits that the mobilization measures are completely unconstitutional. They brush this aside because in wartime the Constitution becomes another "scrap of paper"—and what Supreme Court will question this in the midst of war? Only the Constitutional provisions which protect the profits of the bosses remain inviolable, for instance the "due process" clause protecting private property, which the I.M.P. specifically invokes as an answer to those who advocate government confiscation of the war industries in war time.

"It is my opinion that in time of war Congress should write a blank check" to the President, said Colonel Harris, another representative of the War Department. The government cannot expect a blank check now from Congressmen who want to be re-elected.

As a matter of fact, the government has sought to keep the mobilization plan as far as possible out of the public gaze. It is not at all anxious to warn the masses of what they must expect when the war "for democracy" starts.

The I.M.P. is not the unconsidered proposal of some crackpot reactionary. It has been of-

ficially adopted by the War and Navy Departments, and has been endorsed by every president from Wilson to Franklin D. Roosevelt. All steps that can be taken to implement it, before actual war, have been taken or are rapidly being pushed to completion. The War Department, in its own calculations, does not consider it as being within the range of possibilities that it will not be put into effect at the proper time. For they know that a bosses' government cannot wage war under any other set-up, and that it will have to be put into effect with or without Congressional sanction.

#### THE CLOVEN-HOOF OF "DEMOCRACY"

As a matter of fact, on the basis of precedent, the I.M.P. does not even need legislative authorization. There is not a provision of the I.M.P., but the principle of which was put into operation during the World War. And this was done then without any special permissive legislation, merely on the basis of the government's emergency war powers. The Espionage Act of 1917 and the National Defense Act are still on the books, and will automatically come into play with the opening of hostilities. Indeed, the reactionary Republican Wadsworth of New York, attacked the I.M.P. bills before Congress on the ground they were unnecessary, since laws already on the books could be used to authorize anything the War Department might want to do.

It is in the Industrial Mobilization Plan that the cloven hoof behind the cloak of American "democracy" betrays itself most openly. The fight against the Plan is not a matter of legislative lobbying, but of a struggle against the boss government in Washington and the war for profits which it is preparing.

## The Daily Worker and the WPA Strike--A Typical Stalinist Record

By RAY ROBBINS

Every worker who wants to know what the Daily Worker's record for honesty really is, should carefully examine its issues since the W.P.A. strike began.

Roosevelt responsible for the law which precipitated the strike? Nonsense, screams the Daily Worker, only the Republicans and the Garmercrats are the culprits. The strike is directed against the Roosevelt administration? In the first place, wheedles the Daily, it isn't a strike at all, it's only a protest. But Roosevelt named the figure in his relief budget message and signed the bill? Well, what did you expect him to do, the Daily whines, his hands are tied; a good man surrounded by scoundrels and thieves.

#### GIVING THE WORKERS A BIG "LAUGH"

Under the caption, "At Odds with the Tories," the Stalinist editor expresses a child-like wonder at the mere thought that the strike could possibly be interpreted as anti-Roosevelt. As he hopefully puts it, "This must have given the W.P.A. workers a big laugh." Following such logic through, the W.P.A. workers must be roaring with glee, now that they are getting their "pink slip" presents from Smiling F.D.R.

Throughout the strike, the Daily Worker made truly herculean efforts to force it back into passive, post-card writing channels. Again and again, the editorials warned against the danger of "misdirecting the struggle against the New Deal." Why such a danger should exist if the New Deal's hands were so lily-white is never clarified by the Daily Worker master minds.

"Keep Your Eye on the Target" was the title of an editorial published on July 14. Colonel Harrington had just invoked the Federal law as a threat against the W.P.A. strikers. The Daily Worker gives him a piece of its mind as follows:

"New Deal circles must be particularly vigilant not to let the reactionaries maneuver against them. They must be careful not to give the people like Woll a handle on which to hang Anti-New Deal propaganda."

The editorial treatment given Roosevelt's "You can't strike against the government" edict is particularly interesting. For two days you couldn't find a word about it in the Daily Worker!

Then, in a voice hardly above a whisper, the Daily Worker in its July 15 issue says: "It would seem that President Roosevelt heeded bad advice in issuing a statement at the present time about the right to strike against the government."

In other words, the Great White Father didn't know what he was doing.

The reportorial handling of the strike was even at a lower

#### Tobacco Workers' Local Demands Union Convention

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.,—Fourteen Tobacco Workers International Union locals and E. H. Weyler, secretary-treasurer of the Kentucky Federation of Labor have joined together to force the International's officers to call a convention of the union in October.

No convention has been held in 34 years, a vote of the locals for a convention was counted out by E. L. Evans, president-secretary-treasurer of the International, and no "intelligent account" has been given of funds received by the International, the locals and Weyler pointed out in filing suit in Circuit Court here to secure a court order requiring holding of a convention.

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## Their Government

By James Burnham

There is no doubt that Roosevelt's blunt "You cannot strike against the government," with which he accepted full responsibility for the present smashing attack on the unemployed, came as a stunning shock to millions of workers. There would have been no such shock if the same statement had been made, and attitude taken, by, say, Vice-President Garner or Senators Glass or Adams or Representative Woodrum or Republican Senators Taft or Vandenberg.

How can it be that Roosevelt, labor's dear friend, the Roosevelt of the rosy first years of the Wagner Act and of ever-expanding relief funds, "turns traitor"?

This question is mysterious only when it is not understood exactly who Roosevelt is. If we want to explain why Roosevelt acts as he does, we must forget his flashing smile, his charming radio voice, his sweet promises, and even his personal morality and psychology. Roosevelt, in his public capacity, is the chief executive of the capitalist state, the chairman of the executive committee of United States imperialism. In minor matters he has a little leeway for expressing his personality; but on major issues he has got to fulfill his function.

The requirements of United States imperialism, of the Sixty Families who control that imperialism, imperatively demand a cutting down of social concessions granted to the masses of the people, beginning with relief funds and soon to extend to wage and living standards more generally. In such a situation, Roosevelt has no choice but to obey orders.

#### The Two-Party System Obscures

Certain peculiarities of the United States Constitution and of the "two-party system" make it harder to see what has happened than would be the case in France or England. In this country, the President is, in fact as well as name, the chief executive of the government. He is, however, elected independently of Congress, and continues to hold office for his full term no matter what his political relation to Congress may be.

In France (as in England), however, the actual chief executive (Premier in France and Prime Minister in England) is a "responsible" officer of the Chamber of Deputies or of Parliament. He is elected not by the people or by an electoral college, but by the Chamber. If the political relations in the Chamber (or Parliament) change sharply, the Premier is compelled to resign (unless a new general election is called), and a new Premier is appointed, who in turn names a new Cabinet.

Thus, in France or England, a sharp shift to right or left in governmental policy is ordinarily indicated quite plainly by the change of the man who holds the chief executive post, by a different Premier or Prime Minister. At the same time, at least in France, a new "majority", made up of a different grouping of the numerous parties, is constituted in the Chamber.

The same outward development cannot take place in the same way in the United States. But of course the same fundamental political process nevertheless goes on in the United States as in the other countries.

#### The New Deal in France

France also had its own kind of New Deal, similar in many key respects to the New Deal in this country. This was administered by Leon Blum as Premier, with his Popular Front majority in the Chamber of Deputies. It lasted for a little less than two years, beginning in the Spring of 1936.

But French imperialism faced the same basic problems as United States imperialism. On the one side, it had to get seriously ready for imperialist war against Germany; on the other, it found that the social concessions made through the Blum government were cutting too deeply into profits. It had to change over from its New Deal to a War Deal, which would be also a deal of social reaction.

The political side of this change was accomplished in the early Spring of 1938. A crisis was precipitated in the Chamber of Deputies, and Blum resigned. After a short, interim government, Daladier was made Premier of the War Deal government, which still continues in office. Of course Daladier's cards were not shown all at once. Indeed, both the Socialist and Communist parties voted in favor of him as Premier. But after a few months came the crises of Munich, the decree laws and the November general strike, and the true character of the Daladier government became clear. At the bidding of his masters, he has been piling up armaments for the war, and at the same time hammering away at the wages, living standards and liberties of the workers.

The mystery of Roosevelt, then, is done away with if we realize that there are two Roosevelt's: the first a Blum-Roosevelt, the second a Daladier-Roosevelt. Because of the Constitutional set-up in this country, and the two-party system, the same man has had to perform the two functions. In France, the transformation of New Deal into War Deal was shown openly by the shift from Blum to Daladier as Premiers. In this country, Roosevelt has to be both Jekyll and Hyde.

But the first and chief error is, after all, not that of misunderstanding Roosevelt today. It lies in the illusion that any capitalist politician, any capitalist deal—whether New Deal or War Deal, any capitalist government, can function in the interests of the workers and the masses of the people. They are all, in their own way, smiling or grim, left-sounding or right-sounding, at the service, first, last and all the time, of the bosses. They are all the sworn enemies of the workers.

Return of the Prodigal—According to Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, the "most significant thing that is happening in Jersey City is a rapprochement between the C. I. O. and Mayor (I am the law) Hague. Once the bitterest of enemies, the C. I. O. spent a large amount of money to beat Hague's senatorial candidate last fall, threw all its weight behind the ponderous Warren Barbour. Barbour made liberal, labor speeches and was elected. Once in the senate, however, he has been against almost every labor bill. So thanks to the Supreme Court and Morris Ernst, John L. Lewis and Mayor Hague have kissed and made up. They are now working together for a Roosevelt delegation from New Jersey in 1940."