

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

Nationwide Campaign For War Referendum Launched by SWP

Workers Asked to Help Circulate Petitions; Raise \$10,000 to Fight War; Distribute Leaflets by Hundreds of Thousands

By HAL DRAPER
Secretary, War Referendum
Campaign Committee

The campaign for a people's referendum on war is launched.

The Party Convention decided that we must transform ourselves into a CAMPAIGN PARTY OF ACTION AND AGITATION. This means bringing all the forces of the party to bear upon a single issue, for a given period of time, concentrating our activity to develop a mass movement around our slogans.

Just as a lens concentrates the sun's rays into a burning shaft of heat, so we must focus the resources of our organization into a mass campaign around the slogan: "LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!"

Campaign Objectives

The objectives of the campaign are definite. By the time this issue of the *Appeal* is out, the branches will have received full directives. Between August 1 and September 15—the duration of the campaign—we want to carry the slogan, and with it the anti-war message of the party, to at least 200,000 workers.

We will distribute 15,000 copies of the pamphlet "Let the People Vote on War" by James Burnham.

We will secure 25,000 signatures to the Petition to Congress for a People's Vote on War.

We will raise by September 15 one-half of the Anti-War Fund of \$10,000 voted by the Convention.

We will distribute 100,000 copies of a four-page printed leaflet.

We will raise the circulation of the *Appeal* by 1,000 per issue—400 new subscriptions, 600 increase in bundle orders.

Every branch will hold one indoor mass meeting and a weekly street-corner meeting during the campaign on the slogan: "LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!"

Up to Branches

These are the first steps of the campaign. Branch quotas for these objectives are printed in this issue. Every week we shall announce the standing of the branches in carrying out each quota.

We want to develop mass workers' actions around the campaign. More of that later. But we wish to emphasize right now that everything depends upon the initiative of the branches in putting the slogan into action.

The demand for a people's referendum must be carried into the homes around your neighborhood, to the shopmates who work next to you. The branches must reach them, even if they have never reached them before.

Into the shops and trade unions—into the homes of the workers—into the streets, with the slogan: "LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!"

Just as the fight against war begins at home, so the organization of the anti-war mass movement begins with the gearing of the party for action. Give to the anti-war party! Build the anti-war paper! Recruit the workers to the movement for the people's vote on war!

Branch Quotas Set for \$10,000 Fund

\$10,000 FUND DRIVE
(50% of amount below to be raised by Sept. 15)

Branch	Quota
Akron	\$100
Allentown	50
Baltimore	10
Boston	400
Calais	5
Cambridge	5
Chicago	580
Cleveland	200
Columbus	15
Conneaut	5
Danbury	10
Denver	20
Detroit	50
Durham	5
East Chicago	20
Evansville	5
Fargo	10
Flint	20
Fresno	10
Gardner-Fitchburg	15
Hartford	5
Indianapolis	5
Kansas	15
Lexington	10
Los Angeles	400
Louisville	10
Lynn	100
Marston Mills	5
Minneapolis	1100
Newark	350
New Haven	40
New York	2200
Oakland	80
Omaha	10
Philadelphia	100
Pittsburgh	10
Plentywood	5
Portland	5
Quakertown	20
Reading	10
Ridgefield	5
Rochester	50
Sacramento	20
St. Louis	100
St. Paul	200
San Diego	10
San Francisco	100
Seattle	20
South Bend	10
Texas	20
Toledo	40
Washington	40
Woonsocket	5
Worcester	20
Youngstown	50
Yellow Springs	5
National Office	3400
Total	\$10,000

Federal Agents Try Blow Against New York Teamsters

NEW YORK, July 27—James Dolan, union delegate of Teamsters Local 282, was yesterday subpoenaed by U. S. District Attorney John T. Cahill, in connection with the refusal of the teamsters union to make deliveries to struck W.P.A. projects.

After lengthy questioning by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Dolan was released.

This was the first move to repeat in New York the prosecution of striking unions and labor leaders which was launched in Minneapolis on Monday, when a grand jury was convened by Attorney General Murphy's orders, to act on "evidence" against the unions gathered by an army of F.B.I. agents.

You're Right, Colonel, The People Would Vote Against War!

This is Colonel J. T. Taylor, speaking on May 31 for the American Legion against a war referendum, before the Senate subcommittee:

"I do not think that any mother is going to vote to send her son to war, and I do not think that many young men . . . would want to go into war or become involved in war at all. They would vote for their own safety. And that is a thing that cannot be considered so far as military effort is concerned."

"If we have to submit a matter of that kind (war) to a plebiscite, we might also submit various other questions . . . such as questions of relief. Let them vote on the question of relief, and you will see where you go."

Colonel Taylor, don't tell us you're against a referendum because you're certain the people would vote against war?

Well, answers the Colonel, "This is not a pure democracy, but is a democracy in which the confidence of the people has been placed in their selected leaders."

Colonel, did you say "democracy" or "hypocrisy"?

ALLENTOWN WORKERS FIGHT W.P.A. LAYOFF

Call on Unemployed To Revive Old Time Militancy

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ALLENTOWN, July 21—More than four hundred workers gathered here last night at the courthouse steps to protest W.P.A. layoffs, the new 130-hour regulation and the abrogation of the prevailing wage for union mechanics.

The meeting was called by the Lehigh County Unemployed and Project Workers Union as part of an organization drive. The strike movement on the projects had not met with any response in the area, neither A.F.L. nor C.I.O. nor Workers Alliance calling the men out on stoppages. Only the U.P.W.U. issued literature endorsing the strike movement, and while unable to actually initiate strike action because of the division of the project workers into manifold organizations, got an excellent response in the form of the courthouse meeting.

Charles Hautman of the U.P.W.U. was chairman of the meeting, at which a former C.I.O. organizer and Sam Gordon of New York were invited speakers. The speakers related incidents from W.P.A. strikes in other areas and called upon the Allentown workers to revive that militancy which several years ago placed them at the very forefront of the organized unemployed movement. The crowd greeted the call to action with repeated applause. In the course of the meeting, Lester Heckman, long a leader of the local jobless, was called to the platform by the chair.

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Don't Let Congress Bury the Issue!

AN EDITORIAL

Authoritative polls, the accuracy of which nobody has challenged, have proved that an overwhelming majority of the people of this country are in favor of the plan for a popular referendum on war. This plan would, by amendment to the Constitution, take the power of entering a war out of the hands of Congress and put it where it belongs—under the control of the people as a whole, who would decide through a direct referendum vote.

What About the War Referendum?

Congress is in the act of adjourning, after a session lasting seven months. It has had plenty of time to vote every single military and naval appropriation asked for by the Roosevelt war machine—appropriations totalling two billion dollars.

It has had time to revise tax laws in accordance with the demands of big business.

It has had time to launch the biggest attack on record against the unemployed.

It has had time to waste hundreds of hours listening to its members shoot their mouths off about nothing at all.

It has had time to debate day after day on "neutrality acts" which in the last analysis are only alternative proposals for carrying out the war policies of the Sixty Families.

But Congress could not find one minute to take up on the floor the crucial issue backed by the mass sentiment of the people—the issue of the war referendum.

The cowardly Ludlow, in the House, and the chicken-hearted LaFollette in the Senate, introduced bills which partly embodied the referendum plan—and then sat back like mice while their bills were buried in Committee pigeon-holes.

Meanwhile, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the start of the last world imperialist war, the new war crisis deepens hourly. In all probability it will rise to a new height within the next weeks. Before autumn begins, the war may have started.

The recently concluded anti-war convention of the Socialist Workers Party dedicated the party to the struggle against the war. We have pledged our hands, our brains, and our lives to that struggle. As, one by one, all other parties, groups and organizations, swing into the war camp, WE AND WE ALONE CAN RIGHTFULLY CALL OURSELVES THE ANTI-WAR PARTY.

Acting under the instructions of the convention, and spurred by the acuteness of the world crisis, we are beginning a renewed campaign against the war, a campaign to rally the masses of the people in struggle against the war. We propose to carry this campaign through to the end, to the day when the war system and the war-makers are overthrown, and replaced by a society of peace and freedom and socialism.

As the first stage in this campaign, we are going to take the issue of the war referendum out of the Congressional pigeon-holes, and call upon tens of thousands of workers to join with us in demanding that the will of the people shall be carried out.

It is the masses of the people who must suffer and die in a war. The masses of the people, then, have the right to decide whether a war is worth suffering and dying for. But the people can win that right only by fighting for it. Roosevelt and Congress have proved fully that their intention is to deny the right to the people, and to flout the democratic will of the majority.

The people must, then, take the fight for the war referendum into their own hands.

Let the people vote on war!
Let the people decide!

A.F.L. WANTED STRIKE EXTENDED

Strike action against all government projects was the vote of the majority of the heads of all international unions of the A.F.L., when they convened at the call of William Green in Washington on July 12.

This fact was reported for the first time in the July 20 "West Coast Sailor", organ

of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, in the minutes of the Headquarters branch meeting where Harry Lundeborg, secretary-treasurer, described the union representative's report on the July 12 meeting.

"Dushane (the union representative) reports that

among the union representatives at the A.F.L. meeting, the majority of them went on record in favor of striking all government projects that employ A.F.L. skilled workers, as a protest and in the event some form of relief from this wage slash by the government is not ob-

W.P.A. Strike In N. Y. Continues; Building Trades Unions Consider Tie-Up on All Gov. Financed Jobs

BUILDING SLUMP CHARGED TO BIG BANKERS

Experts' Testimony Exposes Attempt to Blame Unions

By RUTH JEFFREY

Testimony proving that the big banks were responsible for the paralysis of the construction industry was given by experts last week before the Temporary National Economic Committee, but got little or no mention in the daily press!

The week before, Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold had attacked the building trades unions before the same body and got headlines in the press, some of the papers devoting almost an entire page to his statement.

Announcing forthcoming prosecutions of forces "restraining building activity", Arnold had proceeded to absolve the banks and real estate interests, the construction materials corporations and the building contractors, leaving labor as the scapegoat in the anti-trust prosecutions.

Wants Wage-Cuts

In exchange for a vague promise of more work over the year, Arnold had demanded

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MINNEAPOLIS DRIVERS WIN WAGE DISPUTE

Stop Labor Commission from Putting Through Wage Cut

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 20—General Drivers Local 544 won a signal victory this week over the transfer bosses—and over Governor Stassen's three-man "labor" commission.

The Stassen commission, after holding hearings on the dispute, had advised Local 544 to accept a wage decrease and to forget about paid vacations for the union members.

The union bluntly rejected the commission report and opened direct negotiations with the bosses.

Weekly Wage Principle

Maintenance of the weekly wage while shortening the weekly hours was the major point in the dispute and the union won out.

During the two-year period covered by the contract there will be a progressive shortening of the weekly hours from 46 2/3 to 45 1/3 while the weekly wage remains constant.

\$265 per Man

The difference between what

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T. A. Murray Issues Ultimatum in Move to Force New Ruling

By TONY CHAPMAN

NEW YORK, July 26—While union spokesmen declared today that the strike of skilled workers on W.P.A. projects in this city is "at its height," Thomas A. Murray, President of the Building and Construction Trades Council, today predicted a complete tie-up of all government-financed construction jobs if W.P.A. administrator Col. F. C. Harrington "does not come across with a favorable ruling under section 15-B of the new Relief law in support of the prevailing rate of wages."

Friday Deadline Likely

The unions claim that under this section Harrington can pay union wages on all projects begun before July 1.

If no favorable word from Harrington is received by Friday, when the full Building Trades Council meets, Mr. Murray strongly intimated that the action to extend the tie-up will not be delayed indefinitely.

At last Friday's meeting of the Council, the plan to extend the tie-up to government-financed projects other than W.P.A. was supported by a small minority. "The minority plans," Mr. Murray said, "may well become that of the majority and therefore that of the Council itself if by Friday Colonel Harrington does not come across with a favorable ruling under section 15-B of the new Relief law in support of the prevailing rate of wages."

Important Projects Involved

Among the construction projects to be affected by an extension of the strike will be the Queens Midtown Tunnel, a P.W.A. project, and the Queensbridge Housing Development, financed by the U. S. Housing Authority.

Asked by reporters what power could force either Attorney General Murphy or Col. Harrington to make a swift decision under section 15-B, Mr. Murray replied that "It is up to the President of the United States." That both Murphy and Harrington have thus far de-

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FATHER COUGHLIN ATTACKS AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Father Coughlin, the "radio priest," succeeded this week in utilizing *Liberty* magazine (Aug. 12) for an exposition of his Americanized version of anti-labor Jew-baiting.

Coughlin claims that he is not an anti-Semite, but rather a self-appointed protector of the interests of the Jews in general against their own "atheistic" leaders who foster communism by refusing to join his crusade.

"Then Father," asked *Liberty's* Edward Doherty, "why don't you make it clear that you are opposed to Communists?" Why make a sharp distinction between Jewish communists and Gentile communists?

Because the leaders of the Russian revolution were Jewish, explains Coughlin, and the Jewish people are silent about communism.

Coughlin's Cloven Hoof

Having put the finger on the non-religious Jews and labelled them as responsible for the Russian revolution, although it is well known that Jewish capitalists, like other capitalists, opposed it and only the Jewish workers like other workers, fought for the revolution, Coughlin justifies Hitler with the assertion that Nazism "was a defense mechanism against

Communism . . ." and "Nazism found Communism too closely allied to Judaism to make any distinction between the two."

Wall Street Talk

Then he indicates his real target, the labor movement: "See what the C.I.O. has done already in the United States . . . it has been able to bring chaos in industry . . . the C.I.O. is pretty well contaminated with leaders who are Red in thought and action."

Wall Street should contribute heavily to Coughlin's treasury for that attack against labor, maybe even add a station or two to Coughlin's network.

For this was the exact line of propaganda pursued by Hitler and Mussolini—both political agents of Big Business—on their road to power and destruction of the labor movement.

First they made a scapegoat—the Jews, whom they blamed for all the country's ills. Then they labelled their victim, the labor movement, as Jewish—"led astray by Jewish Communist leaders"—and wiped it out with terror and violence.

Praises Fascism

Coughlin ends his diatribe against the non-religious Jews with a big hand to Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and Fascist Spain which he claims, in the teeth of all facts to the contrary, have "escaped the international banker" and eliminated unemployment.

"There," ends Coughlin, "I've actually said a good word for the totalitarian countries, so naturally, I'll be called both a Fascist and a Nazi."

No, Father Coughlin—not both a Fascist and a Nazi. Only a fool would accuse you of being merely an agent of Germany or Italy. You are an agent of Big Business right here in the United States—you are an AMERICAN fascist demagogue.

Baby Buggy Picket Irks Relief Official—Father Wins Bed

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO—That Kastile baby simply would grow! Its feet hung over the end of the buggy. It didn't seem to realize that its parents were on Relief and couldn't buy a bed for it. The Relief doesn't furnish baby beds.

Brother Kastile took his troubles to the Local of the Illinois Workers Alliance (no relation to Lasser's outfit). There he got some advice.

He put his baby in the buggy and wheeled it up and down in front of the relief station with a placard. A crowd gathered around. People began to look out of second story windows. Just then one of the officials from down town Chicago arrived in his car. He dashed into the station.

"Get that man off the street!" he cried. "Take his address and send him home!"

In a few days a check for twelve dollars arrived to buy the baby bed.

Moral: An ounce of action is worth more than a pound of postal cards.

W. P. A. STRIKE BEGAN IN THE TWIN CITIES

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

AKRON, Ohio—The 55th annual convention of the Ohio Federation of Labor, just concluded, reflected the changing trends in the A.F.L. movement in this country.

Of major importance was the fact that the teamsters' union assumed domination of the Ohio A.F.L. In Cleveland, Toledo, Cincinnati, Akron, Canton and Youngstown, the truck drivers union already had replaced the building trades unions as controlling factor in the central labor unions. This was extended to the Ohio Federation of Labor.

All this was shown definitely by the elections. The slate drawn up by the teamsters and backed by the meat-cutters and miscellaneous unions won without much effort.

Only by the grace of the teamsters were John E. Breidenbach, Dayton Republican labor boss, and Albert Dalton, Cleveland Republican "man within the labor movement" re-elected to the state executive board. Both were very unpopular, but their connections with the Governor Bricker Republican machine, the cause of their unpopularity, saved them. The teamsters felt they wanted an "inside" to the present state administration.

Green's Role

Resolutions demanding unity with the C.I.O. which went so far as to openly criticize the A.F.L. top leadership were introduced to the resolutions committee and backed by a large section of the delegates, including most of the teamsters.

Fearing that the convention would get out of line on this problem, Mike Lyden, president of the Ohio Federation of Labor, sent for William Green, A.F.L. president.

Green gave one of his typical demagogic speeches with emphasis on the "no compromise" attitude towards the C.I.O. And he brought along a renegade from the C.I.O., Homer Martin, to help him. Martin followed up Green's speech with a red-baiting talk in which, among other things, he washed a lot of dirty linen of the C.I.O.

Despite this barrage, the convention adopted a resolution urging unity with the C.I.O., although some of the teeth were taken out of the original resolutions.

If this represents the convention attitude, predominantly composed of A.F.L. officials, one can well imagine what the sentiments of the rank and file of the A.F.L. are.

Beal Case

Very seldom does an A.F.L. convention reject the unanimous recommendation of a key committee, such as the resolutions committee. A highlight of this convention was the reversal of the resolutions committee on the Fred Beal case.

After a brilliant short speech by Sam Pollock of Akron, state secretary-treasurer of the butchers union, the convention voted to demand freedom for Beal, although the resolutions committee was against it.

So effective was the talk of the Akron labor leader that a prominent member of the resolutions committee was overheard later congratulating Pollock on the victory.

Incidentally, Mike Lyden, the state president, tried to assist the resolutions committee by refusing to call the vote against the resolutions committee recommendation. This flagrant trick was quickly called to order by the delegates, and on a standing vote freedom for Beal was demanded.

It is necessary to add that a handful of Stalinist delegates voted against the Beal freedom resolution?

Workers' Control

The convention almost passed a resolution which called for labor to prepare itself for control of all production. It was introduced by a Cleveland delegate who said he'd been thinking things over and felt that a real crisis was coming and labor would have to take power.

Thomas Donnelly, state federation secretary-treasurer, rushed to the microphone when he saw that no opposition was

Why and How It Started; What All Workers Can Learn From It

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
ST. PAUL—By Order of the National Administration:

Wages of building trades workers shall be cut 54 cents or more per hour!

Wages of common laborers shall be cut 9 cents an hour!

Nearly a million workers shall be laid off W.P.A.!

This order was the opening attack on the W.P.A. workers. On July 5, hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country found the new rules posted on their bulletin boards. They put down their tools and walked off on strike.

In the Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, the strike began at the State Fair grounds, where the skilled mechanics refused to become scabs by working below their union scale. They understood that this order was an attempt to tear down the wage standards their unions had gained after half a century of struggle.

Other workers, not in the building trades, also had their scales cut. They gladly and enthusiastically joined their brothers, knowing that only by united action could they protect what little they had on the W.P.A. The Fair Grounds project was closed tight.

Cars of men cruised from job to job and were greeted with a welcome everywhere.

By evening most of the W.P.A. workers in the Twin Cities were out on strike.

Not until then did they discover that they were not alone. They learned that workers all over the country had done the same as they, and were striking a stunning blow in answer to the attack of the national administration.

STRIKE NOT PLANNED OR CALLED

The nationwide W.P.A. strike was not planned in advance, or called by any organization. It simply broke, like a thunderstorm, all over the country without any call.

What drove these men from their jobs, all at one time? Governor Stassen blames it on a "few leaders"; this is a lie because there weren't any leaders, the strike began with the action of the workers on the job alone. Only a vicious attack on their jobs and conditions, only a life and death question could have driven these hundreds of thousands of workers to quit work in an unled, spontaneous walkout.

WHY THE WORKERS WALKED OUT

The workers were driven off their jobs because of the vicious attack of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Law on their wages and conditions. The law lengthens hours and reduces the hourly rates for all workers, cutting the skilled union men most of all. The bill cuts down the money for W.P.A., and throws nearly a million men back to the breadlines. It also promises the W.P.A. workers in the North another big reduction in wages in September. For all workers with 18 months' experience it forces a lay-off of at least thirty days, and probably forever.

The Roosevelt-Woodrum Law is more than just a scheme to cut down and get rid of W.P.A. It is an opening attack on the labor movement as a whole. By cutting down wage scales on W.P.A. it paves the way for a wage-cutting drive in private industry. The A.F.L. Building Trades Council in New York City, which called its workers out on strike, saw this clearly when they pointed out that one of the most atrocious features of the bill lay in "tempting private industry to follow the example of the Works Progress Administration in preventing building trades workers from receiving a wage rate comparison being voiced to the resolution.

He picked up the key clauses in the resolution and pointed out that it called for a revolution and workers control of production. "It's pure communism," he exclaimed. This charged the convention and the delegates who signed the resolution.

They were amazed at the political implications of the resolution. The delegate who had written up the resolution votes Democrat, and is one. He was puzzled by the situation and resented being called a revolutionary. What we thought was important was this trend of thought unconsciously creeping into the labor movement, even the A.F.L. section of it.

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able with the American standard of living."

In other words, the law was aimed at all wage standards, not just at W.P.A.

How did the Twin City unions answer this threat to wages and conditions?

The union men on the job led the fight. It was the organized building trades men who started the walkout, in the Twin Cities and all over the country.

STRIKE MOST EFFECTIVE IN MINNEAPOLIS

In Minneapolis the A.F.L. Building Trades Council not only supported the strike of its own members, but called for joint action with the unskilled workers. The Joint Action Committee constituted by unions and unemployed organizations took the lead and gave direction and support to the strike.

Every project was closed tight. This power of the labor movement in cooperation with the unemployed was so great that the national administration had to sit up and take notice, and close the projects.

Because of this united power the W.P.A. strike was more effective in Minneapolis than in any other city in the country.

In St. Paul also the W.P.A. workers closed down the projects. They expected leadership from the trade union movement and asked for it. The building trades usually fear that the unemployed will take their jobs at less than union wages, and thus help drive down wage standards. In this case the unskilled workers wanted to help building trades mechanics protect their wage scales.

The St. Paul Building Trades Council endorsed the walkout of the union men and placed banners on W.P.A. projects. The Trades and Labor Assembly protested the wage cut, called it an assault on labor standards established over the past fifty years and called for restoration of the wage scale on W.P.A.

The State Federation of Labor took a similar stand. But the leaders of the trade union movement in St. Paul did not organize cooperation with the unemployed to resist this assault on all workers. As a result, although the building trades men stayed out, more and more of the unskilled workers went back to the jobs.

STALINIST SABOTAGE IN DULUTH

In Duluth the only unemployed organization was the Workers Alliance which had complete control of the strike after it began spontaneously. The Alliance did not push the fight or try to work with the trade union movement. It used the strike only for praising Roosevelt and passing Roosevelt-third-term resolutions. The building trades mechanics are still off the jobs, but the unskilled workers, having no militant leadership, soon called their strike off.

In the early days of the strike the national leaders of organized labor went along with the wishes of the workers. William Green of the A.F.L. said he would support the move to prevent lowering of wages. John L. Lewis of the C.I.O. expressed his support of the walkout. These statements, in turn, gave new drive and courage to the fighters on the picket line for a time. But the leaders did not show the way for organized action. They were not ready for a determined fight. They had too many ties with the politicians of the national administration. The same politicians are the ones responsible for the Roosevelt-Woodrum law.

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS LAW?

Woodrum was the chairman of the sub-committee in charge of this legislation. He was the official spokesman of Roosevelt's New Deal organization in Congress.

Roosevelt himself on April 27 publicly proposed the cut in the W.P.A. appropriation that throws a million men out of work.

Colonel F. C. Harrington, recently appointed administrator by Roosevelt, was the man who proposed the wage-cutting provision requiring 130 hours of work per month.

New Dealers and reactionaries united to push the bill through Congress in a hurry. It passed by a vote of 372 to 21. This large vote could be possible only in one way—the Roosevelt administration lined up the congressmen to get a big

vote and quick action.

Roosevelt was behind this bill from the very beginning. He remained silent when the strike broke. He was smoked out when the workers put on the pressure and he definitely lined up against labor, first by supporting Murphy and Harrington in their efforts to break the strike, then by stating that he was in favor of abolishing the prevailing wage rule, and finally by lashing out openly against the strike in his now-famous strikebreaking speech. "You cannot strike against the government."

As the Minnesota Union Advocate, the newspaper of the St. Paul A.F.L. unions, said on July 13, 1939: "Now Labor knows it has suffered another political doublecross: that the President is definitely aligned against Labor; that it was his wish and his will that prompted Congress to completely reverse the administration's Labor policy—and that from now on Labor can look for few crumbs under the table of the New Deal."

"He (Roosevelt), undoubtedly feels that Labor is sewed in a political sack and safely in cold storage for 1940. Now he must make overtures to those who exploit Labor—and the 'security wage' is the bait that will best serve his purpose."

Exactly. The bosses of American industry, and Roosevelt and the rest of the New Deal boss politicians, believe that they have nothing to fear from the workers. Their organizations and leaders have been sewed up in old party politics, so if the workers want to protest against the New Deal they have no way of doing it. They can only vote for the Republicans, who are just as hostile to Labor as the Democrats. They had no Labor Party to vote for.

In Minnesota the Republican Stassen machine is attacking labor with every weapon in its power. Governor Stassen has viciously denounced the Minneapolis labor movement and is acting as Attorney General Murphy's stool pigeon. He invited labor leaders to his office, supposedly to discuss settlement of the strike, and then turned over his notes of these discussions to the G-Men to be brought into the Grand Jury! He is calling for the framing of the militant leaders of Minneapolis labor. The Republican Mayors, Fallon and Leach, fought the strike, threatened to withhold relief, and used the police to slug, shoot and kill strikers.

The Workers Alliance, led by the Communist Party New Dealers, did not want to embarrass the New Deal. They poured cold water on the strike and broke it where they could, as in Duluth. Lasser, the head of the Alliance, came to Minneapolis, the center of action, and publicly announced that the strike should be called off. This was done deliberately to throw confusion into the ranks of the workers. The Alliance tried to make the strike a demonstration for labor's enemy, the New Deal. It tried to pass third term resolutions at strike meetings and at the very time when Roosevelt was publicly denouncing the strike. By doing this they were actually breaking the strike.

The strike has shown that the American workers were willing and anxious to fight against this attack; but because they did not have organization and leadership throughout the country they could not keep up the fight. Had the trade union movement throughout the country been prepared, as it was in Minneapolis, the strike could have been won. As it was, Minneapolis was isolated and had to call off its strike of unskilled workers. The organized building trades men are still refusing to work at less than the union scale.

The Minneapolis labor movement was able to force the governmental officials into negotiations, and won the concession that workers fired under the 5-day rule be given preference in re-hiring.

The attack of the New Deal is just beginning. Big business and its government are making a drive against all organized labor. Labor must prepare itself for the fight; it must strengthen its unions and build its own political party; it must stop trusting its enemies. Only the independent power of the workers can carry on labor's battle.

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The Appeal In Action



An Appeal Salesman in the midst of the W.P.A. demonstration at Akron.

BUILDING SLUMP MINNEAPOLIS CHARGED TO BIG BANKERS DRIVERS WIN WAGE DISPUTE

(Continued from Page 1)

that the building workers accept lower wages and a speed-up; "a greater annual income, based on having more work to do during the year, without need to stretch the hours of work and the rate of pay on each particular job," were Arnold's words.

Dr. Kreps, of the Temporary National Economic Committee's consulting staff, laid down the proposition that the monthly carrying charge is the really important item, in testimony subsequent to that of Arnold.

He was followed by Robert Davison, the Pierce Foundation director of housing research, who estimated that a 20 percent cut in material costs would knock off 9.33 percent off monthly fixed charges, and 20 percent off interest and amortization costs would cut monthly fixed charges by 16.69 percent—but that a like cut in labor costs would subtract only 4.67 percent!

Arnold Covers up Banks

In other words, as between equal cuts in labor costs and other costs, a cut in financing costs would have four times as much effect, and a cut in materials would have more than twice the effect. The testimony did not touch on the equally important effect to be derived from cutting the artificially high cost of building sites.

Precisely these major factors were left out by Arnold, who stated that "credit facilities" and "land values" are "not within the scope of this report."

In plain English: the banks, which control credit facilities, the construction companies (through interlocking directorates) and the building sites (through mortgages)—control every major factor which paralyzes the industry—and are absolved by Arnold, who centers his fire on union wages.

What has happened is that the wage-cutting drive against the building trades unions previously launched by the banks, has now been taken up by the Roosevelt government.

Allentown Workers Fight Layoff

(Continued from Page 1)

In a ringing speech Heckman appealed to the workers assembled to join with him in building the Unemployed and Project Workers Union to ward off the starvation and misery which the so-called New Deal is "planning" for the workers with its recent action of relief and W.P.A.

Scores of workers signed application cards right then and there. Discussions continued far into the night, long after the meeting had been adjourned.

APPEAL ARMY

APPEAL QUOTAS SET FOR CAMPAIGN

The War Referendum Campaign of the Socialist Workers Party is now under way.

Included in this campaign is the aim of raising the Appeal circulation by 1,000 per issue—400 new subscriptions and 600 increase in bundle order circulation.

Both these quotas are modest indeed and have been carefully assigned and divided up among the various branches of the country.

We recommend the appointment of special Appeal quota committees which will have charge of getting these new subscriptions.

All comrades must actively participate in this work. It can only be accomplished by visiting friends, ex-subscribers etc. for the purpose of getting subscriptions. Bundle orders can only be sold by selling more papers. If you sell in the streets only once each week now you must sell twice each week.

THE BRANCHES AT WORK

"The Appeal has improved tremendously. The W. P. A. issues were crackerjacks!" Karl Shier, Chicago summer literature agent.

"The distribution at the

waterfront is going on regularly. We catch the longshoremen twice a week when they go down to the dispatchers at 6:30 in the morning. Since dozens of them pile into busses to travel a half hour to work we figure they have time to read and talk about the paper. This week I intend to take down the anti-Coughlin pamphlet the day after I peddle the papers." El Booth, San Francisco Appeal agent.

Here's a list of new subs obtained during the past week. A good beginning in getting under way for our goal of 400 new readers by September 15.

NEW YORK CITY	14
Minneapolis	8
Chicago	7
California	4
Foreign	4
Detroit	3
Montana	2
Nevada	2
Wyoming	1
Ohio	1
Tennessee	1
Connecticut	1
Newark	1
Total	46

Cleveland has doubled its old bundle order and now takes 100 copies of each issue of the Appeal.

'Labor Government Needed' W.P.A. Pickets Tell Reporter

By NEIL WHITE

On the picket line, North Beach Airport—"The bricklayers union won't work for nobody under the prevailing wage, not even the U. S. Government," replied Harry Miller, who is a member of Bricklayers Union, Local 41, and who lives at 3255 Steinway St., Astoria, in response to this reporter's question as to what he thought about the "you can't strike against the government" edict of President Roosevelt.

"It's not so much W.P.A.," he continued, "we're striking to keep prevailing wages up all over. We're afraid of trouble with the private bosses if we lose this strike. The boss in private industry will cut wages if the W.P.A. does."

Instead, the union won back pay for its members from June 1.

The Stassen commission recommended that the union won through its independent negotiations with the employers amounts to \$2.55 a week per man, or \$265.20 for the two-year period.

Instead, the union won back pay for its members from June 1.

The Stassen commission had recommended that the union go back without paid vacations. Instead, the union won a week's vacation with pay in advance for every worker with two year's seniority.

Warehousemen get \$28.80 a week under the contract. Drivers' wages are in higher brackets.

A Valuable Lesson

Commenting editorially on this victory, the Northwest Organizer, organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, July 20, declares:

"The valuable lesson to learn from this experience is that a strong progressive union can ALWAYS get a better deal when it depends only upon its own strength, than it could if it accepted the recommendation of any commission appointed by a governor or any other boss-minded individual. Such a commission will ALWAYS bat against the workers."

"I agree with him," chimed in J. W. Bailey, 229 Webster Ave., Brooklyn, who is also a member of Local 41.

"Men in congress who are supposed to represent us have lost touch with us. Men who have never been hungry have no sympathy with those who have. The representatives in congress forget who put them there. In a choice between Cap-

ital and Labor, they always choose Capital. I agree with Miller, union workers would be better off with their own party."

"Any man who considers himself a mechanic will not work for seventy-one cents an hour," said Charles Ferrari, A.F.L. mechanic, in response to my question as to what he thought about the strike.

"How much were you making before the strike?"

"Two dollars an hour," he replied.

"Do you think that Roosevelt is justified when he says that you can't strike against the government?"

"No, I don't think he's justified," Ferrari replied.

By this time some fifteen pickets had gathered around this writer.

They're Getting Wise

One of them, who gave his name as Victor Sedacca, popped up, "I still don't think it's Roosevelt's fault," he said. "Roosevelt is trying his hardest, I still think he's all right."

"Listen to him," said Miller. "Roosevelt signed the bill; Roosevelt agrees with the cut—two and two are four—but he says it's five!"

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Gold Is Where You Find It

An average of fifty people write in every day of the year to the Department of the Interior asking about the chances for settling down in the Mantanuska colony in Alaska. A lot of people also write in asking where they can get a divining-rod to locate buried treasure. Both these requests are in the same class, as far as the Department of the Interior is concerned. It has to write back that divining-rods don't work, and that the capitalist system doesn't either—or, at least, that there aren't any jobs in Alaska, or anywhere else.

Boss Bites Business Manager

In the July 5 issue of *The Guild Reporter*, mouthpiece of the American Newspaper Guild, there is a little tale of poetic justice that seems worth reprinting here:

DENVER—Retribution has caught up with C. A. Moore, business manager of the Denver Rocky Mountain News, and a Scripps-Howard executive for 19 years, who knows how to dish it out but can't take it.

Some months ago, Moore, deep in the security of a well-paying job, forced a sub-standard bulletin board agreement upon the Denver Guild. The agreement, which was entirely unilateral, covered commercial department employees. He refused to even discuss a contract which the Guild sought as a supplement to an existing editorial agreement. He challenged the Guild's right to represent employees. "Loyalty" pledges, semi-secret and open anti-Guild propaganda appeared among employees. But an NLRB election gave the Guild an overwhelming majority, and bargaining started.

Moore stalled for months. Finally, under pressure, he posted the sub-standard agreement. It included a maximum of 10 weeks' dismissal indemnity for 10 or more years' of service.

Several weeks ago Moore was fired. The next day he came around and demanded dismissal indemnity. He was handed a check for 10 weeks' pay.

"I have been with Scripps-Howard almost 20 years," he protested. "I should get a half-year's salary."

"Nothing doing," he was told. "The bulletin board agreement calls for 10 weeks' pay as a maximum. The agreement was your baby."

Judge Manton Again

In this column several months ago I pointed out one episode in the career of Justice-at-a-

Price Martin Manton which seemed to have been overlooked by both Dewey and the press: the Judge's last-minute interjection of himself into a case involving the Associated Gas & Electric Co. I now see by the papers that a \$12,000 check made out by A.G.E. payable to Manton has turned up in the hearings on A.G.E. now taking place before the Securities & Exchange Commission.

The I.A.M.S.S.P.R.S.T.M.S.H.T.H.

"A quick check indicates that any man who belongs to the International Association of Marble Slate & Stone Polishers Rubbers & Sawyers Tile & Marble Setters Helpers & Terrazo Helpers can safely bet any other unionist that the I.A.M.S.S.P.R.S.T.M.S.H.T.H. has the longest name of any international union in America."—*The Industrial Worker*, May 13, 1939.

The Cream of the Jest

The New Deal's attack on the "economic royalists"—remember when F. D. R. used to talk in such terms?—has never been more than a bad joke. And the other day the royalists skimmed some very rich cream off this particular jest.

When it was discovered, in 1933, that J. P. Morgan and his partners had paid no income taxes in 1931 and 1932, the New Deal made the nation ring with demagogic outcries. With much pomp and circumstance, F. D. R. pushed through Congress a bill making it impossible to deduct capital losses in figuring income tax—the particular loophole Messers. Morgan & Co. had crawled through. With equally loud lamentations, Morgan & Co. paid up sums in back taxes.

They paid, but they also appealed. And a week or so ago, without any pomp and circumstance or public uproar whatsoever, buried deep in a routine press release from the Treasury Department, the following tax refunds for 1931 and 1932 were announced:

J. P. MORGAN	\$338,774.25
Thomas W. Lamont	138,783.45
R. C. Leffingwell	80,254.53
Junius S. Morgan	45,231.73
George Whitney	44,587.25

But the really rich cream of the jest—heavy, Grade A, 80 cents a quart—is that these gentlemen will get not only their money back but also interest on it at 6%, which is a lot more than they could have hoped for in any reasonably safe investment these days.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

JOE HILL

(Executed Nov. 19, 1915)

Joe Hill wasn't the sort of man who left much of a record of his life—what he had done this year, where he had gone the next. All he left was a monument of song known and sung by every worker-militant. That and the memory of a courageous working-class fighter who stood his ground up to the very last moment. What is known of Joe Hill's life, John Dos Passos has put down in the magnificent portrait we reprint here:*

A young Swede named Hilstrom went to sea, got himself calloused hands on sailing ships and tramps, learned English in the focastle of the steamers that make the run from Stockholm to Hull, dreamed the Swede's dream of the west;

when he got to America they gave him a job polishing cuspidors in a Bowery saloon.

He moved west to Chicago and worked in a machine shop.

He moved west and followed the harvest, hung around the employment agencies, paid out many a dollar for a job in a construction camp, walked out many a mile when the grub was too bum, or the boss too tough, or too many bugs in the bunkhouse;

read Marx and the I. W. W. Preamble and dreamed about forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

He was in California for the S. P. strike (Casey Jones, two locomotives, Casey Jones), used to play the concertina outside the bunkhouse door, after supper, evenings (Long-haired peaches come out every night), had a knack for setting rebel words to tunes (And the union makes us strong).

Along the coast in cookshacks flophouses jungles wobbles hoboes bindstiffs began singing Joe Hill's songs. They sang 'em in the county jails of the States of Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, in the bullpens in Montana and Arizona, sang 'em in Walla Walla, San Quentin and Leavenworth, forming the structure of the new society within the jails of the old.

At Bingham, Utah, Joe Hill organized the workers of the Utah Construction Company in the One Big Union, won a new wagescale, shorter hours, better grub. (The angel Moroni didn't like labororganizers any better than the Southern Pacific did.)

The angel Moroni moved the hearts of the Mormons to decide it was Joe shot a grocer named Morrison. The Swedish consul and President Wilson tried to get him a new trial but the angel Moroni moved the hearts of the supreme court of the State of Utah to sustain the verdict of guilty. He was in jail a year, went on making up songs. In November 1915 he was stood up against the wall in the jail yard in Salt Lake City.

"Don't mourn for me, organize," was the last word he sent out to the workingstiffs of

*From 1919 by John Dos Passos, pp. 421-423.

My DAY

THE UNAUTHORIZED
DIARY OF
MR. ROOSEVELT

Up early and had hearty breakfast in bed. Turned attention to firing W.P.A. workers. Hate to do this but think the million to be let out ought to be absorbed by private industry. Must get capital and labor together. Signed additional army and navy appropriations bill. War situation getting serious. Must keep War Referendum out of Congress—the people are behind us without such nonsense.



Had interesting chat with Tom Lamont over luncheon. Can't see eye to eye with the Tories on the Giants' chances of winning the pennant. Saw Woodrum after lunch and discussed progress of W.P.A. firings. Seems there's trouble about my insistence on ending the prevailing wage. Minneapolis bad place. Received letter from crank asking us to raise relief allowances so he can buy milk for his children. Turned it over to F.B.I. Two more spies buying maps of U. S. in drugstore seized by F.B.I. Took cold shower and plunge in White House pool. Kept thinking of W.P.A. problem all during swim. Very heartening to see Workers Alliance trying to bring capital and labor together. Got out in time for hearty dinner. Stuffed squab excellent—must have cook prepare it more often.

Spent evening with friends, Eleanor recounting stirring trip to coal mines. Conversation drifted to W.P.A. strikes. Had midnight snack.

Trotsky Answers Moralists
Critics of Marxism
In "New International"

Leon Trotsky supplementing his now famous article, "Their Morals and Ours," with a critique of the critics. "The Moralists and the Sycophants Against Marxism," and an exhaustive review of the significance of the recent National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party are among the important features of the August issue of the *New International*, which is now off the press.

Trotsky's article takes up, among others, the views and criticisms of Boris Souvarine, of France, Victor Serge, Marcuse Pivert, Henri De Man of Belgium and others.

The Editors review the various stages of development of the Fourth International movement in the United States, describing its evolution from a propaganda group to an organization, which, though as yet small, has sunk its roots among sections of the masses.

The August number is unusually varied in content, dealing with several problems of American economic and political life and also with international issues, among them Ireland, Argentina, Russia and France.

A graphic history of Bolshevism, as related to the leading cadres of the Bolshevik Revolution, will stir much interest in all political circles. A citation alone of the Table of Contents reveals the extraordinary value

and variety of the August number:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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The Moralists and the Sycophants against Marxism—by Leon Trotsky
The Socialist Crisis in France—by Rosa Luxemburg
The Struggle for National Supremacy, 1789-1848—by Geo. E. Novack

A Graphic History of Bolshevism

The Suicide of Ernst Toller—by Oscar Fischer
Reading from Right to Left—by Dwight Macdonald
Cotton Economy in Depression—by Jerry Pytlak

Economic and Political Life in Argentina—by Pedro Milesi
The Congress of the P.S.O.P.—by Fauchols
Ten Years of the Russian Bulletin—by Editorial Board of the Russian Bulletin

Correspondence:

Irish Labor and the Bombings—by William John MacCausland

The readers of the *New International* are requested to obtain their copies immediately, since the supply is limited.

Single copies are \$2.00; the subscription rate is \$2.00 per year. For information or copies of the magazine, address: The *New International*, 116 University Place, New York City.

S.U.P. DEMANDS
MARCH TO SHOW
LABOR POWER

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SAN FRANCISCO, July 20—

At the last regular meeting of the Headquarters branch of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the membership instructed its officials to refuse to attend the Labor Day celebration on Treasure Island—the Frisco World's Fair—and instructed its delegates to demand that the San Francisco Labor Council, A.F.L. central body, rescind its decision to observe Labor Day on Treasure Island and instead to observe the tradition of marching up Market Street.

Always before Labor has demonstrated its power to the bosses by marching up Market Street.

Show of Strength Needed

"Now, by a narrow margin, the San Francisco Labor Council has decided to observe Labor Day on Treasure Island. Apparently this is for the benefit of businessmen and concessionaires who have hiked their prices to such an extent that a working stiff can hardly afford to take in the Fair more than once," declares today's issue of *West Coast Sailors*, the S.U.P. weekly. The militant labor paper concludes:

"This year, more than ever before, it is the duty of the labor movement to march up Market Street, stronger than ever, to show the bosses and their reactionary colleagues, the politicians, that the American labor movement will not tolerate the fascist action taken by Congress and the President in slashing W.P.A. rolls. This, as union labor well

knows, is only the first step in attacking union wages in private industry.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

ANTI-FASCIST Union Guard social has been postponed to August 5. See ad on page 2.

MODERN APARTMENT to sub-let. E. 4th St. Refrigerator, etc. Low rent. Communicate Socialist Appeal.

FURNISHED ROOM to rent—All privacy. Facing Bronx Park at Allerton Station. Inquire any day. 690 Allerton Ave., Bronx. Apt. 55W.

GARDEN BEER PARTY—Saturday, July 29. Games, entertainment, ping pong tournament. Downtown Labor Center, 51 E. 7th St.

CAMP SEVEN OAKS. Eatontown, N. J. Tennis, swimming, ping-pong. Plumbing. \$2.50 per day. \$14 a week. Make reservations, please! Phone: Eatontown 515.

PICNIC AT PELHAM! Swim, sun, eat, play ball! Sunday, July 31, at Pelham Bay Park. East Side I.R.T. to Pelham Bay Station 11 A.M. Auspices Lower East Side. Subscription 15 cents.

The August issue of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is off the press, featuring an answer by Leon Trotsky to the "Renegades from Marxism." Order your copy immediately from the NEW INTERNATIONAL, 116 University Place, N. Y. C.

NEGRO DEPARTMENT

Thanks very much W. B. of N. D. for your contribution. Thanks also to L. G. and M. B. of N. Y. Much equipment is still required—files, office furniture. Send all contributions to National Office, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

W.P.A. Strike In N. Y. Continues;
Building Trades Unions Consider
Tie-Up on All Gov. Financed Jobs

(Continued from Page 1)

clined to make a public ruling taken to mean that they are conferring with President Roosevelt. Should either the Attorney General or the Federal W.P.A. administrator issue a ruling unfavorable to the skilled union workers, responsibility, it is taken, will be placed upon Roosevelt.

Strike Effective

Meanwhile, the thorough effectiveness of the strike in this city was confirmed by local W. P. A. administrator Col. Brethnon Somervell. Referring to the growing cessation of deliveries of essential construction materials to struck W. P. A. projects by union teamsters, Col. Somervell told the press today that "if it becomes widespread, it will prove a serious handicap."

Angered by the growing lack of such essential materials as sand, rock and gravel, Col. Somervell stated, "Apparently there is some form of intimidation being used, naturally, or the vendors would not stop making deliveries. The public is getting awfully fed up with the attitude taken by the American Federation of Labor."

Labor Answers Somervell

Informed of the Colonel's remarks relating to "intimidation," Mr. Murray said: "It would appear that Mr. Somervell is either not aware of the facts of the situation, as regards the refusal of Local 282 of the Brotherhood of Teamsters to deliver materials to the W. P. A. jobs, or else he is deliberately trying to conceal these facts."

"It is important that the record should be kept straight. Accordingly, I call attention to the fact that the teamsters' action is simply in compliance with the terms of the agreement entered into between Local 282 and the material dealers in New York City, to which agreement the Building and Construction Trades Council is a party at the specific instance of the material dealers of New York City."

"Local 282 is doing what every other union in the Building and Construction Trades Council has been doing in the present wholly just fight to prevent the abolition of the prevailing rate of pay."

"Section 7 of the Teamsters agreement provides that 'Where in the decision of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York a non-union condition exists on any job, the dealer making deliveries shall be notified of such condition. If not remedied within 24 hours, the Teamsters and Chauffeurs union reserves the right to stop deliveries to such jobs by withdrawing their men therefrom.'"

"I believe section 7 is clear," Mr. Murray continued. "The teamsters are complying with the terms of the agreement, the Building and Construction Trades Council is complying with the terms of the agreement and the material dealers are likewise holding this agreement sacred, as it should be held."

"Colonel Somervell, I know," Mr. Murray charged, "does not believe in holding agreements, as witness his attempt to break an agreement that Public Schools 27 and 64 would be 100 percent union. Section 7 of this agreement, which I have just cited, shows that the Colonel once again is going off the deep end."

Dismissals Continue

Up until Tuesday night 4,609 had been assigned to the W.P.A. from the Home Relief rolls to fill vacancies left by the wholesale dismissals of workers who came under the 18 month provision. The dismissal of workers under the 18 month rotation section continues at the rate of 2,500 a day. The W. P. A. roll for New York is now down to 116,979 and will be lowered to 103,000 by September 1.

John J. Brennan, secretary-treasurer of the Building Trades Council, on his return today from another of his many visits to the paralyzed North Beach Airport project stated that "The area around hangars 2, 4 and 6 is like a deserted village. If there hadn't been a work-stoppage at the airport," Brennan pointed out, "A good part of the skeletons of those hangars would now be well covered with brick."

Scabs See Crooked Describing the manner in which brick is laid at Public

Join the Socialist Workers Party

School 27, Nelson and Hicks Avenue in Brooklyn, Brennan said that "After a full day's work, during which eleven courses (Lines) of brick are laid, there is usually a two inch outward lean. Recently, when

a building inspector from the Board of Education inspected work done by the crew of scabs, which looked like the leaning Tower of Pisa, it had to be torn down altogether and started all over again."

WORKERS' FORUM

ORGANIZE UNSKILLED,
WARNS MPLS. WORKER

A short time ago I wrote you a letter in which I pointed out the dastardly attempts made by the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance to destroy the labor movement here and in particular the General Drivers Union 544 and its Federal Workers Section. Since that time we have had a visit of that cute and darling little prostitute of the Workers Alliance, its president, Lasser, who ended a telegram to Congress something like this:

"May God help you in your noble undertaking. Amen." Well, he didn't get very far here and left the next day by plane.

Press Praised Lasser

Before he left, however, he made a statement to the press that he would conduct a poll of his executive board on going back to work pending future negotiations with administration officials. The daily press at once picked this up and an editorial in a Minneapolis Daily thought that Mr. Lasser had a "very good and sensible idea there." Well, just what little David thought or said didn't make any difference because his fake organization was not running the strike here.

Organize the Unorganized

In my last letter I said that I believed that there is a remedy for the terrible conditions which today exist among the W.P.A. workers and particularly among the unskilled labor. The unskilled workers should be organized into militant labor organizations and Charters granted them by the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. Trade unionists must not be lulled into thinking that they can't be replaced, for right here in Minneapolis, for instance, we have a trade school known as the Dunwoody Industrial Institute which is turning out hundreds of mechanics every year in every trade of today.

Unskilled Aided Strike

I wish to impress on you that the major work in closing the Minneapolis projects was not done by the A.F.L. tradesmen, but by the unskilled W.P.A. workers when they were asked to do so by the Building Trades Unions.

I was employed during May on a military project near Minneapolis known as Fort Snelling where a hundred carpenters were employed. On June 2 the W.A. and the F.W.S. of Local 544 staged a "one day protest demonstration" here in Minneapolis and the Building Trades were asked to assist. I asked several carpenters if they would support us and they answered "that it did not concern them at all." But when the unskilled were asked by the Building Trades to come with them we responded 100 percent.

Now the least that the skilled workers who are organized can do is to invite us into the trade union movement and support us in our present struggle because if the Workers Alliance is to settle and negotiate our cause we are surely sunk.

For that reason I believe that unskilled W.P.A. workers and relief clients throughout the nation should pattern their organization along the lines of the Federal Workers Section of 544.

Danger Ahead

My motive for writing this article is to urge the Socialist Appeal to do all in its power to urge the unskilled workers to organize in militant labor unions and to impress upon the already organized unionists to recognize the fact that if they do not now give these unfortunate victims of a "raw deal" the help they are asking for, sooner or later organized skilled labor will be confronted with the impossible task of fighting capitalism, Fascism and ruthless law enforcement agencies alone.

The unskilled workers would then be standing on the sidelines telling unionists the same thing that the union carpenters at Fort Snelling told me: "This does not concern us!"

Yours,
T.M.A.

Minneapolis,
July 18, 1939

ARRESTED ANTI-FASCIST
TELLS HER STORY

On Saturday, June 15, I was selling the pamphlet, "Father Coughlin, Fascist Demagogue" on 14th Street in front of Ohrbach's Department Store. On either side of me, some distance away, were Coughlinites selling "Social Justice." I had been selling for about 20 minutes, (incidentally, sales were very good), when a policeman told me to move on. I asked him where I could sell my pamphlets and he told me to go to the next block.

After selling for about five minutes on the corner of Fifth Ave. and University Place, another cop came over and told me to move on, lower my voice and that I couldn't shout anything but the name of the pamphlet. I told him that I had a right to stay where I was, shout anything I liked to advertise the pamphlet, and that I was shouting no louder than the Coughlinites. The cop got tough, and started shoving me around, trying to get me to move on. By this time a crowd had gathered. A number of people in the crowd started arguments with the cop, telling him to leave me alone and go chase the Coughlinites for a change. Other cops appeared, dispersed the crowd and pushed me along.

Crowd Defends Her I walked up the block and stationed myself in front of Grands. In five minutes the same routine started all over again. Again a crowd gathered, a crowd hostile to the police, except for one or two "patriots."

One woman wanted to know why the cops picked on me when there were three Coughlinites on the same street. The cop told her to shut up or he'd pull her in too. Finally the cops gave up, the crowd left, and I was actually peacefully selling pamphlets again. Suddenly, I was grabbed by either arm and lifted bodily off the ground and across the street into a waiting Black Maria. I still have the mark of a bruise on my right arm.

Fascist Police Matron I was taken to a jail on South Street where I spent eight hours trying to decide whether to sit on a mattress alive with bedbugs, or stand on the floor crawling with the biggest cockroaches I ever saw. The matron enlivened the dreary hours by informing me that Father Coughlin was her priest, and a good man, and I ought to be ashamed of myself.

My case came up in court the other day. The Judge dismissed the case, but instructed the cop not to answer questions put to him by my lawyer (from the American Labor Aid), which attempted to establish the pro-Coughlin attitude of the cop and the police force in general.

Series of Arrests Immediately after leaving court, I learned that another comrade had just been arrested on Fourteenth Street while selling the anti-Coughlin pamphlet and that two Yipsels had been arrested in the Bronx for selling the *Challenge of Youth*. Furthermore, on the same day that I was arrested, another anti-Coughlin salesman was served with a summons.

It is obvious that this series of arrests is part of a campaign on the part of the Police Department to drive anti-fascist literature salesmen off the streets and give the Coughlinites a free hand.

These arrests, coming one after another in a period of less than two weeks, and without any Coughlinites being arrested, are the living refutation of Mayor LaGuardia's statement that his police are "fair."

Workers who value their civil liberties and don't want Fascism here, must join with the Socialist Workers Party in demanding an investigation into the pro-Coughlin activities of New York's cops.

Comradely yours,
RUTH WILNER.
New York City,
July 27, 1939.

Buy the Socialist Appeal at Your Newsstand

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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 vigilantes and Fascist attacks.

Better Than Silence

Bernard Tasser, A.F.L. publicity chief, wrote in the July "Labor Chronicle," organ of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council:

"I have a very definite opinion relative to those persons, no matter how high their positions, who have tried to smear the building workers by calling their refusal to work 'a strike against the government.'"

"I believe this opinion is identical with that of every union man in the country, and I am convinced that no worse blunder could ever be made by any public official than to try to outlaw the present highly effective peaceful protest stoppage of the building trades."

Tasser's statement wasn't as strong as it might be. But it was infinitely stronger than the statement of the "C.I.O. News," which has yet to comment on Murphy and Roosevelt's threats against the strikers. Under the editorship of Len de Caux, Stalinist stooge, the "C.I.O. News" is miles to the right of the C.I.O. leadership and hundreds of miles to the right of the C.I.O. rank and file.

President and Congress

How extraordinary was the action of the State Department in denouncing America's treaty with Japan, may not appear at first glance.

But the incident is well worth studying, not for any new light it throws on Roosevelt's drive toward war, but the way in which the President is shouldering an insufficiently compliant Congress out of the way.

Just a week or so before, the President had sustained a very serious defeat at the hands of Congress on precisely this issue: he sought abrogation of existing neutrality legislation and Congress refused to go along with him. So badly indeed was he defeated, that he announced that no further attempts would be made to abrogate existing neutrality legislation until the next session of Congress.

At that point not the New Deal but the "Tories" insisted on going ahead with one phase of the President's program of abrogating neutrality legislation: arch-reactionary Senator Vandenberg pressed in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for denouncing the Japanese Treaty in order to pave the way for subsequent legislation for an embargo against Japan. During the hours prior to the sudden move against Japan by the State Department, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had been in session on Vandenberg's proposal.

But the committee hesitated to act. Here is how the New York Times of July 27 puts it:

"There were some indications that leaders of the proposal (to denounce the treaty) preferred not to force the matter to a vote at this delicate juncture unless absolutely assured that there would be a unanimous vote in favor of the resolution. They appeared to fear that one or two Senators might vote in opposition, although confident that the proposal would carry by a heavy majority. The White House and the State Department then cut the Gordian knot."

Why did they fear a mere vote or two in opposition? The Times doesn't say. But the reason is obvious:

The senators and representatives, generally speaking, are for Roosevelt's war program. They vote for appropriation after appropriation for

the insatiable war machine. But they have constituencies at home whom they must mollify. These constituencies, as the Gallup poll has proven, are overwhelmingly opposed to fighting any war on foreign soil, and they trust Congress so little that they want the decision for war or peace to be taken out of the hands of Congress and submitted to a popular referendum of the people. These constituencies have demonstrated their distrust of Roosevelt's foreign policy by bombarding their congressmen in opposition to the end of neutrality legislation. Fearful of their constituencies, the congressmen rejected Roosevelt's proposals to end neutrality legislation. And so, much as they might have wanted to vote for Vandenberg's proposal, the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were afraid of their constituencies, who had already unmistakably voiced their opposition to further anti-neutrality moves.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, also hesitated to accept the responsibility for this move. He would have much preferred to have the Senate get out in front.

As a matter of fact, if Roosevelt abided by the spirit of the American Constitution, he would have had to consult the Senate on abrogation of a treaty when Congress is in session. According to the Constitution the Senate's consent is necessary before a treaty goes into force, and the converse is necessarily implied.

Furthermore, the legislative body, the law-making body, is by that very token the policy-making body. According to democratic principles, the legislative body and not the executive should determine the policies of the government. This principle is of course constantly violated by Roosevelt, but he does not do so lightly. He does so with a full realization of the implications, and only out of desperation. It is the desperation of American capitalism turning to world conquest as a way out of its economic crisis.

This was the situation which the New York Times of July 27 described as follows:

"Officials said that it was the disposition of the State Department to await action by the Foreign Relations Committee at its meeting today on the resolution of Senator Vandenberg favoring denunciation of the treaty, but when the committee postponed action to a later meeting President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull decided to act at once."

"It appeared to be their opinion that further delay was not only not warranted but also might be taken by Japan as evidence of timidity or divided counsels between the executive and legislative branches of the government. Action, accordingly, was taken immediately."

But there were divided counsels between the executive and legislative branches. The individual senators and representatives might agree with Roosevelt but as a body they feared their constituencies. Thus the counsels were divided in actuality. So . . . Roosevelt took the decision into his own hands.

In other words, Roosevelt decided that where a division exists between the legislative and executive bodies, the executive will have the deciding word. In other words, he has acted on a theory of the supremacy of the executive over the legislative body.

Are the American people awake to the implications of this action? How long is the road between this action and the action of wiping out altogether the powers of the legislative body, as Hitler and Mussolini have done?

The Congress that permitted this is a body which can be trusted little more than the President. Today, in theory, this Congress has the final authority on determining whether this country shall go to war or not. But the Japanese treaty incident shows that in substance the Congress will surrender its power to the President.

One thing is immediately clear: the Japanese treaty incident is a further warning to the people to demand a popular referendum on war. Neither the President nor Congress can be trusted with this vital decision. Those who must die in the trenches or starve at home in the event of war—they must decide.

Let the people vote on war!
Let the people decide!

Officials of the Standard Oil Company of New York looked to Washington as the last hope for defeating Japanese moves to wipe out the American and British petroleum industry in north China. Oil company representatives were convinced that legal arguments in north China were worthless. American interests, Washington, i. e., the representatives of the bosses, wants YOU for a target.

"The one hope of the world today is that the nations turn to God and apply these (Buchman's moral rearmament) principles not only to national life but to personal, business and civic life," reads a resolution of the Minneapolis city council, welcoming Frank Buchman. It surely looks like the nations are turning to God, for it's well known that God is on the side of the largest armaments.

An official delegation of Nazi storm troop officers in Rome watches a guard at the entrance of the Palace of Venice "super-umph" into the goose step Italians borrowed from Germany. (The guard's foot was level with his shoulder.) I can see one good thing about the goose step. When soldiers and workers learn to shoot in the right direction all this goosestepping will be helpful in giving a boost to the officers and the bosses. That's the kind of booster I like.

McNutt, Hoosier Hitler, Pushed Forward by F.D.R. in 1940 Drive

By PAUL FIELDING

President Roosevelt once again paid touching tribute to Democracy by appointing the Hoosier Hitler, Paul V. McNutt to head the Federal Security Administration.

McNutt, the governor of Indiana who kept Terre Haute under martial law for months, will have charge of administering the Social Security Act. He will, no doubt, show the same regard for the unemployed, the aged and the sick as he showed for the workers of the Hoosier state, who under his rule asked whether they lived in the United States or Germany.

In naming McNutt to this important governmental post, Roosevelt has indicated that this Fascist-minded New Dealer is his present choice for president in 1940. Barring the possibility of a third-term, Fuehrer McNutt is Roosevelt's man for the Democratic nomination.

The professional and amateur cheer-leaders for the New Deal will have to talk fast and hard when they try to pawn off this scissor-bill as a friend of the "Forgotten-man."

McNUTT HAS AN UNSAVORY RECORD

A quick look into McNutt's record will uncover a reactionary, labor-hating past that will match the worst the Republicans have to offer. And it will also show the kind of men Roosevelt wants to carry on his War Deal.

After studying law for one year, McNutt became an associate professor of law at Indiana University, and, before the rest of the faculty knew what happened, he had retired the Dean of the Law School and taken his post.

The other professors wondered whether he had bought the university, according to those who witnessed the transaction.

In 1928, he was elected national commander of the anti-labor American Legion. He considered himself a "veteran" because of his presence in a training camp, no less than 3500 miles away from the front. His good work in the "war to make the world safe for hypocrisy" won him the title of major.

In all his relations with workers, he seems to act as though he still wore a uniform.

In his campaign for governor of Indiana in 1932, his Re-

publican enemies called him the "lawyer who never tried a case and the soldier who never fired a shot" — which is very close to the skillet's calling the kettle black.

While governor of Indiana, he had as much power as Huey Long had in Louisiana, according to reporters who covered his administration, though this is probably a slight exaggeration.

WHY BIG BUSINESS LOVES McNUTT

He won the everlasting friendship of Indiana businessmen and industrial barons by the following record:

Sent the national guard to break strikes the greatest number of times in the history of the state.

Introduced and had passed a law which made militant strike action by milk farmers a felony.

Increased the size of the state police force.

Suspended all municipal elections in every community in Indiana for one year when his power was slipping.

Reduced property taxes by more than 50 million dollars.

Levied income tax for all incomes over \$1000 to place the burden of taxation upon the workers.

Levied a tax-sale, which he passed off by the phony name of a "gross-income tax."

He further distinguished himself by encouraging his local henchmen to stifle all free speech. He was a member of the national committee of the Catholic organization to combat communism. His sidekick here was Senator Carter Glass of Virginia.

Only because Indiana has a law which prevents governors from succeeding themselves, he was forced out of the capitol. But he picked Governor Townsend, who carried on the dictatorship, though with hardly the talents and gusto of New Dealer McNutt.

A COLONIAL RULER FOR ROOSEVELT

Not to be shoved out of the limelight where he wanted to remain to run for president in 1940, he was appointed High Commissioner of the Philippine Islands by Roosevelt.

He got off to a flying start in the Philippines by telling the natives who want independence that democracy in the Philippines is "only a matter of form

and not of substance."

As High Commissioner he was a vital cog in the Roosevelt war plans, which call for raising an army of 500,000 natives, four times the size of the U. S. standing army. The natives were granted "semi-independence," so that they could have the privilege of paying for the army and other military costs.

Soon after he arrived in Manila, he knocked any notions of real independence out of the natives. The move he made which reached most front pages was to demand that High Commissioner McNutt be toasted first in all state functions. Following him, the president and other small fry might be mentioned.

There was wailing and gnashing of teeth among the bright young men of the New Deal when McNutt was named to his new post in Washington. Those who placed their faith in Roosevelt for salvation felt they had been betrayed when this man, whom they call a Fascist, got the choice political plum.

Like the foolish maiden who is being continually seduced by the nicest men or the sucker for horse races who is always playing long-shots, these people thrive on betrayals and run-arounds. No sooner do they get their fingers burned, than they stick them back in the fire.

Unable to see beyond the ever narrowing confines of capitalist politics, they choose the lesser-evil. And this time they got a Fascist-minded politician.

It is safe to predict that he will be white-washed in short order. McNutt is a clever politician. He can speak liberal while acting reactionary.

He can and did denounce Germany for its treatment of the Jews, while grinding down strikers in Indiana and, later, natives in the Philippine Islands.

In his new post, he will speak high sounding words about aid to the aged, help to the unemployed and assistance to the weak and infirm. And under cover of this, he will try to cut to the bone the meager benefits of the Social Security Act.

He has learned a lot from his boss, Roosevelt. That's why he got the job. That's why he is such a fine candidate for the New Deal in 1940.

Watch out for McNutt—he's no boob.

Quotas Set For Branches Of S.W.P.

WAR REFERENDUM PAMPHLET

Branch	Quota
Akron	300
Allentown	150
Baltimore	50
Boston	600
Chicago	750
Cleveland	400
Columbus	150
Denver	75
Detroit	450
East Chicago	75
Evansville	25
Fargo	25
Flint	200
Fresno	25
Gardner-Fitchburg	25
Hartford	25
Kansas	25
Lexington	25
Los Angeles	1000
Louisville	50
Lynn	300
Minneapolis	2000
Newark	800
New Haven	150
New York	4250
Oakland	250
Philadelphia	300
Plentywood	25
Portland	25
Quakertown	75
Reading	25
Rochester	300
Sacramento	25
St. Louis	450
St. Paul	400
San Diego	50
San Francisco	350
Seattle	50
South Bend	50
Texas	25
Toledo	200
Washington	75
Worcester	100
Youngstown	150
Total	15,000

APPEAL CAMPAIGN SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Subs	Bundles
Akron	10	10	
Allentown	5	10	
Baltimore	5	10	
Boston	20	40	

National Youth Group Forms Defense Guard

Formation of Anti-Fascist Defense Guards was authorized by the recent annual convention of the Avukah, national Jewish student organization, the Avukah "Student Action" announced in its July 28 issue.

After describing Coughlinite assaults on anti-fascists and the connivance of police and courts with the fascists, "Student Action" states:

"These factors, the violent anti-semitic campaign of the Coughlinites and other fascist groups, together with the refusal of city officials to end a flagrant pro-fascist tone of a large section of the courts and police, have produced the need for anti-fascist defense groups to protect anti-fascist action such as distribution of literature exposing the real nature of the 'Social Justice' movement."

"The Convention, confronted with a need for immediate action toward formation of such groups, authorized Avukah chapters to initiate or cooperate with existing anti-fascist units."

MODEL PETITION

Here is the text of the petition which is being circulated for a people's vote on war. We urge readers of the Appeal to secure copies and circulate them.

Local petitions have sprung up here and there, but we believe this text is the best medium for organizing the expression of mass sentiment for a war referendum on a national scale. The printed petition blanks may be obtained, and should be returned to the Committee for a War Referendum, P. O. Box 66, Station D, New York City.

A PETITION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned, hereby petition Congress to submit at once to the several States, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which will provide that any proposal for the declaration of war, or armed hostilities, against any nation or people shall be submitted to a direct referendum vote of the people of the United States.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

A letter just received from a friend visiting Paris gives an interesting picture of what is going on in France today.

"For about an hour and a half I watched the communist demonstration on July 14, in honor of the Great French Revolution. It was the usual 'united front' demonstration—the two dozen Stalinist stooge organizations joining the C.P. in a 'united front.' The socialists and the official trade unions refused to join the Stalinists who bemoaned the fact that the great Popular Front demonstration of 1935 could not be repeated. That's right—it could not be repeated. Daladier, one of the leading figures in the demonstration of 1935, is now ordering the workers to work longer hours and more efficiently; he is curtly telling the communists what they can and what they cannot do; he is giving the big bourgeoisie the services it demands, thus, for a while at least, making unnecessary a resort to fascism."

An Uninspiring Demonstration

"It certainly was not an inspiring demonstration. Neither to the onlookers nor to the participants, as far as I could judge. Certainly not to one interested in leading the French working class to another and greater revolution than that of 1789. There is nothing wrong in principle, of course, for a revolutionary party to celebrate the birth of the bourgeois revolution, especially such a magnificent one as the Great French Revolution. I can even imagine a revolutionary party organizing a celebration on July 4 commemorating the American revolution."

"It is primarily a question of the content of the demonstration. That content must further our present aim of hastening the dawn of the proletarian revolution. To take advantage of revolutionary traditions in order to inspire the masses with a willingness to offer the supreme sacrifice for the socialist revolution is not only permissible for a revolutionary party but absolutely mandatory. Can that be done? Of course! Just think of the heroic days of '89 when the disinherited of Paris, with weapons in hand, proceeded to demolish the institutions of feudal tyranny. It would be so easy to stir up the most exalted revolutionary emotions in the masses of workers showing them that they must follow the example of their forefathers and destroy . . . bourgeois tyranny."

"I need not tell you that the Stalinist demonstration had no revolutionary aim in view. That is why it was so uninspiring, sickening as a matter of fact. There were tens of thousands of really militant workers who would gladly offer up their lives to destroy the Bastille of the French bourgeoisie but these tens of thousands of workers marched meekly around the Place de la Bastille without any enthusiasm because they were not inspired with any great visions of a struggle to create a new world for themselves and their children. They did not even know what they were demonstrating for. There were absolutely no banners with any slogans. Daladier had forbidden the showing of any slogans in any way hostile to the government. And since the Communist Party is compelled to assume a position of hostility to the dictatorial regime of Daladier, in order to keep the confidence of the masses, it had to choose between defying the government, by carrying banners with slogans, or submitting. The C. P. of course does not defy nowadays and so there was a sloganless demonstration."

There Was One Slogan

"I must correct my statement about slogans. There was one slogan much in evidence, the one calling for the completion of the pact between Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union. Streaming banners announced the fact that without the help of the U.S.S.R., France could not defend itself against the fascist aggressors. The tri-party pact would bring peace, liberty and democracy."

"I don't know whether you read L'Humanite these days. If you do you know then that, day after day, Gabriel Peri, their star journalist, pours forth his contempt upon Great Britain for its softness to Japan. He demands a firmer stand by Chamberlain to defend British citizens from insult and humiliation at the hands of the Japanese. The British and French attitude towards Germany during the Danzig crisis and subsequently was termed supine and violative of the promises given to heroic Poland. And every single article ends with a demand for the immediate consummation of the tri-party pact. It was therefore to be expected that during the demonstration stress would be placed upon that demand. And since there were no other slogans the demonstration assumed exclusively the character of a demonstration on behalf of the tri-party pact."

"What a glorious opportunity there was of showing the masses the differences between the promises and hopes of 1789 and the reality of 1939. The act of the Daladier government in prohibiting the carrying of slogans against the government showed more than anything else the real character of the present regime. Everything is now settled by decrees without consulting parliament. The chances are that the elections for the Chamber of Deputies, which are to take place next year, will be postponed by decree for two or three years. The Stalinists and socialists are crying bitterly against such a possibility but their opposition amounts to very little. That is the kind of democracy which the French workers are asked to defend against Hitler. Young militants are charged with espionage for attempting to spread revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers. Death can be the penalty if found guilty. Hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers, former soldiers of the Republican army in Spain, are herded together like beasts in concentration camps. A far cry from the fraternity, equality and liberty proclaimed as the foundation stones of the French Revolution."

How Long Will They Remain Quiet?

"Disoriented by the policies of the socialist and communist parties, frustrated by the failure of the Popular Front government, the French workers are quiet, submitting to the arbitrary acts of the government. For how long? It is impossible to conceive that it can last for a very long time. As the burden becomes greater the forces of resistance will come to the surface. The most militant and conscious elements of the French workers, that is, the French Fourth Internationalists, must work feverishly to prepare a party to lead the French workers."