SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 52

July 21, 1939

Published twice a week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-854?

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. For-eign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders. 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents. Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year. "Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1929, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

MAX SHACHTMAN

HAROLD ROBERTS EMANUEL GARRETT JOSEPH HANSEN Business Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

WORKERS PARTY FOR: 1. A job and a decent living for every worker.

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST

- 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
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 7. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- 9. No secret diplomacy.
- 10. An independent Labor Party.
- 11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Labor's Road After Roosevelt's Statement

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

press to quote him verbatim. He is never directly quoted in the press except by his explicit per-

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

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

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

The War Deal

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

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

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

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

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

What now for Labor?

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

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

Labor Party

clear of all entangling alliances with capitalist

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

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

Break with the capitalist parties!

Build a PARTY OF LABOR for INDE-PENDENT POLITICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOSS CLASS!

The Bridges Case

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

What difference there is between the Roose-Almost never does the President permit the velt-Perkins persecution of Bridges and the record of the infamous A. Mitchell Palmer of "Red raid" notoriety in 1919-1920, is not visible to the naked eye.

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

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

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

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

Hands off the labor movement!

Stop the deportation of Bridges by a mass solidarity protest.

Stalinist Worries

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

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

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

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

Nothing of the sort!

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

Terrible, isn't it? A sinister plot, isn't it? With the Coughlinite and, in general, the fascist danger mounting in the United States, all the Stalinists can think of doing is to try to incite workers against those militants who call for action AGAINST fascism.

Direct your blows against fascism? No, cry of saving the profit system, now by military the Stalinists. Direct them at the anti-fascists instead!

Do these scoundrels hope to repeat the Spanish tragedy here?

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

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

Streator

By BEN MARTIN (Special to the Socialist Appeal)

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

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

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

Minneapolis Labor Campaign

crat would keep a promise.

clean goverment, curbing mon-

The average worker in

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

Last Thursday, a countywide mass meeting was held in Ottawa which, radio commentators announced, was attended by 2,000. Among the speakers were Lydia Beidel, popular Chicago

Rochester

(Continued from page 1)

labor leader, Peter Vidmar, County C.I.O.

leader, Gus Mandula, F.W.L. chairman, Frank

Bates of Peru, and Joe Tonell of Marseilles.

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

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

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

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

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

Role of Stalinism in the Recent

By CARL O'SHEA MINNEAPOLIS - The Com- paign the opponents of the labor party movement, even if it | Eide. means the election of the blackest reactionaries. This is what tion merit two comments: learn a trick or two about the labor slate.

Minneapolis campaign. On April 8 a citywide confer- most harm to the labor slateence of delegates from the in the middle class wards and trade unions, unemployed or in the Catholic parishes. The ganizations and Farmer-Labor leaflet did two things: to alienin Minneapolis, adopted a pro- its New Deal talk, and to alien- Minneapolis are. gressive labor platform and ate the middle class from Eide nominated union men and wo-by tagging him with support men as candidates for office. from the Communist Party. Because the conference refused On June 24 the Hennepin with good reason to align itself | County Council of the Communwith the discredited New Deal, ist Party circulated a post-electhe Communist Party carried tion statement to a selected list out its first dirty maneuver.

While still pretending to go wrong" with the labor camalong with the labor campaign, paign. the Communist Party prevailed | The very first point it makes upon Kleve Flakne, a lawyer is that "the objectives of the with no connections with or- New Deal (such as government ganized labor, to file for may- housing, increased aid to jobor against T. A. Eide, the la- less, opportunities for youth,

The Stalinist-controlled Hen- opolies, etc.) were not chamnepin County Farmer-Labor ex- pioned in a sufficiently clear-cut support to the labor campaign ership." n the primaries. Here again NEW DEAL SMELLS they ratted, and gave not one TO HIGH HEAVEN penny to the primary campaign | The truth is that the success Following the sensational hor candidates didn't touch the them the shabby promises of showing of the labor slate in New Deal with a ten-foot pole. Roosevelt again. the primaries, the Stalinists through the Hennepin County Minneapolis would laugh you cate the theory behind their FL machine tried to cover off the platform if you tried to sabotage of the Eide camthemselves by making a small tell him that the "objectives" paign: donation to the labor campaign. of the New Deal were better But their main aim was to housing, increased aid to the ites clearly reveals what would

work." STALINIST "SUPPORT"

A BODY BLOW

charge of the Trade Union Vol- feel this. unteer Campaign Committee.

lieve that a Stalinist bureau- All the virtues of the Minne- served and extended.

apolis labor campaign are In the final week of the cam- vices to the Stalinists!

"The local Democratic Party munist Party is not only a bit- bor slate became alarmed at failed to concern itself with or ter opponent of the tendency the political resurgence of the take an active part in the camtowards independent labor po- union movement. Two days be- paign while the Farmer-Labor itical action, but will con-fore the final vote, the Stalin-and trade union forces neglect sciously utilize the worst Tam- ists distributed tens of thous- ed to solicit its support." Quite many methods to stop the la- ands of leaflets "supporting" a point! Of course the New Deal The leaflet and its distribu-

fought the labor campaign. The New Deal is just as opposed as is proved by the record of Stal- 1. The leaflet distorted the the Republican Party to indeinism in the recent Minneapolis labor campaign by making it pendent labor politics. The New political campaign, and work- appear to be in support of the Deal friends of the Stalinists ers in other cities, in the Amer- New Deal status quo. Such a turned up in the Leach camp ican Labor Party movement in leaflet could only turn a union- through Leach's all-party com-New York and elsewhere, can ist or unemployed against the mittee, a hangover from the Stassen gubernatorial cam-Browderites by studying the 2. The leaflet was distributed paign of 1938. Workers everyprecisely where it would do the where can learn a valuable les-

son from this, too Later on in its analysis, the Communist Party feels the need to try to explain just how Ward Clubs held a conference ate the workers from Eide by New Dealish the people of

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

Greater confusion hardly exist. It was precisely because Stassen was the only anti-New Deal candidate in 1938 that he was elected. Had Benson and the Farmer-Labor ecutive committee was forced manner by the united front Party refused to tail the New to pledge financial and moral candidates or campaign lead- Deal in 1938, the Farmer-Laborites would have won a smashing victory. If the people of Minneapolis and Minnesota said anything at all in 1938. nor contributed anything in the that was achieved by the labor they said they were deathly way of rallying votes for Eide campaign was due in large sick of the New Deal and would and the rest of the labor slate. measure to the fact that the la- bury anyone who tried to sell

Finally, the Stalinists indi-

defeat Eide and the labor slate. jobless, opportunities for youth, be the character of the so-They continued their sabotage etc. The objective of the New called 'Labor' Party which of the campaign. After the Deal is imperialist war for the they propose to substitute for June 12 defeat, they whined benefit of America's Sixty the Farmer-Labor Association. that "nobody asked us to Families, and to this end they It would be an instrument to have long since sacrificed fight against the New Deal. . ." whatever progressive aims This is what the Communist they might have once pro- Party really fears-that the la-As the campaign neared its claimed. And don't think that bor movement will really forge end, the trade unionists in the Minneapolis workers don't a political party that will reject both Democratic and Re-"The campaign was confined publican machines, and will remembering the Stalinist almost exclusively to Farmer- fight for an independent labor tricks of other campaigns, ex- Labor and trade union ranks, line. Yes, the Trotskyites jealacted a pledge from the Com- failing actively to involve lib- ously guarded the indepenmunist Party in Minneapolis eral church groups, small busi- dence of the developing labor that it would not issue any lit- ness men, professionals and party movement in Minneapolerature "supporting" the labor other progressive middle class is. In our concluding article groups." This is the second next week we will indicate how Of course it was naive to be- point of the Stalinist document, this movement can be pre-

Their By James Burnham Government

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

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

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

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

Links in the Chain

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Preparations for Things to Come

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

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

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

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

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

In theory, these 650,000 will be eligible for reemployment after a month of patriotic starvation. However, the eleventh step demands that the total on the rolls be cut to a maximum of 2,000,000-

around 600,000 less than on July 1. The twelfth step is ingenious. It is called a readjustment of geographical wage differentials. At present, W.P.A. wage rates in the South are comparable to India or China-in many instances about \$3.50 per week. Under the hypocritical pretense of making wage differentials equal no more than variations in the cost of living, Roosevelt plans to slash WPA wages in the North and all industrial areas. He hopes that a minute rise in the Southern wage will buy off Southern workers from solidarity with their northern brothers, just as, in the case of the prevailing wage, he adjusts his blow to try to divide the skilled from the unskilled workers.

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

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