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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.

**One Out of Five**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**The War Crisis**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Labor Looks Through The Press**  
 By Arthur Hopkins

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

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

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

Major activity at the moment (at the Aberdeen Proving Grounds) is the assembling and testing three-inch anti-aircraft guns and cartridges. About 15 of the complete weapons are turned over to troops each week. Capable of hurling 20 to 30 shells a minute, each weighing 127 pounds, the gun is said to be more efficient than comparable equipment of other armies. I suppose these hopeful murderers call it a killer diller.

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

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

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

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

By HAL DRAPER

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

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

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

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

**THE REAL MOTIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**THE CLOVEN-HOOF OF "DEMOCRACY"**

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

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

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

By RAY ROBBINS

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

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

**GIVING THE WORKERS A BIG "LAUGH"**

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

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

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

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

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

Then, in a voice hardly above a whisper, the Daily Worker in its July 15 issue says:

"It would seem that President Roosevelt heeded bad advice in issuing a statement at the present time about the right to strike against the government."

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

The reportorial handling of the strike was even at a lower level than the falsification on the editorial page. The "left wing" New Dealers in Congress were given a big play, and news of the sweep of the nationwide strike was relegated to inside pages.

**TIMID ABOUT F.D.R.'S STRIKEBREAKING MOVES**

Especially timid was the Daily Worker when it dealt with the strike-breaking actions of Roosevelt's W.P.A. officials. When Harrington made public his vicious five day ruling, the Daily mumbled about "Harrington who has been cracking down with unexpected severity" in its July 12 issue.

Murphy had come out with a statement invoking the Federal law against the W.P.A. strikers. Under the fantastic headline, "Has No Complaint On W.P.A. Strikers, Says U. S. Attorney," the Daily Worker on July 9, tried to cover up for Murphy!

Although William Green is a pet bogey of the Daily, when he speaks in favor of F.D.R. he gets a big boost. On July 13, Green is quoted approvingly: "I refuse to believe the President will for a single moment stand for discrimination against workers who go out on strike."

**SUMS UP STRIKE AS "UNFORTUNATE EVENT"**

But the pay-off is the prominent space given to Newbold Morris's anti-strike declaration. Morris, president of the City Council of New York, is a darling of Stalinist progress. On July 12, Morris was quoted as follows in the Daily Worker:

"By ordering the strike you have given reactionary snipers at W.P.A. the opening they have long awaited."

That is the best way of summing-up the Daily Worker's attitude toward the W.P.A. strike: an unfortunate event, which endangers Roosevelt's reputation as a "friend of labor" and should fold up as quickly as possible—so that the peaceful work of writing post cards can go forward quietly.

**Their Government**  
 By James Burnham

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

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

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

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

**The Two-Party System Obscures**

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

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

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

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

**The New Deal in France**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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