

SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. III, No. 58 August 11, 1939

Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 5 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, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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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.

Roosevelt's Whip

A well-worn argument against a People's Vote on War is the charge that the people would be more subject to pressure and propaganda than Congress is. Is that so?

In December 1937 the Ludlow Resolution for a war referendum was lying buried in a subcommittee of the House. Under the rules, a petition was circulated to take it out of committee. A majority of Congressmen—218—signed the petition, making it effective, with more Congressmen waiting to sign if their names were needed. On January 10 a motion was made to discharge the committee, that is, to permit the House to discuss it. Strangely enough, *this was defeated*, even though a majority had already put themselves on record in favor of a debate on the question.

In the American Magazine for November 1938, Jim Farley explained what happened behind the scenes.

"I spent an entire day on the telephone asking Democratic members of the House of Representatives to vote against bringing up the war-referendum resolution. Many of them had already voted to discharge the resolution from the committee, the first move in the parliamentary skirmish, thus in effect committing themselves to its passage. Some members frankly said they were unable to go along with the administration. Others said they would stand by the administration and vote in the negative. This appeal by telephone had an influence in blocking consideration of the resolution."

Result: the motion to discharge the committee lost by the narrow margin of 21 votes.

How can the masses have confidence in Congress to represent their interests on the vital question of war, when a day's telephoning by Farley carries more weight with the Representatives than does the known desire of the people?

Reaction Advances

Congress has adjourned, after a session of seven months.

During those seven months not only Congress but the government as a whole, in legislative and executive and judicial branches, has had a perfect record.

Without a single exception visible to the naked eye, every step which the government has taken has been—*reactionary*.

That's something to be proud of, all right: that you can go through seven whole months without a hitch, without a reversal, without even a momentary change of direction.

In November, before Congress opened, Roosevelt gave the lead by starting the firing of the WPA workers. 300,000 hit the street before the opening day of Congress.

But Congress and the courts soon caught up with and surpassed the big chief.

The Faustel and the Apex Hosiery decisions—there the courts showed their stuff.

Cutting down the deficiency relief appropriation, the 18 months' rule on WPA, no new funds for housing—here was Congress going to town.

And President and Congress worked together on the billion cut in relief, the abolition of the prevailing wage, the two billion dollars armament appropriation.

During these seven months, the New Deal was buried. The War Deal, which is also a deal of social reaction, was put in its place.

Roosevelt did his best to keep the lead in the reactionary wave. With his words, "You cannot

strike against the government," he made plain that he is ready to go as far to the right as the Sixty Families demand.

But — as yet — he wasn't going quite fast enough to suit Wall Street, so in the last two weeks the opposition bloc in Congress took things into its own hands, and finished up the first stage of the job.

Who is to blame for reaction's mighty advance?

The Supreme Court used to get the rap a few years ago. But the Court hasn't had much to say this year.

Then the Republican Party. But the Republicans are a minority in Congress, and the Democrats have the Presidency.

Now some people are trying to tell us that John Garner is the real devil.

But look over the record: all factions of both parties, Roosevelt and his administrative appointees together with elected Congressmen both Republican and Democratic have done their share.

But what do you expect? Why shouldn't both Republicans and Democrats, right-wing and left-wing, all do the bidding of the Sixty Families?

The two parties they belong to are boss parties, and never pretended to be anything else. The Republican and Democratic parties daily swear their loyalty to capitalism, and pledge themselves to preserve and defend it.

The truth is that *we*, the workers of this country, are the ones to blame for the record of Congress in the session just finished.

We are to blame because we turn the government over to the boss parties, and through those parties to the bosses.

We are to blame because we don't take things into our own hands, and build *our own party*.

We are to blame because we sit back and let a boss government run things, instead of establishing *our own government*.

Nobody is going to do our work for us.

If we don't get going now, we will have to start in the concentration camps.

It would be a lot harder and a lot longer that way.

Defending 'Democracy'

The newspapers are having a hard time explaining away the fact that the great "democracies" are preparing for war against the totalitarian countries by becoming less and less democratic and more and more totalitarian.

In France the Daladier government has contemptuously kicked aside the external trappings of democratic government. Decrees are substituted for laws. Military courts and star-chamber proceedings are substituted for the so-called due process of law. Rigid censorship is substituted for the so-called "freedom of the press." Finally, parliament itself is thrown on the scrap heap and along with it the whole election machinery. There were supposed to be elections this year but for reasons of "national emergency" Daladier has postponed them until 1942.

In Great Britain all the supposedly honored traditions of legality are thrown aside to permit a ruthless campaign of persecution, arrest, and deportation of all Irishmen suspected of sympathizing with the republican cause. Over its own sharp protests—voiced even in the ranks of Chamberlain's own supporters, Parliament was forced to adjourn on the very eve of what were expected to be the most critical weeks of the summer. Chamberlain consoled them with the promise that he would call them back to approve anything he does in the meanwhile . . . i. e., when it will be too late to disapprove.

In this country the spokesmen for the Roosevelt War Deal are providing us with another spectacle of what our lords and masters really mean by this "democracy" they prate about in their arguments against the simple demand that the people be permitted to vote on the life-and-death issue of war. They are trying to tell us that "democracy" means that we are supposed to put our blind faith in a tiny group of divinely inspired "representatives" voted into office by the skulduggery and lies of the big American political machines!

What are these rulers so afraid of? In France Daladier and Co. have been telling the world that the "nation" is "united" as never before in support of the government's war program. Then why is Daladier afraid to hold an election to prove this support? Why is he afraid such an election will reveal "internal disunity"? Or is it rather that he fears he is not yet able to organize a gun-at-the-throat plebiscite as effectively as Hitler does?

The answer to all these questions is the same. These politicians all know that the "democracy" they want the people to die for is the bunk. They know it is only a fig leaf for the rule of the plutocracies they represent, the handful of ultra-powerful monopolists and financiers who are the real evil geniuses of the war crisis.

They know that a real democracy of the people would never permit them to continue their villainous effort to drive the peoples of the world into a death struggle in behalf of the profits and markets of the super-capitalists. They know that in a real democracy of the masses, of the workers, capitalism itself would no longer exist.

The Bankers Block Construction-- Blame the Unions, Says New Deal

New Deal Investigators Ignore Real Cause of Crisis In Construction Industry — Shielding the Bankers They Declare Prosecution Aimed at Building Unions

By RUTH JEFFREY
Why the paralysis of the construction industry? Seeking a culprit, Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold has pointed a finger at the building trades unions and has announced forthcoming prosecutions, aimed primarily at the unions.

Arnold's announcement got headlines. But one had to dig and dig, finally to find, on page 26 of the New York Times of July 26, the expert testimony before the Temporary National Economic Committee which thoroughly disproves Arnold's statement to that body.

"If one succeeded in reducing the wages of building laborers of all kinds by one-half," stated Dr. Kreps, of the T. N. E. C. consulting staff, "the net achievement so far as the carrying charges of the house are concerned would not be equal to that of cutting the interest rate from 5 to 4 per cent."

Further and equally damaging testimony, reported in the Appeal of August 1, was evidently considered unfit to print at all, and had to be culled from the hard-headed "Business Week," which doesn't bother to tell its industrial magazine-readers the lies which the daily press hands out.

FACTORS WHICH RUIN THE INDUSTRY

Three factors paralyze the construction industry. Exorbitant interest rates are maintained by the banks which, of course, have a monopoly on credit facilities. The banks also maintain high prices for the building sites, by their control of mortgage issuance.

A third factor which keeps housing expensive and therefore paralyzes the construction

industry, is the high cost of building materials. And this factor the banks are also responsible for, since the banks control the entire construction industry. This fact is not generally known and deserves some description.

Through interlocking directorates, 24 New York banks hold 6,250 directorships in industries, corporations of various kinds, insurance companies and other banks. Within this network the construction industry is securely held in the control of the banks.

Two banking houses largely dominate the construction companies—Morgan and Rockefeller.

In an arbitration proceeding in June, 1933, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, defending union wage and hour standards against the Mason Builders Association of the bosses, was able to show, in the union brief:

"1. That construction has been one of the many adjuncts of the great banking institutions.

"2. That there is a great network of interlocking directors between banks, construction companies, supply and material companies and between construction companies ostensibly engaged in competition, and that among the banks themselves there is an interlocking relation which makes possible the enforcement of a single policy in any given field.

BANKS DICTATE WAGE POLICY

"3. That it is and has been possible for the banks, beginning with the great private banking houses and continuing on down through the commercial banks to the construction

companies, to inspire and enforce a wage policy suitable to the banks.

"4. That it would be almost impossible for the construction companies to originate and enforce a wage policy not approved by the banks, under the conditions that have existed.

"5. That in conducting their operations the industry has had to figure, not only on a reasonable profit for the construction companies, but on a multiplication of profits to meet the profit requirements of a structure of layer upon layer of corporations, while wages have been no more than a necessary evil to be hurled in the race for profits."

Wage standards in the building and construction industry have long been under attack by the ruler-banks. The union, in the above-mentioned arbitration, showed that "the Chase National and the National City Bank issued official bulletins demanding wage reductions and denouncing the 5-day week."

The banks, in attacking union standards, not only seek to weaken the unions which challenge their absolute rule, but also seek to use the unions as a scape-goat upon which the wrath of a nation may be expended in such a housing crisis as exists today.

NEW DEAL DOES BANKS' DIRTY WORK

Thanks to the New Deal Congress, which has supplied to the New Deal Department of Justice the funds with which to hire a staff of 200 lawyers for its September "trust-busting" campaign, the attack upon union wage-scales in the building industry will be taken out of the hands of the over-worked banks and adequately pushed by the government. The trusts which the banks have formed, which make of the construction industry "an island surrounded by profit-taking devices," will sit on the sidelines and watch the fun.

The unions are to be the scapegoat for the housing crisis and paralysis of construction. As for the real causes—exorbitant interest rates, artificially high prices of building sites and construction materials—these the Assistant Attorney General mentioned only to say: "Such remedies are not within the scope of this report." (N. Y. Times, July 8). Within the scope of his report Arnold chose to include only the prosecution of the labor unions.

A VICTORY FOR FOURTH INT'L IN INDO-CHINA

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

You must be acquainted with the results of the colonial elections of last April 30 in Cochinchina (Cochin-China). Despite the shameful coalition of the bourgeoisie of all types and the Stalinists, we have won a shining victory. . . .

We went to battle, the flag of the Fourth International widely unfurled. Our victory is one of all the Fourth over the bourgeoisie, naturally, but above all, over their social-democratic and Stalinist agents. We have faith in the final victory of the proletariat, that is, in the victory of the Fourth International.

This faith you have imparted to us. Today, more than ever, we understand the importance not only of the program of the Fourth International, but also of your struggle of 1925-28 against the theory and practice of socialism in one country, of your struggle against the peasants' international, the anti-imperialist league and other show committees, Amsterdam-Pleyel and others.

In these days of hope engendered by our recent victory, we think of you, of the moral and physical sufferings that you and your comrades have endured. We want to say to you that even in this remote corner of the Far East, in this backward country, you have friends who agree with you, comrades who struggle for that to which you have devoted your life, for socialism, for communism!

Our affectionate, Bolshevik-Leninist salutations.
Phan-van-Hum
Tran-van-Thach
Ta-thu-Thau, and
the group La Lutte
May 18, 1939

CIO Unionmen Back AFL In Colorado PWA Strike

By J. T. MALLEY

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DENVER, Colo., Aug. 3—Hell broke loose yesterday at the site of the Federal government's Green Mountain Dam Project near Kremmling, Colorado, high in the Rockies, and about 150 miles west of Denver, when six union pickets were shot, one seriously wounded by the county sheriff's "deputies," who are busily engaged in maintaining "law and order" at the struck project.

On July 12, five unions, affiliates of the A.F.L., including the operating engineers, the plasterers and cement finishers, the bridge and structural iron workers, and the hod carriers and laborers, struck for the closed shop, and union recognition. The Warren Construction Co. of Chicago, contractor on the project, has consistently

refused to recognize the unions. The strike was declared illegal under the laws of the state which require that 30 days notice be given the State Industrial Commission before the men down tools. IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE LAW WAS DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL BY A COLORADO COURT A FEW YEARS AGO.

Things remained peaceful until August 1 when a "back to work" movement of 200 men composed almost entirely of local business men and farmers smashed the picket lines and took over the project camp. Sheriff John H. Lee, who is fast becoming the "darling" of the local vigilantes and the Warren Construction Co., immediately deputized all of the "Committee of 200," declaring "I am deputizing the men who want to go back to work because I feel they have a right to work and I mean to hold the camp for them."

The strikers immediately called to Denver for reinforcements where 600 men had walked off local PWA construction jobs in sympathy with the strikers. 60 Denver sympathizers were enroute to the dam site in automobiles when they were repulsed from barricades erected near the project by the

local vigilante "Committee of 200," who fired on the sympathizers, hitting two. Four pickets had been shot by them earlier in the day, one shot in the head.

The "Committee" demolished most of the phones in the town to prevent the strikers from getting outside help, and they were maintaining a strict censorship over the remaining phones in town. Having shot off their faces and their guns, the Committee has succeeded in getting the governor to declare that a state of "Insurrection" exists in the county.

As usual the Sheriff declared that the strikers had fired the first shots. But all the strikers and sympathizers had been searched twice in the last two days by the vigilantes and no weapons had been found.

The CIO United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, through Reid Robinson, international president, issued the following statement: "We of the CIO Miners and Tunnel Workers Union (affiliate of the UMM&SW) have every reason to know that the State Industrial Commission, is a primary cause of vigilantism and industrial disorder in this state, acting as a strike breaking agency instead of attempting to bring about genuine bargaining."

"In this issue we stand shoulder to shoulder with these AFL victims of officially condoned brutality and terror."

"We hold Governor Carr, the industrial commission and the sheriff who deputized and armed the strikebreakers jointly responsible for what has happened at Green Mountain and for any further violence that may occur."

Call One Day Stoppage

"In line with this attitude our local union, Colorado Tunnel Workers at Idaho Springs, operating under contract on the Williams Fork tunnel, will call a one-day strike to protest this flagrant violation of the fundamental rights of Colorado labor and this return to a regime of bloodshed instead of fair dealing."

To stop this "flagrant violation of the rights of labor," to smash this growing vigilante and fascist movement there is only one solution which the labor leaders and the rank and file must adopt or perish, they must organize Workers Defense Guards to protect themselves against another and more Green Mountains.

The strike, involving about 500 men, will continue until it is settled to the satisfaction of the men.

Their Government By James Burnham

Of all forms of politics, "centrism" is the lowest. Centrism in politics is the equivalent of hypocrisy in personal morality. The centrist, without a firm program or clear perspective of his own, tries to make a career out of playing the left wing against the right. He talks big and acts little. Today he is a radical and tomorrow a conservative. His words never correspond to his deeds.

In confused times, the centrist can for a while make most people, including himself, think he is God Almighty. But, as the lines get drawn more sharply, every centrist meets the same fate: he is first squeezed and then crushed between the right and the left: He squawks and yowls a bit, and then either capitulates or gets thrown into the junkheap. As a matter of fact, he usually ends up in the junkheap even when he capitulates, since both right and left have only contempt for him.

Roosevelt as Centrist

In relation to boss politics generally, and specifically in relation to his own party, Roosevelt is a centrist. He is an outstanding, shrewd and brilliant centrist, true enough, but not all his qualities exempt him from the operation of the general laws of his kind of politics.

Basing himself upon wide mass support among the people, he has tried to raise himself above the factional struggle within the Democratic Party. He has thought that, with the help of Farley and the party's center, he could mediate between and reconcile the right wing (Garner) and the left (John L. Lewis).

While always serving the interests of the right wing in major matters, for five years most of his speeches and some of his acts were designed to appease the left. In the confusion of 1933-38, this worked well enough; but times have grown harder, the crisis sharper, and the right wing more definite in what it wants, so that the right now demands an end to playing around.

After getting a taste of the right wing whip in the defeat of the Supreme Court expansion plan, the first bill for Executive reorganization, and the failure of the "purge", Roosevelt—who, like all centrists, is a coward—was willing and anxious to buckle down.

From last November on, he has tried to prove to the right, in action, that he is ready to do their bidding. He began the drive against the unemployed. He set the shamefully low figure for the new WPA appropriation. His man, Harrington, demanded the end of the prevailing wage. He appointed the right-winger, Leiserson, to the Labor Board, and compelled the Board to alter its rules in favor of employers. He revised taxation along the Wall Street lines. He appointed McNutt, the Hoosier Hitler. He announced to the world that "You cannot strike against the government". He stopped the sniping at the private Utilities.

In other words, Roosevelt abandoned the substance of the New Deal, insofar as the New Deal meant those social concessions to the masses which were the stock-in-trade of the Democratic Party's reformist left wing.

The Ungrateful Right Wing

Having thus given the right wing virtually all it demanded, having done its dirty work for it (as is the universal custom with centrists), Roosevelt doubtless expected a little gratitude. He must have felt he had the "right" to some party harmony and a few minor face-saving bills to patch up his record with "the people". He sent along to Congress his fake "spending-lending" bill, which didn't amount to a pinch of snuff anyway, and a bill for increased authorization for housing loans (though the present authorization is by no means used up by his snail-paced housing program).

But when a right wing gets going, it develops a prodigious appetite. And it delights in humiliating a centrist, as well as defeating him, in order to teach him a few lessons for the future.

Roosevelt's capitulation, far from pacifying the right wing, only hardened it. The bloc with the Republicans was, in the last weeks of the session, solidified into a working majority, and the President was mercilessly pounded with one sharp blow after another. Not only were all of his proposals thrown out of the window, but the Hatch Bill, planned to weaken his influence on the Party machinery, was thrust down his throat. Roosevelt, cutting the same contemptible figure as all centrists under the same circumstances, could do nothing but sit back impotently; and, in spite of whining complaints to the press, did not have the guts even to veto the Hatch Bill.

Meanwhile the miserable left wing of the Democratic Party, whose whole policy boils down to "put faith in Roosevelt", tried to cover its own bankruptcy with a rhetorical demonstration: John L. Lewis' denunciation of Garner.

What's Left for Roosevelt

The session of Congress just ended has written fins to the New Deal chapter. The New Deal has gone, and no one has the power to summon it back. It went, basically, because its socio-economic function in the United States was finished; and this was reflected by the political collapse of its previous supporters, and the rise to control of its opponents.

If the internal situation were all that had to be taken into account, we could now say that Roosevelt would have finished his important part in U.S. politics and would be on his way out of the picture—except perhaps for window-dressing in the future.

One element of Rooseveltism, however, remains, and this is enough to take precedence, by itself, over all the rest: his war. On the issue of foreign policy and the war, Roosevelt remains the first and authentic spokesman for U.S. imperialism. "The Great Reformer" is as dead as the decaying remnants of the sloppy pseudo-reforms of his New Dealism. What remains politically alive is only the chief War-Monger.

In a recent issue of the Socialist Call, organ of the Thomastite Socialist Party, the legend, "Stalin's office boy," appears under a picture of David Lasser. We always thought that Lasser was Thomas' office boy. Just shows how we don't keep up with the news.

THE WORKERS ALLIANCE
A meeting on the St. Paul capitol steps voted unanimously to support President Roosevelt and his efforts "to give the workers and unemployed a decent relief bill."