

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

Vol. III, No. 69 September 13, 1939

Published twice a week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-5147  
(Published three times a week beginning Sept. 9)

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 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.

Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN  
Associate Editors: FELIX MORROW, EMANUEL GARRETT  
General Manager: MARTIN ABERN  
Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

**FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:**

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An Independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

**The Special Session**

President Roosevelt has announced that he will call a special session of Congress, probably for October 2.

Why has he waited so long to take the step which he promised months ago to take as soon as war in Europe "is certain"?

The reasons are crystal-clear. Roosevelt knows that the American people are emphatically opposed to this country's involvement in the war, and that if Congress had been called as originally scheduled, this sentiment would have found expression—even if in inadequate and distorted form.

Therefore his aim is first to whip up sentiment and forces for his pro-war plans, and then to have Congress act as a rubber-stamp.

He knows that the overwhelming majority of the masses are in favor of a people's referendum before the United States can engage in any war.

Therefore he seeks to defeat that popular demand by shouting for "national unity" in support of his war program—"this is no time for dissension." He is moving heaven and earth to limit debate at the special session by prior agreement.

He knows that, if he succeeds in getting this country into the war, democratic rights and the inadequate social legislation of the last few years—the National Labor Relations Act, the Hours and Wages Act, etc.—will be destroyed by the dictatorial Industrial Mobilization Plans.

Therefore he unleashes a campaign against "sabotage, espionage, and subversive activities" to pave the way for the coming reactionary measures against labor.

He knows that the masses are looking to the special session for larger appropriations for relief, for re-establishment of the union wage on WPA, for actions against the Wall Street profiteers and speculators.

Therefore he seeks to confine the business of the special session exclusively to two pro-war steps: increased war appropriations and to lift the embargo on arms, implements of war and airplanes for the benefit of imperialist England and France.

Roosevelt's insidious scheme to drag the United States into the war is enthusiastically supported by the press—from the Hearst papers to the Daily Worker—the radio, and the pulpit of all denominations.

Like Woodrow Wilson in 1916, Roosevelt cloaks his pro-war moves by public avowals for "peace" and "neutrality"—while secretly taking actions to involve the country in the war at the moment when it would best serve the interests of big business.

Above all, he seeks to destroy the genuine an-

ti-war sentiments of the masses.

We must act now if we are to defeat his plans!

In the shops and factories, in the unions and fraternal organizations, in the streets, wherever workers discuss the question of war—in a word, everywhere—we must clearly expose his real aims.

Above all, the trade unions must formulate their own proposals for the special session of Congress. The progressives must demand that the unions act against Roosevelt's war moves now!

Against the lifting of the embargo.  
Against increased military appropriations. Not a cent, not a man for Roosevelt's imperialist war.

For a peoples' referendum before the United States can enter any war.

Against the dictatorial Industrial Mobilization Plan.

Against all anti-alien and criminal syndicalist laws.

For the defense and extension of all the democratic rights of the people.

For the immediate national independence of Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Hawaii.

For the repeal of the Woodrum WPA wage-cutting Act.

For a twenty billion dollar housing program.

Roosevelt has his program for the special session: a pro-war program. Labor must launch its own program against Roosevelt. Stop Roosevelt! That must be the watch-word of the labor movement in the fight against war.

**Conspiracy of Silence**

Roosevelt by executive order, without consultation of Congress, has just enormously expanded the personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

What use will these secret service agents be put to?

An answer is provided by what has been happening in Minneapolis. FBI agents by the score were sent there by Attorney General Murphy during the recent WPA strike. Disguised as pickets, they mingled with the strikers—in other words, they played the role of political-police, agents-provocateur—and, acting on Roosevelt's "You can't strike against the government," prepared cases against the strikers. These FBI agents were the chief witnesses before a Federal grand jury, convened on Murphy's orders, which indicted 103 strikers under a Relief Law provision prohibiting "interference" with W. P. A. workers.

Older workers remember the notorious strike-breaking role of the FBI during and after the last war. Under Attorney General Stone that was supposed to have been ended. Now we discover that under Murphy the FBI has again become a political police—an anti-labor body.

If these facts were generally known, the entire labor movement would be alarmed at Roosevelt's expansion of the FBI.

But the facts are not known. The government's extraordinary prosecutions in Minneapolis have not been reported nationally in the press! Even the defense of the Minneapolis prisoners by William Green, president of the AFL, in Duluth on Labor Day, was not carried by the press services!

Here is a significant instance of how the kept press is working hand in hand with Roosevelt in putting over his preparations for a war dictatorship.

**The French C. P.**

William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor, is authority for the statement that the French Communist Party has virtually collapsed. In a Sept. 8 dispatch he writes:

"Advices from Paris reveal that the French Communist Party has been virtually destroyed by the Reich-Soviet pact. Its leaders are now considering formation of a 'National Communist' party, but there is doubt that even this is possible. . . ."

"More than 50 per cent of the party membership resigned during the first five days following the formation of the Berlin-Moscow axis, including approximately half of the Communist members of the Chamber of Deputies."

**All Is Not Milk and Honey for the 'Highly Paid' Building Workers**

The Facts Show that the Average Weekly Income of these Labor "Aristocrats" Is \$11—Vigilant Unionism Is Their Sole Defense against Being Bled White by Banker-Boss

By RUTH JEFFREY  
"Say, those union building workers striking for \$2 an hour on WPA don't get my sympathy. That makes \$90 for a 40-hour week. I'm a lawyer and I don't get any \$80 a week. I tell you, it's better to be a brick-layer!"

We have all heard remarks like these in the recent weeks of the national strike to preserve the prevailing wage on WPA construction jobs. So many people have in their minds a picture of a labor aristocracy fattening in the midst of the depression. Yet, if we stop to think, we all know the gaunt depression figure of the unemployed painter, plasterer, plumber, stone-worker.

It is time to get down to the truth about the wages of building and construction workers. Let us review the facts and the figures:

Unions estimate the total number of days it is possible for a building worker to work as 161 a year. This figure is arrived at through the following table, compiled on the basis of their own actual experience:

Total no. of days a year	365
No. of Sundays	52
Holidays by agreement	313
Saturdays not worked	52
Rainy days (13 yr. period)	254
Cold days (43 yr. period)	32
Aver. no. days consumed looking for work	203
Aver. days sickness or absenteeism	22
Aver. no. days lost waiting for material and delays caused by employers	181
	9
	172
	11
	161

**WHAT BUILDING WORKERS ACTUALLY EARN**

Building workers and their

families must be fed, clothed and housed, however, not 161 days in the year, but 365.

It is a matter of record, though, that in the very best years of building activity, before the depression, construction workers averaged not more than 100 days of work during the year.

But these are not years of prosperity. Thomas A. Murray, President of the AFL Building and Construction Trades Council of New York, states that, since the depression descended ten years ago, workers have been considering themselves lucky to average 50 days of employment during the year.

The aristocracy of labor, it would then appear, has been subsisting for ten years now on an actual average weekly income of \$11 per week! During the 1933 depths of the depression, according to union records, this figure fell to \$8.50!

And these averages, as the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union put it, in a recent arbitration proceeding, "are tricky things too. For while there is an average, there are those below the average; and many of our members have been at the absolute zero point below the average, with no income whatever from the industry that has claimed their services and that continually demands that they be available for peak operations to be 'stuck on the walls as thick as they'll stick'."

**THE INDUSTRY MUST SUPPORT ITS WORKERS**

It adds, defending itself against a wage attack by the Master Builders Association of the bosses, "The employers may relate these wages to the man hours spent on the job. We relate them to the men called into this industry by the employers and we deny that there is any other just relation."

"No plea of poverty among employers," the union states, "can erase the staggering and condemning fact that this industry is starving our members to death and would be star-

ing them to death were the wage scale ten times its present amount. We do not know now employers, having assumed the role and functions of employers, can deny their responsibility."

There is no longer a place on the job for the worker who attains an average rate of speed; only the fastest are able to keep up with the pace set.

"From 1919 to 1929," reads the union brief referred to above, "the output per worker employed in the United States in industry increased approximately 43 per cent. The depression has brought an almost frenzied effort to step up further and more rapidly the output per man."

**IRRESPONSIBLE BANKS BLEED THE WORKERS**

We quote further from this highly revealing union document:

"Interest rates and multiple bonding and financing charges add burdens to the industry, which seems to know as a means of economy only the ancient device of cutting wages, so that the workers may bear the whole burden of loss, while the possessors of wealth retain all the avenues of gain."

This is outlined the actual situation in the construction industry. Union standards must be defended militantly, for they are the only factors in the entire industry which protect the workers from being bled completely white by the ruler-banks—which control financing, real estate and the supply and construction companies, and which for years have organized attacks upon wage standards.

The entire labor movement must be kept alive to the danger facing this group of unionized workers, who are under attack both by Congress, and by the Attorney General's office which calls them a "trust restraining trade." The "New" Deal must not be permitted to succeed in its drive to aid the banks in smashing union wage scales in the construction industry. Support of the WPA strike for the prevailing wage must not be relaxed.

**Has the Gallup Poll Become Part Of War Propaganda Machine?**

(Continued from Page 1)  
cent, according to the Gallup figures. To be sure, this is still a majority of the people, but the Gallup news release (New York Times, September 10) emphasizes the decline in the vote.

**A Different Question!**  
(1) The question which was posed in the latest survey was worded as follows: "Should the Constitution be changed to require a national vote before Congress could draft men for war overseas?"

Although neither the Gallup news release nor the Times comments gives the slightest indication to the contrary, this question is NOT the Ludlow proposal for a war referendum but a DIFFERENT proposal. The Ludlow resolution calls for a national vote before the U.S. may enter into warfare. The Gallup question asks about a vote on the draft, assuming that the U.S. is already in the war.

Says the news release: "The question itself is based on the proposal of General Hugh Johnson. . . . Johnson made this proposal for a vote on the draft as a substitute for a vote on entering war, which he opposed. Representative Ham Fish was another who counterposed the draft-referendum to a war referendum. Yet the Gallup release and the Times blandly compare the percentages on the

two proposals, without mentioning that they are different and that they have evoked different line-ups even in the past.

**Objections Don't Apply**  
(2) The significance of this sleight-of-hand is easily demonstrated. The Institute's release mentioned that the strongest argument given by those opposed to the proposal, among the people who were canvassed, was "that such a vote would consume valuable time in a period of crisis. . . ."

From the point of view of the average man, this objection has many times more validity as an argument against a referendum on the draft after the U.S. was already in the war, than as an objection to a referendum on whether the U.S. should enter the war at all. Obviously, once war is declared, every minute counts for the mobilization of the war machine, but the same reasoning would not apply to the vote on whether we should enter the war.

(3) The question itself is a fake. While a constitutional amendment would be necessary to put the Ludlow resolution into effect, IT WOULD NOT BE NEEDED FOR A NATIONAL VOTE ON THE DRAFT. The Constitution specifically puts the war-making power in the hands of Congress, but a simple decision by the Congress is enough to effect a draft refer-

endum.

**Were Negroes Consulted?**  
(4) The figures given by the Institute on regional distribution of the vote raise further questions. The principal factor in driving the vote for the proposal down was the South. Here, 63 per cent were against the referendum idea and only 37 per cent for. This is way out of line with the other regions. While the Institute has made no statement on its methods of sampling the Southern population, one may wonder whether they are like the Southern states' methods in handling electoral votes. How much weight was given to the Negro population in the South, and the sharecroppers? Or are we to believe that the Southern Negroes are more inclined to trust the Congress' discretion in drafting them for war than are the white workers in the North?

The region with the next highest percentage of anti-referendum votes is given as the West, traditionally a region of isolationist sentiment. Even New England gave returns more favorable to the referendum proposal.

If Dr. Gallup has enlisted in the War Board's propaganda section (and we cannot doubt that they would appreciate his services), he should cease posing as an impartial recorder of the public's pulse.

**Their Government**  
By James Burnham

Roosevelt is back on top of the heap. When he realized that his internal policy was hopeless, that it was collapsing miserably, he gambled his entire stake on the war. And he won.

When he brings together his special session of Congress, he will resume the command that he lost in July. He will call the tune, and a big majority will swing into the dance. Full speed ahead toward the war!

But let us hope that no one will be so simple as to imagine that this will mean a revival of the New Deal. It will not be the dead Roosevelt of the dead New Deal who takes the helm, but the Roosevelt of the War Deal. And the War Deal will hand out short shrift to those who try to remind it of the old promises of "reform" and "the more abundant life".

The aim of the War Deal, on a world scale, is to bring the United States into the war in such a way that American imperialism will dictate the war settlement. Internally, the aim of the War Deal is, in the shortest possible time, to fasten on the people of the United States a totalitarian military dictatorship—a dictatorship which will never be lifted so long as American imperialism survives.

That will be the reward to the American people for dying in the "crusade against Hitler" abroad: totalitarian dictatorship at home.

**Roosevelt on Easy Street**

It is certain that Roosevelt plans to send this country into the war well before the party conventions next Spring. If he succeeds, he takes it for granted that his nomination for a third term (and his election) are in the bag. Who will dare oppose him? He will be able to take chief personal credit for the war, will he not? And he has good grounds for his anticipations.

Roosevelt is the leading, and most skillful war-monger in the United States. There is, in fact, substantial reason to believe that Roosevelt's march toward the war is considerably faster than that desired by the Sixty Families themselves, and by the economic needs of American imperialism. The Sixty Families would like a maximum interval for war-time super-profits under conditions of formal neutrality, with direct military intervention delayed until the decisive last stages of the war. Then, with all the European powers exhausted, they could make sure that "victory" would guarantee not merely the crushing of Germany—which is only one part of the purpose of the Sixty Families in the war—but firm dominance over their "allies" as well. American imperialism does not want any victors in this war except itself.

But all of Roosevelt's actions since his Chicago address of October, 1937, prove that he is impatient for the role of war-lord, that he wants to become "world-leader" from the outset—and, in the process, save his own political carcass from being thrown into discard.

It is reported on good authority that one big factor in Great Britain's decision to precipitate war this autumn was the fact that Roosevelt was entering the last year of his second term of office, and, without a war, would have had little chance for a third term. Though Great Britain would in any case have counted on U.S. aid, it would not have been so sure of enormous and rapid aid from another President.

Everyone is so convinced of Roosevelt's intentions that his declaration of the embargo required by the Neutrality Act had not the slightest dampening effect on the rise of the "war baby" stocks, or the stepped up speed of production of military planes for export. Roosevelt proposes, everyone knows, to transform large sections of American industry into a base of supplies for England and France which will be free of the risk of German bombers.

**The Forgotten Man again Forgotten**

Meanwhile, WPA dismissals are still continuing; the rolls are down below 2,000,000 now. It is no doubt unpatriotic to mention such details when everyone should be practising up for the trenches. Still worse, I imagine, to recall that, according to the record, it is not Hitler who has thrown 1,500,000 WPA workers into the streets in less than a year.

How convenient for Roosevelt, this war! Here is your blanket cure-all; no more talk is in order now about unemployment and starvation and misery and wretched houses and mounting debts and taxes. And here is your ticket for an express ride to a third term.

It is unutterably tragic that even a single worker believes he can defeat Hitlerism by supporting Roosevelt's war plans and his war to come. By such support we only strengthen Hitler at home, since he can then prove to the German workers that they are deserted by their brothers in other nations who fight to defend the colonies and profits of "their own" imperialisms. And in this country, by such support we give a free hand to reaction, we necessarily abandon all struggle for jobs and decent living conditions, and we accept in advance the totalitarian dictatorship which Roosevelt's subordinates and his Morgan-Rockefeller-Dupont War Resources Board have prepared to the last item. By such support we make certain the victory, not of Hitler perhaps, but of Hitlerism, throughout the world.

To Roosevelt's call for national unity in the crisis, it has never been so important to reply: Against the national unity of the imperialists! For unity of the working class in uncompromising class struggle against Roosevelt and his war and his reaction!

**MASS MEETING Tuesday, Sept. 19, 8:30 p. m.**

**EUROPE IN FLAMES**

*Eyewitness Report of War-Torn Europe*

*Albert Goldman, Recently Returned from Europe, Will Speak*

**Irving Plaza, Irving Place at 15th St.**

**Auspices: Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, Fourth International. 116 University Place, N.Y.C. Admission 25c**