

# TAKE SLAVE WAGES OR STARVE! DECLARES 'PINK SLIP' ROOSEVELT

## Let the People Vote on War!

By JAMES BURNHAM

III

### The Opposition to the War Referendum

SEVERAL years ago, Representative Ludlow of Indiana put the war referendum plan into a resolution which he introduced in the House of Representatives; and last year his resolution came up for a test vote in the House. From association with his name, the plan is often referred to as the "Ludlow amendment." It should be noticed that Ludlow's original bill did not embody the plan in its simple and direct form. He attached a proviso: the popular referendum was not to be held if the mainland of the United States were invaded.

Ludlow has re-introduced his resolution, with several more provisos, at the present session of Congress; and a similar resolution has been sponsored in the Senate by a group of Senators headed by LaFollette of Wisconsin. In both of the current resolutions, the referendum would not operate if either the mainland of the United States or any of its territories and possessions or any part of Latin America were invaded or immediately threatened by invasion. In other words, the present Ludlow and LaFollette resolutions provide for a referendum only in the case of a war conducted by the United States in Europe, Asia or Africa. Congress would otherwise retain the present Constitutional right to declare war.

### What Is Behind the Opposition?

It might be supposed that these sweeping provisos—about which I shall have something to say in the next section—would remove all the "objections" to the plan. Does not everyone from Roosevelt down assure us that the United States will never go to war for "aggressive" purposes, that the young men of this country will never again be sent to fight abroad, that the armament of the United States is being built up for purely defensive purposes? What possible objection can they have when the people ask to vote, not on all wars, but just on those obviously and blatantly aggressive wars which they say the United States will never fight?

Nevertheless, the fight against the war referendum plan, in any and all of its forms, has from the beginning been as powerful and bitter as the strength of its opponents can bring to bear. Through every channel of public opinion, speech and newspaper and magazine and pulpit, the attack has been conducted.

What lies behind this fierce opposition to this plan, approved of by more than two-thirds of the people? The people have the right to know.

Among the sharp opponents of the war referendum, we discover: the heads of the Democratic Party, including Roosevelt and his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull; the heads of the Republican Party, including Herbert Hoover, Alfred M. Landon, and the influential Henry L. Stimson, Hoover's Secretary of State; the Liberty League, and the American Legion officials; all of the most powerful newspapers, particularly the most reactionary newspapers such as the New York *Herald-Tribune* and the New York *Times*, and the Chicago *Tribune*; all of the most widely read of the big-shot columnists, especially Walter Lippman, General Hugh S. Johnson, and Dorothy Thompson; and the Communist Party.

For the most part, the attacks on the war referendum plan are in a tone of hysterical frenzy; all supporters of the plan are denounced as "unpatriotic" and it is suggested that they are influenced by paid propaganda agents of foreign nations: the lack of real arguments is covered by heavy flag-waving and big adjectives.

### Arguments Hold No Water

When we examine the arguments which some of the opponents try sometimes to put forward, they boil down to three: (1) the referendum would be contrary to "our representative theory of government" established by the Constitution; (2) holding a referendum would show other nations that "the country is divided"; (3) the requirement of a referendum before entering a war would "hamper" the government in its foreign policy.

Each of these arguments is a complete absurdity from the point of view of genuine democracy.

Granted that the United States has a representative form of government. But what is the government supposed to represent? The will of the people, presumably. No question could be more important than that of war. If those who claim to be representatives of the people believed that the nation should enter a war, then a popular vote on the issue could only help to prove whether they were in truth

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## Minnesota Labor Honors Its Martyr

A.F.L.-C.I.O. Resolution Places Responsibility  
for Violence Against W.P.A. Strikers on  
Federal and Local Administrations

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 16—Organized labor will honor with a mass funeral this week its martyr, Emil Bergstrom, the unemployed worker killed by a police bullet in the Friday evening attack on the W.P.A. picket lines.

The Joint Action Committee, constituted by all the labor organizations of the city, sent a committee to Governor Stassen Saturday which demanded that all W.P.A. projects stay closed, and that there be no more violence and provocation against the workers by the police. The committee agreed to meet with state W.P.A. administrator Glotzbach Monday only if all Minneapolis projects stay closed. Later in the day, after telephoning his chief, Harrington, in Chicago, Glotzbach announced the projects would stay closed. The Joint Action Committee had won its point!

Responsibility for the murder of Bergstrom and the shooting and injury of 24 others was laid at the door of the Roosevelt administration in a sharply worded resolution adopted Saturday afternoon by a meeting of all union business agents and officials, including both A.F.L. and C.I.O.

The resolution is undoubtedly a landmark in the militant development of the American labor movement. It deserves quotation in its entirety: "Whereas this combined united front of Minneapolis labor holds that the murderous assault of the Minneapolis police grew directly from the actions of persons and agencies named below, and

"Whereas this tragic attack by police upon workers, innocent bystanders and children present, came as a direct result of the actions of the persons and agencies named below, and

"Whereas this tragic attack by police upon workers, innocent bystanders and children present, came as a direct result of the actions of the persons and agencies named below, and

"The police said Federal agents, cruising the scene in a car to determine whether there had been unlawful interference with persons desiring to work, also loosed gas upon the crowd."

This paragraph was part of the story appearing in the midnight edition of the *Times*. The later editions appeared WITHOUT IT.

low; and is not understandable without the policies and actions taken by these persons and these agencies.

"Be it Resolved: That the combined united labor front of A.F.L., C.I.O., Workers Alliance and the Federal Workers Section of Local 544 places direct responsibility and blame for the Minneapolis situation upon:

"1. The present contemptuous and unyielding policy of the Works Progress Administration, national, state and local, as witnessed by the actions of Colonel Harrington toward the

## S.W.P. LEADS ANTI-COUGHLIN PICKET LINE

Anti-Fascist Arrested  
For Protesting Police  
Interference

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PHILA., Pa., July 15—Despite a detail of more than 200 police and plainclothesmen, who forbade any picketing or holding of street corner meetings, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League went through with their demonstration against a Coughlinite meeting held last night at the Metropolitan Opera House.

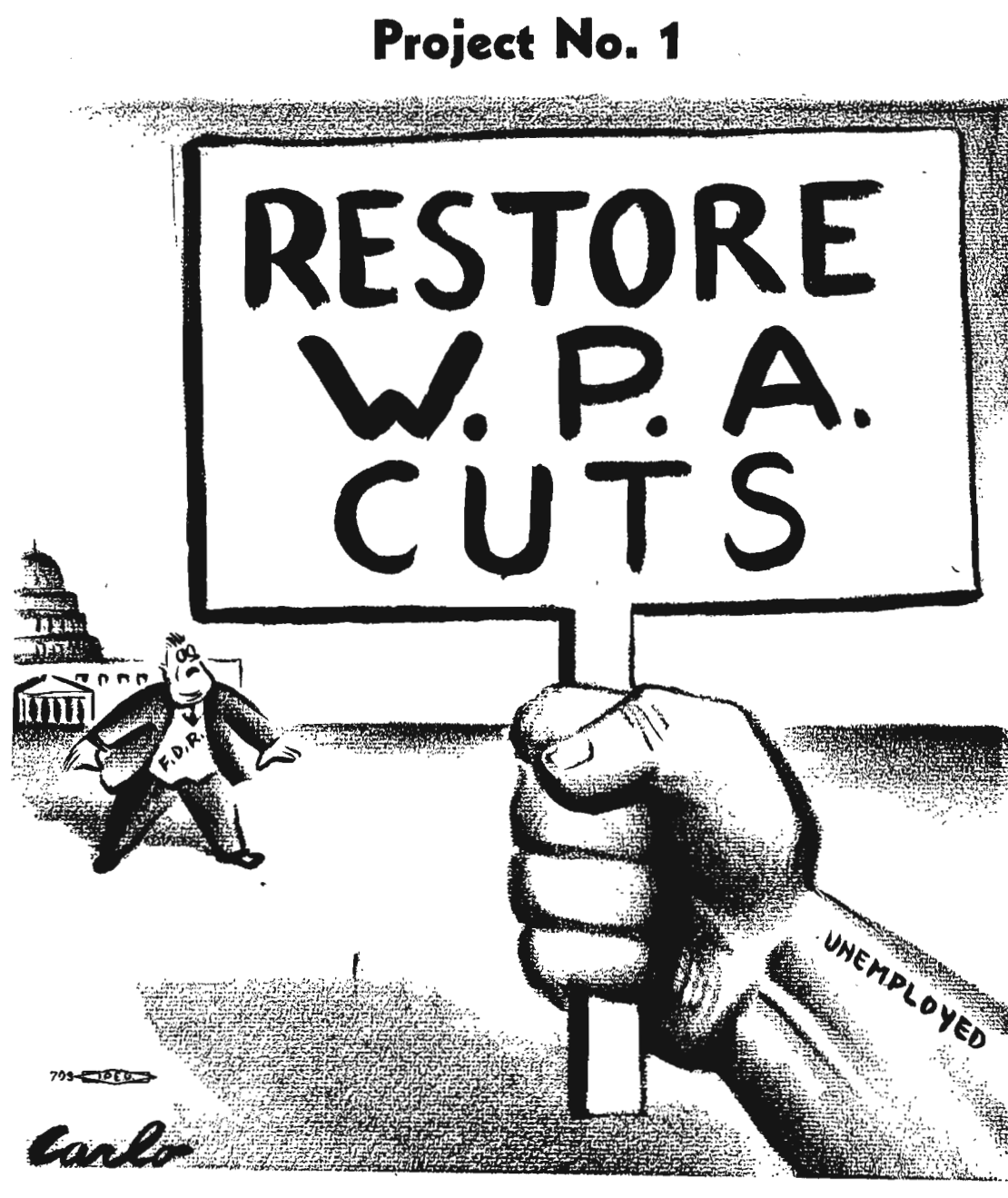
The picket line, with banners high and singing loudly, marched down Broad Street until they were besieged by a cordon of cops a half block away from the "Met". Denied permission to proceed further by the police who outnumbered the pickets, the demonstrators turned their banners toward Broad Street where the masses could see them, and then continued voicing their anti-fascist slogans.

When Lou Roberts, a non-party picket attempted to address the crowd on Broad Street and explain that the demonstrators were being denied their elementary civil rights, and that the Coughlinites were always given permission and protection to picket radio stations that did not carry the Coughlin speech every Sunday, he was immediately seized and brutally thrown into a patrol wagon.

The S.W.P. legal defense staff had him released in less than an hour from the station house where he was charged with unlawful assembly. At the magistrate's hearing Roberts was held in \$500 bail for a further hearing. The S.W.P. furnished the bail to release him from the County prison where he was committed.

Coughlin addressed the audience by a direct telephone wire from Royal Oak, Mich. He went through his usual diatribes against the "Communists" in the trade unions.

Join the Socialist  
Workers Party



## News From WPA Strike Fronts Shows Picket Lines Hold Solid

### An Education in Politics

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
ST. PAUL, Minn.—Heard on the strike front from a W.P.A. worker:  
8:00 A.M.—Those are lies of the Boss papers! Roosevelt is not against the workers.  
9:00 A.M.—That's strange, I thought Roosevelt was with us.  
10:00 A.M.—By —, Roosevelt didn't say anything against the cuts, did he?  
11:00 A.M.—Jiminy, he's been fooling us all the while.  
12:00 Noon—He's nothing but No. 1 strike-breaker.  
1:00 P.M.—What? The Stalinist leaders of the Workers Alliance endorsed Roosevelt for a third term? Holy cats!

### ROCHESTER

### Strike Compels Shutting Of All W. P. A. Operations

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
ROCHESTER, N. Y., July 17—Faced with a 100 per cent shutdown of W.P.A. projects by the strikers, the W.P.A. authorities on orders from State Administrator Herzog yesterday suspended all W.P.A. operations in Monroe County.

### ST. PAUL

### Federal and Local Cops Fail to Scare Srikers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
ST. PAUL, Minn., July 16—The labor movement of this city is not lagging behind its Twin City brother, Minneapolis. The W.P.A. projects are struck effectively.

### CHICAGO

### Building Trades Council Calls Men Out on Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
CHICAGO—In the second week of the nation-wide W.P.A. strike a special meeting of the Chicago Building Trades Council unanimously adopted an order for all building trades workers representing 212 locals to cease work on 65 projects.

The official action brought out many additional workers to swell the strikers' ranks in the city to over five thousand. At the same time the Sewer and Tunnel Miners' Union has called out its skilled workers and have thus compelled the closing of this project which employs in the neighborhood of 10,000.

### PHILADELPHIA

### Strike Called On All Gov't Financed Projects

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
PHILADELPHIA, July 17—The Philadelphia Building Trades Council called a strike today on all government-financed projects effective 6 p. m. Wednesday.

## Somervell Orders Dismissal Of 75,000

Statement Makes It  
Clear that Layoffs  
Are Permanent

By TONY CHAPMAN  
Having spent last week in Chicago conferring with Col. F. C. Harrington, national W.P.A. administrator, Col. Brehon Somervell, local W.P.A. chief, came home Saturday to announce that 75,000 W.P.A. workers in New York would be dismissed by September 1 under the 18-month "rotation" provision of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Relief Act.

Somervell declared that the removal of workers under the 18-month clause "is a straight layoff and not a furlough." This

### LABOR SPEAKS

"... The President is definitely aligned against Labor... It was his wish and his will that prompted Congress to completely reverse the Administration's labor policy. . . From now on Labor can look for few crumbs under the table of the New Deal."—*Minnesota Union Advocate*. (See Page 3)

is the first official statement indicating that the Roosevelt Administration's interpretation of the W.P.A. law would mean permanent layoffs.

Twenty five hundred pink slips daily—that's the ration that the New Deal is handing out to New York's W.P.A. workers for the next six weeks. The first victims received theirs Tuesday.

Although 75,000 workers will be dropped from W.P.A. Somervell declared that no attempt will be made to replace them with a similar number from the Home Relief Rolls. Only 42,000 workers will be permitted to replace the number of men fired by September 1, Somervell stated.

That those dismissed face the prospect of long drawn out attempts to establish themselves on the Home Relief Rolls was indicated by Welfare Commissioner William Hodson. Hodson stated that it will take at least one month for these workers to get on the municipal relief rolls, and that only one-third to one-half of those fired from W.P.A. would ultimately get on the rolls.

### FINKS FIND GOING TOUGH

ST. PAUL—Things sure are pretty tough for a poor scab these days. Everybody is against him; strikers beat him up, decent people boo him, and the boss coppers, who protect him, hate him. But to top it all off, even his boss, the W.P.A. administration doesn't appreciate his belly crawling. In White Bear, Minn., the scabs who have been working have threatened to strike if they cannot make up their time. It sure doesn't pay to fink on the workers!





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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.

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.

Almost never does the President permit the press to quote him verbatim. He is never directly quoted in the press except by his explicit permission.

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.

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

"You cannot strike against the government." We are, of course, no more impressed when Roosevelt says it than when Murphy says it.

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 it—

The Roosevelt Administration has made its choice. It wants war appropriations and not W.P.A. and P.W.A. appropriations.

Tens of millions are to be condemned to death, now by the slow starvation of hunger and unemployment, shortly by death on the battlefield,

employment, shortly by death on the battlefield, so that profits shall continue to flow into the coffers of the Sixty Families.

What now for Labor? First and most immediately, to continue and win the W.P.A. strike, and to gird its loins for

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

Labor Party

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 re-boned.

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,

Build a PARTY OF LABOR for INDEPENDENT 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 Roosevelt-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.

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.

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

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.

Following the sensational showing of the labor slate in the primaries, the Stalinists through the Hennepin County FL machine tried to cover themselves by making a small donation to the labor campaign.

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.

Do these scoundrels hope to repeat the Spanish tragedy here?

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

St. Paul

(Continued from Page 1) and snooped, threatened and questioned workers, attempting to throw fear into the militant fighters on the picket lines.

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.

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

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.

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.

The Lasalle County C.I.O. has endorsed the strike and is giving material aid. The A.F.L. Trades and Labor Assembly of Streator has also endorsed the strike and numbers of locals are furnishing aid.

Role of Stalinism in the Recent Minneapolis Labor Campaign

By CARL O'SHEA MINNEAPOLIS — The Communist Party is not only a bitter opponent of the tendency towards independent labor political action, but will conscientiously utilize the worst Tammany methods to stop the labor party movement, even if it means the election of the blackest reactionaries.

The leaflet and its distribution merit two comments: 1. The leaflet distorted the labor campaign by making it appear to be in support of the New Deal status quo.

On June 24 the Hennepin County Council of the Communist Party circulated a post-election statement to a selected list of people, stating "what was wrong" with the labor campaign.

The very first point it makes is that "the objectives of the New Deal (such as government housing, increased aid to jobless, opportunities for youth, clean government, curbing monopolies, etc.) were not championed in a sufficiently clear-cut manner by the united front candidates or campaign leadership."

NEW DEAL SMELLS TO HIGH HEAVEN The truth is that the success that was achieved by the labor campaign was due in large measure to the fact that the labor candidates didn't touch the New Deal with a ten-foot pole.

The average worker in Minneapolis would laugh you off the platform if you tried to tell him that the "objectives" of the New Deal were better housing, increased aid to the jobless, opportunities for youth, etc.

"The campaign was confined almost exclusively to Farmer-Labor and trade union ranks, failing actively to involve liberal church groups, small business men, professionals and other progressive middle class groups." This is the second point of the Stalinist document.

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.

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

Rochester

(Continued from page 1) 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.

East St. Louis

(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.

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 local Democratic Party failed to concern itself with or take an active part in the campaign while the Farmer-Labor and trade union forces neglected to solicit its support. . . .

Their Government

By James Burnham

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.

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.

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.

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? . . .

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 his intention.

During the hearings on the current relief bill, 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 strike.

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. . . .