

NEW DEAL HOUNDS WPA STRIKERS

Attorney General Seeks Indictment Of Union Leaders

Attorney General Frank Murphy announced to the press on Wednesday—July 19—that he had ordered the United States District Attorney in Minneapolis to conduct a grand jury investigation there "into charges that W.P.A. strikers had interfered with persons wishing to work in Minneapolis and St. Paul."

Thus Murphy has already proceeded to carry out the threat he made in his July 13 statement that "There must be no strike against the government of the United States by any one, anywhere, at any time. . . . Those leaders who have moved to exploit the protests of W.P.A. workers in violation of the Federal statutes will be prosecuted."

Murphy then singled out Minneapolis, as a place where "evidence of labor racketeering or criminal conspiracy against the nation's relief program" may "result in indictments." And now, according to the press reports, he has moved to get those indictments.

Obedient to Murphy's commands, Victor E. Anderson, United States District Attorney in Minneapolis, announced the same day that the Federal government "undoubtedly will issue complaints and begin prosecution of strike pickets or demonstrators within a few days." (Minneapolis Tribune, July 19.)

He is only waiting, said Anderson, for the formal report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation G-men who converged on this city when the strike began. But he has already "surveyed the evidence" they gathered and is sure that it provides the basis for prosecuting strike pickets.

Roosevelt Move Is Part Of His Anti-Labor Drive

This Minneapolis move is perhaps the most brazen anti-labor action yet taken by the Roosevelt Administration. If it gets away with this, it will go on to prosecute W.P.A. strikers everywhere, as part of the administration's general onslaught against the labor movement.

"The President is now definitely aligned against Labor."

Every Union Must Act to Defend The Minneapolis Trade Unions!

Such was the accurate conclusion reached by the Minnesota Union Advocate, organ of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, in its editorial of July 13.

Ruthlessly the Roosevelt administration seeks to crush the militant labor movement. Roosevelt got from an obedient Congress a law destroying the union wage on W.P.A. projects, but this was only his opening gun in a long-range campaign to destroy the entire wage-structure of the building trades unions, as is revealed by Attorney General Murphy's announcement of an "anti-trust" prosecution of the building trades unions in September. When the W.P.A. construction workers struck against this union-destroying decree, the Roosevelt administration declared their strike illegal, punished the strikers by dismissing them from the W.P.A. on the fifth day of their strike, declared them ineligible for direct relief, and sent an army of G-men into the principal strike areas to act as strikebreakers and gather evidence for the prosecutions which are now being initiated in Minneapolis.

Increasing Examples of His Anti-Labor Game

Roosevelt's appointees, the United States Maritime Commission, are openly engaged in an attempt to destroy the union hiring halls of the West Coast seamen's unions, and are training finks for a war against the unions on "training ships" which even the pro-Roosevelt National Maritime Union has finally been forced by its rank and file to boycott. Roosevelt's National Labor Relations Board now will order plant elections upon application by employers—the most vicious union-busting device conceivable.

Roosevelt himself, in his April 27 relief budget message, dictated to Congress the slashing of one-third of the W.P.A. rolls, down, down, down, from the November figure of 3,350,000 to his figure of 2,000,000—an absolute drop of 1,350,000 jobs.

"The President is now definitely aligned against Labor." That's the simple truth which every worker must henceforth take into account.

Why He Picked Minneapolis For the Attempted Frame-Up

Murphy's choice of Minneapolis to initiate his prosecutions is not a haphazard choice. He has picked out Minneapolis for a number of reasons.

First and most immediate, Minneapolis labor has the honor of being the most united phalanx in the fight against the W.P.A. cuts. A.F.L. and C.I.O., employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled, have joined together in Minneapolis in a Joint Action Committee which made the strike there 100% effective, closing down all projects. If that had only happened in all other important cities, the W.P.A. strike would have won its demands by now hands down. For this "crime," Minneapolis labor is to be prosecuted by the Roosevelt administration.

Second, Minneapolis is the best-organized city in the United States. Under the inspiration of the great truck-drivers' strikes of May and July-August, 1934, that city, once an open-shop town, has a higher percentage of union organization per working population than any other city in the country, according to the U. S. Department of Labor. Wages in the teaming crafts have more than doubled since 1933, and other wages have risen correspondingly. For this "crime," too, Minneapolis labor is to be prosecuted by the Roosevelt administration.

Third, Minneapolis labor has the honor of having initiated the movement which transformed the International Brotherhood of Teamsters from a craft union of 60,000 members to the biggest and most powerful union in the country, semi-industrial in form, numbering now at least 400,000 members. As late as 1935 the International was an aristocratic organization of driver-salesmen in the cities. Now it is primarily constituted by the over-the-road truckers, one of the two or three most strategic groups of proletarians in economy. This great movement came out of the North Central District Drivers Council initiated by General Drivers Union Local 544 of Minneapolis, which generously gave its most qualified forces to the creation of

F.D.R. to Prosecute Unions for 'Crime' Of Being Progressive

this movement. The eleven state over-the-road agreement wrested from the great trucking corporations last year expires on August 31, and the unions are girding to secure renewal and betterment of this unprecedented contract. For this "crime," too, Minneapolis labor is to be prosecuted by the Roosevelt administration.

Yes, the Minneapolis trade union movement is today the most progressive section of the entire American labor movement. And for this "crime," it is to be prosecuted by the Roosevelt administration.

Minneapolis Labor Leaders Foresaw Roosevelt Move

With their usual intelligence and ability, the Minneapolis trade union leadership foresaw this move of the government. The resolution adopted by a joint meeting of A.F.L.-C.I.O. trade union leaders on July 15 at the Central Labor Union, placing responsibility at the door of the Roosevelt administration for the murder of Emil Bergstrom and the shooting and injury of 24 other strike pickets, concluded:

"That this labor movement calls upon the people of the United States . . . to unitedly defeat any prosecution or frameup attempt as a result of the murderous assaults of the Minneapolis police."

Now Murphy and his G-men are attempting the frame-up. Every worker and friend of labor, every sincere believer in democratic rights, has the elementary duty to solidarize himself with the Minneapolis labor movement against this attempted frameup.

Every trade union and fraternal organization in the country should adopt resolutions protesting against this prosecution, send the resolutions adopted to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Murphy, with copies to the Central Labor Union, North 8th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Minneapolis is only the first intended victim. Stop Murphy in his tracks before he gets started!

Thousands of Minnesota Workers Turn Out for Bergstrom Funeral

Speakers at Funeral Services of Martyr Who Fell on the W.P.A. Picket Line Vow that "He Shall Not Have Died in Vain"

By ARTHUR HOPKINS
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 19.—Minneapolis labor laid away to rest another martyr to its cause Tuesday when thousands of workers jammed the halls of the Central Labor Union to pay their last respects to Emil August Bergstrom, 60, slain by police brutality at the sewing project, 2nd Avenue North and 2nd Street last Friday.

Additional thousands thronged 8th Street North before the C. L. U., unable to get in the hall but determined to express their solidarity with their slain brother worker.

Peter Murck, president of the Building Trades Council, acted as chairman and introduced the speakers who rendered solemn tribute to the sacrifice of Emil Bergstrom. Walter Frank, chairman of the joint union-W. P. A. committee in charge of the W.P.A. strike, was the first speaker. He bitterly assailed the brutality of the police and condemned the society which allows such brutality to go unpunished. "He shall not have died in vain," vowed Frank, expressing the innermost sentiments of his listeners.

Geldman Speaks
Max Geldman, organization secretary of the Federal Workers Section, General Drivers Local 544, declared that Bergstrom will be the flaming symbol in the workers' struggle for a decent living standard. "He is our unknown soldier," said Geldman, and declared that Bergstrom will take his place alongside Henry Ness and John Belor, labor martyrs killed by the police in the 1934 truck strike. "We must struggle not only to repeal the vicious Woodrum relief bill," said Geldman, "but we must also build for a

MONKEYS WELL FED WHILE JOBLESS STARVE

Relief for Humans Is Slashed — Monkeys' Conditions Improved

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ST. LOUIS, MO.—The jobless here envy the monkeys. Last week they read in the local press that: "The new \$70,000 monkey house at the St. Louis Zoo is nearing completion, and in a few weeks the chimpanzees, gorillas, and orang-utans will move into its spacious and well-ordered quarters."

The monkeys will be well-housed and well-fed but not so their civilized "descendants," the unemployed workers and their children. On top of wage cuts and discharges for W. P. A. workers, the same day's paper reported a drastic reduction in home relief allotments

(Continued on Page 2)

Communist Party Hatchetmen at Work

The Communist Party hatchetmen are as good as their word.

They warned Arthur Thomas, secretary of the National Maritime Union in the Gulf, that if he didn't toe the Party line they'd have him picked up by the immigration authorities.

Thomas didn't heed. He spoke for a membership outraged by the conduct of the tanker strike. . . .

Now he's in jail, fingered by Joe Curran and Steve Hartly to the immigration officials, and may be deported for illegal entry.

(Reprinted from "West Coast Sailors," July 13, official organ of Sailors Union of the Pacific.)

New Haven Cops Arrest Two At Anti-Coughlin Meeting

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW HAVEN, Conn., July 19.—Two members of the Socialist Workers Party were arrested last night for participating in the first of a series of Anti-Coughlin street meetings now in progress in this city. The trumped-up police charge is "peddling without a license," and the two anti-fascists, Al Harde and Ray Robbins, are under the exorbitant bail of \$300 each.

Despite this vicious attack on the democratic right of free speech by the cops, the plans for the second meeting in the series went through without a

W.A.A. Strikebreakers Stand Self-Accused

Few Workers Answer Call to Attend Patriotic Assembly

NEW YORK, July 20.—The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance today ran a patriotic rally for the Roosevelt administration instead of planning any serious action to force Congress and Roosevelt to abolish the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Law.

Having assured the President that they were agreed that nobody could strike against the government, and having spent the fifteen days since the strike broke out pouring cold water on the W. P. A. workers, the Alliance leaders were scarcely surprised to find less than 1,000 workers attending the "demon-

(Continued on Page 3)

stration and hundreds of workers thronged to Asylum Street to listen to anti-fascist spokesmen. The arrests were made Tuesday night at the first anti-Coughlin rally to be held by any organization on the streets of New Haven. The meeting had been going on for more than an hour when the cops stepped up and arrested the speaker on the platform, after buying the pamphlet, "Father Coughlin, Fascist Demagogue", as evidence.

At the police station, Ray Robbins and Albert Harde were treated like bank robbers by

(Continued on Page 2)

Lasser Publicly Proclaims Scab Role of Stalinist Outfit

By RAY ROBBINS

David Lasser, president of the Workers Alliance, chose Minneapolis, storm center of the nation-wide W. P. A. strike hurricane, to go over openly and brazenly to a strike-breaking position against the W.P.A. strike.

The Workers Alliance, pushed into a tight spot by the militant strike movement which began July 5 against the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Law, had then announced a one-day stoppage, setting the date for action far in the future—July 20—in the hope that the strike would fold up before that date.

Stalinist Camouflage
Besides acting as a phony cover for their anti-strike, pro-Roosevelt stand, the one-day stoppage proposal served the Stalinist leaders of the Alliance as a license to scab on all the other days of the strike.

But the strike didn't collapse. And the date for the stoppage, July 20, grew nearer.

Alliance Gets Cold Feet
Alliance leaders began to get a bad case of cold feet. Their master, Roosevelt, had spoken sharp words, "You can't strike against the government."

Through the agency of mouthpiece President Lasser, the Workers Alliance showed its true colors—a slimy, strike-breaking yellow.

Arriving Sunday night, July 15, in Minneapolis, strike stronghold, Lasser started the strike-breaking machine going.

(Continued on Page 3)

New York Strike to Continue Full Blast Says Union Leader

Murray Statement On WPA Strike

NEW YORK, July 18.—Thomas A. Murray, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council, issued the following statement this afternoon:

"We of organized labor hold the following truths to be self-evident:

"1. That no union man is now, or has been since the beginning of this stoppage, at work on any of the W.P.A.'s construction projects in the City of New York.

"2. That no union man will ever resume work unless he is paid at the prevailing rate of compensation.

"3. That no skilled craftsman in even one-fifth of the numbers needed can be obtained outside the ranks of organized labor.

"4. That the hangars at North Beach which are now mere steel skeletons and the other half-done projects throughout the city will remain standing for posterity, as they are, like the ruins of ancient Rome, unless the authorities change their minds about the principle of the prevailing wage.

"5. That the people, in the aggregate, will not permit the authorities, by their pig-headed attitude in refusing to restore the prevailing rate of pay, to have those projects, into which millions of dollars have already been poured, left standing exposed to the elements, unfinished, worthless, as a monument to the fact that the elected representatives of the people, in this year 1939, deliberately and brazenly refused to carry out the will of the overwhelming majority of their constituents."

Declaring Union Resolve to Push the W.P.A. Strike Until Victorious, Murray Exposes Somervell's Statements as Made of Lies

By TONY CHAPMAN

NEW YORK, July 20.—The Executive Committee of the Building Trades Council unanimously resolved at its meeting yesterday "to continue, with all the vigor at its command, to protest on all W.P.A. projects by refusing to work for the sub-standard wage rate set up by Congress in the new W.P.A. Act."

Answering local W.P.A. administrator Brehon Somervell's assertions to the press that the "damned strike" is on the wane, President Murray of the New York Building Trades Council declared:

"It is obvious, from the reports received from our business representatives who are out in the field getting information at first hand, that the statements of Colonel Somervell, to the effect that he is getting along without union mechanics, are absolutely and unqualifiedly false."

Work at Standstill
All work on the mammoth North Beach Airport remains at a complete standstill and other W.P.A. projects in the city are in a state of disorganization.

The Building Trades Council dispatched telegrams a week and a half ago to all Congressmen from New York City. Although eleven Congressmen have already replied favorably, still to be heard from is Congressman Vito Marcantonio, darling of the Stalinists and the President of the Stalinist-controlled International Labor Defense.

Returning from North Beach Airport Thursday afternoon, John J. Brennan, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Council, reported that of the 23,000 men normally employed on the project, picket captains had counted only 1,500

(Continued on Page 3)

CHICAGO STRIKE OF SKILLED WPA LABOR GROWS

Union, However, Errs In Failing to Draw Unskilled into Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO, July 17.—The strike was slow in getting on the way here; but the Building Trades Council has now called out a total of 6,000 skilled workers. It refuses to take any steps to call out unskilled workers from the projects.

The sentiment of these unskilled is quite well demonstrated at the huge sewer projects on the South Side employing about 10,000 workers. The slowness of the unions, plumbers, steam fitters, electricians in calling out their members so irked the unskilled workers that they called them scabs, threw stones at them, cracked several heads and chased them

(Continued on Page 3)

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Major concentration point of the C.I.O. organization work in the next period is the packing-house industry.

This was emphasized last week by John L. Lewis, speaking in Chicago, home of the "Big Four" packers, Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy.

There is a twofold aim in the C.I.O. concentration on this industry. One is organizational; the C.I.O. wants a real base in Chicago and this industry. The other is political; the C.I.O. wants a powerful weapon to assist in winning the farmers' support to the aims of the C.I.O.

Terrible Conditions

Few industries in America have the notorious reputation for terrible working conditions as the packing houses, especially in the Chicago area. Many years ago Upton Sinclair achieved international fame with his devastating expose of these conditions in his novel, "The Jungle." They haven't changed much.

A basis for unionism was always present because of the rotten conditions. The A.F.L. didn't succeed in the past, and the C.I.O. muffed its big opportunity two years ago because the Stalinists were in complete charge of the packing house campaign.

One must add, however, that in certain sections of the country, where the A.F.L. has progressive leaders, they do have good and strong unions in packing houses. In Ohio, for example.

Recently, the C.I.O. had a resurgence in the packing industry. Top C.I.O. leaders have been directing the work. A national convention of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee was held in Chicago.

Delegates from 94 local unions attended, and the P.W.O.C. claimed 78,000 out of the 129,000 directly employed in this industry.

In 14 Armour plants, the P.W.O.C. has been certified by the National Labor Relations Board as sole collective bargaining agent. In most of the Chicago plants, there is a dispute between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. on the question of representation. National Labor Relations Board elections probably will be used to settle this question.

Principal Demands

The principal C.I.O. demands in the proposal for a signed contract include full recognition of the union, reduction in the speedup, establishment of a proper seniority system, and the elimination of health hazards, as well as wage adjustments.

In his speech, Lewis indicated a realization of the need of working with the farmers in connection with the packing house drive. Just as milk companies try to play off the truck drivers and the dairy producers, the meat packers seek to divide those who work on the farm and those who toil in the packing houses.

It will be a real job to offset this device of the "Big Four" packers.

Calling on Roosevelt to force the big companies to sign agreements indicates that Lewis, urged on by the Stalinists, still has many illusions.

It seems almost incredible that in Chicago, where the steel workers were massacred because of Roosevelt's double-cross, the C.I.O. is prepared to bank on this same man for assistance.

Unless the C.I.O. adopts more realistic plans, there is a possibility that another "Little Steel" tragedy can occur. Depending on local or state officials is just as fatal. The same old gang that sent the Chicago killer cops against the steel workers remains in power.

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Join The Socialist Workers Party

Anti-Fascists Arrested At New Haven Meeting

Despite Police Persecution S.W.P. Branch Continues Fight Against Coughlin Fascism

(Continued from Page 1) The cops. All their personal papers were examined carefully.

Friends put up the extravagant ball asked by the police and the well-known labor lawyer James Belford, offered his services to fight the case in court.

Workers Turn Out The people who attended the Friday night meeting and were witnesses to the police interference with free speech, came again the next night and listened to the speakers.

"We are not intimidated or afraid," said the chairman at the start of the meeting. "We are aware of our rights, and we mean to fight to keep them. The Socialist Workers Party is going forward with its fight against Coughlin fascism despite any and all attacks."

Workers Defense Guards The need for the formation of Workers Defense Guards was the keynote of all speeches. The

desire of the workers of New Haven for real action against the fascists could immediately be seen by the enthusiastic response. Large numbers of the Anti-Coughlin pamphlet were sold. And the embryo of Workers Defense Guards appeared for the first time on the streets of New Haven when young workers gave spontaneous assistance to the meeting, guarding it against hoodlum attacks and maintaining order in the audience so that the police would not have a pretext for breaking up the rally. Many of these young workers have already turned in their names for the first corps of Workers Defense Guards.

The Coughlin movement is invading the city, recently opening up a big headquarters in the center of the town and carrying on the regular sales of their literature (without a license, you can bet) on the main streets.

Let the People Vote on War!

By JAMES BURNHAM

IV

The Referendum and the Fight Against War

The basic reason why the great majority of the people are in favor of the war referendum is because they are afraid a war is coming and they do not want a war. The bulk of the people—the workers and farmers and teachers and professionals and small shop-keepers—know that they have nothing to gain and everything, from their lives to all of their liberties, to lose from a war. They are looking for some way to stop the war, or at least put a big obstacle in its path. They believe that the popular referendum is the way in which the war can be stopped, since everyone knows that if the people had a free chance to decide, they would vote against participation in any war which is now or is likely to be on the horizon of the United States.

A Democratic Demand

Revolutionary socialists, and their party, the Socialist Workers Party, do not think that a popular referendum can, in and by itself, stop war. We believe that modern wars spring from causes which are deep within the present capitalist system of society; and that to get rid of war permanently we shall have to remove those causes by overthrowing capitalism and building in its place a free socialist society.

The Sixty Families and their agents who administer the government for them will go to war whatever laws are on the statute books. In an article attacking the Ludlow bill, Walter Lippman once gave this cynically away: "If an American President," he wrote, "wants to go to war, he can go no matter what the Ludlow amendment says."

Nevertheless, we, as revolutionary socialists, fully and firmly support the demand for a popular referendum on war. We stand with the great majority of the people against the war-mongers and the war-makers. The proposal for a war referendum is truly democratic, and revolutionary socialists favor every genuinely democratic process. The question of the war must be brought into the light of day! The people, in endorsing the war referendum, give expression to their hatred of the war and their wish to struggle against it. We share that hatred, and take our place in that struggle.

The fight for the war referendum, whatever its limitations, is unquestionably one powerful means of fighting against the war. This is shown plainly by the nature of the opposition to the referendum. The movement for the referendum finds itself at every stage in the sharpest conflict with the war-mongers. If there is still disagreement about the best means for fighting war, we can learn from the experience of common struggle.

Upon Whom Shall We Rely?

One lesson can already be drawn from the experiences of the movement for the war referendum. That lesson is that the "official" leaders of the movement, the Ludlows and LaFollettes, cannot be relied upon. They give lip service in speeches and at election time, but they have already shown in practice that they cannot be counted on to carry the struggle through.

In the first place, they have not rallied the people behind them in a great popular wave that would sweep over the heads of the opposition. They jockey around in the offices or committee rooms of Washington, and permit the war-mongers to file their bills away in dusty pigeon-holes. For such a cause as the war referendum, there is no hope in legalistic by-play at the top; strength can come only from the surging voice of the people.

In the second place, they have tacked so many modifications onto the simple, clear demand for the referendum that they have warped it beyond recognition. With all of Latin America, all United States possessions (including, no doubt all consulates and embassies, which are technically possessions, in every country) excluded not merely if invaded but even at the immediate "threat" of invasion, a

Lundeberg Raps Stalinist Trick

"Have you stopped beating your wife? Answer yes or no!"

This old lawyer's trick was dug up by the Stalinists to use against the militant leaders of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, on the occasion of the Harry Bridges deportation hearings.

A stooge introduced into the San Francisco membership meeting a resolution to have the union go on record for suspending "any official of the S.U.P. that shall testify against Harry Bridges at his forthcoming hearing on deportation charges." Have you stopped beating your wife? Answer yes or no!

Lundeberg's Answer

Harry Lundeberg, militant secretary-treasurer of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, answered this slimy trick with the following statement which the membership ordered published in "West Coast Sailors" of July 13, after they had voted down the Stalinist resolution:

"The introduction of this proposed resolution is an insult both to the membership and the officials of the S.U.P. It is an attempt on the part of the author to continue against the S.U.P. officials the slimy slander campaign waged by the C.P. hangers-on for the past two years in connection with the deportation proceedings against Bridges.

"To my certain knowledge no official of the S.U.P. has ever been connected in any way, shape or form with the deportation case of Bridges.

Opposes Deportation

"I also want to state for the record that so far as deporting Bridges is concerned I am opposed to it—in my opinion a man who cannot show a clear strike record in 1921, so far as the seamen's strikes are concerned, and a man who has been a known and bold enemy of the S.U.P. to the extent of walking through S.U.P. picket lines, is a rat—but Union Labor should take care of these kind of birds—and will—and they should not attempt to make a phoney 'labor martyr' of him by holding pink-tea government inquiries regarding deporting him.

"Incidentally, while the comrats scream their high heads off about the deportation of Harry Bridges, at the same time in New Orleans, in an inter-union fight between two groups of N.M.U. men, Joe Curran and Steve Harty put the finger on Arthur Thomas, secretary of the N.M.U. in the Gulf, and had him picked up by immigration authorities because he is 'illegally' in the country."

clever statesman could find a way of maintaining that the referendum could never apply.

In order to bring the proposal back to its clear original form, and to put it on the most solid foundation, three changes in the current versions are necessary:

(1) It should call for a direct, popular, referendum vote in the case of any and all wars. This is the only safeguard. History has shown that diplomats in each and every country are always able to claim that any war into which their nation enters is a "defensive" war. Calling a war defensive is only a way of trying to make it look respectable. The people who should decide whether to fight a war, are also the ones to decide whether or not a given war is defensive.

(2) The referendum decision should be required not merely prior to any declaration of war, but prior to the use of any of the armed forces of the United States in any armed conflict whatsoever. Nowadays wars are sometimes not "declared", but undeclared wars can be just as destructive as any others. The point is for the people to decide not only the partly formal question of the declaration of war, but the concrete question of the war itself, which means armed conflict.

(3) In the war referendum, the right to vote should be given to all of the age of 18 and over. Those who are 18 and over are called upon to die in the war, are drafted. If they are old enough to fight in the war, they are old enough to vote on the question of entering it.

The people want the war referendum. That is the unchallenged fact. What must be done is for the people themselves to take the fight for the referendum into their own hands. Nothing has been or will be done by waiting for Congressmen and Senators. The issue of the referendum must be brought into every trade union, farm organization and farmers' cooperative, every fraternal society and club and youth group. Rallies, petitions, speeches, meetings, canvassings must gather the already vast but unorganized support of the referendum into a powerful, united force. Before the assembled might of the people, the secret diplomats, the star-chamber heroes, the war-mongers and their fellow conspirators, will be routed into the open and compelled to give their accounting.

Let the people decide!

(The end)

Another Vicious Swipe At Chicago's Jobless

"Economy Drive" Hits Needy While Ward-Heelers, Politicians Draw Fat Salaries

By S. B. GRANT

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) CHICAGO—At the behest of Chicago businessmen a new system of work relief is being installed. Every able-bodied man (they don't tell us who is going to decide his fitness) will be compelled to work for every cent in excess of fifteen dollars in his monthly budget. He will be paid fifty cents an hour. A man whose family receives thirty dollars will thus have to work thirty hours. In other words he will have to repay the city for the right to starve.

Leo M. Lyons, head of the Chicago Relief Administration has not yet given full details concerning the type of work he wants reliefers to do, but he has indicated that they will do clean-up and scavenging labor—washing grimy street signs, picking up after the well-to-do. From now on the only difference between clients and chain-gang victims is that the boys on the chain gang have more security—are better clothed and fed.

This latest knife-in-the-back is particularly vicious because it prevents the unemployed from supplementing their starvation handouts by picking up the few miserable odd jobs that in many cases have thus far kept them going.

Case Workers Fired

Everybody knows, furthermore, that the Relief Administration is reducing its staff. Dismissal notices for 15 percent of the clerical workers and 25 percent of the professional staff are now in the mail. Everything is being conducted in the dark. Nobody knows who is going to be laid off, or on what basis. This layoff is going to make things a hundred times tougher both for the remaining case workers and the relief sufferers. Even under former conditions, it was not unusual for a case worker to have a "load" of over two hundred. Attention to individual cases was impossible. Now the sick, the crippled and the helpless will be in a fiercer jam than ever. It will take even longer to get help and attention. And as for the discharged workers, most of them will have to apply for relief themselves.

All these ducky reforms are a direct result of the campaign put on by the businessmen and their journalistic prostitutes to make the charity racket more "efficient". There are plenty of reasons to suspect that economy is not the only considera-

tion. Many businessmen are of the opinion that the unemployed have to be taught obedience and docility, have to be taught to lick gratefully the hand that tosses them their daily, wormy food.

Bloodhounds

The drive for efficiency goes on in a hot search for "frauds" and mistakes in budgeting. Professional bloodhounds known as auditors have been hired at \$150 a month to sniff out mistakes in addition made by case workers. No case where the client was getting too little has yet been reported.

When the Social Workers Union (affiliated with the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, all fixed up with Labor's Nonpartisan League, strikes 100 per cent forbidden in its contract) timidly suggested that these auditors be laid off the Administration furiously said no.

And while the economy drive goes on, and while the Tribune daily raises its snout to howl that the poor and the social workers are in a conspiracy to destroy America, the ward heelers, soft job holders, cheap crooks, political tapeworms, sit around with their bellies in their laps drawing, in salaries and graft, the money that belongs to the unemployed.

A LETTER FROM POLAND

Grodno, Poland, June 20th, 1939.

"We have lived through a nightmare in the last two weeks. The government imposed a war loan. From the Jewish community of our town (about fifty thousand people) one million zlotys (equivalent to \$200,000) were demanded within five days. But no such sum could be collected within this period and a penalty of an additional quarter of a million zlotys was imposed. A citizens' committee was formed, it taxed every last person to the utmost and still the required sum could not be gotten together. Another people walked around like in a daze, they cried, implored, some became hysterical, a few fainted. . . . It was no use. The entire Jewish community was threatened with banishment, with concentration camps if the demanded sum was not produced. (Grodno lies in the military zone). Finally 1,333,000 zlotys was collected. This was acceptable to the authorities. Every last person from the well-to-do to the poorest paid. People sold their last belongings—sewing machines, bedding, chairs were piled in the market auction place.

"And today came the demand to pay for the gas masks which the government distributed some time ago. . . . How very difficult it is to live these days!"

Scissorbill Sam Acts His Part, But Fails To Spike Militancy

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) HUTCHINSON, Kansas.—"Scissorbill Sam, the bosses' man," is sometimes born that way, but mostly he's made by a little careful grooming.

Take, for instance, Donald F. Dunn, a foreman on a W. P. A. project here. Occasional news stories in the paper praised him for his "industry" and "loyalty" and "patriotism." Then the Sunday paper gave him a half-page story with pictures about how he had built himself a house out of scraps and junk. It was a good job. It made a Scissorbill Sam out of him.

Acts His Part

So that when the W. P. A. strike came along, Dunn was all primed to give the papers what they wanted. "This thing of organizing the relief workers is all wrong," said Dunn, and he said lots more which the paper gladly printed.

But in spite of Scissorbill Sam and the paper, there is a lot of resentment and militant feeling here.

A few weeks ago when the city closed down the airport W. P. A. project for lack of funds, a band of W. P. A. workers led



ON THE W.P.A. DISTRIBUTION FRONT:

The W.P.A. strike is still going strong and so is the mass distribution of the Appeal to the strikers.

The Rochester, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, East St. Louis, etc. branches all took extra bundles of the last issue.

Branches must send in their extra orders in advance—by airmail or by telegram—so as to assure prompt delivery.

THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"We are going to work immediately on a systematic sub drive here and want to get the most complete file of expired subs you have available. This time we promise action!"—El Booth, new literature agent of San Francisco.

"We are beginning to sell the Appeal in the streets, and we are also preparing a printed leaflet on the Appeal. I am sure that in the future we shall be able to meet our bills as they come along"—Sol Thomas, Philadelphia agent.

New York City is beginning to get results on its campaign for renewal subscriptions. Under the able direction of comrade Milt "Swachime" Alvin, comrades are visiting all names on the lists of expired subscriptions and getting re-

newals.

A STANDING OFFER TO BRANCHES:

The Appeal is always ready to send sample copies to lists of contacts supplied by branch literature agents. It has been our policy to do this all along and we want to continue. Just send in your lists to the Manager and the sample copies will be mailed out—with no cost to the branches.

Here's the list of new subs that came in during the week:

NEW YORK CITY	12
Massachusetts	6
Minneapolis	6
Chicago	5
California	3
Pennsylvania	3
Indiana	2
Washington	1
Foreign	1
Detroit	1
Wisconsin	1
Washington, D. C.	1
Total	42

John Malone is taking a bundle of 35 per issue while covering the W.P.A. strike in Streaton, Illinois.

The new branch established by our Canadian comrades in Calgary, Alta., is already taking a small bundle of Appeals.

WORKERS' FORUM

THE UNIONS AND THE UNSKILLED WORKER ON W.P.A.

Editor: I want to say a couple of things about the tough spot a lot of common laborers on W.P.A. like myself are being put on by this W.P.A. strike now going on.

On my project I talked to a lot of the other laborers and explained what was the meaning of the strike and why the skilled laborers walked off and that it is our fight too, because they have cut our prevailing wage too, and they are making us work 9 hours a month more and they are going to cut our monthly pay pretty soon too.

When it is explained to them, the laborers understand the whole thing too, because they are not dummies just because they do only common labor work. But these are the questions they ask: "Then why don't the A.F.L. ask us to come off the job too?" This is a hard question to answer so they will be satisfied. We are willing to come off and help them win, one worker says, but will they be willing to help us? "How is it that they don't want to take us into the A.F.L.?" Another worker said sure, we are willing to help them but after this is all over, where do we stand? Is the A.F.L. going to protect us too like the skilled labor or will it leave us holding the bag without any protection?

That is what I want to emphasize. A good many laborers want to help, but the A.F.L. isn't asking them, and they don't want to organize into the independent unemployed organizations because they feel these don't have the power and protection of the A.F.L. So they don't know what to do.

The big thing that ought to come out of this strike should be the A.F.L. beginning to organize the W.P.A. common labor even if they don't have the money for high dues.

Yours truly, A W.P.A. WORKER.

Newark, N. J.

F.D.R.'S POLICY WOULD WRECK UNION BASIS

Editor: I have just finished reading the current issue, No. 51, of the Appeal. It is one of the best so far. Clear, incisive, and with excellent coverage, and a swell first page. It seems to me, though, that the Appeal has missed up in perhaps the most important factor in the W.P.A. mess. The present drive is primarily for the purpose of completely destroying the unions by wrecking their fundamental basis, the union wage. (The capitalist press to confuse the issue calls it the prevailing wage.) A secondary and quite incidental aspect of the W.P.A. wrecking drive is that an enormous mass of labor will be thrown on the market to further depress wages. All this, of course, is in part of Franklin "My Friendmnds"

by a man named W. P. Golding put the heat on the city commission so well that they "reconsidered" the shutdown, raised the necessary funds by a quick action bond issue and put the men back to work pronto.

Roosevelt's war preparedness steam roller. True, the Appeal has mentioned all this but only incidentally and has given it only very minor prominence whereas it should be the other way around.

I figure it this way. In order to be a successful and powerful participant in the coming slaughter, the American owning class have to accumulate as rapidly as possible a tremendous amount of war material, just as the British owning class, the Italian owning class, etc., are doing. As usual, John Q. Worker, is the goat. John Q. Worker has to be squeezed and squeezed and squeezed.

But there is an obstacle in the way. John Q. Worker has got himself a union and a union wage and the owners can't cut his pay so that they can buy more gunpowder as easily as they might like. So they look around and look around and finally decide to call on their pals in the government for help. A pretty little scheme is cooked up. The government has a W.P.A. and through it the principle of the union wage will be smashed in a big way. Lots of publicity, etc., so the lesson will sink deep.

Then with the principle smashed, the owning class will be able to do what they wanted to do in the first place, namely cut wages so they can turn the difference into guns, etc. To help the campaign along, the union wage is called the prevailing wage. And John Q. Worker has his wages cut (the 18 months business) to help him forget the real issue, the wrecking of the backbone of his union, the wrecking of the union wage. The role of the Stalinists in trying to whitewash "My Friendmnds" by blaming the Tories is obvious to John Q. Worker whose backside tells him who really is delivering the kicks.

I should very much like to see the Appeal give this the prominence and attention it deserves.

JOHN FISHORT.

MONKEYS WELL FED, JOBLESS STARVE

(Continued from Page 1) to the 22,037 on the rolls. For the month of July they are to receive an average of \$3.31 each for food, 11 cents for rent and nothing at all for clothing, the smallest appropriations here in any month since a public relief agency was set up in 1933. Further reductions are expected in August and subsequent months, according to John K. Rowland, local Social Security Administrator.

Relief grants to non-citizen families will be discontinued. About 800 additional families with one member classified as "employable" will be removed from the rolls after getting a final grant of food for two weeks. There is practically no likelihood of these persons getting on W. P. A. or in private industry.

Buy the Socialist Appeal at Your Newsstand

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Taxes and the New Deal

Taxation is a notoriously dull subject. Stuffy Republican journals print lengthy articles about it, but the left-wing press rarely gives any attention to the subject. This would seem to be a great mistake, for of all the tricks in the bag of that master shell-game politician, Franklin D. Roosevelt, of all his ingenious devices for fooling the masses, taxation is in some ways the most effective.

A recent Gallup poll found that one out of every four persons asked actually thought he paid no taxes at all. No less than 71% of these persons who thought they paid no taxes said they were for Roosevelt—as against 54% of those who knew they were paying taxes. In other words, the less a citizen knows about taxation, the better he likes the New Deal.

There is a general impression, especially among the lower income groups, that the New Deal "soaks the rich", that it has been redistributing national purchasing power by collecting taxes from corporations and millionaires and spreading these billions out over the farmers, workers, unemployed. Actually, the New Deal has financed its spending programs not by heavy taxes on the rich—as, for example, the British Government has been doing ever since the war—but by selling Government bonds and notes to the banks. This amounts to postponing the whole question as to what class shall pay for the New Deal's social reforms, since the bonds will not have to be paid off for many years.

But this is just the beginning of the story. Most of those who told the Gallup investigators they paid no taxes were earning \$20 a week or less. Calculations show that a person getting \$20 a week pays taxes today of no less than \$100 a year—or five weeks' pay. The reason, of course, these people thought they were not being taxed was that they paid no income taxes or other direct taxes. The joker in the deck, the elusive pea under the shell that Franklin D. manipulates so cleverly, is "hidden" taxation levied on consumption: sales taxes, tobacco, liquor, gasoline, and a thousand and one other taxes.

The wartime taxes on amusements, playing cards, etc., first awakened legislators to this rich mine of revenue. Consumption taxes have two great advantages: they bear most heavily on the masses, and hence are popular with the ruling class; and yet, extorted in dribs and drabs and usually without the consumer being aware of them, they awaken no great popular protest.

Pennies become dollars very fast, however, in this game. The Northwestern National Life Insurance Co. has published a table of indirect taxes paid by an average family living on \$150 a month (\$1800 a year):

Item	Monthly Budget	Taxes (\$)	Taxes (%)
Food	\$43.50	\$3.39	7.8
Shelter	30.00	7.83	26.1

Clothing	16.00	1.52	9.5
Fuel, Light	11.00	1.07	9.7
Automobile	14.75	3.00	20.3
Recreation	3.00	.31	10.3
Life Insur.	5.00	.18	3.5
Sundries, Misc.	26.75	2.92	10.9
Monthly Total:	\$150.00	\$20.22	13.5
Annual Total:	\$1800.00	\$243.64	13.5

Corporations: \$1,300,000,000—Consumers: \$3,400,000,000

Of the \$14,200,000,000 taxes collected by local, state and national governments last year, no less than \$8,000,000,000 was in the form of these hidden, indirect taxes. (The National Consumers Tax Commission, as reported in the N. Y. Times of June 19, last.) It is true that local and state governments have made even greater use of these "hidden" taxes than has the New Deal, but F.D.R. is learning fast.

In *Workers Age* of June 24 last, Cecil Owen, publicity director for Labor's Non-Partisan League, pointed out that in 1929 corporations paid \$1,200,000,000 in Federal taxes while consumers paid \$1,000,000,000. In 1938, after six years of New Deal "reform", corporations paid \$1,300,000,000 and consumers \$3,400,000,000. True, corporations pay less today because they are taxed on profits and profits are less than in 1929.

But the point is that the New Deal has raised the rates of taxation on business very little. For all the outcry about the undistributed profits tax, it produced a mere \$75,000,000 a year and the effect of its recent repeal by Congress has been practically nil either on business or on Federal revenues. On the other hand, the New Deal has piled on the hidden taxes to a towering total. Tobacco and liquor alone last year yielded almost as much revenue as the entire corporation tax.

But the real discovery of Franklin D. is the payroll tax now being collected under the pretense of setting up a "reserve fund" for the old age and unemployment insurance provisions of the Social Security Act. As John T. Flynn demonstrated in "The Social Security Reserve Swindle", an excellent article that recently appeared in *Harpers*, these payroll taxes are actually being used to pay the current expenses of the Federal government, and the "reserve" idea is a gigantic hoax and fraud. The swindle is so barefaced, indeed, that the New Deal has been forced to back down a bit: Congress recently was forced, by mounting public protests, to lower the rate of these taxes. The daring and scope of this particular bit of shell-game New Deal politics can be grasped if one remembers that last year these payroll taxes yielded no less than \$1,500,000,000, practically all of which was at once spent for current governmental expenses. And the rates, even after the recent lowering, are adjusted so that this sum will increase greatly in the next few decades.

W.A.A. Leaders Self-Accused Strikebreakers

(Continued from Page 1)
the ranks of the W. P. A. strikers.

We quote word for word from this disgraceful document: "To avoid further shooting innocent people by power drunk reactionaries, and to give Congress opportunity to deliberate relief law changes in atmosphere of calm and reason, we are polling national board Workers Alliance on question temporarily ending all W. P. A. job stoppages in which we are concerned, including suspension one-day national W. P. A. protest demonstration planned for July 20. WORKERS ALLIANCE HAS NEVER AND WOULD NOT STRIKE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT." (St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 16.)

Lasser added to this explicit statement as head of the Alliance: "We are asking our board for a vote to call off all members engaged in stoppages. Generally speaking, we have not been in favor of long strikes. We favor one or two day stoppages as a protest."

Daily Worker Forgets
The *Daily Worker* in its July 18 issue reported that Lasser's Minneapolis statement had been "well received", but conveniently forgot to report what he had said.

In the July 16 issue of the St. Paul Pioneer Press, Lasser is quoted as "expressing the opinion that the board will give its approval to both proposals." The proposals referred to are the one he offered, namely, to cancel all W. P. A. strikes in which members of the Workers Alliance are currently involved, and also to vote down the scheduled one-day stoppage on Thursday.

Why the sudden poll? Lasser said in answer: "The firing front will shift to Washington, because the next stage of the fight is legislative." The *Daily Worker* reported none of these statements by Lasser.

On July 18, three days after the newspapers of the nation had spurned Lasser's treachery all over the front pages, the *Daily Worker* still tried to cover up the Workers Alliance scab role by carrying headlines: "Alliance Spurs Plans for July 20 Stoppage." However, on page 6, buried deep in he columns, is the pay-off: "The Workers Alliance heads emphasized that their demonstration motion was not a strike, and that it was not necessary in many localities to have all day stoppages."

Stoppages Forced
Actually, in many localities, the Workers Alliance under the pressure of militant workers, have been forced to call the stoppage days in advance of the July 20 date. In St. Paul and Minneapolis, the Alliance is dragged along in the wake of the tremendous strike movement led by militant fighters and are compelled to remain out on strike.

But what does Lasser offer the W. P. A. workers as a weapon to replace the powerful offensive machine—the strike?

If you please, a campaign of letters and telegrams to President Roosevelt and members of Congress. That is what the Stalinists offer as a substitute for labor's most formidable method of getting what it

wants. Right back to the blind alley of "orderly", "peaceful", "passive" postcard writing, which has proven such a depressing failure in the past.

The *New York Times*, sharp-sighted organ of the boss class, was not slow in spotting the new recruits to the strike-breaker's ranks. Taking the Alliance stooges at their true worth, the Times in its report of Lasser's strike-breaking moves in the July 19 issue, scornfully and with great glee headlines the story—"Workers Alliance Bolts."

Yes, precisely the word for these agents of Roosevelt who have left the W.P.A. strikers holding the bag—"bolters." The Alliance, through office-brother Lasser, made it very clear that they turn their backs to all forms of militant struggle—above all, the strike. They are proving to Roosevelt that they are completely "sincere" in their new role of labor lieutenants of the bosses among the organized unemployed.

Stalinist Stooze Spoke Too Soon

Len de Caux, the Stalinist stooze who somehow got to be editor of the "C.I.O. News", has a bad habit of guessing wrong. In the latest issue of the "C.I.O. News", dated July 17, Mr. de Caux gives the front-page banner head to the vainglorious fight that the "left wing" New Dealers are supposed to be putting up in the Halls of Congress for the prevailing wage. Senator Murray, New Dealer from Montana, gets a great big boost from Len.

But before de Caux's paper arrived in the mails, Monday's papers announced that Murray, along with the rest of the two-faced "friends of labor" have deserted the fight.

Under de Caux's editorship, the "C.I.O. News" has consistently played down all items unfavorable to the Roosevelt administration, even going so far as to keep out of the paper or give little space to John L. Lewis' occasional blasts against the administration. Lewis' denunciation of the "Democratic majority of Congress" in Chicago last Saturday does not appear in the "C.I.O. News"—although it is supposed to be the official organ of the C.I.O.!

New York WPA Strike Going On Full Blast

(Continued from Page 1)
non-union men enter the gates. Most of these men, Brennan reported, merely stand around on the job worrying when they'll get their pink dismissal slips.

In a vitriolic statement denouncing capitalist press reports, President Murray stated: "Persons addicted to the vice of wishful-thinking are making the utterly false claim that the effectiveness of the work-stoppage program of the A.F.L. unions in this city is diminishing. The reverse is true. The W.P.A. authorities, in actual fact, are confronted with absolutely undentable bottlenecks on each and every construction job in the city on which skilled mechanics are required."

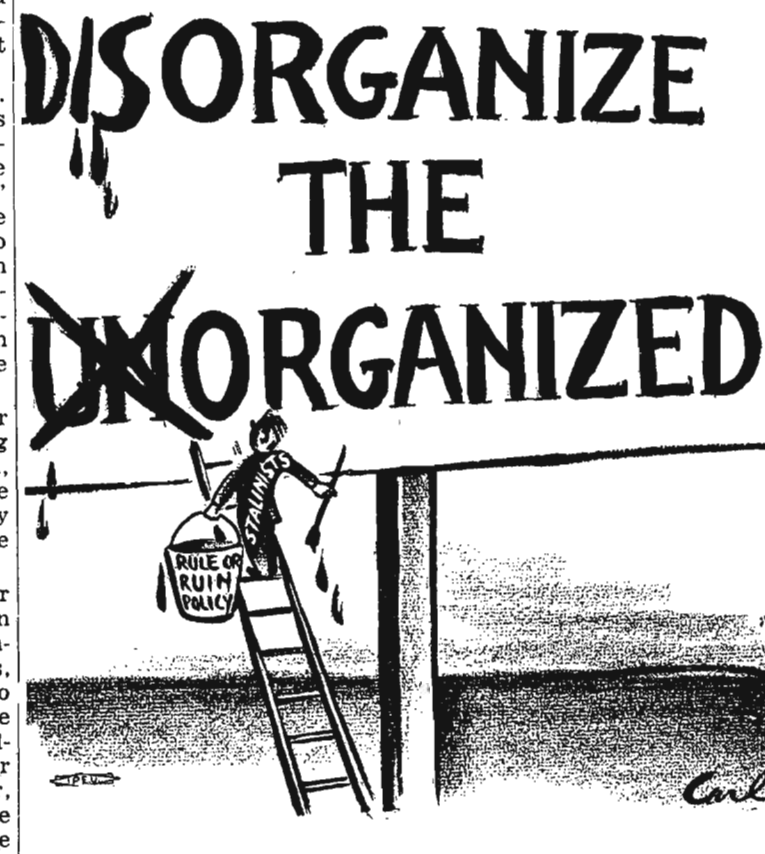
Answers Somervell
With reference to Administrator Somervell's claim that all Murray declared, "I notice work is returning to normal, that the Colonel, whose lucid moments are becoming increasingly rare, does not take occasion to dwell on the subject of electrical workers, to cite but one example. I notice also," Murray went on, "that the Colonel is still attempting to stifle the free press by refusing to permit newspaper reporters and photographers on the projects. If Somervell is doing as well as he claims, despite the lack of essential mechanics, I should think he would be glad to give access to the projects to the press. It takes a lot more than a trowel shoved into his hand to make a skilled bricklayer and it takes a lot more than a saw to make a carpenter. Somervell isn't displaying the realism one expects of an Army man when he pretends that he can turn an ornithologist, a poet or a sideshow pitchman into a skilled, efficient building trades craftsman in the space of twenty-four hours. Stop squirming, Colonel, we have you pinned to the board like a helpless butterfly."

Repeats Challenge
Repeating his challenge of last week that Colonel Somervell accompany the press on another tour of W.P.A. projects in order to determine the effectiveness of the strike, Murray today stated: "Last week when you were

invited to make a tour of the paralyzed projects in the company of newspapermen, you deplored to be excused. Now we wish again to extend such an invitation to you. We shall be glad to schedule the tour for any hour of any day that suits your convenience, and this, in our optimism, is a fair proposition. Once and for all, let the American people find out whether by this time they have in their midst a modest super-Houdini who, wielding an invisible wand, can transform men who never worked in the construction field before into seasoned electricians, bricklayers, carpenters and steam shovel operators in the blinking of an eye. Frankly, in view of the damaging admissions which your own supervisor on North Beach made last week, I am inclined to believe that you will duck this invitation as you did the previous one." On the tour made last week, the press was able to note that all work on the North Beach Airport was thoroughly paralyzed.

Union Holds Key
Reminding Somervell that his recourse to the New York State Employment Service for workers to man the struck projects will be futile, President Murray today telegraphed the W.P.A. administrator: "Do you not know, Mr. Administrator, that the law governing the State Employment Service clearly specifies that no unemployed worker shall be sent to fill a vacant job if the acceptance of said job would result in the loss of his union membership? Inasmuch as you have pinned such high hopes on the State Employment Service, I know this blow is a crushing one."

Asked by reporters how the five day rule was affecting the morale of the strike, Murray stated: "The five day rule invoked by the W.P.A. to dismiss striking workers will be a dead letter since no construction on any W.P.A. project can be resumed without the re-employment of skilled mechanics." On Friday, July 21, representatives of the 125 craft unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council met to discuss new means for implementing the strike.



MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

WILLIAM H. SYLVIS (Nov. 26, 1828-July 27, 1869)

The Civil War nearly wrecked the union movement, decimating its membership, suspending its activities. Everywhere, bosses undertook an organized offensive against labor standards.

Yet, out of this period of depression in the union movement grew the first great advance towards a national organization of labor. The man who accomplished this was William H. Sylvis, the first great leader of American labor. He, for example, saw the bosses' game: "To effectually smother in its infancy any disposition the men might have to fraternize... they commenced to work on their prejudices, arraigning the representatives of one religion or one nation against those of another."

Sylvis had been born in Pennsylvania into a poor wagon-makers family. The Depression of 1837 had scattered his family and he had become an iron moulder, wandering for a time as a journeyman, then settling down in Philadelphia. Local strikes were frequent in the industry. In the course of a strike in 1857, Sylvis was elected shop secretary. After the strike, he was elected recording-secretary of the Iron Moulders union which had been organized in 1855 and which was destined to mirror the trend of the labor movement—from pure and simple trade union action, to political action, to economic action again, etc. Sylvis, almost on the heels of his election, introduced a resolution for a national convention of iron moulders. When the call for the founding convention of the Iron Moulders International Union, (Philadelphia, 1859) was issued, he was one of the two signers.

With the Civil War fast approaching, Sylvis was active in the anti-war movement which was then very widespread. In February of 1861 he presided at a national convention of workers who were opposed to the war. However, when the war had actually begun, Sylvis, as did most of the labor leaders, supported the war.

The union had virtually gone to pot with the outbreak of war. In 1863 it was reconvened, and Sylvis was elected president. Viewing trade union action as only a half-way measure, useful so long as the wage system lasted but incapable of solving the basic problems of the wage earners, he introduced into the union proposals which looked to the abolition of the profit system. In his 1864 report he, among other things, recommended cooperative foundries and a national trades assembly with an all-embracing program.

Such a body came into being in 1866 as the result of the "Labor Congress" which met in Baltimore as the first meeting of the National Labor Union. Sylvis two years later was elected president, and thus became the spokesman of 600,000 workers, the largest organized labor force in the country up to that time.

N.L.U. program favored the formation of a labor reform party, the 8-hour day, support of the "sewing-women and daughters of toil in this land".

In the last days of the war and after, the iron industry made gigantic strides, the Iron Moulders union came to active life, winning wage increases for its men, enforcing trade rules, especially with reference to apprentices. To head off union action, the bosses tried to organize, but weren't very successful. Sylvis, in theory opposed to strike action, nevertheless led some of the great battles of the American working class. In 1867 he led a nine month strike which was ended in defeat, the bosses at that particular time being able to organize their own forces, and the workers drained to exhaustion by the many financial assessments.

However, the union rallied and turned towards cooperation in a big way. "At last after years of earnest effort and patient waiting, and constant preaching, cooperation is taking hold upon the minds of our members, and in many places very little else is talked about." Cooperative foundries which Sylvis hailed as the "beginning of a new era" were founded. The change effected was for example indicated in the union name which was changed to read, "Iron Moulders International Cooperative and Protective Association."

For International Action

Where he was particularly distinguished from the ordinary labor leaders of his day, was his interest in international organization. Very much interested in Marx's First International, he for a long time carried on a detailed correspondence with the leaders of the International. For example, war between England and the United States was threatening in 1860. The secretary of the International wrote him suggesting joint labor action for peace. In answer, Sylvis wrote: "Our cause is a common one. It is war between poverty and wealth... This monied power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win it. If we can, we will win through the ballot box; if not, then we shall resort to sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases". At his recommendation, A. C. Cameron was sent by the N.L.U. to the 1869 conference of the First International. And had he lived, it is quite possible the organization would have been affiliated to the International.

As it happened, Sylvis died in the middle of his career. He had led the first major attempt at the national organization of labor, and even aimed at international organization. Not very effective in actual practice (the first truly effective national organization was soon to be created in the Knights of Labor), it nevertheless prodded the awakening labor movement to a great goal.

New York Locals' Activities Reviewed in 'Party Action'

The July issue of *Party Action*, an internal bulletin published by Local New York on problems facing the local organization, is now available to members of the Socialist Workers Party. It reviews the activities of Local New York since the last City Convention and outlines the program of action for the coming period.

Greatest success during the last period, according to *Party Action*, was reaped from the campaign against Coughlin and his incipient fascist movement. Local New York mobilized every member for this campaign, organizing street meetings, distributing leaflets, and intensifying sales of the *Socialist Appeal*. The entire first edition of the anti-Coughlin pamphlet was sold out in a few weeks and it was necessary to print a second edition.

In the trade union and unemployed fields *Party Action* reports real progress, especially in the W.P.A. strike which has done much to expose the tra-

Trotsky Answers "Renegades from Marxism" in August New Int'l

The August issue of the *New International*, now on the press, features an article by Leon Trotsky which is certain to arouse as much interest and controversy as the article on "Their Morals and Ours"—printed several months ago—of which the August article is the sequel.

Trotsky, in an article on "sy-cophants and renegades from Marxism," deals with the critics of his famous article, in particular with Boris Souvarine and Victor Serge, both of whom have made a series of criticisms in the press since Trotsky's article first appeared.

Other articles in the August issue include an anniversary piece of ten years of the existence of the *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition*, and an extremely interesting tabulation of the fate of the members of the various Central Committees of the Bolshevik Party since the Revolution of 1917. The statistics provide a revealing and shocking picture of the devastation wrought by the old revolutionists under whose leadership the Bolshevik revolution triumphed and was maintained in its early years.

Oscar Fischer writes on the suicide of Ernest Toller, whose death several weeks ago caused a sensation in radical and intellectual circles. Other important articles and letters, on a variety of subjects are also to be found in the August issue.

The Manager of the *New International* urges that advance orders be sent immediately to the office at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

STALINISTS SEEK TO DISRUPT Y.P.S.L. ACTIVITY

BROOKLYN — Successful street meetings and other activities of the John Brown unit of the Young Peoples Socialist League, a new unit in the Coney Island area, galvanized the Communist Party into action.

The following letter was sent by the Communist Party, Branch No. 32 (John Landy-Sea Gate) to all Communist Party members privately:

"Dear Comrade,
The Communist Party is taking steps to stop the dissemination (sic) of the Trotskyite poison in Coney Island."

"Your presence at a street meeting called by the Party for Friday Eve., July 21st at 8 p. m. sharp. To be held at Mermaid Avenue and West 27th Street.

"It is imperative that you be there!!
Comradely yours,
Herb Lerner, Organizer."

The street corner mentioned is that where the Y. P. S. L. regularly holds its meetings. The unit is preparing to defend its meeting against Stalinist thuggery.

"Star Spangled Banner," followed immediately by the "reciting of the oath of allegiance to the constitution."

All the action proposed was the usual flood of postcards and telegrams to Congress.

The scabbing of the Workers Alliance leadership has been a harsh blow to the unemployed of New York. Today it is necessary for the W. P. A. workers and the unemployed to build the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, if they want to fight for the right to live.

Limited Offer!
For Two Weeks Only
1938 Bound Volumes of the SOCIALIST APPEAL and the NEW INTERNATIONAL \$4.00—including postage

CHICAGO STRIKE OF SKILLED WPA LABOR GROWS

(Continued from Page 1)
of the jobs before their business agents had arrived to call them out.

Quite a few thousand of these unskilled workers on the various projects have gone on strike with the skilled trades.

An exact estimate is not possible. Other thousands of unskilled have been made idle by the strike. Additional numbers of workers are now being called out every day.

Dismissal notices, up to this date, have been sent to 8,864 in the State of Illinois. In Chicago 22,000 are to be laid off between now and Sept. 1 under the 18 month provision.

John L. Lewis, addressing a mass meeting of 16,000 in the Coliseum yesterday in connection with the national stock yard workers strike now authorized, said, in speaking on the WPA strike: "Democrats must share responsibility with the Tory Republicans for a measure which will deprive a million unemployed of WPA jobs, besides reducing the already meagre WPA wage."

DANCE and ENTERTAINMENT
Young India Social Club
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Editor: **MAX SHACHTMAN**
Associate Editors: **HAROLD ROBERTS** **FELIX MORROW**
Staff Members: **EMANUEL GARRETT** **JOSEPH HANSEN**
Business 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.

'Inaccurate' Roosevelt

Karl Marx once made the interesting observation that rulers are always far more class-conscious than their subjects, because in seeking to preserve their power the rulers have to be clear in advance what the effects of their decisions will be. Especially in these turbulent times, it is certain, rulers do what they do with a conscious understanding of all the consequences and implications of their actions.

When, in his April 27 relief budget message, President Roosevelt told an obedient Congress that the figure for W.P.A. should be \$1,477,000,000 and a maximum of two million jobs—and Congress did as he said—he was unquestionably acting on the basis of a carefully-thought-out program.

The President has at his disposal the most efficient and large-scale fact-finding apparatus available to any man in the world. The Statistical Bureau of the Department of Labor is justly famous for its accuracy and comprehensiveness. The research bureaus of the Department of Commerce tell the President the day-to-day facts about production in each industry, productivity per man, extent of employment and unemployment, just about as accurately as any society will ever be able to compile similar data.

Likewise the Department of Agriculture provides the President with the best-possible data on agricultural production and the extent and possibilities of employment in the rural areas. In a word, when the President wrote his relief budget message, he knew better than any of us just how many people were unemployed and how unlikely were their chances of finding employment during the coming year.

Yes, Roosevelt knew just what he was doing when he wrote that message. By limiting the number to be employed on W.P.A. to two million Roosevelt knew—he knew in his mind and in his heart—that he was condemning at least ten million others to the low-standard local relief systems—if they could get on relief.

He knew it and yet he did it. He did it because every last dollar that he can hang on to, he wishes to spend for his war preparations. He has long given up hope of reviving American industry by "priming the pump" at home. His face is turned toward the outside world—there, in Europe and Asia, by imperialist conquest, by making America the master of the world, he hopes to start industry going again. And the wheels of industry are to turn, first, to create the war machine. That's Roosevelt's program now, and if ten million must starve for it, he cares not a tear for their suffering.

We can't imagine anybody not understanding that when Roosevelt got together with "Tory Woodrum" on the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Law, he knew just what he was doing. He's as sane and shrewd as he ever was, no doubt about that. We can't imagine anybody who would pretend different—anybody, that is, except the Stalinists.

For lo and behold, after the most abysmal silence concerning Roosevelt's responsibility for setting the figures for W.P.A., the Daily Worker is finally constrained to attempt to explain it away in a "casual" sentence in a long editorial. We rescue this sentence from its obscurity, to preserve it for posterity. Here it is:

"Unfortunately, President Roosevelt, basing himself on inaccurate estimates, did not ask for sufficient funds for W.P.A. for the coming years." (Daily Worker, July 19.)

What is the Daily Worker saying? It is say-

ing that the Trotskyist analysis of Roosevelt's relief policy is unthinkable because Roosevelt must remain, by definition, the leader of the Democratic Front. Therefore the Daily Worker offers an alternative to the Trotskyist analysis. And its alternative explanation comes down to this:

The President, his research staffs, the statistical bureaus of the Departments of Labor, Commerce, Agriculture, etc., etc., are a pack of idiots who can't add figures or count noses. The President wanted to give jobs to all the unemployed but couldn't find out how many of them there were.

You have our explanation, and you have that of the Stalinists. They are the only two possible ways to explain Roosevelt's relief policy. Take your choice.

P.S. In carefully laying out his program, Roosevelt had to take many factors into account. Especially he had to be as sure as possible that he could put this program over without being successfully resisted by the labor movement. On this score, he was reassured by the support he could depend on from the bureaucrats in the labor movement like Bill Green and John L. Lewis. But above all, he was certain in advance that his relief-slashing, strikebreaking, union-busting program would be dressed up as progressive by the Stalinists.

To sum up: Roosevelt could decree starvation for ten million unemployed because in advance he could be sure that the Stalinists would invent any number of alibis, even if in their desperation they have to concoct such preposterous alibis as the one we have just analyzed.

"The grandchildren of the pioneers—young people of the present oncoming generation—can't go out and find new opportunities on unoccupied land," says Aubrey Williams, National Youth Administrator. "They have to stay at home and take it." . . . Which causes the heart of that great "humanitarian" in the White House, F.D.R., to bleed at their plight. So he means to change this state of affairs by sending them abroad where they can "give" it to some poor inoffensive foreign youth.

Johnson Knows

"Like it or not, if war actually comes to us, freedom of speech will dry up overnight. Such is the nature of modern war that only a dictatorship in the full Nazi sense can successfully conduct it. Knowing something of these matters from first-hand experience, this writer would be among the first to advocate that."—Hugh S. Johnson, in the New York World Telegram, July 16, 1939.

Johnson certainly ought to know. He used to be President Roosevelt's right-hand man.

Talk to Stalinists!

Now is the time for every member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League, and every sympathizer of our movement, to talk to the members and sympathizers of the Stalinist organizations.

The Stalinist leaders and pie-card artists continue to draw their pay as usual, but their victims and dupes, the Communist Party members on the W.P.A. and relief and the many who are unemployed and can't even get relief—these pitiful workers are suffering all the torments of the rest of the unemployed. The rank and file of the Stalinist organizations have been led handcuffed to the Roosevelt relief slaughter by the corrupt bureaucrats to whom they looked for leadership to a better life.

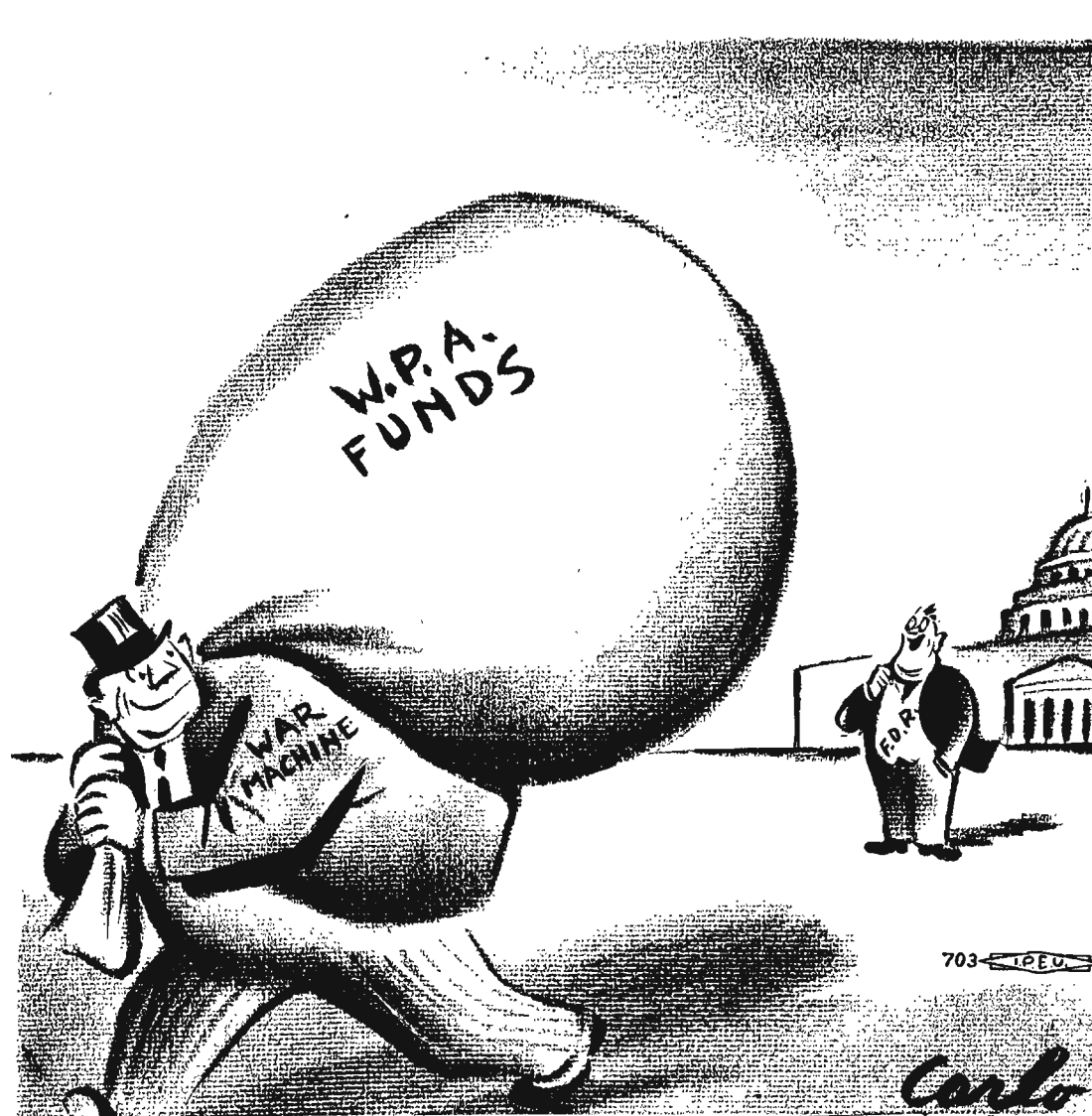
The gulf between the Stalinist leadership and the Stalinist followers is as deep as the gulf between exploiters and exploited. Just as many of the most exploited workers over long periods of time fail to understand who their exploiters are, the unfortunate workers taken in by the Stalinist highbinders have permitted themselves to be herded like sheep to the slaughter—until now.

Now, however, the gulf separating them from their corrupt leaders is becoming apparent to many of them. In the W.P.A. strikes in a number of instances, Communist Party members, ordered by the bureaucrats to prepare a back-to-work movement, revolted and kept the picket lines going. Thousands who thought that the Leader of the Democratic Front in the White House was going to take care of them, are now awakening to Roosevelt's real role.

If we do not make immediate contact with these workers, they will fall by the wayside; as disillusionment with Roosevelt and the Communist Party sets in, they will simply drop into passivity—unless we have meanwhile established comradely relations with them and bring them over to the revolutionary movement. They joined the Communist Party because they wanted a new social order—they will join us and fight in our ranks for the new social order, if we reach out a hand to them before they drop away from the organized movement.

In these significant weeks, every comrade should make it his business to contact these Stalinist workers.

One Project That Will Be Well Financed!



Roosevelt Prepares Frame-Up to Destroy Building Trades Unions

By RUTH JEFFREY

The Roosevelt Administration's destruction of the prevailing wage on W.P.A. construction projects is only the opening gun in the government's war against the building trades unions. That is clear from the attack on "restraining" activities in the building industry made last week by Assistant General Thurman Arnold, followed by Attorney General Frank Murphy's announcement of his intention to employ the Sherman Anti-Trust Law against unions, contractors and suppliers.

Just who is going to be prosecuted by the Department of Justice? Principally and primarily the unions—this can be seen by an examination of the lengthy statement prepared by Mr. Arnold.

But first let us state the real situation in the construction industry.

Between the years 1919 and 1933 on the average the construction industry accounted, directly and indirectly, for 15% of the national income produced; no other industry has ever even approximated that amount. Between the years 1933 and 1935 this key industry was accounting for only 1.6% of the national income!

This was the situation Roosevelt sought to remedy with such measures as his ineffectual Federal Housing Authority (to encourage private building) and his United States Housing Authority (for public low-rental housing). His utter failure can be directly traced to his refusal to attack the basic causes of the high ultimate cost of housing, first among which stands the amazing cost of financing, due to the stranglehold the banks possess over credit.

BANKS AND LANDLORDS THE REAL CULPRITS

This can readily be seen by the man in the street whom the billboards tell that, under the F.H.A. plan he can purchase a \$5,000 house for \$40 a month, his "present" rental. After 20 years the \$5,000 house is entirely his—and it certainly should be: he will have paid the bank, with the inclusion of his \$1,000 down-payment, a total of \$10,960 for that \$5,000 house!

Real estate interests have a similar stranglehold on the land needed for housing. They often charge more for the building site than the entire subsequent building operation will cost. This is the Achilles heel of the United States Housing Authority, which has miserably failed to provide the low-rental housing for the "one-third of the nation" which Roosevelt admitted was "ill-housed."

In a word, the New Deal has never attacked the real culprits. Now, instead, the Department of Justice has been instructed to make the building trades unions the scapegoat. This is clear from the document which Mr. Arnold presented to the Temporary National Economic Committee.

Mr. Arnold fills an entire printed newspaper page with a

vigorous attack upon unions and a carefully-qualified criticism of contractors and suppliers; but to the basic factors, the banks and real estate interests, he devotes just one sentence each—and those two sentences only to absolve them from the investigation! Here is what he says:

"Of course I do not suggest to the committee that unlawful restraints are the only source of high construction costs. Credit facilities offer one of the outstanding means of reducing ultimate costs. Land values are often high. Remedies . . . however (for these ills), are not within the scope of this report."

Furthermore, Arnold carefully exempts from blame the big corporations which glean millions of dollars in profits from supplying building materials. Having talked the matter over personally—over whiskey and cigars, no doubt—with the leaders in those industries," Arnold reports, "They were afraid that any decrease in price would be absorbed elsewhere in contractor's profits or in labor's reward."

He concludes sympathetically: "Business men caught in such a situation are unable by themselves to change the pattern. They have to violate the law in order to survive against aggressive combinations which are attacking them."

The building contractors, too, need lose no sleep over the pending inquiry. "My justification," says Arnold, "in giving the idea public circulation at this time is to interest builders in it." For both the benefit of contractors and suppliers is his statement: "The Department of Justice acts only on complaints of business men."

HIS REAL GAME: ASSAULT ON UNIONS

Having absolved bankers and landlords, suppliers and contractors, Arnold has left to prosecute just one other group in the building industry: the building trades unions. That is his real point: the destruction of union wage and hour scales, under the pretext of getting union workers to join in a "broad, co-ordinated program" for the reduction of construction costs.

Arnold concludes: "We can say to labor, 'You can get the same thing that the heavy industries are getting: a greater annual income, based on having more work to do during the year, without need to stretch the hours of work and the rate of pay on each particular job.'" In plain English, the New Deal will demand—backing up its demand with trumped-up prosecutions of the unions and their leaders—that the building trades workers give up their union wage rates in exchange for cooie wages and the speed-up . . . and a promise of more week work per year.

That promise (we pass by the fact that weather conditions and other factors decisively limit the number of weeks construction workers can possibly work in any year) cannot be cashed in on because no wage cuts can do away with the paralysis induced by the profits insisted upon by the banks and real estate interests, not to speak of the supply companies and contractors.

Every worker and friend of labor must prepare to defend the construction workers against this governmental frameup.

Minnesota Workers Salute Their Martyred Brother

(Continued from Page 1)

Watson, president of the Workers Alliance of Minnesota, and Louis Boerback, vice president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union.

After the funeral services in the C. L. U. hall, the procession of cars and marchers wended their way down 1st Avenue North to the sewing project. Here the hundreds unable to find transportation to Crystal Lake cemetery, where Bergstrom was interred, disbanded while those in cars filed their way to the cemetery.

Bergstrom was a member of the Painters Union, Local 283, but was out on a withdrawal card at the time of his murder. He was a relief client.

Dozens of unions of the city contributed floral displays and the hall was laden with the fragrance of the blossoms. But all the flowers in the world could not have made us forget the smell of the tear gas and the gun powder which is the way of the boss class to "answer" the protests of the workers against slave conditions.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

Two objections have been received to the comments made in this column (June 13) on the Lovestoneite "socialist unity" campaign.

One comes from an S. P. member in New York, N. Y., who declares that he is for unity, even though he does not trust the leaders of any of the groups, including his own party. "But the sort of unity I visualize is not the 'unity' the S. P. had with the 'Trotskyites.' I would be opposed to such unity today as I was opposed to it when you entered our party. Unity can be achieved on a programmatic basis only if there are organizational safeguards against factionalism and personalism, and an intelligent fostering of activity and not factional perspectives. . . ."

Another objector is a Brooklyn member of the Lovestone group, E. S., who claims to have been the first to raise the question of unity in his own organization and in an article in its pre-convention discussion. It was not, he states, instigated by Lovestone; indeed, "Lovestone . . . rejects the idea that the S. W. P. can be absorbed into a healthy revolutionary movement." The "unity" letters in the Workers Age are not a Machiavellian plot of Lovestone but reflect a widespread sentiment, a longing among radical workers.

"Although personally subscribing to everything Lovestone is purported to have said in France about Trotskyism, I am in favor of unity with the Trotskyites. I believe that the Trotskyite movement is inverted Stalinism; that Trotsky is an authoritarian Pope, leading his worshippers with the weapon of infallibility on one hand, and excommunication on the other; that he has his mind in the days of 1917-1923, and not in the events of today; that he would still return to the Comintern of its first Four Congresses, which contained the roots and manifestations of every evil which has since destroyed the world communist movement. But when I come out for unity with the Trotskyites, I mean that there is room for people even with such ideas in a united party. . . ."

"You may believe that this unity plea is unfeasible; you may oppose it. But can't we discuss it on the basis of its own merits? Must the net argument against it be that it is 'inspired,' 'a trick,' insincere and that Engels wouldn't have been for it, so why should we?"

E. S., furthermore, sees a contradiction in our remarks a few weeks ago when we pointed out that we had consistently stood for unity then, "strangely enough, you dig up from Engels a quotation warning against unity howlers!"

We readily grant the good will and the good intentions of the two comrades who wrote in. We are ready to grant, further, that there is a sound sentiment among many militants who, realizing the weakness of the movement and the enormous tasks it must still fulfill, want to see a drawing together of all revolutionary socialists that can be united.

But we cannot agree with the conclusions of the correspondents nor do we find any reason for withdrawing the comments on the subject made on June 13.

A Few General Rules

The "Trotskyites" of the Communist League of America, quite unconcerned with the petty aspects of organizational prestige, did not hesitate for a minute in 1934 when the question arose of uniting into a larger organization with the American Workers Party (Muste group). Regardless of preceding criticisms and conflicts, we took the initiative in proposing a fusion of the two groups on an equal basis—but above all, on the basis of a revolutionary Marxist program. Our estimate of the A. W. P., briefly was that it was a centrist group (the term is not an epithet with us, but a political characterization), but one that was moving to the left. Our estimate of that unity with the A. W. P. was possible on the basis of a principled program that would in no wise conflict with our own point of view. The Declaration of Principles finally adopted jointly by the two groups was eminently satisfactory and made possible a fruitful fusion into the Workers Party of the United States. Not only were the Trotskyites not obliged to yield a single inch of their principled position, but they succeeded in accelerating the leftward evolution of many A. W. P. militants (as well as in learning a good deal from them, in turn).

What possible analogy is there between that unity and that which is proposed by our two correspondents, among others? Each in his own way proposes, in effect, that the "Trotskyites" be included in the "unity" as second-class citizens, scarcely tolerated pariahs, people who must be circumscribed by all kinds of "safeguards." A. Y. is not for "admitting" us into the unity in the way we were admitted into the S. P. three years ago. E. S., after an eloquent characterization of us, believes that "there is room for people even with such ideas in a united party"—but in a "united party" whose program is . . . anti-Trotskyism. A rather odd conception of unity!

A Different Situation

—But wasn't the S. P. "anti-Trotskyist" when you joined it three years ago? The situation three years ago was entirely different from today. The S. P. was, or seemed to be, on the road to a mass party. It was attracting to itself many young revolutionists and militants hopeful of progress now that the S. P. had rid itself of "Old Guard" domination. The party was frankly in a state of flux. Its program was not fixed. It allowed wide latitude for discussion that would help shape its further evolution. Above all, it was moving to the left; it invited left-wing militants to join it; it did not make a profession of anti-Trotskyism.

When we joined the S. P., we did not forswear our principles; we were not asked to forswear them. On the contrary, we openly proclaimed them and also our intention to persuade all other members of the S. P. to adopt them as their own. The "unity" was an "open covenant, openly arrived at"—even if reluctantly on the part of the right wingers in the S. P.

Now the S. P. is a cracked shell. It is bureaucratized. It is moving not to the left but to the right (as is the Lovestone sect). It provides a "loyalty oath" for all collaborators. You can't even be a member of its private unemployed organization if you believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Unity between us and the S. P.-Lovestone combination is simply utopian, fantastic. Its advocates continue to belong to Engels' category of "unity-howlers."