

Socialist Appeal

Vol. II - No. 22 Saturday, May 28, 1938
 Published every week by the
 SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
 at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
 Telephone: National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547
 Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.
 All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.
 Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937 at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.
 MAX SHACHTMAN
 Editor.
 HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES
 Associate Editors.
 S. STANLEY
 Business Manager.

The Pennsylvania Primaries

The working class, as an organized force, is today entering politics on a scale unprecedented in the history of this country.

The days of that particular brand of class neutrality, of political indifference, which was summed up in the Gompers' "reward your friends and punish your enemies" formula, are drawing to a close.

Labor's hat is in the ring. The question is no longer whether labor is to enter politics, but how and to what end. The mere entry of labor, as an organized force, into politics does not in the least guarantee independent class action, or a strategy which will in actuality be to labor's interest. Caught in the meshes of a false policy, labor's political awakening can be utilized to forge new chains rather than new class weapons.

We are now going through a testing period. The first great expression of labor's political upsurge is the C. I. O.-stimulated Labor's Non-Partisan League with the strategy outlined for it by its leading national spokesmen. The first major experiment in this strategy was the Pennsylvania Democratic primaries.

It is of decisive importance for the labor movement to assimilate the results and lessons of this crucial experiment. It is not a matter for hasty, over-night comprehension. Let us, however, summarize those first conclusions which stand out even on the surface of the Pennsylvania events:

1. It is not nearly so easy to capture the Democratic party machinery (the main line of present L. N. P. L. strategy) as some optimists of the labor movement have fondly imagined. The machine, sustained by patronage, graft, propaganda facilities, and more than a century's traditions, is solidly entrenched. The mere fight for its control is not a sufficient political and social motivation to lead the masses to break away from its old leadership in overwhelming numbers.

2. Much more important: From the point of view of labor, the Democratic Party is not worth "capturing" even if or where this might be possible. It is like trying to capture a jail, only to discover when you have succeeded that you have locked yourself inside the cell-block.

In order to make his campaign in Pennsylvania, Thomas Kennedy was compelled to come to terms with the notorious Guffey machine, to fight for a slate on which he was the sole labor representative, to make promises and engage in practices which decreed, necessarily, that even if he had won the nomination he and the mighty labor movement behind him would have found themselves the captives of old-line Democratic politicians, not the other way around.

This is the case not only in Pennsylvania, but generally. Labor needs its own instruments to serve its own ends. The political gun of another class, when triggered by labor, always backfires.

The Pennsylvania gun has already begun sputtering. The L. N. P. L. tactic leaves the Pennsylvania workers holding a very empty bag: for it compels Lewis to order them, now, to support in next autumn's elections the very slate (Jones-Earle) which Kennedy branded as the enemy and betrayer of the C. I. O. and the entire labor movement.

3. On a still more extended level, the Pennsylvania experience again indicates, as has been so often demonstrated elsewhere and at other times, that even from the point of view of specific practical results, the primary and central business of working class politics is not to gain immediate and extensive electoral posts.

L. N. P. L.'s present strategy makes immediate electoral posts its dominating aim, on the ground that this brings the quickest practical result for labor. Experience teaches otherwise. There is a qualitative as well as a quantitative factor in politics. Quite apart from longer-

time aims, even in terms of concrete practical results, labor gains most from its independent organization and action as a class.

Such independent organization and action is what makes governments sit up and take notice, far more than speedy elections to office accomplished at the cost of firmer and more conscious class action—at the cost, thus, of decreasing rather than increasing the class strength of the workers.

Kennedy's half a million votes did not win the nomination for him; but they are not forgotten, and they play a larger role than those same votes would have had if they had gone down the line for the State Committee's slate. But that same half a million votes, or a half or a quarter of that half million, would have been ten times more effective in advancing labor's cause if they had been dynamited altogether out of the capitalist party political framework, and had been assembled in terms of some form, even if only partly developed, of independent working class action.

To elect a senator at the price of weakening the class strength of the workers does not for a minute fool the astute leaders of capitalism and reaction. To deepen and invigorate the independent class power of the workers, whether or not anyone is elected today as a result—whether, for that matter, the process occurs on the parliamentary field or on any other: this and this alone serves the interests, immediate and remote, of the workers. Through this means and this alone will the voice of labor ring louder in the land.

The Relief Crisis

The statements currently being made by Harry Hopkins and other Administration spokesmen before the Congressional Committees conducting hearings on the new "Spending Program" sum up to a recognition of an impending general crisis in the relief situation.

This impending crisis is pointed to only the more dramatically by the crises already present in the states of Ohio and Illinois.

It is absolutely clear, from Hopkins' testimony itself, that the Spending Program, even if passed by Congress without curtailment or restriction, is no more than a drop in the bucket. The \$177,000,000 a month for W.P.A. will not provide half the jobs that are and will be needed. The provisions for cash relief will not keep millions from slow starvation.

In this situation, the purely legalistic and parliamentary activities now being pursued by the Workers' Alliance under the guidance of the Stalinists are criminal. Lasser and Benjamin get their names in the paper, but the unemployed get neither jobs nor cash.

For the sake of the most elementary self-defense, if for nothing more, the time has come for the unemployed to snap out of it if they are not to be literally mowed down next winter—or even sooner—by malnutrition, cold and disease.

The unemployed movement, which has in its past glorious and mightily effective traditions of struggle, has got to recognize that what is needed now is mass action and not names in the paper.

Militant demonstrations, a series of uncompromising sit-downs, will open up funds which all the "legislative campaigns" from now till Doomsday will never unlock.

A "Peace" Banquet

The Keep America Out of War Committee, among the original sponsors of which are Norman Thomas and the Lovestoneites, were holding a "planning-for-peace" dinner in Washington on Friday of this week, preparatory to a week-end anti-war congress to which the usual "leaders in religious, educational, farm and labor organizations" were being invited.

This precious committee of befuddled pacifists opposes, among other things, a big navy program. Is that why they had President Roosevelt, greatest big navy planner of all time, on the list of guests invited to the dinner?

Perhaps they think they can persuade Roosevelt of the error of his ways! But would any serious prohibitionist think of inviting whisky manufacturers and brewers to join in a crusade against intoxicating liquor?

Here we get the true measure of the pacifists. Afraid to lead the workers into action against war, they are always to be found on bended knees praying to the imperialist war-makers to keep peace. And when war does break out, these gentlemen usually climb on the imperialist bandwagon. Will Norman Thomas and Jay Lovestone explain what they are doing in this crew?

The Spanish "United Front"



Felix Morrow Writes a Marxist Study of the Events in Spain

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain, by Felix Morrow. Published by Pioneer Publishers, New York (203 pp., 50 cents).

By ERNEST ERBER

The need for a Marxist analysis and interpretation of the world-shaking events in Spain has long been keenly felt by those fighting for the ideas of Bolshevism. This indispensable and long-awaited work has made its appearance with the publication of the above volume.

The revolutionary movement of the English-speaking world will find in this book an invaluable weapon in the fight for the program of the Fourth International. Utilizing the concrete experience of Spain it drives home the lessons of the difference between class collaboration and class struggle as no abstract thesis could succeed in doing.

The present work begins, with only a slight overlapping, where the author left off in his previous work, "The Civil War in Spain." The latter, now unfortunately out of print, serves as a valuable introduction to the present volume, since it gives a wealth of background material on Spanish political developments since 1931, unavailable elsewhere in such comprehensive form. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the events dealt with in the present volume.

In his effort to achieve conciseness, the author has not fallen into the error of making unsubstantiated assertions. The book abounds with quotations from a variety of sources which

bolster the argumentation. In fact, the wealth of the material presented should make the work a valuable source book on the important governmental decrees and the political declarations of the various parties.

Approaching the question as a Marxist historian, Comrade Morrow makes no pretense at being "objective" in the sense of the bourgeois historian's objectivity. Historical phenomena are treated from the standpoint of the class struggle and the roles of the participants judged by the criterion of the struggle for working class power.

This approach reveals the leaders of the Spanish working-class in a sordid light. One is at a loss to find an analogy in history for such a concentration of treachery, betrayal, and blundering stupidity in one epoch. The roles of the cynical mercenaries of the Stalinist movement, the bewildered opportunists of the anarchist bureaucracy, the "practical" politicians of the Prieto school, the naive and political dishonesty of the Caballero wing of social democracy, and the whining centrists of the vacillating P.O.U.M. are analyzed at every decisive stage of the struggle.

The author does not, however, limit himself to criticism. The policy of the opportunists is constantly contrasted to the revolutionary strategy advocated by the Fourth Internationalists. Their strategy on the struggle for power, the economy, the national and colonial question, the international situation, and the military struggle composes a program for the Spanish revolution.

New Facts Presented

Comrade Morrow presents many facts which are new even to those of us who made a special point of keeping informed on the Spanish events. These facts, dug out of little-known provincial papers, government documents, or the abundance of eye-witness accounts, attest to the wide re-

search conducted by the author.

In writing an analytical history, one is inevitably confronted with the shortcomings of a chronological treatment of the events, since it does not permit exhaustive treatment of the special problems that come to the fore. Comrade Morrow solves the problem very ably by combining a chronological treatment of the events with special chapters devoted to specific questions. The chapters devoted to the military questions raised by the war give a new insight into the fundamental link between the politics and the military policy of the Loyalist government.

The Summary

The author sums up the last six months of the struggle with the following terse sentence:

"The jailing of workers and peasants and the opening of the front lines by 'republican' officers to the fascists: that is the story of Loyalist Spain from November, 1937, to May, 1938." The reader, under the immediate impressions of the ugly accumulation of betrayals and treacheries, cannot but feel that this sentence could sum up the whole experience of the Spanish masses under the banner of the People's Front. But the reader is not left with a feeling of despair, despite the sordidness of the story, for transcending all else is the unforgettable heroism of the workers and peasants of Spain, deceived again and again since they took to the road of revolution in 1931, but grimly determined to conquer or perish in the attempt. For as Comrade Morrow points out: "Pessimism and skepticism are luxuries for the few. The masses have no other choice except to fight for their lives and the future of their children."

But this fight will only be successful when the workers of Spain and the world will have learned the lessons of Spain so graphically portrayed in this book.

For Workers' Defense!

(Continued from page 1)

On whom can the workers rely for elementary protection? On the Roosevelt government? Even when it bestirs itself to an "investigation," it cannot bring to life labor's dead. It is not labor's government, but the government to preserve that system out of which South Chicago massacres grow inevitably. Rely on the courts? They are the legal bulwarks of private property owners—the sworn enemies of labor. On the police and National Guard? They are the hirelings of capital, their strikebreakers in uniform.

The only defense of the workers and their rights is self-defense. The only one labor can rely upon is itself! The only shield that labor can create against strikebreaking thugs, strikebreaking police—the assassins of the workers—is a WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARD, organized by the masses themselves, controlled by the masses themselves.

Only with such a Guard—conscious, resolute, militant—can labor defend itself and give a good account of itself in conflicts with the armed murderers of capital.

That is the lesson of the South Chicago massacre. That is the appeal that labor's fallen dead have written in their own blood. Prayer and supplication for mercy to the enemy is for serfs. Militant action is for men.

On to a Workers' Defense Guard! Its creation will be the best memorial to the heroic steel workers who were murdered a year ago.

Once More—

On Housing

An Editorial

Senator Robert F. Wagner, who fathered the Housing Act of 1937, says there is an "immediate shortage of over five and one-half million homes, with an additional need for over ten and one-half million homes for the period between today and 1950."

Mr. Miles L. Colean, deputy administrator in charge of large-scale housing for the Federal Housing Administration, admits that "the program permitted by the Act is not an extensive one. With its lending power for a three-year period limited to a total of \$500,000,000, the Authority will not likely be able to produce more than an average of 40,000 to 50,000 dwellings a year."

One For Every 100 Needed

Forty to fifty thousand a year—to meet an existing shortage of five and a half million homes, means one house built for every hundred needed. A drop in the bucket!

And even those homes and houses—who can buy them or rent them? Certainly not the millions who are most in need of decent housing. They cannot afford the large down payments and monthly installments; the others cannot afford the steep rents.

All the Housing Act does for them is—guarantee the profits of the banks and builders. Nothing more! In Mr. Colean's own words: "Probably the most significant contribution of the Home Loan Bank Board... has been in rescuing savings and loan institutions and increasing in some degree the funds available for home finance."

Roosevelt pours countless millions into bankrupt railroads through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He insures bank loans and builders' profits. But he doesn't do the first thing necessary to answer the burning housing question: BUILD HOUSES!

There Is Money Enough!

A minimum of FIVE BILLION DOLLARS is needed to launch a genuine government-subsidized building program, on a three point basis: sound construction, union labor, low cost, low rent. The five billion dollars are not as hard to get as may be thought. They are in the hands of the "Economic Royalists," of the "Sixty Families," and their associated multi-millionaires. They are there for the taking.

The New Dealers talk a lot about the "Economic Royalists" and their social abuse of their stupendous wealth. What about doing something? What about a serious capital tax that would reduce private control of "socially-abused wealth" and help launch a substantial building program?

The Economic Royalists can afford it, be sure of that!

Millionaire radio manufacturer, W. C. Grunow, owns, according to Ferdinand Lundberg's excellent study, *America's Sixty Families*, a bath-tub made from a single slab of Mexican onyx marble, costing \$12,000 and equipped with fixtures of 24-carat gold plate." The various establishments of the Du Pont family have at least 723 bathrooms alone.

Millions of families in the United States live in shacks and flats without even an indoor toilet!

How the Plutocrats Live

The Southampton estate of the late Henry H. Rogers has a swimming pool that set him back a cool quarter of a million—\$250,000. Millions of families in the United States do not even have running water at home!

Pierre Du Pont spent \$25,000 to have a single bush brought to his Longwood estate. The late Rodman Wanamaker spent \$1,000,000 to have his estate decorated with fine specimens of small-leaved box.

How many workers' and farmers' families enjoy even electric light in what they call "home?"

The Henry Du Pont residence at Winterthur, Del., has 150 rooms, 40 of them bedrooms. The Pierre Du Pont residence at Longwood, Del., has near 200 rooms and over 100 servants. The Vanderbilt family alone has some 30 separate residences, "most of them very ornate." The main Marshall Field estate in Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, is estimated at a value of \$15,000,000. The Philadelphia estate of the Stotesburys has 145 rooms, 45 baths and 14 elevators!

But how many families sleep two and three and even more in one room?

Rich Must Be Made to Pay

The government must have a housing program of its own. It must undertake to build small homes and apartment buildings. It must subsidize the building of these houses, so that the millions of cruelly underpaid can afford to move into them.

The money for such a program is available. It is in the hands of the fabulously wealthy plutocracy of the United States, which now spends it on rosebushes, million-dollar swimming pools, gold-plated bathroom fixtures, fairyland yachts, hundred-thousand-dollar booze parties and private railroads on its estates.

Demand that the Roosevelt government crack down on those who are wallowing in wealth! Demand a capital tax that will make possible a program for wiping out the slums and really housing the shack and fire-trap dwellers of the United States!

N. Y. Mass Meeting

under the Auspices of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Analysis of the Communist Party National Convention and the Stalinist Constitution For the United States

BEETHOVEN HALL
 210 East 10th Street

FRIDAY, JUNE 3, AT 8:30 P. M.