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

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

**Painters' Victory**

The victory of the progressives in District Council 9 of the Painters Union in New York City has more than local importance.

The District Council, one of the most important sections of the powerful building trades unions in the city, has been under the control of the Stalinists for several years. They came into office with a clear majority of the membership supporting them, hoping that they would establish a democratic regime in the union and really do something substantial to improve the conditions of the workers. They leave office, routed by just as clear a majority of the membership. And they more than earned their dismissal by the wreck they have almost made out of what should be a tower of strength in the building trades.

The Stalinists may capture a union here and there—playing demagogically on the progressive aspirations of the workers. They cannot keep control of it except by the most arrogant and bureaucratic measures. In District Council 9, not even these measures helped the Weinstock C.P. machine. It has been smashed, as it will be everywhere else in the country.

Now it is up to the aroused and vigilant membership to see to it that the union is converted into what it should be: a militant, progressive, democratic institution, which every worker will rightly feel is his.

This means: a thoroughgoing house-cleaning of all bureaucrats and reactionaries.

This means: reestablishing democracy, freedom of speech and freedom of criticism in the union.

This means: a carefully planned and executed program of action, backed up by organized union strength, to restore the living and working standards so badly shattered during the Weinstock administration.

The painters who just completed their elections did not merely vote to change one group of officials for another. They voted for a clean, democratic, progressive, militant union—not a docile tool of bureaucrats and the 13th Street fakery.

The new administration has a huge job cut out for it. It has a clear mandate from the membership. Let it take the right road at the right speed and it will find solid support for its activity.

**Against Boss War!**

A punch-drunk world waits for the Sarajevo of 1939. It was exactly 25 years ago that Princip's bullet found its mark in the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. Five weeks later the great opposing camps of imperialist powers were at war. Five weeks from now they may well be at war again. Sarajevo was just a spark for the tinder. This time there have been Sarajevos at almost every turn of the seasons during the last three years.

Striking as are the similarities between the crisis now and the crisis of a quarter-century ago, the differences are far more profound. The gangsters, who took the lives of innocent millions in the last war were filled with confidence. The capitalist racket was paying dividends. It was simply a question of enlarging the sphere of operations. Today their racket is rotted through and through. It isn't working any more. The gangsters sit on the fused dynamite of starving

millions. If the war of 1914-1918 opened up the prospect of world revolution that found flaming realization in the Russian revolution, only to be crushed again by a recovering reaction bolstered by the labor fakery and social democratic liars of all countries, the coming war finds the world much closer to the explosion that will wipe the disease of capitalism off the face of the tortured earth.

This is what the boss politicians know in every country. This is what has made the crisis so much more extended, so much more agonizing—for in England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and in the United States, the rulers all understand that the war may well be the end of all of them.

And it will be! The Russian revolution of 1917 was aborted when capitalism managed to survive in the rest of the world. But capitalism will not survive the crises to come! Mised, battered, betrayed, drugged, beaten into temporary submission, hurled out to die, the workers of the world will soon come to their feet, turn on their masters and put an end to senseless slaughter of their brothers. This is the specter that haunts the war makers! This is the firm hope and determination of revolutionists all over the world who will join with the Fourth International in fighting the war-makers and war-mongers, rejecting the traitorous leaders who would send the masses to death in the name of the bosses' super-profits!

It is to the organization of this struggle—to the conversion of this firm hope into hard reality—that the anti-war convention of the Socialist Workers Party dedicates itself. We stand against the war of the bosses! We call upon the workers of this country and of all countries to resist such a war and to turn it into a war for the liberation of all the oppressed of all peoples, of all races.

This is our banner and we write on it no "ifs" and "buts". Twenty-five years ago a tiny band—far smaller than we are today—held aloft this banner in the midst of the lies and frauds of the preachers and so-called socialists who supported the war. That banner led to the revolution in Russia. We hold it aloft today and under it we shall march to the victory of the workers' revolution here and throughout the world!

**On Provoking Riots**

Fascism aims to smash the entire labor movement—all of its sections, beginning with the most militant and ending with the most conservative.

Only the blind can fail to see that the fascists are already beginning their work in this country.

The cowardly attack in-the-dark-of-night upon the Thomasite Debs School has already been brought to our readers' attention.

The American Labor Party has not been immune, as witness the Coughlinite attack on the A.L.P. meeting in the South Bronx at which Councilman Quill spoke several days ago.

Now the Daily Worker reports (June 17) that last week the Coughlinites in the First A.D., Bronx, organized a march to break into the local headquarters of the Communist Party after attempting to disrupt a C.P. open air meeting on another corner.

These are exactly the same methods employed by the Blackshirts in Italy and later by the Nazis in Germany.

What conclusions does the Daily Worker draw? The most polite ones imaginable. "The Communists carefully avoided being provoked into a riot and rather left it to police to preserve order."

Now we too, like any sensible person, are against allowing ourselves to be "provoked into a riot." But that is not at all involved in the above cases. What is involved are the simple alternatives: Shall the workers organize to defend themselves, by their own strength and militancy, against fascism—or shall they leave their defense to the "order-preserving" police?

The Stalinist leaders who, in spite of everything, are on the murder-list of the fascists in this country, say:

Leave it to the police. The police will preserve order. The police will defend labor's rights. The police will stop the fascists. Workers, "don't be provoked"!

In the first place, at least half the cops of New York (if not more) are already in the Coughlinite camp, to one extent or another. Watch them on the streets when they get a chance to show where their sympathies lie, and you will see. In the second place, to tell the workers to let someone else do the work of defending them, is to tell them a lie that must have disastrous consequences. It's like telling unionists to rely on the police to protect their rights against scabs and thugs in a strike.

How many more headquarters have to be broken into, how many more meetings have to be broken up, how many more workers have to be beaten to a pulp by the fascists—before the workers (members of the Communist party included) learn the simple lesson:

To defend itself and its movement from the claws of fascism, labor must rely on itself, must organize itself.

To organize itself means: Build the Workers Defense Guards!

**The New Deal Skirts U.S. Housing Needs to Build Its War Machine**

**Government's Housing Program Is a Drop in the Bucket Which Doesn't Come Near Answering the Pressing Needs Of the Jobless Millions Who Are Forced to Live in Slums**

By RUTH JEFFREY

New Deal Housing, like New Deal work relief, has value only as a sample of what might have been done to aid the most seriously underprivileged "one-third" of the people—if a New Deal for the "forgotten man" had really existed.

During the first five and a half years of the Roosevelt Administration, the failure to undertake practical slum clearance and rehousing remained a world scandal of governmental indifference to the housing needs of a people. Finally, in September 1937, the Wagner-Steagall Act was approved, creating the United States Housing Authority—whose efforts will ultimately yield an answer to only 4 percent of the most pressing housing needs. (Abroad, in the period corresponding to the New Deal era, Switzerland was the foreign nation rated lowest in rehousing activity; and yet its government-assisted building program, on a proportionate basis, was ten times as extensive as in the U.S.)

Although experts estimate a need for 1,000,000 new dwellings every year (if the United States is to keep pace with its housing requirements), the U.S.H.A. was allotted, in 1937, \$800,000,000 with which to operate—assuring the construction of 150,000 dwelling units, at the rate of 60,000 a year. As amended last week in accordance with Roosevelt's latest pump-priming program the Wagner-Steagall Act now increases the bonding authorization of the U.S.H.A. by an additional \$800,000,000, increasing the number of dwelling units, to be supplied the nation by the New Deal, to the glorious total of 300,000.

**NOT FOR TENANTS LIVING ON RELIEF**

It is the proud boast of the Housing Authority that: "Rents in U.S.H.A. aided projects will be well within the reach of large numbers of families on both home relief and work relief". But, having previously stated that the "average annual incomes of tenants will range from about \$1,100 down to about \$450 a year", the U.S.H.A. is not unaware that government slashes of already inadequate relief run the average

annual income of families on relief to something ridiculously like \$81.50.

Of these workers, who occupy the very worst slum areas, it frankly declares, "The only relief families unable to enter U.S.H.A.-aided projects will be those receiving incomes absolutely inadequate for minimum maintenance, and who therefore have not been paying and cannot pay even such very low rentals as will prevail in U.S.H.A.-assisted projects (where the median is \$4 per room monthly). The first problem for such families is to obtain a minimum maintenance income, in order that they may satisfy their basic needs not only for decent shelter but also for adequate food, clothing and medical care. . . This makes it clear that the problem of rehousing relief families is a problem that must be attacked on two fronts. It is not enough to supply low-rent housing. It is also necessary to secure at least minimum maintenance incomes for the unemployed—through higher home relief payments, more work relief, and, most important of all, more employment in private industry".

This admission, however, of U.S.H.A.'s inability, within the New Deal relief framework, to tackle the worst slums in the areas it penetrates is never mentioned when New Dealers go on the air to tell the underprivileged "one-third of a nation" all about "New Deal achievements."

**INTERRUPTING HOUSING WITH MILITARISM**

U.S.H.A. Administrator Nathan Straus, appointed by the President, made a glowing speech entitled "Slum Clearance Marches Forward", over a nation-wide NBC network recently. And before he had turned the first page of the tale of his triumphal project-inspection tour, he gave the unemployed something nicer to think about than their unsolved housing problems. Said the President's appointee:

"At this point I want to interrupt my speech to tell of something which is not related to the housing program, but was of the greatest interest to me and will, especially in view of world conditions today, be of

interest to this radio audience.

"The hospitality extended to us included, in Columbus, Ga., and Pensacola, Fla., an invitation from the commanding officer of the local military and naval post. At Fort Benning, Columbus, and at the United States Naval Training Station at Pensacola we were given an opportunity of inspecting the premises and seeing something of the training and education given the young men. The impression conveyed in each case was one of tremendous efficiency. The neatness of the grounds, the precision of the drill, the appearance and conduct of the happy and healthy men whom we saw were indeed heartening evidence of the intelligent care given by our military and naval establishments to the training of the youth. I believe that any citizen who is in the neighborhood of one of these military or naval posts should spend a few hours in learning of the kind of training given by Uncle Sam to recruits. It is my feeling that this training fits the men not only to be better military or naval defenders of the country but, indeed, to be better citizens".

**BUILDING WAR MACHINES, NOT HOUSES**

Can there be any doubt but that the New Deal is carefully, consciously, molding itself into a bigger, more expensive War Deal, under which diseased and dispirited unemployed slum-dwellers can become "happy and healthy men" . . . "heartening evidence of the intelligent care given by our military and naval establishments to the youth"? "Slum Clearance indeed "Marches Forward!"—clearance, out of the slums, of all potential cannon-fodder: into the military and naval posts! There is only one way by which this type of relief to the unemployed slum-dweller can be halted, and that is by active support of the Socialist Workers Party's unceasing campaign for:

**A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER!  
 ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!  
 A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM!**

**Towards the Drawing of a Balance Sheet on the Kremlin's Purges**

By M. N.

Walter Duranty, correspondent of the New York Times, who has always been given the filthiest journalistic assignments by the Kremlin, has now found it necessary to report that the proportions assumed by the purge were far beyond those conceived abroad. Half of the expelled communists were again returning to the ranks of the party. But how many innocents had suffered among the non-party people! And so on.

Walter Duranty's indignation, this time too, is manufactured to the order of the Kremlin. At the present time Stalin urgently requires the loudest possible indignation by his own flunkies over the perpetrated abominations and crimes. What they thereby seek to instill in public opinion is that Stalin himself is brimful of indignation; and, in consequence, that frameups, provocations, arbitrary exiles and shootings had been carried on without his knowledge and against his will. Only incorrigible fools are, to be sure, capable of believing this. But even people not so stupid are inclined to met Stalin at least half-way on this question.

**A SPECIES OF FALSE REASONING**

Yes, yes, they say, Stalin is unquestionably guilty of the latest colossal wave of terror; but he wanted it restricted within the framework of political expediency, that is, to destroy only those whom it was essential for his regime to destroy. Meanwhile, irrational and demoralized executors, guided by far baser motives, invested the purge with an absolutely monstrous sweep and thereby aroused universal indignation. Of these excesses, of this meaningless destruction—even from the standpoint of the interests of the Kremlin itself—of hundreds of thousands of "neutral" people, Stalin is of course not guilty.

**STALIN'S GREAT HISTORICAL DISCOVERY**

Every agent of the G.P.U. every Soviet functionary, every party member had to be made to feel that the slightest departure from this or another bestial instruction meant the death of the insubordinate, the ruin of his family and his friends. It was necessary to destroy beforehand the very idea of resistance in the party, in

the laboring masses. Thus, involved here were not accidental "exaggerations," nor irrational zeal on the part of executors, but conditions indispensable for the success of the basic plan. In the capacity of executor was required a hysterical scoundrel of the Yezhov type. Moreover, Stalin foresaw in advance the character and sweep that Yezhov's activity would assume, and he prepared beforehand to renounce him once the main goal had been attained. In this sphere, the work proceeded according to the plan.

It was back in the period of struggle against the Left Opposition that Stalin revealed to the clique of his closest co-thinkers his great sociological and historical discovery: All regimes in the past fell only because of irresolution and vacillation on the part of the ruling class. If the ruling power evinced sufficient ruthlessness in the struggle against its enemies, not stopping at mass executions, it would always be able to cope with all dangers.

**STALIN WILL SHARE HIS SUBORDINATE'S FATE**

In the autumn of 1927 this wisdom was already being repeated in all keys by Stalin's agents so as to prepare the party public opinion for the coming purges and trials. Today, to the masters of the Kremlin it may perhaps appear—in any case it appeared to them yesterday—that Stalin's great theory has been proved by facts. But this time too history will shatter a police illusion. When a social or political regime comes into an irreconcilable conflict with the needs of a country's development, repressions can unquestionably prolong its existence for a certain period, but in the end the very apparatus of repression will begin to crack, will become dulled and crumble. The police apparatus of Stalin has entered precisely this stage. The fate of Yagoda and Yezhov presages the future fate not only of Berya, but of the common master of all three.

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**Their Government** By James Burnham

Perhaps the best comment on the Administration's new "lending program" was provided by the stock market. There the passions which seek release in Chamber of Commerce speeches and N.A.M. publicity releases are sobered by the immediately controlling aim of making money. On the day the program was announced and on the two following days, the stock market did—nothing. The average stock prices changed scarcely at all, and trading was at an old dray horse's pace.

This may seem odd, for the "enemies" and "friends" of the program will have a lot to say about it in the weeks to come. To the latter it will publicly prove that Rooseveltism is still on the march into the land of honey and almonds; the former will find one more convincing piece of evidence that Roosevelt is running business into the ground. Beneath both varieties of ballyhoo, the stock market tells the truth: that the program doesn't amount to much of a damn, one way or the other.

**Little Drops of Water**

According to the headlines, the new scheme calls for a sum of \$3,860,000,000. However, this amount is only to be "authorized." The proposal is to spend at most \$870,000,000 during the next fiscal year. The anticipated national income for the current year is around \$68,000,000,000. The total of the Roosevelt plan, therefore, would amount to 1 1/3% of the national income. Salvation can hardly be bought at so cheap a price.

As a matter of fact, examination shows that, in spite of the headlines, there is really nothing "new" in the program. It amounts to little more than a bookkeeping change from the practices of the past six years. For example, P.W.A. has been lending and spending billions of dollars on many kinds of construction projects. Roosevelt's budget provided nothing for P.W.A. in the next fiscal year; Congress has, so far, earmarked \$125,000,000 of W.P.A. funds for P.W.A., but even that may not stand. Much of what is included in the "new" program is simply a modest substitute for P.W.A., to be handled under the recently created Federal Works Agency.

Other sections of the program will merely continue the already functioning activities handed under Rural Resettlement, Rural Electrification, and Home Owners Loan Corporation. The last section will make \$500,000,000 available for loans to foreign nations, chiefly, no doubt, in furtherance of the administration's aggressive Pan-American policy.

Far from being a bold step in advance, the program does no more than carry on old devices which have already shown their hopelessness in the past; and in most cases it does so not on a greater but on a much lesser scale than during several previous years of Roosevelt's regime.

The most advertised change is also nothing new. The administration is under pressure to reduce the rate of increase of the national debt. The new appropriations will not be handled directly by the Treasury, but by special agencies created by Congress which will do their own financing; their obligations, however, to be guaranteed by the Treasury. Thus these obligations will not have to appear on the books of the Treasury as additions to the national debt. However, this has been done frequently in the past; and even now there are more than \$7,000,000,000 of such obligations outstanding.

**The Meaning of the New Program**

The new program shows once more the beginning and end of New Deal wisdom. It flows from the theory that was once called "pump priming" and is now known as "compensatory spending." According to this theory, when private enterprise has a "temporary" slump, the government steps in with heavy spending to get business out of the hole; then private enterprise catches up, and a new wave of prosperity follows.

In line with this theory the government has, since 1933, undertaken compensatory spending which can be roughly measured by the increase in the national debt—\$23,500,000,000—plus the seven or more billions in obligations of the special agencies: a total of more than thirty billion dollars.

One thing was correct about this theory: without this compensatory spending, U. S. capitalist economy would have folded up. But a much more important side of the theory was wholly wrong: in spite of all these thirty billions of pump priming and compensatory spending, private enterprise has not "caught on"; on the contrary, private enterprise continues in disastrous shape, in fundamentals getting steadily sicker year by year. With all the patches, they just can't seem to get Humpty Dumpty together again.

The latest spending program is a confession of failure. The talk of the money being loaned exclusively for "self-liquidating" projects is a farce: if they were genuinely self-liquidating (i.e., profit-making), there is plenty of idle capital which would finance them through private channels. The Rooseveltians are hoping that they can whip up a brief flurry of fictitious prosperity which would get them through election year. But even for such a purpose, the new program is so small and timid that its effect will be hardly noticeable.

But from the program the War Deal will get one important weapon, and it may be that this was the reason for all the rest: half a billion more dollars for the State Department to use in lining up additional Latin American dictators for the war. The Johnson Act, which was once supposed to protect the United States from those financial entanglements which played such a role in swinging the country into the last war, is being swung and effectively superseded by the maneuvers of the Roosevelt war machine.

In Trenton a public school teacher in the first grade is exonerated of the charge of having taught her pupils "horror" tales, which concerned fighting between Japan and China, automobile accidents, etc. It's dangerous business to tell children the facts of life, even the mildest kind.

"Czechs feel a greater kinship with the United States than with any other democracy," says Dr. Joseph L. Hromadka of the University of Prague, "because Czechoslovakia has been without an aristocracy since the 17th century." Quit quibbling, Doctor. The nastiest, foulest, meanest, crassest kind of aristocracy is that of money, and both the United States and your country know this kind too well.