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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 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.

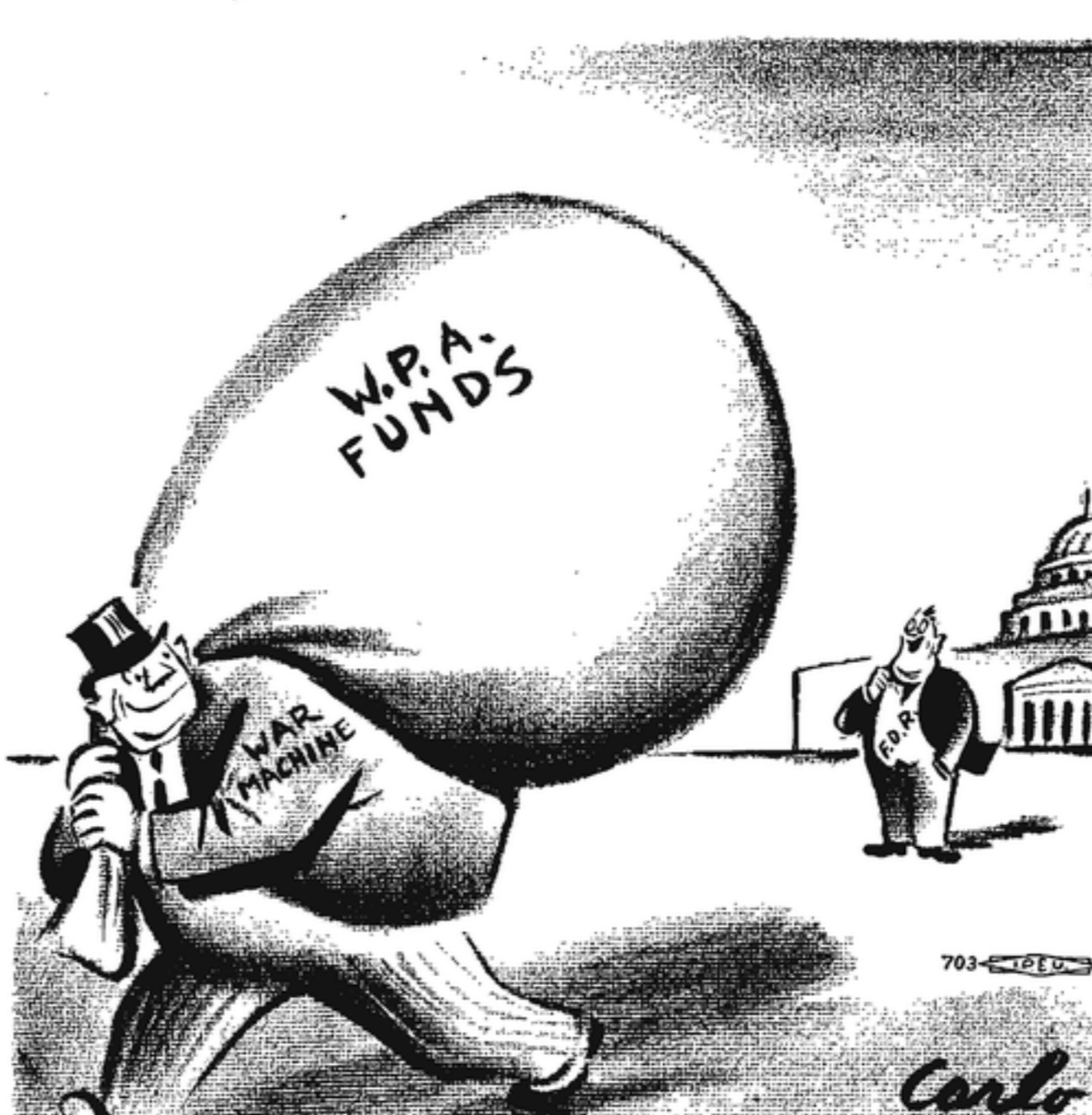
The gulf between the Stalinist leadership and the Stalinist followers is as deep as the gulf between exploiters and exploited. Just as many of the most exploited workers over long periods of time fail to understand who their exploiters are, the unfortunate workers taken in by the Stalinist highbinders 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 1.8% 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 of the construction industry induced by the profits realized 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 Work-society where labor shall not have to ask for relief, where labor may enjoy those blessings which it now produces for others."

Other speakers included Joe Van Nordstrand, Director of the Minnesota C. I. O., Chester

GUILTY OF BRIBERY? APPOINTED A COP!

BOSTON—Chief of Police of Revere, Tighe, charged with 22 counts of bribery and grafting, decided to plead guilty. Mayor Gillis then . . . demoted Tighe to the rank of patrolman. "Squandering of hundreds of thousands of dollars" is the tactful way the boss press describes the rake-off racket worked here by Public Works Commissioner Callahan, in connection with awarding of hurricane and flood contracts last fall. A Connecticut company offered to complete a project for \$310,000. Callahan rejected this and awarded the contract to another company for \$409,000. A cool \$100,000 went "somewhere."

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 ex-communication 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 Marxian 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."