

POWERS MOVE TO BRINK OF WAR

Painters Oust C. P. Machine

Progressives Hit Weinstock Gang in Vital Spot by Touncing Stalinist Candidate—Elect Stevens Secretary-Treasurer

Culminating a two years' organized struggle waged by progressives in their union, New York painters last Saturday dealt the Stalinist machine in control of District Council 9 a decisive blow by electing L. J. Stevens as Secretary-Treasurer over the candidate supported by Louis Weinstock.

Stevens received 3,101 votes against 2,822 votes cast for M. Gainer, his Stalinist-backed opponent. Not even the attempt of one of their former stooges, one D. Pasini, to split the opposition vote by running on a third ticket, could save the wrecking crew's control. The third candidate only polled 514 votes. The progressives also took four out of the nine business agents' posts. Whether all of the five business agents elected on the C.P.'s so-called "rank and file ticket" will remain with them is problematical.

Victory Foreseen

The election of Stevens was foreshadowed by the victory of the progressives in the primaries, when they carried six out of the ten locals and when Stevens for the second time defeated Chief Commissioner Weinstock for the nomination in his own local, No. 848, thus eliminating him from the race. The progressive victory is all the more impressive when it is recalled that only last year, the Stalinist machine seemed to be impregnable, carrying its complete slate in the elections at that time.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this defeat of the rule-or-ruin boys. Taking over a union completely without leadership after the ousting of the discredited and corrupt Zausner administration, the Stalinists had the complete confidence of the membership. They made themselves at home in the union as if they had owned it for decades. Control of jobs gave them unlimited possibilities to build up their machine to proportions hitherto undreamed-of. For nearly two years they ruled unchallenged, despite mismanagement, sell-outs and treasury raids.

About a year and a half ago, a small group of left wingers in the union, including former members of the Communist Party disgusted with its degeneration, organized itself into the "Painters Educational Society." The P.E.S. began a barrage of technically poor, but textually highly effective leaflets against the Stalinist union-wreckers. Its prestige and forces grew until it became a rallying point for all opposition currents in the membership.

Shortly before last year's elections, the P.E.S. forces were instrumental in organizing the broad opposition into an Inter-Local Conference of Progressive Painters Clubs. It was under that banner that the successful fight was carried on, culminating in last Saturday's victory. The Thirteenth Street G.P.U. disciples spared no frame-ups, no terroristic methods in their attacks against the opposition. Up to the last minute they denounced the opposition as the handiwork of the hated Trotskyists. But all their Trotsky-baiting did not save them. The Inter-Local combined in its ranks all honest

(Continued on Page 3)

COUNCILMEN IN ATTACK ON OTTO POPOVICH

Evade Needs of Jobless by Attacking U.P.W.U. Leader

By MARTIN DAVEY

Members of the New York City Council from Queens launched a bitter attack on Otto Popovich, a leader of the Jamaica Unemployed and Project Workers Union, at the June 20 meeting of the City Council following gains made by the unemployed union.

The U.P.W.U. had been fighting for the consideration of the cases of 17 unemployed workers. The Jamaica relief bureau rebuffed the union delegates with more than typical arrogance and cynicism. As a result the U.P.W.U. determined to picket the homes of all Queens Councilmen until the needy workers would be granted their just demands.

Bureau Changes Tone

The surprised "representatives of the people" tried at first to evade the demands made by the mass demonstration.

(Continued on Page 3)

National Campaign Launched For Framed Du Quoin Miners

Defense Committee Seeks Pardon for Youths Arrested During Illinois Mine Strife

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) CHICAGO—The Du Quoin Miners Defense Committee has launched a national campaign to rally support behind efforts to obtain pardons for five youths imprisoned in 1933 on charges growing out of the Southern Illinois warfare between the United Mine Workers and the Progressive Mine Workers.

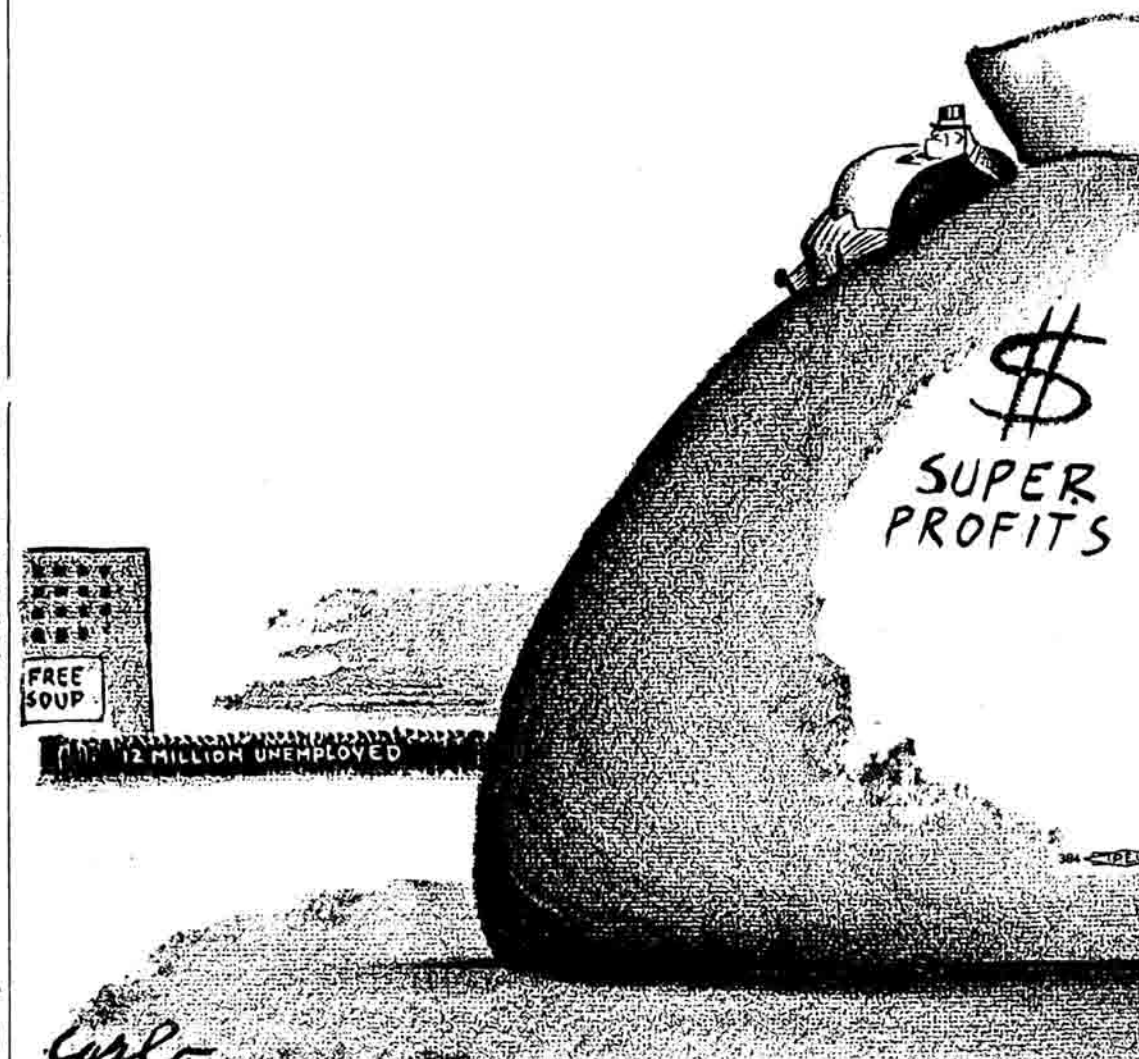
Both unions are supporting the campaign. Pres. Ray Edmondson of the U.M.W. in Illinois and Pres. Dave Reid of the Progressives, members of the executive board of the defense committee, recently signed a joint petition to Governor Horner asking for pardons for the five boys and assuring the Governor that their release would go far toward

promoting harmony among the Illinois miners.

The five boys were convicted of firing the shot that fatally wounded Laverne Miller, a schoolgirl, during street fighting between adherents of the rival unions. They were grilled, beaten, shifted from jail to jail, tried before a jury of farmers on a change of venue, and sentenced, four of them to life terms, one to forty years.

Over 200 labor organizations have sent Governor Horner and the State Board of Pardons and Paroles resolutions or petitions asking that the boys be freed. The committee, which has offices at Room 404, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, is headed by Gerry Allard, chairman, and Loren Norman, director.

75 Months of the New Deal



F.D.R. Trying to Save War Deal By Four Billion Dollar Program

To save the War Deal's "new deal" smoke-screen from utter collapse, Roosevelt last week sent to Congress a \$3,860,000,000 pump-priming proposal, incorporating a number of obviously inadequate relief measures now pending in Congress. Approximately \$1,000,000,000 will be spent for self-liquidating projects during the presidential election year of 1940, half to secure the votes of the nation's disillusioned farm and factory population and the other half to appease business.

The entire amount is to be expended over a period of seven years—where it can attract private investment. The business index, it is now hoped, will

continue on a steady upgrade, at least up to the 1940 elections. The New Deal Congress, pursuing its own pre-election spending drive, added another \$3,435,000,000 to the administration program. After abolishing in its tax bill what remained of the undistributed profits tax for the benefit of big business, it added \$1,000,000,000 for "small" business, \$300,000,000 for agriculture, a disputed \$400,000,000 for river-and-harbor improvement, and reluctantly tossed in \$1,735,000,000 for unemployment "relief".

Roosevelt's Program

The Presidential plan, proposed in letters to Senate and House leaders, covers four general categories of loans: Transportation, \$1,250,000,000; Public Works and Housing, \$1,150,000,000; Agriculture, \$960,000,000; and Foreign Loans, \$500,000,000.

Significant is the War Deal's preoccupation with transportation, in view of the stiff opposition to be expected on such popular proposals as toll roads. For rapid war-time mobilization up-to-date rail and motor roads are an absolute essential.

This major expenditure is shrewdly underemphasized as such in the President's letter, broken as it is into two parts and placed under the general heading "Federal Works Agency". \$750,000,000 is allotted for "Express post roads; Self-liquidating toll roads, bridges, high-speed highways, and city by-passes". \$500,000,000 is handed to the heavily over-capitalized and virtually bankrupt railroads for "equipment", on irresistible terms.

The half-billion dollar provision for loans to Latin American countries in default of debts, is to be used for "development and reconstruction purposes in the foreign country", and should concretely promote

"our" interests with the "Good Neighbors" concerned.

The \$800,000,000 Housing allotment (see Page 4 for a critical analysis of New Deal Housing), comes just in time to rescue the United States Housing Authority from lingering death. With nearly one-quarter of the U.S.H.A.'s present borrowing power frozen due to lack of funds for low-rent subsidies, the additional appropriation is well-timed to set the wheels of the New Deal "slum-clearance" fraud into action again. \$350,000,000, the smallest appropriation listed in the President's letter, is similarly calculated to create just enough activity in the field of Public Works to establish the necessary New Deal background for 1940.

The American farm crisis, gravest in the world and incapable of capitalist solution except by war, has again been successfully soft-pedaled. Congress has arranged to buy the surpluses and the votes of some farmers. For the others, the President proposes that \$460,000,000 be spent for "rural electrification", to reach 1,250,000 families. These poverty-stricken rural families, although impressionable as voters, will still, when the seven-year program has finally been carried out, find themselves largely unable to purchase this service.

The remaining farm provision of the Roosevelt letter to Congress asks for \$500,000,000 for "Expansion of the self-liquidating portion of the program of the Farm Security Administration. (This is) for tenant farm purchases, rehabilitation program, loans for minor repairs, loans to resettlement co-operatives and loans for water facilities." This can be likened to the F.H.A. plan for small-home owners, and is similarly incapable of improving the lot of those most in need.

War Crisis Simmers on Europe and Asia Fronts

Sarajevo "Incidents" Mount with Awaited Summer Crisis

This week marks the anniversary of Sarajevo—the little-remembered incident that touched off the tinder of the boss war of 1914-1918.

It is still five weeks to the anniversary of the actual outbreak of hostilities 25 years ago.

During those five weeks it is quite possible that the masters who rule us will send out the millions of us in all lands to writhe and die in another holocaust not of our making.

U. S. Not Immune And let no one bury his head ostrich-like and think this country, under the leadership of Roosevelt's War Deal, won't be plunged right into the conflict when it comes.

Like the diseased body it is, the capitalist world is breaking out into ugly flaming sores everywhere—Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, China, Mongolia, Danzig, Poland—and we are part, a big part of the world and we can't expect some miracle to keep us immune.

Crisis in Full Swing

The expected summer crisis is already in full swing. Japan's offensive against Britain on the China coast was only its opening phase. Open warfare has been raging for two months along the Manchukuo-Mongolian frontier—a continuation of the intermittent Soviet-Japanese war of the last six years. Hitler has put 2,000,000 men under arms and his minions are trying to shout out, out-threaten the British in the hope of snagging Danzig and the Polish Corridor at the least possible cost. But whatever the cost,

(Continued on Page 3)

Coughlin Followers Disrupt Meeting of 18,000 in N. Y.

Several Hurt in Fracas—Increasing Boldness of Fascists Is Menace to Labor

A gang of Coughlin's fascist followers, shouting "Social Justice" slogans and heckling the speaker, broke up a meeting of 18,000 held in Madison Square Garden last Sunday under the auspices of Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious cult against organized religion. The meeting was listening to ex-Judge Joseph Rutherford speak on "Peace and Government" when Coughlinites began to heckle the speaker, turning the meeting into a turmoil of fist-fights.

Judge Rutherford brought the mounting fury of the Coughlin hoodlums to a climax by assailing the Catholic Church as a supporter of Hitler.

"The Catholic Church supported Hitler. Mussolini and Franco in Spain," said Rutherford.

SWP Convention Opens Friday

Public Mass Meeting Will Open Convention Session with Party Leaders as Reporters—Lengthy Agenda Covers All Fields of Work

Darkening war-clouds in Europe and the Far East which threaten to plunge the world into a catastrophe far more horrible than the plague of 1914-1918, give special symptomatic significance to the Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party which opens in New York City, Friday evening, June 30, 1939, at the Irving Plaza Hall, 15th Street and Irving Place.

Delegates from all parts of the country are arriving in the city, representing branches of the Party from coast to coast, prepared to deliberate on the problems presented by the convention agenda in the light of the past period of activity in a variety of class struggles.

First Session Public

The first session of the national convention will be open to the public, taking place as a mass meeting of welcome to the delegates. The keynote speech of the convention, setting forth the Socialist Workers Party position on the war danger, will be delivered by the reporter of the party Political Committee, Max Shachtman, at the Friday evening mass meeting in Irving Plaza.

Under the chairmanship of James P. Cannon, national secretary of the party, the meeting will feature a number of nationally prominent militants actively engaged in the movement of the trade unions and the unemployed. Vincent R. Dunne, popular leader of the many teamsters' battles in Minneapolis, George Clarke, fresh from the auto workers' front in Detroit, Glen Trimble, party organizer in California, Reuben Plaskett, Negro leader of Newark's unemployed who recently made a dramatic run as S.W.P. candidate in the local elections, and Nathan Gould, national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League (4th International), will be among the speakers that evening.

(Continued on Page 3)

Lengthy Agenda

Saturday morning will open up the regular sessions of the convention, which has before it a lengthy agenda covering all phases of the party's work and its program of action for the coming period.

First on the order of the day will be a report and discussion of the political situation in the United States, to be followed by a report on the preparation of the party for the struggle against war, both before and after it breaks out.

Trade Union Work

Other points on the agenda include the trade union work, the work among the unemployed, the question of the press—under which heading will be discussed plans for converting the Socialist Appeal into a three-times-a-week paper—a program of action for the party, to include a comprehensive plan for building up the party throughout the country by means of a staff of organizers, national speaking tours, a series of popular pamphlets for mass distribution, etc.

Prominent on the agenda is the question of organizing the struggle against fascism by Defense Guards.

(Continued on Page 2)

Mass Meeting IRVING PLAZA Friday, June 30, 8 p. m.

Greet the Opening of the Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party!

Chairman: James P. Cannon; Reporter for the Political Committee: Max Shachtman; Speakers: V. R. Dunne of Minneapolis, Glen Trimble of San Francisco, George Clarke of Detroit, Reuben Plaskett of Newark, Nathan Gould, National Secretary Y.P.S.L.

Hear the Internationalist Position on War

Anti-War Convention Problems Under Discussion

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The United Progressive Furriers of New York recently put the Stalinist administration of the International Fur Workers Union on the spot with an open letter to Ben Gold, Stalinist president of the International.

"We are approaching already the middle of June but thousands of us are still crowding the sidewalks of the fur market—hungry, tired and worried," the letter points out.

"The convention of our union in Atlantic City had the task of solving partly these problems, but the leadership of the Joint Council forgot all about the sufferings of the fur workers," the letter accuses. It continues:

"You, Mr. President, have contributed a great deal towards this present condition by stirring up one part of the workers against another. Since you came back from the convention a whole set of schemes and maneuvers were put into motion in order to whip the workers in line again."

"You were convinced through the open forums that the unemployed mean business, and have therefore advised the leadership of the Joint Council to rush through the convention decisions at the local meetings. You made your plan so that only few workers should attend local meetings."

Silence Critics

"Never in the history of our union were there any kind of meetings held on holidays. Will you please tell us Mr. President, why all the four local meetings were held on the two nights of the Jewish holiday, 'Shevuoth'? ... Can you tell us why the largest local of our joint council, the Operators, with a membership of nearly 5,000 was assigned to meet in a hall that takes only about 300? Doesn't that prove that you were not interested to have the furriers make an honest decision?"

"At the local meetings we found out that one of your decisions at the convention is to silence those who dare criticize you and your friends. You call it 'democratization of the constitution.' You want everyone in our union to bow to the bureaucracy. You want us to close our eyes and shut our mouths to the so-called victory of temporary jobs, permits for learners, permits for over-time, inhuman speed-up, clique rule in the shop, party domination in the union, dishonest elections, squandering of union money, collaboration with the bosses to the extent of obtaining thousands of dollars in loans from them."

"That is what you call democracy. But tell us please, Mr. President, if you were a rank and filer today, would you also tolerate such conditions and accept in good faith such convention decisions?"

"Please be honest about it, Mr. President, you know that the workers are dissatisfied with the leadership in the Joint Council. You know that people in the labor movement have no use for totalitarian regimes even though they are covered by so-called united fronts such as you claim to have in our union. Aren't you ashamed to speak of rules and constitutions, when the entire history of your fight for power has shown a sneering attitude and full disregard for the union's constitution?"

"You have spoken at the local meeting of the cutters. You jumped and cursed everyone that disagreed with you, but you must admit you met with no success. ... Then your lieutenants tried hard to follow the footsteps of the 'Leader.' They even tried to outdo you in demagoguery, but the result was the same."

"Of course we admit one thing. You people know the game—you dragged out the meetings with meaningless speeches until the majority of those present left in disgust. Then with your own boys left, you were able to take a 'people's' vote and pass all decisions 'overwhelmingly' with a few hundred votes from all of the four locals for the entire membership of 15,000. Is this democracy?"

Why No Referendum?

"But what about our proposal to put the convention decisions to a referendum? Don't you

On Making the Appeal a Paper for the Masses

STATEMENT ON THE SOCIALIST APPEAL BY THE AKRON BRANCH

The issuance of the Socialist Appeal as a twice weekly was a great step forward toward the winning of the masses by our movement. Our paper, however, is still far from being a mass organ. The changes that were made in the paper at the time of its becoming a twice weekly were for the most part regulatory and technical; the content, style, and make-up—in sum, the whole approach—remain too much the same.

Our paper is still too much a propaganda rather than a mass organ. It is still too academic in its approach; it is not agitational enough. The average worker finds the paper difficult. We tend to underestimate this difficulty because of our comparatively long experience in politics, but it is nevertheless a fact. Our experience in Akron, and in the Ohio-Michigan industrial area generally, confirms this.

Getting to Masses

A change in the Socialist Appeal along the lines which we shall indicate would, in our opinion, result shortly in our greater penetration into the masses and the consequent extension of our influence. In the process the Appeal financial crisis, which we are now trying to solve in an organizational way through the circulation department, would in good part be alleviated in the best way—through the workers actually looking forward to our paper as they do their evening bourgeois journal and continuing to buy it and boost it themselves.

Examining the Appeal from this point of view, then, the Akron branch would like to make the following suggestions:

(1) The stories should be shortened. We continually get complaints from workers that the stories are too long. Since much of our present membership has come to the position of the Fourth International through a period of ideological clarification gained chiefly through intensive reading during the time that we have remained largely a propaganda group, there is a tendency on the part of some of us to underestimate the difficulty which just plain length imposes upon the average worker. And from our own experience, even old party militants take a deep breath before jumping into an interminable story that continues for column after column.

Stories should be broken up into several parts, if necessary, and spread through the page. The background can be put in one story, the role of the C.P. in a box close to the main story, a feature highlight in a small box inserted in the story, etc.

The story should be continued quickly so that the front page, which should be snappy, filled with paragraph squibs, short news items, and feature material, will not be so solid. Recent issues of the Appeal have averaged around eight stories per issue on the front page. That is just too much to hurdle. We can learn from the bourgeois newspapers in this respect. Their stories are short, snappy, and within the limits of their ideology, punchy.

One thing that we should remember is this: You don't have to explain everything every time. There should be more sloganizing, less long-winded explaining.

(2) Stories should be simplified. The stories, we hear again and again from workers in the shops, are too complex. The paragraphs and sentences are too long, the words are too big. In this connection it might be well to have a style sheet for the Appeal just as bourgeois papers do, in order that the writing might be standardized in the most effective style.

Here, too, it should be remembered, it is a question not only of the worker's relatively low

think, Mr. President, that such important decisions as elections once in two years to which the membership obligates itself to provide people with two years' pay and vacations, and the boarding of the leatherworkers in the house of the fur workers which will involve us in new expenses with possible jurisdictional friction in the future. And last but not least, the silencing of the critics. That all these are important enough to be decided by all the fur workers and not by a handful of those present at the local meetings?"

cultural level, but of the conditioning he has received from reading popular bourgeois and labor papers. We should take this conditioning into account and adapt our style to what he has been accustomed to. And one of the first things to be done is to shorten the paragraphs, sentences, and words.

Because it has become so much a part of us, we are sometimes not aware how much revolutionary jargon we employ in our press, and just how much of it is incomprehensible to the average working stiff. It is a fact that to a large number of militant workers, representing strata that have been touched by no working class party such expressions as "bourgeoisie," "C. P.," "imperialist war," "class conscious," "bureaucrat," "class collaboration," "demagoguery," "maneuver," etc., etc., have either no meaning at all or else a very fuzzy one. While recognizing that these words have a historical justification and that they are important weapons in our intervention in the class struggle, we must be careful not to let them become easy substitutes for careful explanation, simple terms, and fresh approaches to old problems.

Our Responsibility

2. Pedro Albizu Campos and other Puerto Rican anti-imperialists are rotting in the Federal Penitentiary. Not in some far-off country in South America but right here in the United States. They are in jail for "sedition" against the Wall Street government. The fight for their release is our responsibility. It cannot be confined to occasional mention in the Appeal, nor is it primarily the task of our sections in Latin America. It is our work, here. We must take the lead in a campaign for their immediate release, asking such groups as the American Fund, labor unions and Latin American organizations to take an active part in it.

3. Our propaganda must make it clear that we are opposed to all imperialist oppression in Latin America. But that is not enough. Our main enemy is still "at home." That is, as the U. S. section of the 4th International our agitational task is to expose and defeat the machinations of U. S. imperialism. Furthermore it must be pointed out that where Nazi fascism comes to Latin America it finds much of its work (from the "ideological" point of view of making the people accustomed to dictatorship) already accomplished by the Yankee imperialists and their native tools. And in most of Latin America it is U. S. imperialism that is the main enemy. But Latin America is not one country. The relationship between our broad, general propaganda and the agitational necessities varies in different countries and situations. Agitation "Against Yankee, German and British Imperialism," while correct at present in Bolivia, would be ludicrous in Puerto Rico.

In much of our material—especially the feature stuff—there is not enough illustrative material, not enough analogies, not enough simple comparisons to make clear and clinch our theoretical points. Of our writers, Bill Morgan does the best job in this respect. We can learn here, for instance, from the popular technique of Oscar Ameringer and the homespun style of the early American socialist movement.

By and About Workers

As far as the Appeal is concerned, the American worker is an abstraction, upon whom we peer benignantly from our aerial theoretical heights. But of the actual worker—what he's thinking, what he's sore about, what he's doing in the shop, what his wife has to say about the whole business, what he said to the relief investigator, what the foreman said to him and what he said to the foreman, what happened during the last strike—little of this appears in our press.

We need more stories about workers—and more stories by workers. By having them we will be better able to gauge the temper of the masses, and the masses will begin to read us and to be influenced by us. One has only to recall how Plechanov and Lenin in exile pounced upon every bona fide worker of whatever level of development who came abroad and how they questioned him, drained him of information. We should do the same for the Appeal.

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building up a movement for Workers' Defense Guards against the reactionary mobsters. Other points scheduled for discussion include the Negro question in the United States, the development of the world movement of the Fourth International, the work among the youth, and other urgent matters which have already formed the basis for an extensive discussion in the ranks of the party membership before the convention.

S.W.P. CONVENTION OPENS FRIDAY

Following the mass meeting on Friday, sessions of the convention will be open only to members of the Party and the Y.P.S.L.

A PROPOSED REVISION OF SECTION EIGHT

By DONALD BERGNER

Section 8 of the Political Resolution should be more concrete. It is not sufficient to repeat our position against imperialism. The first two points below are concretizations; the third point deals with the problem raised by comrade Green's amendment (Appeal: June 20).

1. The Party should conduct a campaign for the immediate independence of Puerto Rico and the other colonies. We must expose the hypocritical pratings of our imperialists, as our French comrades have been doing, by spreading the truth about their brutal exploitation of the colonial peoples. When the social-patriots shriek about "Poor little Czechoslovakia" we must teach the workers to answer: "And what about Puerto Rico?" Not only our duty as the revolutionary opposition in the homeland of the imperialist exploiter is involved here, but also our effectiveness in combating the jingo and super-patriots.

2. Pedro Albizu Campos and other Puerto Rican anti-imperialists are rotting in the Federal Penitentiary. Not in some far-off country in South America but right here in the United States. They are in jail for "sedition" against the Wall Street government. The fight for their release is our responsibility. It cannot be confined to occasional mention in the Appeal, nor is it primarily the task of our sections in Latin America. It is our work, here. We must take the lead in a campaign for their immediate release, asking such groups as the American Fund, labor unions and Latin American organizations to take an active part in it.

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Who Is Coughlin, What Is His Program, How Did He Rise?

By JOSEPH HANSEN
INSTALLMENT VI

Who Is Behind Father Coughlin?

What Father Coughlin's secret files at the Shrine of the Little Flower would reveal as to his financial backers can only be imagined.

Hitler's movement, when it was in the same stage as Father Coughlin's, was secretly backed by powerful financial interests—the steel magnate Thyssen and other powerful German capitalists.

Occasionally Coughlin will mention certain capitalists favorably in his radio broadcasts—Henry Ford, Walter P. Chrysler, James Rand. Father Coughlin stayed at the *San Simeon ranch of William Randolph Hearst* while on a visit to California. Mr. G. A. Richards, president of WJR is a generous financial backer mentioned by Coughlin. He mentions too in one of his broadcasts (*Father Charles E. Coughlin*, an official biography, p. 107.) the visit of Harris and LeBlanc to his shrine for intimate conversations, Robert M. Harris of the New York Cotton Exchange—a southern bourbon well-known as a cotton and silver speculator, and George LeBlanc described by Coughlin as "perhaps the world's foremost gold trader" (*an international banker*!).

The forces in Coughlin's financial background are as sinister as the forces that directed the breaking of the Little Steel Strike.

Coughlin's Program and the Fascist Program

Coughlin's program as it now stands bears a remarkable resemblance to the programs of fascism and Nazism when they were at a similar stage.

Coughlin appeals to the dissatisfied and restless unemployed workers and youth, and the farmers and small merchants who are facing bankruptcy.

Hitler directed his appeals to the same sections of the population.

Mussolini built his movement from similar ranks.

Coughlin, like his predecessors proposes a "just and living annual wage," "cost of production plus a fair profit to the farmer," etc. He attacks democratic capitalism just as Mussolini and Hitler did, and attacks it contemptuously.

He proposes "revolution" as they did, the use of force. He attacks the failure of the New Deal to solve unemployment. He attacks its war program.

Coughlin is attempting to divert these revolutionary layers of the oppressed masses, just as Mussolini and Hitler before him did, from striking at the very heart and core of the system that produces unemployment. He turns their rage against the "international bankers," the "Jews," the "money system." He proposes economic reforms chiefly in the realms of *banking and currency*. In this way, like Mussolini and Hitler, he attempts to dissipate the revolutionary energy of the masses against bundles of painted straw.

To the capitalists he makes clear exactly where he stands by expressing his devotion to capitalism and the private ownership of property. For certain public necessities and natural resources he advocates *nationalization*; but he emphasizes that he doesn't want nationalization of industry.

Some of Hitler's most prominent demands make interesting reading beside Coughlin's. The Nazi platform for instance called for "abolition of the domination of interest," "the complete confiscation of all war profits," and "participation in the profits of large concerns."

These demands, of course, were NEVER carried out.

"Practically all the sixteen principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany." (Social Justice, February 13, 1939, p. 7.)

Let that statement of Coughlin's burn like fire on your memory!

And we might remind the lieutenants of Father Coughlin, that the secondary leaders in Hitler's organization who insisted on carrying out the Nazi program were "purged" in a ghastly blood bath.

When fascism marches into power it smashes the trade unions, arrests the regularly-elected leaders and appoints fascist chiefs in their place who *dictate* the new rules and regulations. They confiscate the union treasury.

They confiscate the savings accounts and the insurance of the workers, if they have any.

They build barbed wire concentration camps and herd the unemployed inside at bayonet point.

They spread the industrial spy system throughout every city, town, and hamlet of the entire nation and intensify its grip a thousandfold.

Libraries are burned. Schools are shut down. Hours are lengthened. Wages are slashed. The speed-up is whipped up to new heights. Terror and torture are turned loose. The streets flow with blood. Strikes are punished with death. Racial minorities such as the Jews and the Negroes are nailed to the cross.

Fascism is hell for the workers and the unemployed. But it saves the profits of the small handful of capitalists who control the nation's wealth. And some obscure figure becomes the all-powerful dictator of the nation's fate.

To many good-hearted people it seems impossible that fascism could come to the United States.

But it is impossible to wish away 17,000,000 unemployed.

It is impossible to wish away the dizzy downward plunge of the rate of capitalist profit since 1929.

And it is impossible to wish away the storm-troopers



THE BRANCHES COME THROUGH:

"Enclosed find a money order for \$20.25—\$10.00 on our Appeal account and the balance for new subscriptions."—S. R. Chicago literature-agent.

"Enclosed find \$14.00 to pay up on our account and \$5.00 in advance."—E. Washburn, St. Louis Appeal agent.

RESULTS OF RENEWAL

The campaign to obtain renewal subscriptions from our readers who, for one reason or another, had failed to continue their subscriptions has been completed.

While the results were not to

cur expectations, nevertheless, some branches did a splendid job and accomplished more than their share.

Slightly over 100 renewal subs were obtained in a little over one month's time. The outstanding branches were Minneapolis, with 29 renewal subs; New York City, 17; Boston, 7; Philadelphia, 8.

Minneapolis easily did the best job, with Boston and Philadelphia next.

NOTICE: Please make all checks, money orders, etc. payable to the SOCIALIST APPEAL. Do not make them out to the editor or manager. Kindly adhere to this request.

C. P. Leadership of Bedding Local 140 Persecutes Critic

Answer Joe Kitain's Charge of Union Misrule by Deliberate Hounding Campaign

The Communist Party clique running Bedding Local 140 has been persecuting a worker, Joseph Kitain, ever since he opened his mouth and dared to oppose the corrupt acts of the administration.

Joseph Magliacano, the secretary-treasurer, even went so far as to physically assault Kitain.

Kitain exposed differences in wage scales, the leaving of prices and conditions to a "mediation board," favoritism for C. P. members, non-existence of "equal division of work," exorbitant dues, and the lack of representation for the spring makers, who numerically make up 45% of the membership.

Don't Answer Charges

Instead of replying to Kitain's charges, the officers, Joseph Magliacano, Alex Sirota, and Sol Kitain, in the usual manner, called Joe Kitain a Trotskyite disrupter.

It may be interesting to note that Magliacano was never a bedding worker, but is a barber. He was not able to do his Stalinist dirty work in the barber's union, so he was imported by the C.P. into Bedding Local 140, where he immediately became an officer, contrary to the by-laws.

The C. P. leadership, as they do in every union they control, cut of the union funds paid in by the sweat of the workers, proposed contributions to their Stalinist puppet organizations, such as the American League for Peace and Democracy. They officially sponsored and put pressure on the membership to purchase fake raffles entitled "Proceeds—For Support of Labor Newspapers and Labor Schools"—which "labor" newspapers and schools must have been the Daily Worker and the C. P. Workers School, for there never was any drawing of the raffle and no one ever reported what was done with the hundreds of dollars that were collected.

Fear Opposition

Although Joe Kitain was only

a relatively new member, he ran for the Executive Board and received a vote that amounted to 25% of Sirota's, who received the biggest vote. The polls and count were of course controlled entirely by the C. P. administration. A demand for voting machines was rejected by the administration.

The controlling clique, seeing the growth of the opposition around Joe Kitain, determined, at any cost, to get rid of him. His life was made miserable in the shop and he was physically threatened many times. His fellow workers were intimidated and were afraid to talk to him. False charges were framed against him.

By crooked manipulations, they tried to force him to take a low-paid stretcher's job, but he refused. He was fined large sums a number of times. After a long time, he was suspended for a month, and then in an illegal "trial" without any specification of charges, he was "expelled" by the executive board. He was deprived of his job and his livelihood without a hearing before the membership and was obliged to eke out a subsistence from unemployment insurance. In typical Moscow fashion, Joseph Maiman, a member who supported Kitain's fight for bread and butter, was forced to confess and repent his sins in a letter published June 3, 1939, in the Furniture Workers Press.

Consent to Hearing

But Joe Kitain did not sleep. He immediately began a campaign of agitation which has lasted for four months. He circulated the membership in the different shops and picked the office of the union.

The struggle was difficult, but it finally had its effect. The corrupt leadership is beginning to feel it, and has begun to fear for its existence. They have finally consented to give Joe Kitain a hearing before the membership at the meeting to be held June 22, 1939, at Irving Plaza Hall.

being trained by fascist organizations right now in America.

In city after city, the fascist movement is spreading. Trained squads of Coughlinites, protected by the police, sell *Social Justice* in the busiest streets of every city, in workers' sections, in predominantly Jewish and Negro sections.

Fights between workers and fascists break out almost every day.

(To be continued in next issue)

JUST OFF THE PRESS!

Father COUGHLIN—Fascist Demagogue

by Joseph Hansen

A new pamphlet exposing the "Radio Priest's" real program.

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In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Aftermath of Belgian Elections: An Attack against the Miners

Taking heart from the rightward trend in the recent elections, the Belgian bosses are launching a large-scale onslaught on the conditions obtained by the working class of that country during the great strikes of 1936. As a first step, the mine barons are proceeding against the coal diggers of the Borinage section, in an attempt to scale down present conditions in the new agreement.

The Borinage section is known as a hot-bed of militancy. As such it has been chosen purposely, to test the ground for the great struggle ahead. If they succeed here, the bosses calculate, half their battle is won.

When the new terms were offered the miners of the Levant and Produits du Flenu pits, they were rejected out of hand. The bosses replied by locking out the workers of these pits, some 5,000 miners. The reformist leaders of the miners' union have, up to the present, contented themselves with appeals for aid to King Leopold, calling on the workers to remain calm and accustom themselves to the unemployment relief to which they are entitled as a result of the lock-out. Since, as is self-evident, no family can very long subsist on the meagre dole, such a course cannot help leading to a break-down of the miners' resistance if persisted in.

Our comrades of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium, concentrating their forces in this region, are holding successful meetings in all the mining towns urging the workers of the Borinage to bring pressure for the calling of a general strike in support of the Levant and Flenu miners. The movement in this direction is growing. A twenty-four hour sympathy strike has already been proposed in several unions. The success of such action alone, our comrades argue can forestall the wholesale onslaught on Belgian labor being cooked up by the bosses.

Another Sample of French Democracy in the Colonies

Recently we reported in these columns the great election victory of the Popular Party of Algiers, the Algerian party which is closely allied with the French revolutionary socialists. Douar Mohamed, of that party was elected as a general councillor.

Now the Council of the Prefecture, the agency of the French colonial office, has seen fit to annul his election on the petition of his imperialist opponent, Zerrouk. The latter was declared elected although he polled less than 3,000 votes out of a total of 15,000 cast.

The grounds for the decision are so flimsy,

that French friends of the P.P.A. expect to carry the fight against it with considerable support.

A Voice in the Wilderness: Anti-War Speaker at Southport

Most of the speeches at the recent Southport conference of the British Labour Party were, of course, in favor of the "war against the aggressors" and in "defense of democracy," laying the ground for the acceptance of conscription. One of the most rabid war mongers was party leader Hugh Dalton. Apparently Dalton's spiel was too much for one old-time militant who found his way to the conference by chance. Here is how one of the British papers reported his reaction:

"Mr. J. Wood (Moseley), a self-styled old soldier who waved the Guards necktie to the delegates said:

"My greatest enemy during the war was not the 'Jerry' on the other side of No Man's Land, but my own Sergeant-Major."

"Let Sergeant-Major Dalton do his own dirty work when the war comes. I'm not going to do it—no Pygmalion likely!"

The Labour Party's Daily Herald did not see fit to include this speech in its accounts of the conference sessions.

Strike Waves Gaining Momentum in India

Comrade Stanley submits the following item:

Official strike statistics for 1938 just published by the Government of India indicate the extent of the revival in the Indian revolutionary and nationalist movement.

Strikes in 1938 were the highest on record for the past 20 years. There were 399 of them as compared with 379 for 1937. The number of working days on strike (not hours, as in American statistics — S.S.) was 9,000,000 and the workers were successful in 46% of the strikes.

Textile workers (the "untouchables" of India) again proved themselves to be the vanguard of the Indian proletariat. They accounted for 39% of the strikes, 70.8% of the workers involved and 71.1% of the working days spent on strike.

Two major working class activities are now under way in India. Both, in all likelihood, will lead to All-India general strikes involving the textile and railway workers. The former, concentrated in Bombay, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Ahmedabad, etc., are already preparing a general strike to combat a proposed 12% wage cut. The railway workers, solidly organized in the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, have presented demands with a 3-month ultimatum, half of which has already passed.

War Crisis Simmering on Europe and Asia Fronts

(Continued from Page 1)

Hitler must plunge ahead, forced on his course by the insistent pressure of a starving nation. Britain and France have their two million men ready for war and the Chamberlains and Halifaxes and Daladiers emulate the Goebbels and Goerings in spewing threats across the air waves of Europe.

Many Sarajevo

Today's world crisis doesn't need a Sarajevo. During the last three or four years there have been Sarajevo's ten thousand times multiplied, but the boss politicians have held back, fearful on all sides of the fighting fronts of what this war will mean. Their trouble is that they can't stop it. Capitalism organizes the world into rival gangs, constantly muscling in on each other, constantly at war either to make a haul or to protect one they made awhile ago. They are just like any other gangs, with the same motives, the same greed, the same ruthlessness. Only they rule the world and they can move peoples and armies around like checkers on a board and because we let them—they can condemn us to die—millions of us to die to keep them and their gold intact in their banks and counting houses.

Wide Front

If the rulers of Britain and France actually decide this summer that they cannot safely offer any more concessions to Hitler, there will be war. If a few fresh concessions are made, the war will be postponed again, but only for a short period. That is the sum and substance of the situation as the complicated and foul game of diplomatic and military maneuvering begins again in Europe, with millions of lives at stake.

These maneuvers are now distributed along a vast front. In the Far East the Japanese end of the axis is bringing its pressure to bear on the beleaguered British imperialists—who now find themselves being ousted from their pirate strongholds by the young upstart pirates from Tokyo. On the Mongolian frontier Japan and Russia are engaged in a new test of strength, a new mutual measuring of forces. In Moscow the Kremlin is still holding Britain and France at arm's length, awaiting the arrival from Berlin of the German ambassador, von Schulenberg, who undoubtedly brings Hitler's latest counter-proposals, masked in the form of a "trade" agreement.

F.D.R.: War President

Along the Polish frontier Hitler is massing millions and in the Limes line, facing France, Switzerland, Belgium, and the Netherlands, he is parading the outward signs of his strength.

In Washington sits Roosevelt, paying out billions for this country's war machine and watching to see how things go in Europe. If war comes, his coy silence about a third term will come sharply to an end, for F.D.R. has cut himself out the role of next war president. It is in preparation for that role that he is jettisoning the jobless and making terms with his bosses, the Morgans and DuPonts and Rockefellers, for the next steps of his War Deal.

Revolt Growing in N. M. U. Against Rotten Leadership

(Continued from Page 1)

In the Gulf district, most powerful against the shipowners and least dominated by the C.P. wrecking crew, revolt is in full swing. The June 12 joint meeting in New Orleans unanimously endorsed recommendations from the Gulf District Committee which actually creates an autonomous unit of the union in that area. Included were decisions to publish an independent paper and to "sell all the Pilots (official C.P. dominated paper) to the junk and rag man at twenty cents a hundred pounds", to call an Agents' conference "for the purpose of consolidating the Gulf into one compact body", granting powers to appoint organizers and to remove officers without the sanction of New York, and finally, to retain all funds collected in the Gulf for Gulf organization.

It was the drastic nature of the Gulf revolt which resulted

Quits C. P., Joins "Growing Parade of Revolutionists"

Declaring that she was joining "the growing parade of revolutionists who are leaving the Communist Party to enlist in the Socialist Workers Party," Betty Fisher, for the last five years a member of the New York Communist Party and Young Communist League, resigned this week from that organization.

"Recent events," she declared, "have opened my eyes to the truth. The Communist Party has renounced its militant past. It has become the tail of the New Deal kite. It has become a bulwark of the status quo—17 million unemployed, insecurity, and the threat of Fascism and war. And like all defenders of capitalism 'democracy,' it has no regard for democracy within its own ranks."

Comrade Fisher declared that her recent experiences had convinced her that the Fourth Internationalists of the Socialist Workers Party were the only ones carrying on a militant and revolutionary struggle against capitalism and war, and she called upon all of her C.P. comrades to follow in her steps and join in the fight for a Socialist world.

COUNCILMEN IN ATTACK ON OTTO POPOVICH

(Continued from Page 1)

tions but failed because of the solidarity and militancy of the unemployed. The tone of the relief bureau representatives soon changed and the U.P.W.U. was able to receive favorable consideration of the 17 cases.

Ridicule Unemployed

At the June 20 meeting of the City Council, the Queens Councilmen, Democratic and Republican, took advantage of the introduction of a reactionary bill by Republican Abner Surpless to attack severely Popovich and the unemployed movement.

Surpless proposed to divert \$100,000 of relief funds for an "investigation" of relief. Rallying behind this open theft of relief funds, Councilman Quinn of Queens opened an attack on Popovich who had led the picketing of his home. He tried to ridicule the demands of the picketers for \$150 a month cash relief, money to pay the rent and a weekly allowance of 60 cents for ice. These men don't seem to think the unemployed have to live.

Very Poor Humor

Quinn also remarked that he understood "vich" meant "son of a bitch" and wondered why all these "viches" didn't go back where they came from. This low attempt at humor at the expense of the unemployed who must live under conditions of extreme misery in the richest city in the world provoked laughter from the well-paid and well-fed Councilmen assembled in City Hall.

But their laughter was at their own expense for the U.P.W.U. had demonstrated that mass labor action can effectively wipe the sneers from the faces of these politicians.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

Toward the Party Convention

On the Relation Between Mass Agitation and Trade Union Work

By JAMES P. CANNON

Practically all the serious articles contributed to the party pre-convention discussion by individual comrades, groups or party committees emphasize the same point: Mass work. Different proposals are made. There are different evaluations of the past activity of the party. Some comrades offer more ambitious plans, and some betray more impatience than others. But all apparently pursue the same aim, the decisive turn of the party to mass work and the more efficient organization of this work. From this we can see that the party is united at least to this extent: It knows what it wants. So far, so good.

But that does not solve the whole problem. It only poses the problem. The aspiration to direct all attention to the broad masses and to gain a wider influence over them is not new or original with us. There is nothing in this aspiration, of itself, to distinguish us from other parties. Leaving aside the sects and mutual admiration societies, which habituate themselves to isolation as something normal and also desirable, all parties, whether bourgeois or proletarian, strive to win mass support and work out for themselves various techniques of mass appeal.

There Is No Short Cut

An agreement in general on the necessity of a more decisive turn to mass work, such as we appear to have, signifies only that we consider ourselves ready to enter into active and direct competition with all political tendencies for the support of the working masses. Our success in this competition in our time will be determined by how much we understand our own problem and apply that understanding in practice. Here, as our party discussion has disclosed, we run into difficulties and differences of opinion.

Some of these differences are simply matters of emphasis. Others represent conflicting conceptions, and that is far more serious. With others, impatience to reach the agreed-upon objective is giving rise to ideas which are false in conception and which, if adopted by the party, would have fatal consequences.

One of these false ideas born of impatience is the idea that we can find a short cut to a mass movement over the head of the trade unions. I mention this first because it is the most fundamental and the most dangerous. There are numerous other misconceptions, all related however, a considerable section of our movement, in its impatience to get to the masses, is experimenting with ultra-radical nostrums which, ironically enough, are the surest means of assuring a permanent isolation from the masses.

These sentiments are most conspicuous among the youth whose leaders, apparently, consider it fashionable to play a little bit with adventurism and leftist phrasemongering. If one put his mind to it he could not think out a better way of wasting the energy and courage of our young militants and of guaranteeing the eventual reaction of disillusionment and discouragement.

Mass work has many forms. It is necessary to combine them in such a way that each separate division serves the others. The modern proletariat is accustomed to act through its organizations. Most basic and fundamental of these are the trade unions. A party which aims to lead the working class must acquire a strong base of support and a leading influence in the unions. That is what the founding convention of the party a year and a half ago had in mind when it issued the sweeping slogan, "Ninety percent of party work must be directed to the trade unions."

Was this slogan incorrect? Or, has something happened in the past eighteen months to change the nature of workers' organizations and the workers' habit of acting through them? Not at all. But the impatience of some comrades for action is leading them to flirt with the most grotesque ideas in this respect, ideas which they may consider "new", but which in reality are as old as the Marxist struggle against anarchist adventurism.

We hear it said nowadays that the unions are too slow in responding and that we must go direct to the masses. The masses, it seems, are something entirely outside the unions with their seven million or so members. The masses are presumably only waiting to hear from us, and are ready to act without the formality of organization. Even the Ohio-Michigan District Committee of the party,

proof that both sets of mislead-

ers are guilty as hell on all counts of conspiring with the shipowners, violation of the union constitution and financial mismanagement. This guilt is sufficient to read both gangs out of the labor movement for all time. However it is equally significant that both gangs carefully avoid the worst crimes of both. The consistent betrayal to Maritime Commission sea-slavery receives not one word in the thousands poured out by the rival gangs. Partial reports from the Gulf indicate a similar willful blindness to the life or death issue facing the maritime workers and the maritime unions on all coasts.

The Only Course

The continued existence of the maritime unions, depends on consistent, uncompromising organized war against the sea-slavery program of the government and against all its agents in maritime union ranks. The course, the only course, for all seamen on all coasts is fighting unity with their brothers, who take a clear uncompromising stand against the fink-hall, fink-training, union smashing program of the Government and its Curran-King stooges.

whose jurisdiction covers precisely the heart of the field of the great new unions of workers in the mass production industries, take a rather cross-eyed view of this question. They permit themselves to advocate a program of action which, they say, "can be conducted independently of the limitations and uncertainties of the trade union movement." (Socialist Appeal, June 27).

No doubt, the members of the Ohio-Michigan District Committee, who have seen and taken part in workers' demonstrations of power through their unions, knew better. Perhaps they just took a Sunday off for a manifesto spree. Or, possibly, they sought by this high-sounding formula, and the ambiguous verbiage which follows it, to make a "concession" to still more radical comrades who are "tired of waiting for the trade unions." But this sort of concessions and compromises will not do. The party convention must determine the correct approach to mass work and firmly reject the false. Otherwise we will have a smash-up.

Deeper into the Unions!

We cannot yield anything from the "90 trade union" formula of our founding convention, not even one per cent. Mass agitation in general must be conceived, organized and developed, not as a substitute for the systematic penetration of the trade unions but as a supplement to it. Woe to the party that despairs of the trade unions and turns away from them! The harder such a party works and the more hysterically it shouts the sooner it will wear itself out.

Trade union work is not easy. Moreover it is restricted in scope, not complete of itself—herein the syndicalists commit one of their greatest errors—and must be supplemented all the time by the general political and agitational work of the party. But even this general work of the party unrestricted in its scope by any trade union rules or customs, is directed primarily to the workers organized into unions. They alone are capable of sustained action, precisely because they alone are organized.

True enough, we appeal to all workers. In some cases we appeal most directly and immediately to the unorganized who are the most exploited and deprived. But what is the first suggestion we offer to such workers, if they respond to our appeal? We advise them to join a trade union, or if unemployed, a union of the unemployed. We cannot go around the unions, and we have no desire to. Our slogan is, "Deeper into the Unions!" Every campaign of general mass agitation must aim to deepen and strengthen our influence in the unions.

No Room for Two Opinions

Trade union work requires patience, endurance and skill. In very few unions, at present, is it possible to unfold the whole program of the Fourth International. In many unions, dominated by red-baiting bureaucrats, it is necessary for revolutionary militants to refrain from exposing themselves to expulsion by advertising their political affiliations. Revolutionary trade union work, as a rule, in America, is quiet, mole-like, unspectacular. To carry on such work unflinchingly; to work in the unions in piece-meal fashion for parts of the program while holding fast to the party, which in its general agitation expounds and defends the program as a whole; to be attentive to the smallest union issues of the day without succumbing to opportunism; to trench one's self and be in a position to influence the whole union when the time for action comes—these are among the sternest and most important revolutionary tests today.

Such tasks require courage, persistence and prudence. It is easy to shirk them, or to fail miserably in their performance. We know such cases, and the super-radicalism of the delinquents is poor consolation to the party which needs influence and support in the unions more than it needs anything else. It is easy to fight one's way out of a union by ill-considered tactics, and still easier to talk one's way out. But what the party needs is militants who know how to dig deep into the unions and stay there, gather a circle of sympathizers and supporters about them, and transmit their personal influence into party support in the trade union movement.

The party convention should emphasize this necessity once again. There is no room for two opinions on this question.

N. Y. PAINTERS DEAL BLOW TO C. P. MACHINE

(Continued from Page 1)

union members who were intent on returning the union to its membership regardless of political affiliation.

The Stalinists may have some satisfaction in the fact that by their special conniving, they managed to obtain the defeat of Dennis Cronin, running for business agent of local 5 on the progressive ticket, who was one of the founders of the Painters Educational Society, and among the most intransigent leaders of the opposition. But that is a short-lived satisfaction. For their sun in the Painters Union has set. The machine's rule has been broken. In the future, painters will know how to accord their right places to the militants who have been in the forefront of the struggle for them.

The job of the progressives is tremendous. They have a frightful mess to clean up—the

heritage left to them by the union wreckers. It is up to them now to elaborate in the concrete the program they have claimed as their own. Without giving any comfort to the red-baiters, they must put the union back on its feet and win over to their side the misled followers of the C.P. by a program of militancy that is in line with the times. The slogans of the six-hour day and of large-scale slum clearance projects can become powerful means of rehabilitating the union. The inner-union structure will no doubt undergo the democratic reforms—rotation system of job assignment, secret ballot on taxes and assessments, election of all officers, etc. — that the progressives have stood for from the first.

An article by Nathan Levine on Mrs. Rubens' "release" from a Soviet jail and her interview with American newspapermen will appear in the next issue of the Socialist Appeal.

At Your Service
THE APPEAL
POSTER SHOP

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Once upon a time, a long time ago, there was a young fellow on his way to visit his uncle who lived across the plains and over the mountains. This young fellow walked and walked until he came to a railroad station at the foot of the mountains and there he saw a great long train which was about to leave for the town where his uncle lived.

At once he decided to walk no more. He would ride on the train. So he went to the ticket agent and purchased a ticket and then he went out on the platform and waited for the train to get started. He waited and he waited but still the train did not move. He walked up and down and smoked several cigars until he became so impatient that he could not wait any longer. Then he walked up to the front of the train and began to cuss at the engineer.

"What the hell is the matter with this train? Why don't you get under way? How can you expect people to ride on your damn railroad if you stall around like this? What the hell is wrong with you? What are you waiting for?" "Waiting for?" asked the engineer, "Why we were waiting for you to get on board the train!"

No Time to Be Active

It is an old story and you have heard it before. But it always reminds me of the impatient people who cannot find time to become active in the revolutionary movement and who are always so very critical of the party unless the party happens to be engaged in a campaign which these people happen to think is a good idea at the time.

They are always trying to find some reason for not actually engaging in the necessary work of the party and at the same time they cannot understand—at least they claim they cannot understand—why the party doesn't do this and doesn't do that, etc., etc.

When pressed they swear great oaths of loyalty to the working class and to the revolutionary movement. But as to doing anything—well, you see they cannot agree with this phase of the work or they cannot understand just what is holding back the outbreak of social upheaval.

They are ready and willing, you understand, but until the party comes around to their point of view on this question or that there can be no cooperation. The working class and the party will just have to see things their way or it's no go. In the meantime, they go about their own little businesses and ease their little minds with small thoughts.

Revolutionary? Indeed! They are to the left of the party, you understand. Some of them have even left the movement on the grounds that the movement was too far to the right on this question or that. Are they left indeed. . . . In fact they are so far to the left that they cannot find a place in the revolutionary party and have not the patience to wait until the party and the working class can catch up with them.

Of course, if after considerable time—say three or four months—they suddenly blossom out in support of the war or in agreement with some bureaucrat in the trade unions, well, after all, you can't say they didn't warn the workers to hurry up and catch up with their ideas and theories when the catching up was good.

If the working class and the party did not take their advice when they offered it, well,

how can they be blamed for trying to make a living and at the same time justifying their retreat from the field of action?

And, if, in the meantime, they hang around the fringes of the movement trying to pick up a disciple or two, discourage one or two youngsters with their line of ultra-ultra leftism, well, you understand that they must have a following or a couple of disciples. After all, it is easier to impress a new comer or a youngster than it is to convince the membership—especially where there are people who fight back and refuse to be taken in by some fly-by-night brain trust with an ego as big as his head.

Fear Judgment of Members

It is one thing to take some inexperienced young student or worker aside and whisper all sorts of fantastic stories and spin strange tales about the movement and it is something else to come out in the open and present their ideas and charges where answers are ready and waiting. This they know and so they invent reasons for being inactive, for remaining outside the party. Answers which sometimes sound good over a cup of coffee but which could not hold water before the membership.

Inside the party, where every comrade has the right and the duty to present his ideas and to have his opinions considered by the membership, where the workers forge their ideas into clean sharp weapons for the fight against reaction and slavery, these cowards have no place. They fear the honest judgment of serious revolutionists who are quick to recognize fakery and personal ambition.

The party makes mistakes, it sometimes hesitates and it sometimes jumps ahead of the general development. That is only to be expected. The party is made up of human beings and is bound to make errors but the point to be remembered is that the party can succeed only by trying and by making every possible effort to achieve its aim. If the party made no mistakes it would make no gains. Only by constant activity and consistent effort will it succeed in showing the workers the way to victory.

In the party, taking their places side by side with the honest and serious revolutionists, belong those who would make good the final victory of socialism over capitalism. Outside the party they can only criticize and find little faults which in the long run mean nothing. The snipers and egotistic generals without armies and the super wise guys will one day have to answer to the workers for their failure to lend a hand when a hand was needed.

If all those who are waiting for the train would only realize that the train may be waiting for them perhaps we would be on our way—but you may rest assured that when the train is ready to start it is not going to wait around for the Johnny-come-latelies or the birds who stood around refusing to embark unless they were given personal privileges.

They tell this story in Germany, which concerns a rabbit which was found trying to escape across the German border. "What's the idea," he was asked. "Hitler has just introduced a law banning all giraffes," said the rabbit. "But. . . . Yes, I know," said the rabbit, "but just try to tell that guy that I'm not a giraffe."

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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 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 fakers.

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 Prince'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 fakers 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! Misled, 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 beaten 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: in to 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 meet 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.

However such reasoning may lure middle-class logicians, it is false from beginning to end.

First of all it presupposes that Stalin himself is far more limited than he really is. Yet he possesses, especially in this sphere, ample experience to be able to foresee in advance what proportions a purge would have to assume given the apparatus in the creation and training of which he holds preeminence.

It is well known that the preparations for the purge began long ago. They began in 1935 with the expulsion from the party of tens of thousands of Oppositionists who had long since recanted. No one plumed this measure. Least of all, of course, those who had been expelled. The task Stalin had set himself was to kill the Fourth International and to destroy en route the old generation of the Bolsheviks and all those in the succeeding generations who were morally tied with the traditions of the Bolshevik party. To execute so monstrous a design, without parallel in the annals of the history of mankind, it was necessary to clamp the apparatus itself in a steel vice.

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.

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 handled 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 suavely 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.

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