Over the Top! The Twice-Weekly Begins Feb. 8!

The Twice-a-Week Socialist Appeal campaign has gone over with a bang!

The goal of \$3,000 which was set for the minimum sum reguired to launch the new enterprise, has been subscribed with a speed and enthusiasm hitherto unknown in our movement.

From coast to coast, branches of the Socialist Workers party, units of the Young People's Socialist League, friends and sympathizers of the party and the Socialist Appeal, hastened to make their contributions.

For many, the size of the contributions—which ranged from fifty cents to a hundred dollars—represented a real sacrifice, but it was given gladly.

And now that the financial goal has been reached, we announce that the first issue of the Twice-a-Week Socialist Appeal will appear under date of

Wednesday, February 8, 1939.

The very next issue will be dated the following Saturday, and the Appeal from then on (at least until it becomes a daily!) will come out regularly every Wednesday and Saturday.

A network of correspondence has been established all over the country, including militants who are right in the thick of labor's battles and are in a position to report events as they should be reported in a living, fighting socialist paper.

All important developments in the American scene, in labor's struggles and in labor politics, will be followed consistently in our pages.

And as an earnest of the brighter, more attractive, more informative and more universal character of the new Twicea-Week Socialist Appeal, we announce the apparance of a number of new features, by our best writers, to appear regularly, some in the Wednesday issue, some in the Saturday issue, some in both.

Covering the international field with news and views of what is happening in the labor, socialist, communist and revolutionary movements in general all over the globe, is a feature department:

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR By Paul G. Stevens.

The happenings in American politics, analyzed every week, will be covered by another feature department under the sigtitle of:

THEIR GOVERNMENT By James Burnham

What is going on in the labor movement, the struggle of C.I.O. and the A.F. of L., the development of the left wing movement in the unions, pictures of what is going on in the unions which are not drawn in other labor papers, strikes and fights of importance will be dealt with regularly in the feature:

> IN THE TRADE UNIONS By B. J. Widick

A column of comment in which the author will have a free hand and will be responsible for his own opinions about the fields of labor, industry and finance, the cultural world, the radical groups, and the world of literature-along the lines already so popular in his column in the New International-and to which from time to time he will invite guest conductors:

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

Readers of the Socialist Appeal from the very beginning, who remember the sprightly humor and snappy observations on the world at large and the labor movement in particular, will welcome back as a regular weekly column:

> LEFT JABS By Bill

Quite another "Bill" will cover the labor movement in a different way. The more human side of the working class struggle, pen pictures of what the men and women of labor have done in the past and are doing right now-in strikes, on the picket line, in the unions, wherever the workers fight for their cause-will appear in story form regularly under the heading of:

> ON THE LINE By Bill Morgan

A column of political comment, sometimes critical, sometimes answering critics, dealing with events and problems of the day in less formal style than is devoted to them by the regular editorials of the Socialist Appeal, will be conducted under the heading of:

IN THIS CORNER By Max Shachtman

To keep alive and fresh the memory of the great mil-

itants of years gone by, of men and women whose stories are a constant source of inspiration, we are planning a regular feature of short biographies, appropriately entitled:

> OUT OF THE PAST By Emanuel Garrett

These are only some of the new features. The new books and pamphlets of importance will be covered; so will the significant moving pictures of the day; so will everything else of interest to our readers-those we have and the many more that we plan to get.

So, on with the Twice-a-Week Socialist Appeal!

More subscribers, more readers, more financial and moral support than ever before!

We've put it over as we planned. Now let's put it over bigger and better than it ever was in the past!



the other day to inform them of the passing funeral of a mutual friend. But they did not answer his repeated calls. They themselves were seeking death in a gas-filled rear room.

When police and physicians revived the aged couple the story came out. A relief check had failed to arrive. The burean had discontinued their case because "one of the three adult children had refused to assist them out of his weekly earnings.'

ture cases.

Bencivenga is jobless, 81 years old and a cripple. His wife, Rose, 78 years old, blind and a cripple.

Suicide is one way out. The in the relief office-to raise hellwhen Mrs. Fanny Marcus did just in the bureau at 178th St. and Webster Avenue, the Bronx, this week. The papers all sent photographers, the police sent cops to make arrests and the bureau officials were sure embarrassed. Local 5 Acts

It all happened over night and is still front page news because Mrs. Marcus has no intention of letting the Relief Bureau get off funeral. She intends to fight. Her small child is going to eat and

that is that. Local 5 of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union swung into action when the investigators in the bureau refused to discuss

Mrs. Marcus' case and demanded an immediate interview. When the committee from Local 5 was refused an interview Mrs. Marcus just sat down and stayed down for twenty-one hours! It was the first one-woman sitdown strike in history and it brought results. croppers. Arrests Made

Her furniture, dumped on the sidewalk by a city marshall, was carried to the bureau by members of Local 5. Her child was cared for by friends. The newspapers sent reporters and photographers. It made all the front pages in town.

This sudden publicity aroused the anger of the officials and soon poverty of these workers. The im- borers. two militant members of Local 5 mediate cause of the croppers' rewere arrested. Mrs. Sabelsky and volt was the attempt of the land- meeting,

She had been turned over to the police by the bureau. Council of the C.I.O. U. P. W. U. Prepares Case

To Consider Affiliation But Local 5 is made up of many

In his letter, Martin indicated militant workers and the arrest that he would present to the conof two members and the client vention he has called for March will not prevent carrying on the case until satisfaction is granted. 4 in Detroit the question of dis-The bureau knows that a defeat affiliating from the C.I.O. and of for the U.P.W.U. on this case will remaining independent or joining with the A, F. of L. establish convenient alibis for fu-

From the letter, and all the Arresting the most active work- events leading up to what has ers and the client will give the become a definite split of the bureau a breathing spell but in U.A.W. into two fighting camps, the meantime the U.P.W.U. is pre- it became clear that these steps the meantime the U.P.W.U. is pre- it became clear that these steps paring its case and getting ready were leading the Martin group Bosses Quit Parley; Shipstead, Farmer-Labor Senator At the time that he was issuing the cat out of the bag about

This is only one of many cases, and isolation from the C.I.O., bureau and the city officials no but it serves as an example of the under whose banner the auto longer have to provide for clients endless work carried on by the workers, in a series of dramatic who are dead. But to make a fuss organized unemployed who know struggles, built up an imposing that only a relentless, determined industrial union, whose birth the is the last thing they desire. And struggle will win relief for work- old-line bureaucrats of the A. F. ers who are getting the run- of L had systematically prevented that there sure was hell to pay around and the Raw-Deal in New by their preposterous craft-union York City. policy. ators, when the bosses broke off

St. Louis Workers Demand **Funds For Sharecroppers**

(Special to Socialist Appeal) owners to change the croppers in-ST. LOUIS, Mo .--- Endorsing the to day-laborers in order to deeasy with a mere Potters Field campaign of the Southern Tenant prive them of the Government of basic issues. On over-road Farmers Union to give relief to cotton-reduction payments.

the homeless sharecroppers of Evicted from their shacks by Southeast Missouri, a mass meet- the landowners when they reing of 500 people held here today, fused to accept this change in called upon Congress to appropristatus, the croppers were then ate funds for the establishment of ejected from their roadside enfarm resettlement projects. campments by the State police,

The meeting, called by the St. forced back to the farms and put Louis Committee for Rehabilita- at the mercy of the planters. Sevtion of the Sharecroppers, also eral hundred families, who could decided to empower the sponsor- not be immediately returned to ing Committee to call a confer- their masters, were corraled in a ence of interested organizations concentration camp, a barren 40which would plan further steps acre tract which was as devoid to increase relief aid to the

Poverty Increased

Whitfield estimated that at least Owen H. Whitfield, leader of the 250 persons were living in cold, mass exodus and roadside demon- unheated shacks and barns and stration of croppers which began are in dire need. A tenant on the Jan. 10, described in detail the government resettlement project plight of his people. Large-scale at La Forge, the speaker urged rectly with the union instead of cotton growing, using machinery the extension of this project of through the bosses' negotiating which replaced croppers and la- 100 families to include the thou-

borers, he stated, increased the sands of needy croppers and la Abour \$100 was collected at the

camps along the Highways.

resignation from the Executive ing crew which has done its best ers will be dropped between now the Negrin government has surto discredit the C.I.O. in one field and April 1st; and that more than rendered Barcelona without a after another, was considered by a million additional will be militant workers to be an inde-thrown out between April 1 and fight, and has followed this up

(Continued on Page 2)

OMAHA DRIVERS SOLID IN 22nd **WEEK OF STRIKE**



Shipstead for Cut The reduced figure was carried ed by Senators Byrne (Dem., N.C.) and Harrison (Dem., Miss.). In the final roll call, however,

from Minnesota.

The workers of Minnesota should mark this vote well, and remember, when the time comes OMAHA, Neb.-With over sixty that Shipstead lined up with percent of the operators already the Minnesota business men, signed up, the teamsters' strike bankers, and conservative rich continued for the twenty-second farmers, not with Minnesota's workers. week against the remaining oper-

During its last hours of consid- France. ering the Bill, the Senate, with

The break came when the bossno debate or roll-call votes, tackes refused to negotiate on the is- ed on a number of amendments. sue of a closed-shop clause for One of these is particularly dancontracts covering local Nebraska gerous in its possibilities for the ward Ortega Gasset, former gov-

Balk At Closed Shop

Tentative agreement had alruns, the bosses had agreed to the uniform minimum 11-state North Central Area rate of 2% cents a mile, roughly 75 cents an

legotiations last week.

drivers

cago, etc.—but balked at the dent of the A.F. of L., before the union split as a C.I.O. "family light when it was learned that

An enthusiastic membership meeting of the union voted to of real shelter as their make-shift continue the struggle for the closed shop and authorized Farrell Dobbs, leader of the North L. and the C.I.O. Central Area Negotiating Committee, to send individual letters to the thirteen remaining operators, calling upon them to deal dicommittee.

> Most of the operators have since signified their desire to the C.I.O. leaders. meet directly with the workers' committee.

solutely necessary, because the just north of Barcelona, includustry.

Premier Negrin himself has

in the Senate by a coalition of crossed the frontier into France, Republicans and Democrats head- according to the press services.

See article on page 3, and editorial on page 4.

would not leave the city, Negrin

Other Officials Desert

Other officials deserting to France included: Juan Molas, governor of Barcelona province; Ed-

(Continued on Page 4) (Continued on Page 3)

Tentative agreement had al-ready been reached on a number of basic issues. On over-road Workers Press For Peace marine and aerial offensive a against Japanese positions.

MIAMI, Fla. Evidence of the | far as peace prospects are conhour. On Omaha and local runs, growing pressure of the A.F. of L. cerned have multiplied. You know agreement had been reached for membership for unity of the how difficult it is to merge alwage scale of 60 cents an hour. American union movement was ready existing unions," and he The bosses had conceded the reflected in the new tone of con- did not express any optimism for closed-shop for over-road runs to ciliation towards the C.I.O. in the an early peace.

closed shop for local Nebraska quarterly meeting of the execu- quarrel" he used different lan- U.S. bombing plane secrets were is true among both the officers ary pronouncements against the permission and approval. and the members of the A.F. of C.I.O. in the past was lacking this time.

> "The members of both organizations are pressing for a settlement That goes for the leaders too," Green declared. He made an exception, however,

of John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, when speaking of the attitude of

GUAM BASE PLAN militant workers to be an inde-fensible step away from the main June 30. This result would be ab-by evacuating the industrial area SHOWS OFFENSIVE sum appropriated could not pro-vide for any more. U. S. INTENTIONS **Admirals Find It**

Hard to Explain Its Purpose

proclamations assuring the Bar- American war plans when it procelona population of a fight to posed the fortification of Guamthe end, and that the government a little rocky island 6,000 miles

across the Pacific. All week long Admiral William had already, it develops, rented a D. Leany, chief of Naval Operavilla at Le Perthus, its front door tions, and Rear Admiral Arthur in Spain and its back door in J. Hepburn, have been before the Military Affairs Commission of the House trying to explain how

the Guam project fits into the "defense" of the United States. Leahy was compelled to admit that the West coast and even Hawaii could be "defended" without Guam and was all but forced

to confess that Guam, 1,365 miles from Tokyo, would in reality become an advance base for submarine and aerial offensive action The only thing a base on Guam would "defend" would be the imperialist interests of Yankee imperialism in China and the Philip-

pines Another aspect of the private Roosevelt administation in premain terminals—Kansas City, Chi- remarks of William Green, presi- In referring to the auto workers paration for war was brought to hoarded loot of the British and

tive council of the A. F. of L. here. guage towards that situation than being put at the disposal of "The psychological situation has was generally expected. The bel- France, to whom 600 planes are ican boss racketeers are preparchanged. It is much better. That ligerent tone of Green's reaction- to be sold with the government's The vast maneuvers now under-

way in the Caribbean are design-The A. F. of L. executive board ed to present a sharp and unmisis to receive a report on the C.I.O. takable warning to potential rivconvention and on Secretary of als in Europe-primarily Germany Labor Frances Perkins' efforts to -that the United States will fight the peoples of the earth. The Gerbring about a behind-the-scenes to protect its grasp on the rich settlement of the A.F. of L. and markets of Latin America. The C.I.O. dispute. Hepburn plan at the same time Green, it appears, believes the makes it clear that U.S. imperial-

C.I.O. convention retreated some- ism is preparing swiftly for a Green pointed out that "the dif- what from the position Lewis showdown with Japan in the ficulties on the mechanical side so took in negotiations last year. Pacific

ich running out, President Roosevelt made it plain this week that he intends to thrust this country into war to check the totalitarian threat to American-British-French world domniation. He called members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee to the White House on Tuesday and told them this country's frontier was the French border. He also apparently told them

that he had already committed the United States to support of Britain and France in a war against Germany and Italy, and promised unstinted aid in money, supplies and munitions.

This dramatic and almost unprecedented White House meeting was Roosevelt's way of bolstering his allies in Europe where, over the strangled body of the Spanish revolution, the contending powers are moving into the midst of another full-blown crisis.

Spring is no longer the time for lighter fancies. It is open season for the threat of war that hangs so constantly over the dying capitalist world.

あいのとうない

African Colonies

Last year it was Austria and the Sudetenland. This year it is apparently to be the issue of the African colonies. In his speech on Monday Hitler indicated that together with Mussolini he will put the squeeze on Britain and France for a colonial settlement before resuming his drive eastward toward the Ukraine.

In other words, the German and arrangements being made by the Italian hijackers are ready to take another crack at the long-French racketeers.

"Have-Nots" Ask Cut And in this country the Amering to step into this gang war and international thuggery that goes by the name of "foreign relations"

in the capitalist world. The British, French, and American thugs want to hold on to what they have sweated out of man, Italian, and Japanese hijackers want a cut for themselves. Hitler put it quite neatly when he said on Monday:

"To assume that God has permitted certain nations to take (Continued on Page 3)



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Split In Auto Workers Union Deepens APPEAL ARMY Beginning next Wednesday the of new subscribers!

MARTIN · LEAVES Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party Drops Chicago and Flint **DETROIT'S BEER** Hear C. L. R. James **DRIVERS SPURN** C.I.O. AS UNION Independent Action in Move to Right CHICAGO-Over three hundred **WAGE CUT PLAN CRISIS SHARPENS**

(Continued from Page 1) body of the advanced and progressive industrial unionists who are at present organized in the ranks of the C.I.O.

Thousands Provoked

Badgered by the Stalinists and their slander campaign for more than a year, and sickened by the brazenly bureaucratic measures of the C.P.-Lewis combination in depriving the union the autonomy which the membership laid great store by, thousands of the best rank-and-file members of the Auto Workers Union were driven to react to such extremes as made plausible to many of them the of Stalinists for publicity purposes amendments were decided steps dow dressing they put in a new turn that Martin has taken away only. A dozen insignifcant figures from the C.I.O.

As a logical consequence of this tivity in the Farmer-Labor moveturn, moreover, many outright reactionary elements, who have nothing in common with a progressive fight against the Lewis-Stalinist machine, have attached themselves to the Martin group the Stalinist issue, but that was and have, indeed, in many cases succeeded in becoming its spokesmen and guides.

How erroneous was Martin's this convention, after a defeat decision to give up the C.I.O. there was nothing to lose, no patronage machine to hold the movement without a fight, by delegates in check, and the polimistakenly considering Lewis, Browder and Co. to be identical ticians needed a goat. The Farwith the masses of the C.I.O. mer-Labor members were aroused members who have no use for the at the work of Stalinist fractions from the floor this dishwater was Stallnist wreckers, is demonstrat- in the ward clubs, and at the diluted even further by striking expel the Stallnists, and added: ed further by the fact that the hordes of delegates from non-ex-C. P. stooges in the Auto Workers istent paper organizations which stituting "educational." Union are now gleefully exerting swung control for the Stalinists every effort to turn the attention in county and district organizaof the membership away from tions. their own inglorious record and | The more conservative political

directing it instead to Martin's leaders had no quarrel with the ill-considered and dangerous New Deal program of the Stalinmove.

By making this the sole and the Union, the Stalinists hope to all right. But we've got to change escape the criticism and attacks elements in the Auto Workers, who are not mere agents of tional maneuvers, and not with a Martin, expect to deliver against political program. the C. P. wreckers at the Cleveland convention which the Execufor March 27.

Rank and File Action

That the Stalinist gang will be ning maneuver to save its hide, is indicated by reports of rank-and-file action which are coming in from all parts of the country. Very significant in this report Very significant in this report

is the action reported by the Union Council representing the Auto Workers Union in Wisconandidates representing the two major parties is under way here. sin, Illinois and Minnesota. While

state convention of the Minnesota . . . accepting the program." with the activities of the Associa-Farmer-Labor Association, Janu- Trade unions affiliated under this tion of the Party." ary 27 and 28, spent most of its clause, and after the C. P. The provision is in harmony at the Capitol Building. time on issues growing out of the changed its line, a host of work- with the dropping of independent in the Farmer-Labor movement.

rank-and-file delegates who want- The new constitution restricts used against real left wingers in is now engaged in strike against sons for wanting to put the Stal- the Stalinists to include uneminists into the background (but ployed organizations and ladies' not necessarily out of the party). auxiliary were defeated by large

votes. More Conservative Program The result was a step backward to a more conservative program, plague of paper organizations was that is just what the F.-L. polititional machinery, and a "purge" an important step forward. Other backward.

The constitution committee re- it a purge. were unseated as delegates, and moved "independent political acthe real problem of Stalinist ac-

tion" from the purpose of the Association. The purpose was, dating the Farmer-Labor movement was not solved. Even the "to unite the members of all far- ment into the old capitalist parunseated delegates continued to mer, labor and other kindred or- ties was put in a nutshell by the sit in the convention and vote. The Farmer-Labor convention ganizations, and unorganized elements which support independent ten months before had ignored groups, into a political associajust before an election. It would have been bad publicity to face tion. the turmoil in the movement. At

education and organization incllitical campaigns of the Farmer-Labor movement." By amendment out the word "political" and sub-

> **Communists "Barred"** The other important change in throw out the Stalinists, propose

the constitution barred communists, with a rule. There had been the Stalinists! They both want a rule against them in the con- the party to stay conservative. stitution since 1924, and it had They want even closer unholy

ists, had worked with them durnot worked, so the convention wedlock with the New Deal. They ing the past year, and, "if they'd leaders decided to have another want to gag the trade unions. exclusive question of the day in stay in the background they'd be rule. The old constitution barred our window dressing." With these "by means" of revolution." The which thousands of progressive leaders in control the Stalinists Minnesota Stalinists either deny were fought only with organizarevolution.

Besides the credentials report

workers gathered to hear the lecture on the "Twilight of the Brit-

ST. PAUL, Minn., Jan. 28.-The Labor clubs and "all organizations | hold any position in connection ish Empire" given by C. L. R. James, on Friday, January 27th,

The meeting opened with a fiveactivities of the Communist Party ers' orders, culture clubs, literary political action. It will have no minute speech by Brother Henry societies and paper locals of the more effect against the Stalinists Weinberg, a representative of the A strong movement by honest Workers' Alliance also came in. than the old rule did, it will be Chicago Newspaper Guild which

ed to get rid of the Stalinist membership to Farmer-Labor the working class movement, and the Hearst papers. He called for wrecking crew was seized by poli- clubs and "chartered trade un- its purpose is to substitute pub- the support of the strike by all ticians who had their own rea- ions." Amendments proposed by licity gesture for a real break present, asking for a boycott of the Hearst newspapers and adwith the Stalinists. vertisers. Many copies of the A real break with the Stalinists strike bulletin and strike buttons

would require a break with their By tens of thousands of leaflets were sold. program, a break with the New and pasters, the membership of James spoke for almost an hour This change, to eliminate the Deal and political trading, and Drivers Local 271 took their case and a half, tracing the rise of the to the public, primarily to the some improvement in organiza- much needed and by and large cians don't want. To pacify the British Empire, the effect of the auto workers of this auto center. membership and change the win-"Nine hundred brewery drivers Campaign Is On! and the weakening of British imand helpers are being locked out perialism. The crowd remained wording for the old rule and call of their jobs," the leaflet declared.

for more than an hour afterward to ask questions and listen to the Swing Back to Old Parties splendid and concise answers The Stalinists pogram of liqui-

given by the speaker. * * * FLINT, Mich.-C. L. R. James. "Daily Record" distributed at the noted English author and lec-

convention: "Convention to rally turer, spoke before the first open political action by economic progressives for New Deal." In meeting of the Flint branch of contrast the "Minnesota Appeal" the Socialist Workers Party, issued and distributed at the con- Tuesday, Jan. 24, to inaugurate

The committee draft read, "to vention by the Minnesota Section in an auspicious manner the parform a political association to of the Socialist Workers Party ty's activity in this city. carry on an extensive program of pointed out that the New Deal Speaking on the topic "The Twilight of the British Empire" was dragging the Farmer-Labor dental to participation in the po- Party to defeat, and proposed a before an audience of over 60 workers, James traced the hisconcrete working class program tory of domination and oppresfor the Association. It also pointsion of the British Empire, and ed out the futility of trying to the spirit of revolt that has prevailed in the colonies. "Now here is the irony of this

The meeting was presided over local, in order to institute wage tea-pot tempest: The Johnsonby Genora Johnson, active mili- slashes ranging from \$6 to \$18 Lommen group who are trying to tant in the auto strikes, who re-

a program identical with that of cently broke with the Socialist standards and jobs, the men unparty to join the S.W.P.

NEW DEALER GETS JOB: sters, which had previously been A.L.P.er IS REWARDED granted jurisdiction of brewery ROCHESTER, N. Y .-- Former drivers. Chartered as Drivers Lo

Congressman George B. Kelly, the cal 271, the men proceeded to enardent New Dealer and candidate force the original contract. of the American Labor Party, has In collusion with the breweries,

recently been rewarded by the the Brewery Union officials se-"good" citizens of this city with cured an injunction to force the Since the convention took the a lame duck appointment as Re- men back into the phony local conservative line the problem will gional Director of the Wagesthey had established. The judge's The new constitution reads, remain for solution. If the ban Hours Act. Mr. Kelly, from his decision was seconded by an "ar-"Provided, however, that no per- on paper organizations is really East Boulevard Apts., expressed bitrator's decision" of Frank X. ation of Labor, Since then, Mar-

> tel's middle name is spelled "XX" -double-cross---by the workers of Detroit. **Drivers Press Demands**

Union Makes Public

Double Cross by

Frank Martel

DETROIT-Detroit's been

drivers are continuing their mili-

tant fight against the wage-cut-

ting scheme engineered by com-

bination of the breweries and

"They are fighting for union

principles, against a wage-cut and

for union democracy. They are

fighting against a gang of unscru-

pulous officials, who call them-

"The daily press has made it

appear as if this was a 'jurisdic-

tional' war between two unions.

This is false from start to finish.

Labor Skate Conspiracy

The leaflet then describes in de-

tail the conspiracy between the

labor skates of the Brewery

Workers Union and the breweries,

whereby the charter of Local 38

of the Brewery Workers, covering

the drivers, was revoked in No-

vember, 1938 and the men ordered

into a previously established dual

per week. To protect their wage

animously voted to join the In-

ternational Brotherhood of Team-

selves labor leaders.

Brewery Workers Union officials.

Even before the A.F. of L. Executive Council, meeting at Miami, repudiated Martel's verdict,

the brewery drivers had already determined to press for their origgress from voting on entering a Captain Jack Gilbert, of the Chiinal demands for a union of their CHICAGO, Ill.-Another primary contest to select mayoralty foreign war. But his main trouble cago police force, has just been own choosing and the original is that he cannot be heard. The indicted in the Milk Trust cases, wage contract. The democratic nomination is being contested by Mayor Edward press is deliberately silent on the and is a well-known labor-baiter.

vades the Brewery Union, where-

by great number of the men in

no seniority, and receive a lower

Return to Local 271

Those who went back also

A minority who obeyed Martel

in. All efforts to fulfill your quota

awaited twice-a-week appearance. San Francisco has cleared up And we promise our readers and its entire back bill and is starting agents that they have an exceed- off with a clean slate. We extend ingly pleasant surprise in store our best wishes to this branch for them when they see the new for its new efforts on behalf of Appeal with its galaxy of popular, the Appeal and urge other exciting features. branches with large back bills Every branch in our party by to act accordingly.

now should have made full prepa-"If it continues really cold, I rations for the handling, distribu- think I'll mail the papers to clubs tion and financing of the new and those who give me addresses. Appeal. There is still time left Our branch is starting to concenfor branches to send in increased bundle-orders on the semi-weekly Allentown. This summer (seems trate its efforts on some mill in paper-provided they act at once. a long ways off!) I'm planning If no word is heard we will as- to cover our amusement parks on sume that the same bundle-order Sundays."-Ruth Querio in Allenas before is wanted. But we extown, Pa. pect branches to increase. This

copy promotion price no longer

exists and that every copy will

Are you looking forward to the

new Appeal? Then the first thing

to do is to get going on our cam-

paign for 1.000 new subscribers

by April 1. Next week we publish

in our column the list of new-

N. J., is second. Who's next?

for your branch library.

your branch library.

campaign,

cost your branch 2c.

The 1,000 New Subscribers

* * * new Appeal will sell to everyone! **On Those Newsboy Aprons:** Literature agents must also re-

member that the former 1c per We've been somewhat disappointed in the failure of most branches to snatch up the real bargain we are offering in the way of newsboy aprons. The Appeal has invested some money in these because we're absolutely convinced of their possibilities. Especially now when our emphasis is on mass street sales we are positive it could be of great service. Equip your entire professional squad of Appeal Minute

FEBRUARY 4, 1939

Men with these aprons. subscriber guotas that have been They were designed, printed assigned to the various branches. and executed by comrade R. of Don't forget that every new subour Appeal Poster Shop. Those scriber now gets twice as many of you acquainted with his work papers for the same price as beon Appeal posters know what fine fore. Already several branches work he does. These aprons have sent in subs which are credwhich, incidently, sell at practiited to them in this campaign. cally cost price if we include Cleveland, Ohio, where John Depner and Bob Dullea handle the postage charges, are guaranteed to last for at least one year. They Appeal has led off the campaign are made of mighty powerful canwith 3 new subscribers. Newark, vas and lettered in white.

* * * And now for the rewards in this This week we went a little over campaign! We are going to present two sets of rewards to the our quota of 50. But let's rememtwo branches which, in the opin- ber that that was on the old, on of the Appeal staff, conduct weekly Appeal. With the semithe most successful subscription weekly papers our goal must be 100 subscriptions per week.

First prize will be a complete, New York City..... 18 new set of all of Lenin's writings Chicago 6 Minneapolis Second prize will be a complete Philadelphia set of Leon Trotsky's writings California (books, pamphlets, etc.) also for Washington, D. C..... 1 Michigan We are sure every branch will Nebraska want to possess either one of St. Paul these prizes. And, incidentally, Illinois the Appeal is counting upon the Massachusetts success of this new subscribers Washington, D. C..... campaign. With our new and Newark, N. J..... attractive paper, selling at a Foreign greatly reduced price we expect a flock of subs to come pouring Total.....

OVER WITH A BANG!

their numbers, locality, financial

(Continued from Page 1) status of members, etc. But we The next Socialist Appeal will did not anticipate that we would be dated February 8, the FIRST have eighteen branches to choose of the twice-a-week issues ON from. That makes our job a tough THE ROAD TO A DAILY. It will one. But after due consideration, at the same time be the last issue we have decided to award eight in which the Score Board will ap- banners and three books as folpear. That means that the branch- lows:

es which are still behind have an BANNERS TO-Allentown, Bosopportunity to come in with 100%. ton, Detroit, Denver, East Chica-LET'S MAKE THE LAST go. Minneapolis.

tive Board members have called which unseated. the handful of son who is a supporter of any carried out it will improve the himself pleased with the \$5,600 Martel, head of the Detroit Federdelegates the main business of other political party than the changes of working for a work- job and assured the local Chamthe convention was a revamping Farmer-Labor Party shall be ad- ing-class program in the Minneso- ber of Commerce that he would of the constitution of the Associa- mitted to membership. No adher- ta F.L.P. That is the one conven- make every effort to be "Fair to tion. Previously the Association ent of communism, fascism or tion action that did not complete- the employers as well as the emfar from successful in this cun- had been a federation of Farmer- Nazism may be a member of, or ly duck the central issue. ployees.'



by the C. P.-Lewis combination, on the grounds that it would not go along with any course that led the Chicago "Daily News" and the away from the C.I.O., the Council nevertheless indicated its firm views against the Stalinists by congratulating Homer Martin for his fight against these elements.

Other local bodies of the Union, in all parts of the country, which previously have taken the side of the progressive forces who were chine, so many times routed but resisting Stalinist corrosion of the organization, are taking a similar position, voting to attend the Cleveland convention.

definitely how accurate are the claims made by the two factions as to the percentage of the membership that each represents. Both | much the manner of the first Lasides are, of course, voluble in Guardia fusion campaign. They their public estimates, but it is rallied all the Chicago liberals considered that the intervening and their movement grew daily, weeks, to say nothing of the weeks to follow both conventions, may bring forth events and issues that will produce many shifts in the relationship of forces.

Progressives Mobilize

In any case, there is a growing on the latest doings of Honest sentiment among the most pro- Harold, as true a liberal as ever gressive forces that it is necessary, above all in the present tainly the equal of LaGuardia. critical situation faced by the union, to weld together all those elements who refuse to act as mere voting cattle for either of spared in this critical period for the two factions.

These progressives, on the basis of a clearly-defined and independent program of action for restoring the fighting unity of the Auto Workers, will go down the line against both the Stalinist wreckers and anybody who seeks to draw the membership away from the main industrial union movement today.

All the experience of the auto workers with the A. F. of L. regime in the past has only served to emphasize to them that the C.I.O., despite its disqualified leadership, is that movement.

tend to allow the latest Stalinist | County friends cannot help in this campaign of demagogy against Martin to silence them in their fight against the C. P. gang at veniently ill, and has been silent about the primaries. And Courtthe Cleveland convention.

Courtney, present state's attorney, erstwhile aid of the Horner down-ney needs his aid! "better" business elements. The "regular" candidate for the Republican nomination is Dwight Green, young, vigorous, and the 'Young Republicans" man. Big Bill Thompson, denied the "regular" nomination, is running as an independent. He has his own ma-

Constitution Revamped

"Draft Ickes" Campaign "draft Ickes" campaign

It is yet too early to establish cate the primaries. Chicago's per-

places), became at once the most active drafters. The paper carried daily dispatches from Washington graced God's country, and cer-But -- Ickes refused to run. Roosevelt demanded his presence in Washington; he could not be

the Roosevelt administration. What About Programs? Programs are of little importance in the race. Kelly speaks of increasing government costs, and praises his administration for keeping such costs to a minimum. Efficiency, honesty, and above all return "services" - an economy candidate.

Courtney is for low-cost city government. A crusader against the gangster and the gambler, he

ling joints for almost a year. As state's attorney, he already has a powerful machine behind him Unfortunately for him, however These progressives do not in- his downstate allies and his Cook local election. Governor Horner, head of the state machine, is con-

honest government, an economic- as he deserves. al administration. He too is an ardent crusader against crime. He stands as the man who put Caperal district prosecutor during the Capone trials. Big Bill Thompson is against

By ALBERT GATES

never destroyed. for economy in city government, and for an unrelenting war

threatened for a time to compli-

ennial political reformers, Professors Merriam and Paul Douglas, began the Ickes boom in The Stalinists and their mouthpiece, the Chicago "Daily Record" (pronounced "Wrecker" in many

YOU'LL HAVE A hot time at the **ANNOUNCEMENTS** OLD - FASHIONED HOUSE-WARMING! The best puppet show ever- Swing music! Games! Swell food! Dancing 'til dawn! At the NEW "pro-NEW YORK

FOR SOME RARE entertainment, come to the VALEN-TINE PARTY, Sunday, February 12, Irving Plaza, Irving Pl. and 15th St. An all-amateur program, with FELIX MOR-ROW as a Singing Waiter, and other features. If you have any talent you want to display get in touch with your branch social committee representative Subscription 49c, Get your tick-ets at your branch meeting. Bring All Your Friends. Aus-

pices: Local New York. **Bronx Branch Opens Doors!** CELEBRATE the opening of the new Bronx Headquarters, Plenentertainment. Lots of surprises and "refreshments. Stay away at your own peril-1334 Wilkins Ave. (Freeman St. Sta.). Feb. 4, 8:30 P.M. Adm.

See ABE MILLER at: has been hacking away at gamb- RUSSELL BLACKWELL, back from Spain where he was kid-napped and jailed by the sec-Labor Book Shop ret police, will speak at a meeting called to greet his re-AT ONCE! AT ONCE! meeting cauled to greet his re-turn on Friday, Feb. 10, in Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Ave., and 9th St., at 8 P.M. Other speakers will include represen-tatives of all the organizations who aided in his defense Chairman: Anita Brenper, Ad-mission: 25c. Auspices: Black-well Defense Committee.

state machine, and the darling of Dwight Green also demands gins he will be smeared as richly ed as a poor fourth in the cam- Brewery Union, they were given, 100%s from top to bottom! We surprise candidate.

What About Relief? None of the candidates has a Green is typical of the resurgent Republicans. A complete re- the industry have no standing in statement to make on the issues one behind bars, having been fed- that really concern the Chicago

workers. Relief, W.P.A., the sales tax, the right to picket, the right to organize in unions without poall the machines, especially the lice interference, are not so Republican machine which pre- much as mentioned by these advented his nomination. He stands vocates of good city government. Kelly is head of the administration which is responsible for the against crime. Like the others, he Memorial Day Massacre. A local promises to take politics out of politician, with a nominal salary, the school. The humor in this he owns a \$50,000 Florida home, threat lies in that not so long ago, an Eagle River estate worth more when Big Bill was mayor, the than that, and a large Chicago school treasuries were found to home.

In dawn: At the MEN pro-letarian" headquarters of the Lower East Side Branch, 163 Norfolk Street, N. Y. C. Satur-day, February 4, at 8:30 P.M. Admission—20c.

ATTRACTIVE ROOM in com-

rade's home: Off the foyer, comfortably furnished. 1-2 peo-

ple. Reasonable. Meals option-

al. Apply Martin Diamond, 605 142 St. and B'way.

Last Call!

APPEAL SALESMEN!

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STARTING NEXT WEEK

Pleasant Work

Fine Commissions!

28 EAST 12th ST., N.Y.C.

AT YOUR SERVICE!

THE APPEAL

Poster Shop

Courtney has with impunity have been looted. But, above all, he is the man raided union offices, fought the of the people. Big Bill is only for C.I.O., and was part and parcel of private property. a defensive war, consequently he the local administration until he is sponsoring an anti-war referen- joined the Horner forces in the linois Labor Party has not yet dum which would prevent Con- 1938 elections. His aide-de-camp, announced its position.

actionary—he stands for cutting the union, neither voice nor vote, relief rolls, and slicing relief. The Stalinists have withdrawn wage scale than union members. their candidate. They are committed to supporting the Democratic party, but are writing critical editorials about Courtney. Conclu-

found themselves re-hired not as drivers but at the lower rate of sion: they will support Kelly! Did helpers, the trucks being driven he not attempt to settle the stockby scabs hired during the strike. yards strike peacefully? The Me-When the minority realized what morial Day massacre was the reit was in for, practically all of sult of a little flat-foot enthusiasm them returned to Local 271, scores for which Kelly must not be held leaving their trucks standing in responsible. After all, they were the streets. defending property, and the Stal-

inists are now firm defenders of The Chicago section of the Il-

dustrial union with progressive policies. Actually, the present union bears no resemblance to the pre-prohibition organization. The Teamsters Union has demonstrated that it secures far superior wage scales and working conditions for drivers.

The Brewery Union's labor

skates still trade on the prewar

reputation of the union as an in-

SAM BAUMAN

It is with extreme sorrow that we announce the passing of one of our most active and militant fighters. Comrade Sam Bauman succumbed to an operation, made necessary by tuberculosis of the kidneys, in the New York Medical Center last week. At the youthful age of 30, comrade Bauman was a veteran in the class struggle and known to hundreds of workers as a speaker and organizer. He joined our movement in 1930 and at once took up the fight of the unemployed for jobs and relief. Comrade Bauman was one of the founders of the Unemployed and Project Workers Un-

The red banners of the Fourth International are dipped in tribute

Made from tough, brown canvas! to this fallen comrade and we Neatly lettered, heavily stitched, pledge to carry on the fight for pouch for holding change, section socialism with ever greater vigor for holding papers comfortably. and determination. ORDER NOW! ONLY 50 cents

tually gets started, for once it be- Corrupt to the core, he is regard- On seeking to re-register at the SCORE BOARD RING WITH Paul.

BOOKS FOR—Fresno, Houston paign, and yet he may become the not union membership cards, but can do it. Just one final push. and Plentywood. permit cards-a racket which per- How about it, New York and

Cleveland is still in the run, points West? though their balance has not

Frankly we are in a dilemma. come in before the first, due to Originally, we offered three bad airmail conditions.

banners and two autographed Credit has been given to branchcopies of James' books to the es for individual contributions rebranches making the best show- ceived from their respective ciing by January 15th, considering ties.

SCORE BOARD

	Juota	Paid	Percent
Durham\$	5.00	\$ 10.00	200
Kansas	10.00	20.00	200
Sacramento	10.00	20.00	209
St. Louis	50.00	84.00	168
New Haven	20.00	28.00	140
Allentown	25.00	29.00	116
E. Chicago	10.00	11.50	115
St. Paul	100.00	111.00	111
Plentywood	5.00	5.50	110
Lynn	50.00	54.50	109
Wash., D. C	20.00	21.00	· 105
Worcester	10.00	10.50	105
Boston	200.00	205.25	103
Denver, Colo.	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit, Mich.	25.00	25.00	100
Fresno, Calif.	5.00	5.00	100
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	5.00	100
Houston, Tex.	10.00	10.00	100
Minneapolis	500.00	500,00	100
Marston Mills, Mass.	5.00	5.00	100
San Francisco	50.00	50.00	100
Toledo, O	20.00	20.00	100
Yellow Spgs., O.	5.00	5.00	100
East Oakland	20.00	20.00	100
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	5.00	100
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	15.00	100
Akron	50.00	50.00	100
Seattle	10.00	10.00	100
Newark	100.00	100.00	190
New York	1050.00	970.65	92
Philadelphia	50.00	45.85	92
Los Angeles	200.00	150.00	75
Chicago	250.00	176,50	71
Lexington	10.00	7.00	70
Punta Gorda	5.00	3.50	70
Rochester	25.00	16.50	66
Gardner-Fitchburg	15.00	9.50	63
Baltimore	10.00	6.00	60
Youngstown	50.00	29.00	58
Fargo	10.00	5.50	55
San Diego	10.00	5.50	55
South Bend	10.00	5.50	55
Cleveland	200.00	105.00	53
West Oakland	200.00	10.00	50
Louisville	10.00	1.50	15
LIULIUVIII III IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII	10.00	A.00	10



SOMETHING NEW FOR

APPEAL AGENTS!

Newsboy Aprons!

FEBRUARY 4, 1939

BY NEGRIN GOV'T

(Continued from Page 1)

ernment prosecutor; Jose Vega

civil governor of Toledo; and

Jaime Ayguade, who, as Minister

of Public Order of the Catalan

government, on May 3. 1937 or-

dered the police to drive the C.N.-

T. workers out of the Telephone

Building of Barcelona, precipitat-

ing a week's armed street fight-

All press dispatches from the

frontier state that the Loyalist

government is preparing to evac-

Retreat Not Justified

tifiable, in civil war as in wars be-

tween nations but, as observers

pointed out, Barcelona and the

neighboring industrial area en-

compassed the major industrial

Military observers of various

countries, stationed at the front-

ier, were puzzled to explain why

the Loyalist army did not make

a stand in Barcelona, or at least

immediately north of the city to

protect the munitions factories

The explanation is not to be

sought in military but in political

How Bolsheviks Fought

Russian civil war of 1918-1920

when the Bolshevik regime was

in worse plight than the Spanish

Loyalists. Hemmed in on all sides

by Allied and White Guard ar-

mies, the Bolsheviks fought back

despite lack of food and ammuni-

tion. Surrender was out of the

At one point the Bolsheviks

held little more than a section

of Petrograd and Moscow prov-

inces. Banking on subversive

political work inside the inter-

ventionist and White Guard ter-

ritories as a more potent weap-

on than its own armament, the

Red Army extricated itself and

In the face of this great his-

torical precedent, the Negrin gov-

ernment's alibi of lack of food

and ammunition must be viewed

Workers Not Warned

Even if that were sufficient rea-

son for evacuating Barcelona, it

does not explain why thousands

of trade union militants, marked

for death by the fascists, were

went on to victory.

skeptically.

There were periods during the

area possessed by the Loyalists.

Strategic retreats are often jus-

ing.

uate Catalonia

around Sabadell.

factors.

question.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

NEW CRISIS NEAR IN EUROPE OVER **COLONIAL ISSUE**

(Continued from Page 1)

possession of the world by force

and then defend the robbery with

3

"THE SALVATION OF SPAIN LAY, FIRST OF ALL, IN FOLLOWING A POLICY OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN, AND IT WAS ABANDONED FOR THE FATAL PERSPECTIVE OF CURRYING FAVOR WITH THE 'GREAT DEMOCRACIES.' THE UNUTTERABLE TRAGEDY OF THE SPANISH WORKERS IS THAT THE CRIMINAL POLICY OF THEIR STALINIST-SOCIALIST-ANARCHIST LEADERSHIP PREVAILED TO THE BITTER END."

Why was Barcelona abandoned without a fight? Why is the Loyalist army fleeing, disorganized and demoralized? Why is Franco winning? Every anti-fascist wants to know the answer to these questions. Every anti-fascist must know the answer, if we are to defeat fascism elsewhere.

The social-democrats, the Stalinists and the anarchists answer by blaming the "great democracies" for not providing the Loyalists with food and ammunition. This explanation of the Loyalist failure to make a stand at Barcelona is given weight by reports that military experts on the scene make the same explanation. Indeed, it seems as simple as two plus two equals four: the Loyalists couldn't be expected to fight without food and ammunition. Hence, the blame for the collapse of the Loyalists must be laid at the door of the "great democracies."

FEAR OF REVOLUTION

But this answer explains nothing. For it could be foretold-and we did tell this, over and over, since the outbreak of the Spanish civil war-that the "great democracies" would not provide the Loyalists with the means of warfare. We pointed out that the rulers of the "great democracies," the capitalist class in France, England and America, could not be shaken from their realization that a Loyalist victory in Spain would mean a socialist revolution in Spain. No amount of protestations that the future Spanish government would be a democratic-capitalist regime, no amount of Stalinist-Socialist repressions of the revolutionary elements in Spain, could reassure the Roosevelts, Chamberlains and Daladiers. Why should the Spanish masses maintain capitalism after they had finished off Franco? And a socialist revolution in Spain would light up

The "democratic" rulers were therefore determined from the first to give no decisive aid to the Loyalists. No matter who stood at the head of the government in the democracies, that decision of the capitalist class was enforced. When "comrade" Blum was Premier of France, his People's Front government obeyed that decision, for so long as the capitalist class retains its property, it is the real ruler of a country, and socialists and Stalinists who sit in the government act as capitalist flunkeys.

Europe.

WORKERS' AID STEMMED

The only conceivable situation in which the capitalists would consent to substantial exports of arms to Spain would be if to say "No" meant revolution at home. Had the French working class directly threatened overthrow of capitalism, then to save themselves for the moment the French capitalists might have agreed to open the frontiers.

never given a chance to flee. When retreats were necessary during the Russian civil war, the workers were given time to re treat with the army.

evacuate its troops from Barbarricades, unaware of the government's decision to abandon the city, when Franco's troops came down the avenues.

Face Firing Squads

But the Stalinist and socialist leaders, when the great revolutionary strike wave of June-July, 1936 threatened like a tidal wave to engulf the capitalists of France, turned that wave into the channels of collaboration with the capitalists in the government. The capitalists, having thereby been saved from the danger of revolution, were able to refuse to provide arms for Spain.

Therefore, even if we accept the simple explanation that the collapse of the Loyalists is due to lack of arms and ammunition, we must blame for this lack, not the "great democracies," but the Stalinist and socialist traitors to the working class who made it possible for the French and other capitalists to refuse arms for the Loyalists.

BARCELONA GIVEN Why the Defeats In Spain? --- By FELIX MORROW

Furthermore, if outside food and ammunition were so decisive, we must stigmatize the Stalinist regime of the Soviet Union as a betrayer of the struggle against fascism. Why didn't Stalin provide arms and food for Spain? Could not a country of 170,000,000 people covering one-sixth of the earth provide the Loyalists with enough supplies to prevail in a country of 25 millions?

STALIN'S ALIBIS

The Stalinist alibi, in the first months of the civil war, was that the sea-route from Odessa to Barcelona and Valencia was too long to make possible arms and food shipments. But in November, 1936 supplies were sent from Russia, especially for the defense of Madrid, Why did these shipments cease?

The fact is that Stalin, seeking an alliance with France and England, sought to demonstrate his usefulness and reliability to the "democratic" capitalists by relieving them of the fear of social revolution in Spain. In return for scanty supplies, he got the anarchists and socialists to agree to a governmental coalition with the "progressive" bourgeoisie in Spain, and secured a free hand for the Spanish Stalinists to destroy, by all methods including assassination, the revolutionary elements in Spain.

When Stalin was through with this bloody and counter-revolutionary work, the French and English rulers were still determined to "appease" Hiter and Mussolini by letting Franco win in Spain. Whereupon Stalin washed his hands of Spain altogether; no more supplies came from Russia.

Even if one accepts the explanation that the Loyalists have collapsed because of lack of food and ammunition, therefore, it is clear that those responsible are: the Second and Third Internationals which, subservient to the "democratic" capitalists and Stalin, made it impossible for the Loyalists to secure outside supplies.

DEPENDED ON FALSE ALLIES But this is only a partial explanation. Real light must be sought within Spain itself. Indeed, we say without hesitation: the collapse of the Loyalists is due to their dependence on Stalin and the "democracies." The Caballero and Negrin governments staked everything on securing the aid of Stalin, Daladier and Roosevelt. To secure this aid, they became the puppets of those whom they were courting, and were therefore partners in the "appeasement" of Hitler and Mussolini. One has only to recall that the Caballero and Negrin governments agreed to the infamous "non-intervention" system!

To secure the outside aid which never came, the Stalinist-socialist-anarchist bloc destroyed the inner forces and program which could have led to victory. They had it in their power to disintegrate Franco's forces in Andalusia and Morocco: the peasant boys and Moorish peasants who constituted his army. How? By two fundamental moves:

REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

1. Nationalization of the land. The most powerful weapon the Russian Revolution had in defeating Allied and White Guard armies on twenty-two fronts was the rousing of the peasantry by giving them the land. The Spanish peasantry were even more land-starved than the Russian. The decree nationalizing the land and turning it over to the peasant committees for tilling brought the peasantry of Russia over to the Bolsheviks. Not only in Bolshevik-controlled territory, but behind the Allied and White Guard armies, where the peasants seized every occasion to conduct guerrila warfare, spy on the enemy, desert and cause desertions. Before this elemental power of the peasantry, the White Guard armies melted away.

The same process could have taken place in Spain. Instead, currying favor with the Anglo-French bloc (and with Stalin who demanded subordination to this bloc), the Stalinist-socialistanarchist leadership maintained private property in Spain, sent punitive expeditions of police to destroy the collectives which sprang up in the first months, restored their lands to landowners, and gave the peasants no hope for economic betterment.

Instead of word seeping into Franco Spain of a new life under the Loyalists, peasants in territory captured by Franco could report only the repetition of the old regime. The Loyalist policy made it possible for Franco to retain his army of peasant sons.

FREEDOM FOR MOORS

2. Freedom for Morocco. The Moors had no reason to look upon the Spanish workers as their brothers. For both the Socialist-Azana government of 1931-1933, and the bourgeois-socialist-Stalinist government of February, 1936 left the Moors under the dictatorship of the Foreign Legion. A break with this past policy, a decree granting absolute independence to Morocco, would have opened an entirely new period in the relations between the Moorish peasantry and the Spanish masses. If overthrowing Franco would mean independence for their country, the Moors would have revolted against Franco.

But, subservient to England and France, the Caballero and Negrin governments would not decree freedom for Morocco. The "democracies" wanted no revolt in Morocco as a flaming example to the French and English colonies! Abdel-Krim, the leader of the Moroccan Riffs, exiled by France, asked Premier Blum to let him go to Morocco to organize a revolt against Franco. Blum refused! (The negotiations on behalf of the Riff leader were conducted by Moise Rosenberg with Blum; an interesting sidelight is that the facts are in the hands of the Anarchist international organization, which has never made them public!)

With no perspective of freedom, the Moors wreaked their vengeance for past humiliations on the Spanish mainland . . . under Franco's leadership.

TRAITORS AT THE HELM

Azana, Barrios, Companys, the Basque capitalists, all the "left" bourgeoisie, disloyal to the core, finding themselves only by accident on the workers' side of the barricades, were permitted to "lead" the fight against Franco. The result was the open betrayals at Bilbao, Santander, Gijon, Malaga, Toledo, etc., etc. The worker and peasant militias could not prevent these betrayals; their elected officers were deposed, their committees dissolved, and they were ordered on pain of death to give unquestioning obedience to their bourgeois officers.

The roster of the crimes committed against the Spanish masses by their Stalinist-socialistanarchist leadership cannot be continued in detail here. Enough has been indicated, however, to make clear our point: the salvation of Spain lay, first of all, in following a policy of class struggle in Spain, and it was abandoned for the fatal perspective of currying favor with the "great democracies."

The unutterable tragedy of the Spanish workers is that the criminal policy of their Stalinistsocialist-anarchist leadership prevailed to the bitter end. Imprisoned, terrorized, assassinated, crushed by every conceivable means by the Loyalist government, the revolutionary elements never were able to establish the revolutionary party that could challenge the treacherous reformist leadership.

That is the real tragedy of Spain. Let it not be repeated in France and America!



Writing from his dungeon cell, tory of the Fourth International, P. Pouliopoulos, secretary of the comrade Pouliopoulos greets "esready begun a wide campaign to group of Greek Communist Inter- pecially the decision made at its nationalists in the jail of Aigina, World Foundation Congress for without comment, a London edi-Greece, has greeted "with the the unification of all the revolu-torial about the possibility of a greatest enthusiasm" the founda- tionary Fourth Internationalists Soviet-Nazi understanding

moral theories is perhaps comforting and certainly convenient for the possessor, but is uninteresting, immaterial and without obligation for the have-nots." Europe Has Jitters For weeks now London and Paris have been waiting to see where the next blow was going to fall. In the process both capitals developed a first class case of the

jitters. Mussolini began his unofficial campaign for a slice of France's empire-mentioning Corsica, Tunisia, the Somaliland port of Djibuti in the Red Sea, and even Nice and Savoy in France proper.

Daladier staged a tour of the North African colonies and Corsica as a demonstration of French determination to resist and succeeded last month in preventing Chamberlain from bargaining away some part of French holdings when he went to Rome for an inconclusive parley with Mussolini.

Slows Eastward Drive

Meanwhile between Mussolini and Hitler a less obvious tug-ofwar was in progress. Hitler's whole orientation after Munich was towards the East—i.e., toward the Soviet Union. He signed a declaration of friendship with France and embarked upon a diplomatic and propaganda campaign designed to facilitate a German thrust through the new Carpathian Ukraine toward the greater Ukraine that now forms part of Poland and of the U.S.S.R. Mussolini exerted counter-pressure, sending his foreign minis-

ter, Ciano, to Budapest and Belgrade, and in other ways indicatng to his axis ally that the time had not yet come to turn faces exclusively eastward. Italy had to be assured of her loot in the Mediterranean first.

It is not merely to please his axis partner that Hitler agreed as he apparently has-to slow up his eastward drive. There have been many straws in the wind recently concerning a possible Soviet-Nazi understanding of some kind. Walter Duranty called the card on this right after the Mundenials of the Daily Worker, there ich pact and despite the indignant have been indications of careful soundings going on by both the Nazis and the Kremlin bureaucrats.

No Mention of Russia

In his speech on Monday Hitler delivered his usual tirades against Bolshevism and the Jews but omitted entirely his usual references to the Ukraine and the Soviet Union. In Moscow the press simply ignored the Fuehrer's



Circle branches in New York, meeting of the Young People's The program of the evening incalling for fusion of the Socialist Socialist League to honor the cluded a "March of Time" preparty with the Social-Democratic memory of Lenin, Liebknecht, sentation on the lives of Lenin, refugees.

NEW YORK-More than 250 | "All R.O.T.C. funds be turned ovyouths filled Webster Manor au- er to N.Y.A. (National Youth Additorium last Friday night at a ministration)."

While thousands of fascist pris- Federation, last week issued an and Luxemburg, three outstand- Liebknecht and Luxemburg, by

Ernest Erber, national educa- round of applause that followed

AMERICAN FUND GROUP FORMED IN NEW HAVEN NEW HAVEN, Conn .--- A local sponsoring committee of the American Fund for Political Refugees and Prisoners has been organized in this city. Consisting of many well-known labor and liber-

open the doors to the worker-

group of the Y.P.S.L. The long

Among the highlights of the

meeting was the induction of new

league since the New Year. These

do all in their power to bring

Yipsel chorus led the singing.

that great numbers of anti-fascist 5, for "exerting moral pressure rin government in its assaults on the collectivized factories and farms, were left behind to face Franco's firing squads.

Such ardent pro-Loyalist correspondents as Vincent Sheean and Herbert L. Matthews have cabled horrifying descriptions of the utter disorganization which has transformed the retreat into a rout. Sheean, after a survey of north Catalonia, flatly declares the war is over. Matthews says that "only a miracle" can save the Loyalists.

Not dispersed by a destructive battle, the Loyalist forces can have been dispersed for one reason: treachery and cowardice of the government leadership. Soldiers were reported to be stationed at the frontier to turn back deserting officials and officers. Foisted upon the Spanish masses as "the government of victory" the Peoples Front regime has demonstrated that its sole capacity is to organize defeats. It remains at the helm now only to further the rout of the anti-fascist forces. Its bombastic promises to continue the struggle serve to enable it to continue the rout.

Still Suppresses Workers! The government does not stop

the fascists, but it has plenty of time and forces to continue, even now, its repressions against the workers. It announces the suppression of an anarchist "uprising" at Puigcerda by the carabineros (police). Fighting between Stalinists and anarchists is reported from several north Catalan towns.

Government officials can flee to France, but the vast masses must State Street. fight or die. This is literally the alternative for hundreds of thouand peasants, their names already in Franco's files of those slated for execution. For the rest of the mean endless humiliation and meeting. slow starvation.

Surrender is out of the ques- erous leadership of the Peoples brought me up with a jerk, and I tion. But to fight back, to regain Front, and organize the fight have never ceased to be grateful lost ground, requires that these against Franco under the leader- to that wise doctor. I felt so workers take the fight into their ship of Workers' and Soldiers' ashamed that I should grow faint own hands, repudiate the treach-| Councils.

oners were left behind to be freed invitation to other branches for ing fighters in the struggle the newly organized dramatic by Franco's troops, it appears a conference on Sunday, February against militarism and war. workers, imprisoned by the Neg- upon both wings of the Socialist tional director of the Y.P.S.L. told attested to the success of the dramovement" for unification.

the audience how these three so- matic group's first venture. The "We feel confident that the ide- cialist leaders fought against the ological issues which brought capitalist war mongers in their about the split in the former So- own countries, as well as the cialist party have almost entirely "people's frontists" in their own members who have joined the disappeared and that there is now parties. Erber showed how a sino logical justification for the milar struggle must be conducted new members pledged themselves present said situation," the call to by the young workers today to follow the example of Lenin, against the war preparations of Liebknecht and Luxemburg and

the conference states. Apparently the conference is to the Roosevelt administration. be addressed by spokesmen from He urged the youth to fight for about a better world through the both the Socialist party and the the transference of "all war funds socialist revolution, without ever Social-Democratic Federation, for to unemployed youth." He called betraying the ideals and princithe document says that the conupon the students to insist that ples of the socialist movement. ference will be addressed by

"prominent speakers from the Socialist Movement." The date set for the conference is on the heels of the February 3 meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party where, it is a foregone conclusion, final steps will be taken from Mrs. Woodrow Wilson's reminiscences, now running in the for fusion with the Old Guard. Saturday Evening Post. She is describing a visit she and President The cut and dried plans are in-Wilson paid, in 1918, to an American hospital in France: dicated by the calling of the

Having been through the boys were enduring without a Workmen's Circle conference in advance. The conference is designed to provide "popular" sanction for the fusion with the pro-Roosevelt, pro-war Old Guard.

RYAN. LINCOLN BRIGADER.

CHICAGO-Bill Rvan, a memrecently returned from the trenches of Spain and Alba Ryan who spent many months as a nurse for a mist I saw human forms with the Loyalist armies will speak on the "Tragedy of Spain and Its Consequences" at a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party to be held Sunday, Feb. 5, at 3 p.m. at the Capitol Building 159 North

the Capitol Building, 159 North Suddenly I heard the doctor's

even voice saying to my husband: The Ryans will recount their "Yes, this is the facial ward. You experiences gained during their sands of class-conscious workers lengthy stay in Spain where they see, we put them all up here toboth participated actively in the gether, so they won't get sensitive about seeing people and sort of struggle against fascism. Albert Goldman, of the Socialist help each other. If each were off workers, a fascist regime would Workers Party, will speak at the to himself they would not know about the others, and would get

morbid and self-conscious." This

at merely looking at what these

wards, we were shown the very murmur. There they were, some modern operating room. I was with their entire noses blown counting the minutes until we away, some totally blind, others could get away and breathe God's with ching and half their focus with chins and half their faces pure air free from the odor of gone. Well, I shook myself free TO SPEAK AT S.W.P. MEET disinfectants and anesthetics, of horror and stayed on and when the doctor opened a door talked, and told them how proud

LIKE CHILDREN

It is hardly necessary to comment on the following passage

and stood back for me to enter. I was just to touch their hands. ber of the Lincoln Battalion who Never shall I forget that awful My husband made a little talk to

them as they gathered around turning upside down, and through him like children. . . .

faces so distorted and mutilated **\$1.25** Sale REVOLT-U. S. A. Lamar Middleton BONAPARTE-Eugene Tarle ETHICS—Kropotkin **DYNAMITE**—Louis Adamic Add 3c per book for postage Special-TRAGEDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION-Harold Isaacs-\$5.00. LABOR BOOK SHOP 28 E. 12th St., N.Y.C.

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Six sessions, \$1.00.

Among the members of the committee are the following: Dr. Fleming James, Berkeley Divinity School; Dr. Arthur Mizener, Yale; Jacob Belford, prominent labor attorney; Harry Feinmark, Pres. A.F. of L. Central Trades and La- the depths of the Metaxas dictabor Council; Frank Trainor, C.I.-O. steel organizer; Alex Driessens, secretary New England Cigarmakers Council; Mrs. Celia Ros-

tow, a leader among the Connecticut League of Women Voters.



Sam Gordon

The Marxist School announces its Spring terms to be held at Irving Plaze Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street, N.Y.C., beginning Monday, February 27, 1939.

The courses will be:

I. PRACTICAL TRADE UNIONISM-

B. J. Widick A course dealing with the concrete day-today activity of the trade unionist. Special attention will be given to those problems presented by members of the class. Mondays, 7:15 P. M. to 8:40 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00

* * * II. PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN POLITICS-James Burnham

Albert Goldman Max Shachtman

New parties, new leaders, new political currents are appearing on the American scene. Three lectures offer a Marxist analysis of: the new "New Deal"; the middle class in politics third parties; Labor in politics; Fascism in the U. S.; Revolutionary politics in the U. S. etc. Mondays, 8:15 P. M. to 10:15 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.

III. WHAT IS TROTSKYISM ?-- John G. Wright A course for those who want to explore the facts and documents about the history of the "Left Opposition" in the Soviet Union and the emergence of the left-wing movement in other countries that grew into the Fourth International. Tuesdays, 7 P. M. to 8:40 P. M.

A series of lectures given in conjunction

tion of the Fourth International. into one unified section of the In the name of his imprisoned new International for the benefit fellow revolutionists, comrade of the Greek and the world labor Pouliopoulos pledges "our undy- movement." ing will to continue fighting from

P. Pouliopoulos, ex-secretary of torship's dungeons . . . for the the C.P., escaped from prison sevliberation and final victory of the eral months ago. A reward of \$25,000 was placed on his head

Hails Greek Unification and he was re-arrested soon after. With unlimited confidence in With others of his comrades he is the principles and ultimate vic- today in the jail of Aigina.

with the Partisan Review.

Literature.

raux and Silone.

icism.

Phillip Rahv—A General View of Proletarian

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James T. Farrell—The American Novel.

Delmore Schwartz-Contemporary Poetry.

Dwight Macdonald-Left Wing Journalism.

F. W. Dupee-Two Political Novelists: Mal-

All those registering for this course will re-

ceive free a half-year's subscription to the

"Partisan Review." Tuesdays, 8:50 P. M. to

A practical course in which reporting, edit-

orial writing, copy reading and headline

V. LABOR JOURNALISM—James Casey.

10:15 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.25.

accident in present-day international politics. Having been left out in the cold by his "democratic" friends, Joseph Stalin may very well make a pool of some

These things never happen by

kind with Hitler. That possibility remains one of the major imponderables in international affairs.

It also explains why Japan is still coy about clinching a military alliance with Germany. Last week the chief Japanese diplomats in Europe met and reportedly decided to shelve the idea of converting the so-called anti-Comintern pact into a hard and fast military alliance. Japan, whose eyes are still fixed on the maritime provinces of the Soviet Union, does not want to wake up tomorrow to discover that its Nazi ally has suddenly become a "friend" of Joseph Stalin.

Spanish Tragedy Is Prelude

While this question remains undecided and while Roosevelt continues his drive to swing this country into the pro-war column, Hitler and Mussolini are driving toward a new squeeze play on Britain and France for a colonial settlement. The last act in the Spanish tragedy, now all but concluded, is serving as the curtain raiser for the broader tragedy about to be enacted.

Play For Another Munich

The issue of war or peace will lepend on how the cards fall in this ghastly game of international poker. There are already reports of demonstrative German and Italian troop movements near the Libyan border in North Africa by Italy, near the Dutch border by Germany as a threat to Britain.

Hitler and Mussolini are playing for another Munich that will give them what they want. Chamberlain and Daladier still don't know whether the price will be more than British and French capitalism can afford to pay. Their attitude may also depend in part upon the assurances they get of American support in the event of war-and this Roosevelt has now promised them.

> Subscribe to Socialist Appeal

writing, make-up, etc., will be taught. Wednesdays, 7:15 P. M. to 8:40 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00. * * * VI. THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION -George Novak. The Civil War of 1861-1865. A Marxist

analysis of how the American bourgeoisie completed its revolution. Wednesdays, 8:50 P. M. to 10:15 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.

Registration is now going on at the school office, 116 University Place and at the Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street, New York City, from I P. M. to 8 P. M. Registrations will also be accepted by mail to the school office or by calling STuyvesant 9-0567.

Greek proletariat."

3OCIALIST APPEAL

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The Hague Decision

The professional democrats are in a dither of joy over the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. It upheld and extended the injunction issued three months ago by Federal Judge Clark restraining Mayor Hague of Jersey City from interfering with the right to free speech and assemblage of the C.I.O., the American Civil Liberties Union and numerous individuals.

The court's two-to-one decision is saluted by A.C.L.U. attorney Morris Ernst as "more than we had hoped for." Soft-headed liberals and labor leaders echo the triumphant sentiment.

We are ready to join in the rejoicing over this "victory for labor and free speech." But not until we have actually seen labor-all sections of it-actually exercizing the right of free speech and assemblage day in and day out in Jersey City.

Anyone who thinks that the pieces of paper on which the majority of the court in Philadelphia wrote its decision, are enough to guarantee the real exercize of these rights, is duping himself or others.

It wasn't paper, not even legal-sized foolscap, that decided things up to now in Jersey City. Paper isn't going to decide them from now on, either. It was power that decided.

Who has that power today? The same people who had it yesterday and will continue to have it until it is taken from them: Hague, his uniformed thugs of the Police Department, and the fascist hooligans who wear no uniforms but are at his beck and call.

Who has an even greater power? The workers of Jersey, who outnumber the forces of Hague ten to one, fifty to one, a hundred to one.

Why has Hague, with his smaller forces, been able to keep labor on the run? Because labor is not conscious of its enormous strength, of the need of exerting its strength, and of the ease with which it could win once it brought its strength into play.

If the workers of New Jersey are going to depend upon a paper decision of a court, they are doomed to disappointment. In the first place, Hague doesn't bother about courts. He relies on his power, he uses it to the full and very boldly, and labor might well take a leaf out of his book. In the second place, Hague can still pull a hundred legal tricks out of his sleeve with which to confound and confuse the workers.

In a strike, the unions organize their pickets to defend themselves from company gunmen, from scabs, from police. The unions are right, every time, for that's the only way to win. That's what is needed in Jersey City-and

every other locality where labor faces the same problem. Let the trade unions organize thousands of

workers into a Workers Defense Guard, one capable of protecting their meetings, and we'll see how quickly Mr. Hague-Hitler topples off his high horse.

Call Their Bluff!

The big, propertied farmers of the National Grange threaten higher food prices unless all processors and food-handlers are exempted from the Wage and Hour Act.

The Independent Telephone Association threatens to go out of business, and throw out of work the employees of its 12,000 exchanges, if it is compelled to raise wages and reduce hours.

The trick is not a new one. Every time the capitalists want to smash or evade a law which gives labor even the tiniest bit of protection, they resort to similar threats.

We have always held that if the workers do not protect their own interests, by their own class action, there is no law on paper that will do it for them.

They threaten to raise food prices if a minimum wage-and a pretty low minimum it is! -is paid? Then call their bluff! Let joint committees of poor farmers, agricultural labor, the trade unions and the consumers establish their control over processing and handling plants and control over prices.

They threaten to close down the telephone exchanges and throw tens of thousands out of work? That's a frank admission of capitalist bankruptcy. They admit that they are incapable of running their industry and employing their workers at minimum wage-and-hour conditions. They admit that the profits of a handful of bloated stockholders stand in the way of even the lowest level of decent human living for masses of people. Either they continue to get their profits-or more tens of thousands join the ranks of the unemployed.

Call their bluff! If they can't run industry, or refuse to do so, then run them out. Let them make way for those who can and want to. The masses need a government that will take

over industry under workers' control.

The workers really run the industries now. What they need is to take the ownership and control of industry out of the hands of the self-confessed bankrupts!

Spain and the Pacifists

A leaflet recently issued by several pacifist groups, including the youth committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax, the Catholic Worker, the Student Peace Service of the American Friends Service Committee, and the National Youth Committee of the War Resisters League, reveals more clearly than ever before the pacifist's downright treachery to workers' struggles.

The leaflet is at one with Father Coughlin's lution. followers in calling upon the Roosevelt administration to continue its arms embargo against Spain. It calls for solving the Spanish civil war by mediation "if possible by a non-governmental international committee composed of such people as George Lansbury." And if Franco does not consent? The leaflet has nothing further to say. We can scarcely find words to describe this piece of swinishness. Elsewhere in this issue we make clear that we have no illusions about the amount of aid anti-fascist Spain can expect from Roosevelt & Co., nor do we believe that the Loyalist struggle must stand or fall by such aid. But no sincere anti-fascist can stand on any other ground except that the Loyalists have a right to purchase arms here and in France, and that those who deprive them of this right are thereby aiding Franco. Among leaders of these pacifist groups are important members of Norman Thomas' Socialist party: Paul Jones, of the national board of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is state chairman of the Ohio Socialist party; Jesse Holmes, a leader of the Friends Service Committee, is state chairman of the Pennsylvania Socialist party; a prominent New York associate of Thomas, Jessie Wallace Hughan, is secretary of the War Resisters League; others are Devere Allen, Charlotte Bentley and Winston Dancis. That these traitors to the struggle of the Spanish workers will not be expelled by Norman Thomas, we take for granted. What the Socialist party will do in the face of this new piece of treachery. new piece of treachery.

lving down would be about the

same thing as to commit slow

Congress will change its mind,

soon as, just as soon as, and only

suicide.

this amendment will have no ef-1 joint committee.

fect whatever in getting rid of

the manipulation of the relief set-

up for the benefit of the Repub-

lican or Democratic party organ-

But the catch is that it will be

utilized to try to prevent the en-

try of unemployed organizations

into working-class politics, and to

A. workers to the perspective of

independent labor political action.



"Your Interests in South America Are Menaced!"

New Soviet Decrees Reflect Acute Crisis In Production

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The publication of this decreeber 1922 at the beginning of the Henceforth social security will be ceeded by a ritualistic campaign duration. To believe Stalin (and same factory or institution" for the Daily Worker) it was the more than six years; 80 per cent Appeal we have time and again books" is comparable to the "sysby Stalin as a New Year's boon, 22 years after the October Revo-

As for the other provisions in the decree, they violate not only vast majority of Russian work-

Article 119 of the Constitution | ety. Monstrous trials were staged, On December 29. Stalin official- guarantees, among other things, and great successes were promy promulgated the latest of his rest and leisure to Soviet citizens. ised after the process of rooting labor decrees," to accompany a We quote this "guarantee": "The out the "enemies of the people" previous decision to "increase the right to rest and leisure is en- had been completed. No such productivity of labor by 25%" sured by . . . the institution of successes were forthcoming. And government." while cutting wages 14% and annual vacations with pay for now the blame for the chaos in workers and other employees and industry is being placed on the said, "Don't free the colonies. the provision of sanatoria, rest "disorganizers of discipline," the Don't give independence to the

New Economic Policy-was pre- provided on the following basis: senses? No, it is reacting to a nies." "100 per cent" only if the worker grave emergency in its customin the press of only two weeks has remained "in one and the ary manner. In the columns of the Socialist

workers of Russia themselves if his "labor booklet" shows a explained the underlying economwho insisted on the passage of record of three to six years' stay ic roots for the oppressive measlaws which are almost without in one and the same place; 60 ures, purges and frame-ups of the parallel in reactionary labor legis- per cent for two to three years bureaucracy; we forecast that far lation. Only the system of "fink and 50 per cent for anything be- from solving his internal difficullow that. The Daily Worker heads ties in this way, Stalin was only tem of labor booklets" introduced this paragraph of the decree with laying the foundation for new pitthe caption "High Benefits." falls. The explanation for the Tying Workers Down

the serfs were tied to the land.

latest and most drastic measures These "benefits" are indeed so of Stalin to maintain his shaky igh as to be inaccessible to the begins is to be found in the pages high as to be inaccessible to the regime is to be found in the page

labor laws:

Spain: A Lesson For France

the Paris Commune of equipped with passports and mon-1871 was drowned in blood by ey. The masses cannot. ne French reaction, Karl Marx Today in France, where the set himself to studying the les- life-and-death struggle is on the sons of that defeat so that in its order of the day, the workers are next great struggle labor would being blindfolded, drugged and not lose again. paralyzed by Popular Frontism.

When the Revolution of 1905 The workers of America, who went down in defeat under the face the same kind of struggle heel of Czar Nicholas the Bloody, against fascist reaction tomorrow, Lenin set himself to studying the are being inoculated with the lessons so that next time the de- same Popular Front poison by feat would be wiped out by a the Stalinists, the social democrats, the liberals and the labor bureaucracy

Spain.

In November 1917, the lessons of the 12-year-old defeat were learned by the Russian workers and peasants. They did not repeat the old mistakes, but avoided them. The result was the first magnificent victory of the masses over their oppressors.

victory.

you."

Now the Spanish working class told to follow capitalist politicians has gone down to defeat, as did like Daladier and Bonnet. These its brothers before it in Austria

and Germany. **Popular Front Disease**

The cruel disease that paralyzed the workers in face of the fascist foe, carries the name of "Popular Front."

class. Unite with it. Rely on it. Subordinate yourself to it. That'll make you respectable, and you will be able to win the fight." Remember: the Popular Front

said. "Don't fight for socialism. Don't try to take power and con- ers, are going to fight its battles trol your own destiny. Don't for it. All that labor has to do touch private property or you'll to swing its mighty, sledge-hammake the capitalists angry with mer, winning blows, is to free its arms from the chains of the rul-

Remember: the Popular Front ing classes. said, "Don't irritate the foreign

imperialists of France and Lon- once they realize their own don and Washington. Otherwise strength and how to use it. they will not help you defeat Fascism can be crushed like an

fascism. Otherwise they will not egg-shell-once the workers fight send you arms and food. Other- as a class, with their own organiwise they will not recognize your zations, their own leadership, their own methods, their own Remember: the Popular Front weapons.

In Spain, the Popular Front was so worried about maintaining which completely invalidates the homes and clubs serving the "shirkers and slackers," in other Moors in Morocco. Otherwise capitalist property, so worried abor laws of the Soviet Union in- needs of the toilers." But Article words, on the entire Russian England and France will aban- about maintaining its respectabiltroduced under Lenin in Decem- 119 has been improved by Stalin. working class. Has the bureauc- don you, because they are afraid ity in the eyes of Chamberlain, racy, then, completely lost its of losing their own African colo-Daladier and Roosevelt, that it couldn't carry on an effective

Everything the Popular Front fight, a working class fight, promised and guaranteed the against fascism, its allies and its workers proved to be a fraud, a patrons.

delusion, a death-trap. Under the Let the workers of France and whip of the Stalinists, the social the United States learn from democrats, and the anarchists, Spain-how not to face fascism. the workers and peasants of Prepare now, before it is too-Spain were driven into this trap. late! Crush the fascist monster Now they are at the tender mercy in the bud by organizing labor's of Franco's assassins. cohorts everywhere into militant, Leaders Flee, Masses Remain determined, aggressive Workers' The leaders can flee to safety, Defense Guards!

gentlemen then proceeded to break the workers' general strike with arms in the hands of the "Popular Front" army. The workers of the United States are still being told to follow the American Daladiers-

There is still time to learn in

France. There is certainly still

time to learn in the United States.

Popular Frontism ended in a

fascist victory in Germany, in

Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in

The workers of France were

Remember: the Popular Front Roosevelt, Lehman, Olson, Mursaid, "Don't fight your capitalist phy and Co.

Learn the Lesson!

If fascism is not to triumph in France, or in the United States; labor must learn this simple idea: No capitalist party, no capitalist politicians, no capitalist lead-

The workers are invincible-

He can still appeal to the Supreme Court, and he's going to. He can change his dictatorial law, as the Philadelphia court decision admits, so that it is one-hundred percent legal and still prohibits the exercise of the right of free speech and free assembly.

Or he can do better yet: He can adopt the "right" kind of law, one that will satisfy every court in the country. He can let labor meet in public, with a permit or without one. And then he can-as most likely he will-send his tough-guys down to the meeting to break it up anyway.

Who is going to defend labor at these assaulted meetings?

The ind. junges from Philadelphia? Will they come down to fight the battles of the working class right in Jersey City? If they do, it will be the first time in history it ever happened.

The Hague police? Will they protect the meetings? Nine chances out of ten, they'll join the hoodlums to crack the workers' skulls; the tenth time, they'll stand by laughing themselves sick.

Is it hopeless? Not at all!

It is hopeless so long as the workers lie down on their backs and wait for someone else to do their fighting for them.

There is a force capable of smashing Hague and his agents.

That force has plenty of strength-more than enough-to protect itself, to protect and guarantee its rights.

That force is the organized, militant working class itself!

SENATE CARRIES **HOUSE SLASH OF RELIEF BUDGET**

(Continued from Page 1)

"take politics out of relief," and stop the attempt to win the W.P. was motivated on the surface by the entirely true charges that relief has been used by the New Deal machine as a major means a joint committee of the House win concessions for them. These to the sidewalk below. A few mofor garnering votes.

The amendment prohibits all of- crepancies between the two had a chance to show how much had been playing there, unaware ficials of W.P.A. from making branches of Congress may be they are going to accomplish for of the impending disaster. electioneering speeches and for- ironed out and a final formulation the unemployed: exactly nothing. bids any solicitation of funds agreed upon. Since both branches The unemployed have now got to ly, and at the precise moment of from the workers generally. They from W.P.A. workers "for politic- have approved the \$120,000, take their own job on their own the collapse no one was in front al purposes." All the political his- igure, there is no reason to sur shoulders, or look for the nearest of the building. The only casualty such buildings and such neightory of this country proves that pose that it will be raised in the hole to crawl into.

izations.

all previous labor legislation but ers, who have been constantly "the great Stalinist Constitution" migrating from factory to factory itself. And all this was headlined in the hope of improving their in the Daily Worker as follows: lot. In point of fact the foregoing "SOVIET ACTS TO INCREASE SOCIALIST PRODUCTIVITY HAMPERED BY THOSE WHO Russia, to tie the workers down, ABUSE SOCIAL SECURITY."

"Democratic" Procedure

The decree was issued without official explanation is very, very able. In the table below we repro- Wicks. simple. "The overwhelming ma- duce the "plan" figures (in thoueven a consultation of the Supreme Council which is scheduled jority of workers and office emto convene shortly. It sufficed for the passage of this law for Stalin to sign it in the name of the . ." But there is a handful of Communist Party of Russia," 'disorganizers" (it used to be

Molotov signed it for the "Council "wreckers"-remember?) and it is Iron 45.6 these "individual ignorant, back- Steel 56.1 of People's Commissars" (the maward or unscrupulous people who Rolled products 43.6 jority of whom have been purged . . cause industry, transport and Coal 390 as "wreckers" in the past year), the whole national economy great Car loadings which had reached while Shvernik invested it with

the "authority" of the All-Union damage." Stalin and his gang do the daily total of 100,000 in the 1936! Central Council of Trade Unions. not bother to explain either to summer dropped from 85,000 on And if any further proof of the the Russian workers or to the Dec. 13 to 50,000 on Dec. 18. The legality of this decree was reworld just how these "individual" same trend is shown in all the quired, the Russian worker could shirkers and slackers can cause industries for which figures are turn to the pages of the latest is-"billions of damage" annually; available. When this catastrophic sue of Sovetskaya Yustizia (the nor just why millions of workers and unprecedented drop was first official organ of Vyshinsky's De- have to suffer for the sins of a made public, the official explanapartment of Justice) wherein it few. is proved that all former "theories

Workers Blamed Now of labor and labor laws in the A short time ago the disorgan-

There are thousands of other have been slashed. Production to- production, inadequate supplies, condemned old-law tenements in day, it is claimed, is back where PERIL WORKERS Condemned old-law tenements in New York City, many of them occupied, which likewise present duction of three years ago, i.e., in a constant threat to residents and

LETTER BOX

LERIVIAN BROS.

37 EAST 14th STREET

tion was: "snowstorms." After

adding "snowdrifts" to the

"storms," they then proceeded to

Letter from STEIN received. We insist upon your meeting an absolutely trustworthy comrade. Address the Socialist Appeal AT-TENTION MARTIN.

pulsion

That compulsion will come on ly from the slum-dwellers and nust protest against living i borhoods.

of the Soviet press itself. **Economic Crisis**

"Plan"

Dec. 14

37.6

44.5

39.1

356.6

34.5

41.0

36.8

347.3

etc. But the scope of the "break-

down" and the "steady" improve-

middle of December can be ex-

plained only by "labor shortage.'

ıgainst the Stalin regime,

.1 the only way it knows.

28.0

34.8

28.5

294.7

LOVESTONE'S WING AGAIN

In the middle of December Soviet economic life took an ab-We notice with some astonish-, stoneite when Lovestone was measure, along with others, is in- | rupt plunge. Production in all ment in the last issue of the kingfish of the Communist party, tended in part to cope with the spheres suddenly dropped 50 per Lovestone paper an advertisement and a Browderite after Lovestone tremendous labor turn-over in cent and more. The only figures of a class in Marxism which is was shown the door. In the formade public are those for the key being organized in Chicago. Our mer capacity, he was a Trotskysomewhat in the manner in which industries, and we can only cite astonishment is aroused by the killer of the first rank; in the latthese. Falsified as they are, the name of the instructor, the not ter capacity, he added to his rep-Why these drastic decrees? The picture they present is unmistak- entirely unknown Harry M. ertory the customary invective against Lovestoneism.

At least up to recently, Brother His principal claim to fame. sands of tons) for December to- Wicks was one of the luminaries however, goes back quite a few ployees," declares Stalin's pream- gether with the output during the of the Stalinist party. A standard- years. In 1920, he appeared before ble, "work honestly and sincerely period of "agitation" for the new ized bureaucrat, he was a Love the businessmen of Gary, Indiana,

• as a renegade radical to expose Dec. 15 Dec. 17 Dec. 19 the inner workings of the com-26.0 munist movement. The Gary 32.6 "Post" of March 25, 1920, quoted 25.2 him as saying: "With very few exceptions, he said, the radicals are not Americans. Most of the Socialists are people of foreign It will be some time before we birth and citizenship and many

learn the whole truth about the of them do not even speak the actual occurrences in Russia in English language. Bill Haywood the latter part of December, and and his satellites should not be for that matter, at the present tolerated in this country, Mr. time. But it is no guess-work on Wicks said, he had been advising our part to assert that there is no American Legion members not to other explanation for the sudden permit these vermin to talk to drop in production, and the them, but to knock them down. subsequent emergency legislation | That, he said, is the only language than this, that the Russian workthey understand."

ers either staved away from the Now, it appears, after several plants or struck on the job by the years of faithful service under millions. Certainly, there was also Mr. Browder, the well-known pathe customary phenomenor of tron of the American Legion, breakdown of machinery and of Brother Wicks has decided to throw in his lot with his former tillycumbs, Jay Lovestone. We are not indignant about this because. ment since the low point in the as physical science points out. sewage cannot rise above the level of its source.

The fact that Pravda has been Nevertheless, it does seem to us compelled to thunder against "lax that, in the interests of public executives," the fact that it went hygiene, the Lovestone paper so far as openly to admit that owes its readers some explanation "certain directors are afraid to of the circumstances in which fire shirkers for fear of creating Brother Wicks divorced the Stalfor themselves difficulties with lainist party and came to the Lovebor supply" (Jan. 15); the addistone group. Otherwise, some peotional fact that the administraple might think that what this tion has been compelled to "softspotless revolutionist did was to en" its original regulations and sneak out of the one and into the permit re-employment of workers other under the cover of darkness fired from a plant within six and in the hope that nobody months, etc.-all these and other would take note of his shift. And facts support the view that the surely the Lovestoneites wouldn't Russian workers have entered in-'ike to have it noised about that to the phase of an open struggle that is the way people prefer to join them. that the latter is defending itself

At any rate, certain people!

Why do the city authorities fail to take the necessary precautionary measures to protect the lives of the people living in and travelling through these danger spots? The tenement owners have ade-

to eradicate these hazards. The city fathers, although fully informed of the conditions, do nothing to supply the necessary com-

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this relief action of Congress Slum Tenants Must passers-by. Move Against Owners will wake up and take notice, as

For the unemployed to take

NEW YORK-Swiftly and withas soon as the unemployed show out warning, the whole front wall quately demonstrated that they of an unoccupied tenement at will do nothing, until compelled, something on their own hook. Since Congress opened, the unem- Eleventh Avenue and 55th Street

ployed have trusted Roosevelt, collapsed last week, and bricks The relief bill now has gone to Lewis, Lasser and LaGuardia to and debris tumbled precipitously

and Senate so that the slight dis- dime-novel heroes have by now ments before, a group of children

They had moved on, fortunatewas an empty automobile.

U.S.S.R. have been permeated ization of industry was laid at the print even lower figures without with capitalist counter-revolution- door of "wreckers" and "saboary spirit." Why consult the Su- teurs," especially of the "Trotskypreme Council on such a detail? ite-Zinovievite-Bukharinite" vari-

any official alibis. Since then, all pretences have been dropped. It has been publicly admitted that the "plan" for 1938 had collapsed.

The "plan" figures for January it was in the early days in December, which is below the pro-