

Vol. III, No. 7

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1939

LAUNCH FIGHT TO SAVE U.A.W. People's Front Deserts Spanish Anti-Fascist Struggle

Negrin, Azana Dicker **Capitulation Terms**

Seek to Save Skins of Government Leaders While Abandoning The Anti-Fascist Cause

BASE TREACHERY AT END

American, English, and French press services continued over the week end to make specific references to Loyalist government negotiations for surrender to Franco. Formal denials by People's Front leaders were not taken seriously. Even the consistently pro-People's Front correspondent H. L. Matthews has finally, in a Perpignan dispatch of February 10, reported that "the Negrin government seems to be wavering in its decision to continue the fight.'

Can Negrin and Miaja get the half-million soldiers in central Spain to surrender? It is one thing to induce soldiers to make retreat after retreat without a fight, as happened in Catalonia on the basis of declarations by the government that it would make a stand farther north. It would be an entirely different task for Miaja and Negrin to call upon the soldiers to lay down their arms in their present positions in central Spain. For this reason, it is likely that the pattern laid down in Catalonia, of pretending to continue the struggle but actually abandoning the basic positions, may now be attempted by Miaja and Negrin in central Spain.



Gives Pretty Speech To Hush Protest Movement

In a special message on relief, gan, was surrendered intact to the IN MINE WORKERS In a special message on relief, sent to Congress last Tuesday, to clear an Devenshire, British officials ar-President Roosevelt tried to clear er Devonshire. British officials arhis skirts of responsibility for the ranged the parleys leading to the drive against the unemployed surrender. SPRINGFIELD, Ill. -- A victory Reports persist, despite denials. which he launched in November and which is now being carried that General Miaja, commanding to the election for officers of the the teamsters union took a long that General Miaja, commanding for the progressive elements in forward by a division of labor French visa on his passport and Progressive Mine Workers of step on the road to victory today asked the French government to America was recorded here in the in its fight against an alliance of between him and Congress. **Basic Aim Accepted** assure his safe departure. The special message makes President Azana's capitulation to Franco, indignantly denied by union. The P.M.W., which broke Frank "X-X" Martel. test is directed only against the the Stalinists who were his close away from the United Mine Workrate and manner of the Congres- associates in the Peoples Front

Minorca Surrendered

The heavily fortified stronghold

of Minorca, the island base held

by the Loyalists since the war be-



WING WINS Brewery Union Success **Points to Martel Ouster**

Local 271 Strike Threat Brings Bosses to Terms Quickly

"The Bulwark Against War and Fascism!" Three Automobile Locals Reject Martin, Stalinists, Favor C.I.O.

See page 3 for the com plete text of the union-building program issued by the newly organized rank and file group in the United Automobile Workers Union. See also editorial on page 4: "The Crisis in the Auto Union."

ANTI-PICKET LAW FOUGHT BY FLINT **U.A.W. MEMBERS**

Union Demonstration Answers Boss Attack

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) FLINT, Mich. -- Flinging down the gauntlet in the face of a militant demonstration of several its position. thousand U.A.W. members and hundreds of other union men, the City Commission of Flint voted 5 to 3 last week to enact a vicious anti-picketing law aimed at stifling all union activity in the city. Part of a general campaign on he part of Michigan manufacurers, the Flint law provides for anning of picketing, forbids approaching men at plant gates for union membership and in general labor in any section of the coun- gram and aims. The locals are

88), Weatherhead (Local 463) of Representatives of the United Cleveland and Local 15, (Fleet-Automobile Workers Union led wood Fisher Body) in Detroit. file group is emphatically in favor the protest demonstration, in Chevrolet Transmission of Saginwhich the workers gave most aw, Mich. (Local 467) voted to at-

Call For Immediate Action To Save Union From Suicidal Battle of Martin And Stalin Factions

HIT DISRUPTIVE LEADERS

DETROIT, Feb. 8-Interest in the auto situation was focussed today in all local newspapers on the statement issued by John Anderson, vice-president of Fleetwood Local 15, on behalf of his own and two other locals, announcing the formation of a third grouping distinguished from the Martin and Stalinist factions by its clear-cut militant program.

Martin could not be reached for comment on this important development. R. J. Thomas, asked to comment particularly on the demand for an impartial arrangements committee which would seat all bona fide delegates, "including Martin and his supporters' at the March 27 Cleveland convention, refused to say anything except that "any delegates elected in a constitutional manner will be seated.'

DETROIT, Feb. 6-The most promising sign for the future of the auto workers union appeared this week when a third group, representing the interests of the rank and file and fighting for a militant program against the unprincipled cliques, publicly announced

The group is solidly for the C.I.O. and its delegates will attend the Cleveland convention on March 27th. But it is dead-set against

the Frankensteen-Addes combination directed by the Communist ganized, in unionizing the Ford Motor Co. can be laid directly at party wreckers and controlled by the door of both groups. It finds the Lewis-Hillman bureaucracy.

Locals Back Program Three locals have already voted for the program set forth by this group, and the volume of support is one of the most flagrant viola- is beginning to swell as the rank tions of the rights of organized and file is informed of its pro- to end U.A.W. autonomy by plac-

that both gangs are responsiblefor destroying the internal democracy of the auto union, that both cliques have placed administrators over locals and that the Stalinist-Reuther combination wants ing the union in the hands of a Willard Storage Battery (Local C.I.O. receivership.

Favor the C.I.O.

of the C.I.O. as "the industrial unmilitant evidence in every way of tend the C.I.O. convention but re- mass production workers we must

startling reading. Roosevelt's prosional plans to reduce relief, while government, was finally admitted Lewis bureaucracy a few years hardt & Becker, Stroh, Pfeiffer, Street aim of cutting the unem- Feb. 8. The day before, it had er for the A.F.L., has the main driven by teamsters proudly disployed to the bone. In effect, displayed a skyline banner, "In Roosevelt is merely arguing that complete agreement with Negrin, his own way of conducting the says Azana," and had denounced drive against the unemployed is as "capitalist press lies" the fact more effective than that of Con- that Azana had fled to Paris and gress, and will cause less trouble. called for surrender.

"I call your attention," the message reads. "to the fact that the rolls have already been reduced to cease resistance on three conby 350,000 since the last week of last October." But this cut was, Franco, is reported by the Associof course, engineered by Roosevelt alone, without any participation on the part of Congress; when, in fact, Congress was not even in session

Were these 350.000 "re-absorbed into private industry"? The message gives the answer: "As no new assignments have been made during this period, there has been a large accumulation of able-bodied people certified to us as in need of relief-people, however, who have not been able to secure places on the work program.' That is to say, the 350,000 were thrown on the 'street. Does Roosevelt then propose

that the WPA rolls be increased to a point where they could take care of all those in need? Not in the least. He says only that "the rolls . . . ought not to be reduced during February and March." After that, reductions can start again, with the full consent of the President.

Fears Sharp Opposition But Roosevelt is afraid that the rate of reduction planned by Congress will excite too sharp an opposition. A more gradual rate, he figures, would paralyze resistance from the unemployed. He uses Colonel Harrington's estimates to show that the \$725,000,000 appropriated by Congress will necessitate either an immediate cut of 1,000,000 from the rolls on April (Continued on Page 3)

The election results showed caps. that Dave Reed defeated the re-

tiring secretary-treasurer, Claude E. Pearcy, for the presidency of

ialist Appeal)

Premier Negrin, his first offer ditions having been rejected by ated Press as ready to capitulate

on the sole condition that his as sociates in central Spain do not face Franco's firing squads. Negrin's original terms, as the last issue, were merely a face- time, it bitterly opposed the as- the bosses into line. Tivoli's will cil. saving device, the "demands" for pirations of the best elements in probaby get into step before 24 the country's independence from the union to achieve a restoration hours have passed.

cite having already received lip-

(Continued on Page 4)

Negrin's Terms

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) DETROIT, Feb. 6-Local 271 of sible total of 900 drivers who work during busy season The meeting rang with cheers as

tabulation of votes made public brewery manufacturers, corrupt O'Laughlin, Bert Brennan, Harry here by the official organ of the officials of the brewery union and

Trucks of all the major Detroit Frank S. Ford, Sr., President of ers union in a fight against the breweries, Schmidt, Detroit, Ek- Local 271, was in the chair. it accepts fully the basic Wall by the Stalinist Daily Worker on ago, and recently received a chart- Old Brew left their barns today body of its membership in Illinois. playing Local 271 buttons on their

Bosses Settle Quickly

Committees of Local 271 went strictly prejudiced arbitration dethe state and national organiza- into the managements this morn- cision against the teamsters

The defeat of Pearcy is seen 271 men were reinstated and scabs matter before the Executive Coun-calling for all locals to attend the as doubly significant. The Pearcy- imported by the phoney Local 38 cil of the A.F.L., now meeting in Cleveland C.I.O. convention, and into one committed to the most ments capitulated to this demand. brewery drivers to the Internareactionary and bureaucratic poli- In many instances, trucks were tional Brotherhood of Teamsters, cies-at least so far as the leader- tied up in the barns for an hour secured a repudiation of Martel's

Martel Sure To Go

Socialist Appeal pointed out in its ship was concerned. At the same or two until the committee forced decision from the Executive Coun-

foreign control and for a plebis- of fighting unity with the United This demonstration of success

forces clamoring for that unity. | called by Local 271. More than 600

S.W.P.

their determination to fight the fused to commit itself to either remain part of that movement." faction while sentiment ran high

Will Picket City Hall

Flint auto workers are planning ent group. Other locals have already inditeamsters officials, J. M. ("Red") a campaign to recall the commiscated agreement or sympathy with sioners who voted for the fink Apers and General Organizer bill, and are going to post a the program of the independent John F. English addressed them. group. By the end of the week picket line at the Flint city hall. additional names should appear This move on the part of the on this roster which will yet be a Flint City Commission indicates roll of honor in the United Autothe intention of General Motors mobile Workers of America. When this battle ends, it is the to take advantage of the U.A.W. Groups are already being formed general opinion here, Frank faction fight to smash the union

"X-X" Martel, President of the by means of a vigorous anti-union Detroit Federation of Labor, will campaign. It serves to warn once be among the casualties. Martel's again that a union split serves these groups attain a majority in the interest of the bosses.

Cleveland, they will be a strong Many auto workers have al- leaven in their plants against any tion. Another prominent progres- ing and declared that they were brought around his ears the ready come to realize this fact, corporation attacks, and in their sive was elected to the Executive all members of Local 271 and wrath of Dan Tobin, Internation-and have launched a campaign to locals against the vicious Stalinist ation for housing and medical would not drive trucks unless all al Union president. Tobin took the preserve the unity of the U.A.W., crew.

tin gang."

SITUATION

formation of a new and independent progressive

grouping. If this continues and gains real scope,

it will solve the problems, however difficult and

acute, of the preservation and extension of the

We are aware that these sudden shifts that

our party has made in the policy it has presented

have created a certain temporary confusion. But

decision has now been reached and will be vig-

The difficulties created by the delay in arriving

at a definitive decision and the inconsistency oc-

curring during the past three weeks, serious as

they have been, are, however, outweighed in our

estimate by the benefits obtained through adher-

ing to a regime in our party under which deci-

sions are reached through democratic collective

POLITICAL COMMITTEE,

Socialist Workers Party

effort and not by bureaucratic decree.

A Call To Action Ozanic faction had succeeded in of the brewery union put off the Miami, and backed by 400,000 or-fight the irresponsible Martin and (printed elsewhere in this issue), Board and C.I.O. dictatorships; converting the P.M.W. from a trucks. In all cases, with the ex- ganized drivers and the decisions Executive Board factions who is a call to action to all honest rank-and-file militant organization ception of Tivoli's, the manage- of A.F.L. conventions awarding plunged the union into the pres- and progressive auto workers against the "Stalinist Executive Board Majority . . . and the Mar-

Won't Rely on "Lobbying"

Rank-and-file sentiment in Flint | It examines the accusations and is demanding immediate militant charges made by the self-seeking and the Communist party camps. William Green wrote a long, action to force rescinding of the officials against each other which strongly-worded telegram to Mar- Flint anti-picketing law, and to have all but disgraced the U.A.W.

tel not only repudiating his de- teach the manufacturers that the in the state of Michigan. It finds Mine Workers union. Reed and was organized at a meeting yes- cision but calling on the member- auto workers are an organized that the record of failure, incomservice from Franco. The Stalinist Battuello represent the growing terday morning at Schiller Hall, ship of the Detroit and Wayne power which cannot be beaten in- petence and negligence in General (Continued on Page 3)

to submission. Motors, in organizing the unor-

union in auto.

orously carried out.

"We stand for one union in for the program of the independthe industry. We stand for one convention, but inside the C.I.O. We therefore call upon all locals to attend the Cleveland convention and to insist upon the formation of an impartial arrangements committee which will

seat all bona-fide delegates including Martin and his supporters on the Executive Board."

The practical union - building in major locals in Detroit, Flint program of the rank and file and Cleveland. Whether or not group includes a fight for the 30hour week with no reduction in their locals and send delegates to pay; an aggressive drive to organ-

ize the Ford Motor Co. and the competitive parts plants; a 5-bilcare and the chartering by the C.I.O. of WPA industrial unions;

The program of this group, local autonomy from Executive defense guards to protect the union against vigilantes and fascists -not goon squads used against union men; and a final point against the red-scares stirred up

The program concludes with a number of constitutional amendments proposed for constitutional action at the convention.

That the sentiment of the militants in the auto union was overwhelmingly in favor of the C.I.O. was indicated this week as local after local went on record at its local meetings in favor of the Cleveland Convention. These include the largest divisions of General Motors and Chrysler corporations and of the parts plants.

Oppose Union Wreckers

Yet the strongest sentiment curent is antagonism and hatred on the part of large sections of the rank and file for all 24 Executive Board officers who brought their union to the brink of disaster.

The large Chrysler local failed to take a vote after a lengthy meeting in which both sides presented their case. William Marshall, president of that local, openly declared that he was sitting on the fence. In the Dodge local, meetings continued from week to week and a definite position for the C.LO.

(Continued on page 2)

OF THE During the past few weeks the policy of the S.W.P. with respect to the crisis in the U.A.W. has undergone sharp change, and has not received a clear and definitive formulation until this current issue of The Appeal. This has undoubtedly been evident to the party members as well as to the other readers of our press.

During the past period there has been a unanimous conviction throughout the party that the central task for the auto workers and the only solution which will be able to re-establish the unity, democracy and militancy of their union and at the same time make possible the complete organization of the industry, lies in THE BUILDING OF A NEW PROGRESSIVE **GROUPING WITHIN THE UNION, BASED ON** A DEMOCRATIC, MILITANT PROGRAM, AND FREE FROM ANY SUBORDINATION TO EITHER OF THE TWO MAJOR PRESENT FACTIONS - THE MARTIN CONTROLLED CLIQUE OR THE STALINIST OUTFIT.

U.A.W. STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

IN

However, this perspective, though in our opinion decisive in the longer run, did not in itself answer the specific questions raised by the open split and the calling of two separate conventions; in particuar it did not answer a crucial question now posed before the auto workers: which convention to go to.

The lead editorial published in the January 28 issue of THE SOCIALIST APPEAL, oriented toward attendance at the Detroit convention, was drawn up immediately following the calling of the two conventions. At the time of its formulation it represented an opinion opposed by many party members. Subsequent to its formulation and just prior to its public appearance there took place the recognition by the C.I.O. leadership of the Cleveland Convention and Martin's publication of his letter of withdrawal from the C.I.O. Executive. In the opinion of many members of the N.C. and of a decisive majority of the party members actively engaged in the party's work in auto, these events clinched the argument against an orientation on the Detroit Convention and demanded an orientation on Cleveland as the only effective way in which to carry out the general perspective in consonance with the aim of preserving the unity of the progressive industrial union movement.

THE

Thorough discussion and consultation, though it did not remove differences of opinion, led to the practical conclusion that the Detroit orientation contained in the party's earlier policy must be abandoned in favor of a Cleveland orientation as stated and motivated in the current issue of The Appeal.

Quite independently of any differences, we believe that the most hopeful sign for the long term future of the U.A.W. is to be read in the news reports of the concrete beginnings of the

ent split situation.

V. R. Dunne Asks In the Trade Unions Unity Convention

In the daily and pressing struggles which militant unionists face there is little time left for a consideration of the broader questions before the labor movement. The split in auto, the crisis in textiles, and other trade union matters deserve and obtain serious study from progressive union-

ists. However, the life and death question of the attitude of trade unions towards war seems much neglected, especially in comparison to the history of the labor movement from 1914-1918.

In the days of Woodrow Wilson, the anti-war sentiment was so strong that the Democratic president was re-elected on a "Keep Martin's convention in Detroit America Out of War!" program. Hundreds of thousands of mili- sideration," said Dunne. "No protant workers expressed their op- gressive can support Martin in his position to war at union meetings, move for a dual union and his mass meetings, and other forms of protest.

a historical figure in the annals Dubinsky's International Ladies of the Martin outfit and the Com- Ford's, themselves sanctioned the of the working class because of Garment Workers Union. The I.L.his fight against imperialist war. G.W.U. seceeded from the C.I.O.

"War to Save Democracy!" in deal with the Stalinist union bust-1917.

War-Mongering In the Unions

Roosevelt blunders and admits auto centers. his plan to make "France America's frontier!" Another war to make the world safe for "democ-

racy" with American workers dying in the same trenches in France is in the offing. How different labor today is re-

acting to this crisis! Recently, we made a survey of the number of unions that have passed anti-war and Company, 600 Armour workresolutions. They seem like a mere drop of water compared to after a three-day strike. the ocean tides of protest that swept the country in 1917.

War-mongering is more common in unions today than any-Today it is ended. where in the country because of the power of the Stalinists who are determined to chain the working class to another imperialist Kill when the Grievance Commitwar.

Yet, M Day will bring a virtual fascization of the union movement. And death on the bloody battlefields of imperialist war will be the lot of millions of union militants, not only here but in ev-

ery country. War Means End For Auto Workers **Progressives Cannot** Support Dual **Union Move** (Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS — "Progressives in the Auto Workers Union must

gather their forces and force the The U.A.W. faces the worst Martin and Thomas groups to crisis of its history. Will it demeet jointly in a unity convenstroy itself and bring back the tion." declared Vincent R. Dunne, open shop? Or will it survive the noted labor figure and organizer crisis and go forward as a fightfor the militant Drivers Union. ing organization to improve and Local 544 of Minneapolis. protect the interests of the auto-Dunne reported this.to a large mobile workers?

Socialist Workers Forum last The answer to this question lies Sunday at Socialist Workers Party squarely in the hands of the rank headquarters, 919 Marquette. He and file of the union. had recently arrived from Detroit Today two factions in the top where he had conferred with leadleadership of the union are hurling figures in the auto situation. ing damning accusations at each "We will support the March 27

other. The Martin gang accuses Cleveland convention, and wheththe Stalinist Executive Board maer or not to send delegates to jority of betraying the automobile workers. The Stalinist Executive March 4, is purely a tactical con-Board Majority accuses the Martin gang of betraying the automobile workers. It is our considered judgement plan to carry off a segment of the

auto union into either the A.F.L. Eugene Debs grew in stature to of into an independent set-up like

Militant workers understood for the same reason Martin is very well the implications of a now threatening to-inability to ers on a principled basis"

Dunne advanced a minimum four-point program around which the struggle for unity must be

Today, the foreign exchange fought: the organization of Ford, and stock market prices jump the renewal of the contracts with around at every rumor of war! the auto bosses, the organization Confidential Wall Street bulletins of the parts plants and the organspeak of 1939 as the "war year!" ization of the unemployed in the

ARMOUR YIELDS AT FARGO

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) FARGO, N. D.-Scoring another

in the organization drive supsmashing victory against Armour posed to have been launched among the unorganized workers ers in Fargo went back to work of the aircraft and automotive For 14 years speed-up on the parts industries? Zero! No prog-

Beef Kill has been an outstanding ress! And that goes for the Margrievance of the Fargo workers. tin Regional Directors as well as for the Mortimer-Frankensteen

tive Board majority.

General Motors

In its customary high-handed were too busy playing shoestring way, the Armour management sent home all workers of the Beef politics to bother about organizing the unorganized.

tee protested against the speed-Ford Drive

For over six months Franken-Rallying to the support of the steen was director of the Ford Beef Kill other departments put Organization Campaign. During in their protests. One after anoth- this period he spent thousands of to split the automobile workers ardized rates of pay and stander, every department in the plant dollars of our money. How many from the C.I.O. We are against ardized working conditions, upon tional Union and Regional Direct

workers were locked out. Three When Frankensteen finished with U.A.W. by Lewis, Hillman and ganizational campaign. days were enough to show Arm- the drive, there were less Ford Murray. But the C.I.O. is the in- 4. WPA WORKERS: We prodays were enough to show Arm-our that it was playing with fie. Telegrams poured into Fargo from Armour plants all over the country insisting that the plant reopen and the grievance be set-tled at once. The Fargo unionists themselves t stood firm. The avalanche of the mont offered, nobody knows. The Stall is controlled Ex-nothing for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive campaign for the company to do but t dive ing the Stalinist rule-or-ruin pol- country insisting that the plant Now Martin has made some movement We must remain part low-cost housing and medical care inside our own ranks. icy on concrete issues today. Too reopen and the grievance be set-backstairs deal with Harry Ben- of the C.I.O. parcel of their political line. And wires that struck the manage- We stand against negotiations the C.I.O. We therefore call upon on WPA. We propose to ask the

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ONE CONVENTION --- ONE UNION **ONE FIGHT AGAINST THE BOSSES!**

An Independent Program of Action for the United Automobile Workers Union of America in the Crisis Created by Martin's Pull-Away from the C.I.O. and the Stalinist Wrecking Crew

Already supported by such locals as Willard Storage Battery (88), Weatherhead of Cleveland (463) and Fleetwood Fisher Body of Detroit (15), the program of the independent forces is making headway in all parts of the Auto Workers Union. The genuine progressives are determined to remain within the ranks of the C.I.O., in spite of the Stalinist-Lewis provocations, but they want a program that will build and srengthen the union instead of allowing it to be destroyed by the Stalinist-Hillman-Murray combination now at its head.

that BOTH ACCUSATIONS ARE | cuses Martin of conspiring to | seat all bona-fide delegates includ-TRUE! Let us look at the record build a "company union" at ing Martin and his supporters on the vicious anti-union legislation the Executive Board.

munist Party-dominated Execu- Martin negotiations and instruct-The crying need of the hour is of Michigan and the governors of ed him several days previous to the organization of a new group other states. making their charges to continue representative of the rank and the negotiations. This same Stal- file and controlled by the rank is the weapon of the employers to vertising newsstands that carry Dozens of key union men and inist crew hails with joy THE and file. This new group must be smash our union. Both top facstewards have been fired by the SAME KIND OF A BACK- built on the lines of a fighting tions in this fight are guilty of management out of the G.M. STAIRS DEAL WHICH JOHN program and on constructive employing this dangerous anti-

bile industry.

plants because the International L. LEWIS ENGINEERS WITH UNION-BUILDING principles. Executive Board (the entire 24) MYRON C. TAYLOR OF U.S. The Only Unionsubmitted to G.M. a letter giving STEEL. the company permission to "dis-The Ford campaign has become **Building Program** cipline" union men. Result: Chaos political football of the two un-1. ABOLISH UNEMPLOY-

rincipled factions, while the interests of the Ford workers have een completely forgotten.

Union Democracy? Both gangs are guilty of the vorst autocracy towards the rank all opposition members. Both IN PAY throughout the automo-Martin and Mortimer voted to

2. CLOSED SHOP IN GENERkick out of the union two mem-These men were expelled without immediate convocation of a reptrial. Martin, when in power, auto- resentative rank and file G.M. within the constitutional procedcratically appointed administratconference to negotiate a closed ors over the Flint local and many shop contract, with a 30-hour

week and no reduction in pay clause. The G.M. conference shall abolish the infamous "disciplintions at the Packard local and ary" letter granted G.M. by the other locals when they were in entire Executive Board of 24.

3. FORD AND PARTS each region. PLANTS: We propose the immediate launching of a big drive to organize all Ford workers and

workers of the competitive parts We must openly condemn the plants. We propose the signing of vote on all important questions. fatal step Martin proposes to take closed shop contracts with standwas shut down. The Armour Ford workers did he organize? the autocratic rule imposed on the the successful conclusion of or-

union action and legislative pres-

Tuesday, February 14, 1939

which will enable almost every



HOW DO YOU LIKE THE NEW APPEAL?

party member to become a sub-This is the second of the Twice- scriber. 'Take this offer up at a-Week Appeal. The first one has your next branch meeting and met with nothing but praise and send in the results. Subscriptions acclaim from all sides. We'd like obtained this way will be credited all branches, friends and sympa- to your branch quotas. thizers to send us their opinion Remember our slogan: Every of the semi-weekly Appeal. Next Class Struggle Fighter a Twice-aweek we intend to run extracts Week Subscriber!

from comments received. Send yours in now and-don't forget-

from Executive Board dictatorships; and U.A.W. autonomy from NEW YORK CITY BRANCHES a Lewis-C.I.O. dictatorship. Let us SWING INTO ACTION:

fight for democratic rights for all Under the able direction of including protection of any minorcomrade Abe Miller the branches and comrades in New York are 6. UNION DEFENSE GUARDS: beginning to solve distribution Let us organize union defense problems on the semi-weekly guards to protect our unions from paper. First, a highly efficient the violence and attacks of thugs, squad of professional salesmen vigilantes and fascists hired or has been organized. They can be sponsored by the corporations to seen during the day covering New smash the union. DEFENSE York's garment workers' area. GUARDS TO PROTECT THE Times Square and Union Square. UNION, NOT GOON SQUADS Dressed $up \cdot in$ their newsboy TO PROTECT THE CLIQUE INaprons they look like the real TEREST OF SOME FACTION.

McCoy. All of them are cracker 7. A BOLD FIGHT AGAINST jack salesmen, too! ALL OPEN-SHOP, ANTI-UNION Branches have begun mass LEGISLATION: We propose a street sales activity. Last week vigorous campaign of economic the Upper West Side branch and legislative action to defeat turned out en masse to distribute and sell Appeals in the Times proposed by Governor Fitzgerald Square and theatre areas. With great success, too! Branches are issuing leaflets, small cards ad-8. RED SCARE: The red scare our paper folders, etc. And on the subscription drive, New York has gotten off to a flying start with 15 in one week. The Twice-a-

union weapon. Martin calls his Week Appeal is putting a little opponents "Communists." The zest into the New York party's Communist party brands all opblood stream! ponents who oppose its criminal

establish local union autonomy thing for us.

ity opinions.

anti-union policies as "fascists." AND FROM OTHER SPOTS: "We are organizing the Appeal We are opposed to union men em-MENT IN THE AUTOMOBILE ploying this anti-union weapon Brigade to handle the circulation INDUSTRY. We propose the im- and we propose to fight any group of our press effectively. Already mediate launching of a system- within the union that raises the 18 comrades are participating in atic, aggressive campaign through red scare. the work. We should raise that number, to 30 over a period of

9. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDsure to establish the 30 HOUR MENTS: We make the following time. Minneapolis will build an and file. Each ruthlessly squelches WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION constructive suggestions for effective propaganda machine."-M. Freed, Appeal director of amendments to our present con-Minneapolis. Incidently, M'pls. stitution: has ordered and paid for 6 newsa) Simplify and speed up pro-

pers of the Lansing Fisher local. AL MOTORS: We propose the cedure for the authorization of boy aprons. strikes; all strikes to be called "We have every hope that your project to bring out the Appeal semi-weekly will meet with sucb) Establishment of a monthly cess."-A letter from the Socialconference of local union officers, ist Workers League of Johannesrather than the present set-up of

burg, South Africa. district councils. **ON THE SUBSCRIPTION** c) For a ten member Interna-DRIVE: tional Executive Board-one from

April 1st.

d) For reducing the number of vice-presidents to two. e) For provisions giving the membership right of referendum

f) Submission of quarterly financial reports by the Interna-

ors to all locals. The Only Answer!

STATEMENTS NOW IN 5. AUTONOMY: We propose to serious criticism is a healthy THE MAILS:

We are now mailing our final statements on the old, weekly Appeal. This will give each branch an opportunity to clear up its old balance before we bill it on the semi-weekly paper. Many branches have done sobut there are some large branches which, instead of cutting down their bills, have added to them.

It is necessary for us to increase our income beginning right now. We feel that no agitation on this point is needed—the thing to do is act immediately. Send in payments on your balance to the Appeal.

Here's the list of new subscripions obtained during the first week of the Campaign:

Bert.

New York City..... 15 California 10 Chicago Ohio Rochester Pennsylvania Massachusetts Detroit Kansas Newark St. Paul Wisconsin Foreign

> Total 56 * * *

The following new bundleorders were received during the week:

(1) New Brunswick, N. J., begins its history with an order of 5 copies per issue.

(2) Fresno, Calif. has resumed taking the Appeal and likewise begins with an order of 5.

This week we take pleasure in introducing and greeting a bunch of new literature-agents for the Appeal. E. McCreary of Fresno, California; M. Meyers of New Brunswick, New Jersey; Paul Fielding of Akron, Ohio; A. J. Mounjie of Toledo, Ohio; and finally, John Margo of Los Angeles. We wish all these comrades the best of success in their

8th St. and Arch St. QUAKERTOWN, PA.

. 14

This week has seen a fairly new jobs. good start, considering that it is only the first week. But we must A FEW REMINDERS: increase our weekly list of new (1) Have you ordered your subscribers to at least 100 if we newsboy aprons yet? are to reach the 1,000 goal by (2) Act now on your Appeal bill!

We have sent around a special (3) How many bound volumes offer to branches and comrades (1937 and 1938) have you sold?

SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands

n G.M. locals and a worse contract now in existence than over a year ago and present negotiations with the company completely at a standstill. Who is responsible? Obviously both groups on the board! Organize the

Unorganized?

What progress has been made

other locals. The Stalinist controlled Executive Board majority autocratically took charge of elec-Regional Directors. Both gangs

power. Both gangs are guilty of destroying democracy in the U.A.W.

Which Convention?

Of Unions

"Save the Unions!" is the slogan of every serious unionist in fight- from Armour plants all over the tion.

few unionists understand, however, that the union-wrecking tactics of the Stalinists are part and that unions can be saved only by combining the fight against the locals stick together. There was membership. bosses with the struggle against nothing for the company to do but the Stalinists and their war-mon-

gering.

"Save the Unions!" from the trap that the U.S. General Staff nas planned in war-time. No strikes, no shop committees, no direct negotiations meetings if it can be helped. There is only one way to fight this danger. A clear and unambiguous struggle against imperialist war is the method.

leadership are for support of shop, this gang on top tears it Both the C.I.O. and A.F.L. top Roosevelt's war plans. Conserva--tive labor leaders in every union also' will support the war! And when the federal government supthe same people will make a feeble criticism too late.

Time to Get Tough

The job of every progressive ate of Frank X. Martel. Even the unionist has become tougher. The conference of Martin supporters, union wreckers from within the held in Northern High School labor movement, the class ene- here last week, voted to table a mies from without, are deter- motion breaking from the C.I.O., mined to crush the workers in so strong is the antipathy to the the interests of Wall Street and A.F.L. craft union bureaucrats. its profit. Yet Martin is compelled by neces-

Now is the time to take stock of sity to align himself with the the situation, tighten up the belt Green-Frey-Hutchinson diehards another notch, and "get tough." of the Executive Council of the The union struggles of today are A.F.L.

preliminary training bouts to the real battle ahead. It is time to get His following is largely made in shape now for the knock down, up of that backward section of timer that locals who attended turn them to their jobs. and its war dangers.

Workers Educational Forum Presents KARL SCHOLZ Noted economist on "Conflicting Forces in Europe Today" Thursday, Feb. 23rd, 8:30 P.M. 810 Locust Street PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

AT YOUR SERVICE! THE APPEAL

O LOCALS OPEN FIGHT FOR (Continued from Page 1) was adopted only yesterday. In the strong Chevrolet local in Flint, workers have been heard on record against indecent motion rying on a little red-baiting of his which will take the heart and

saying: "Every time we get our pictures and the sale of liquor to own in the union paper. He says guts out of strikes. No protests the growing misery of the unemlocal built up to almost a closed young people. On the other side of the fence a of the left wing of the Socialist stration or any other kind of ac- the thoroughly dishonest nature heated squabble was reported in Party and that he is now ad- tion organized. Meanwhile, the Martin crowd progress among the Executive vised by the Lovestone "Communmoved closer to an open A.F.L. Board members. Frankensteen ists."

made a public declaration against presses all unionism in war-time porters, refused to commit him- Fred Pieper of Atlanta and is word to say about the organiza- Capitol prepares a real body blow vival of a class-conscious and self on the matter of A.F.L. affili- said to have planted a left hook tion of WPA workers in industrial to the whole union. It becomes militant movement among the unation. But Martin's new attorney between Pieper's eyes. Reuther union set-ups under the C.I.O. The daily more apparent that unless employed. It is called the Union

A.F.L. lawyer and intimate associ- positions as President and Vice-Presidents.

Who is to get the swag? That is the only consideration that this pot-pourri of Stalinists and former Martin supporters pay any attention to at all. They are blissfully unconcerned with

any program that will push the union forward-except of course when some statement is required for public effect. Characteristic of the mentality gram to fight the attacks of the

of the Stalinist gang was the split- corporations or to defend the inting statement of Wyndham Mor- terests of the unemployed or re-

drag'em-out fight with capitalism the membership which has been the Martin convention would be prompted by Coughlin and the suspended from the U.A.W. Moryellow newspapers to believe that timer's statement came from New John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. are York where he probably just had

"communist." Moreover Martin's emerged from a conference with lack of a majority will result in Earl Browder. The rest of the an isolation that will compel him Executive Board immediately disto seek support in the reactionary owned Mortimer, saying in a faint-hearted voice that this was sections of the A.F.L.

Yesterday a conference of Cath- Mortimer's personal opinion. Silent on WPA Union olic, Protestants and Jewish priests met here and plunked The new editor of the United shop committees, workers can ex-

down one hundred percent for "a Automobile Worker, official organ pect a first class battle on their East Side Branch, Local New man who received his training as of the Executive Board of the hands when the inter-union fight York, making up the banners ed from the membership shall be a minister of religion. He is wag- U.A.W., is that well-known Stalin- subsides. **POSTER** SHOP a minister of religion. He is wag- U.A.W., is that well-known Stain- subsides. ing a stirring battle against influ- ist scribbler, Carl Haessler. Haess- While this fight is raging, Gov-

A MARK STREET, STRE

Red-Baiters For Martin

ences that have subversive, un-|ler, who used to peddle his reac-lernor Fitzgerald is seizing the op-

American and dangerous por- tionary buncombe in Walter Reu- portunity to jam through the leg-

tents." The conference also went ther's West Side Conveyor, is car- islature his anti-picketing law

question of a cut in WPA appro-

priations was before Congress,

this Executive Board favored

ner's.

Roosevelt's slash as against Gar-

to utter against Roosevelt's jingo

war program and armaments bud-

get. Nor do they have any pro-

Meanwhile General Motors is

making the best of the factional

situation. Last week it issued a

statement to the press saying

that it would not negotiate with

either set or officers until "their

positions and authority have

But although local unions have

proved strong enough, despite the

split, to force them to deal with

been clarified."

They have not a solitary word

ALLENTOWN, PA. R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St. Otto Yost, 383 Hamilton St. PHILADELPHIA, PA. 1806 North Franklin St. Cor. It th and Market Sts., N.W. 40th St. and Girard Ave. 8th St. and Arch St. GUAKERTOWN, PA. Esser's Newsstand Front & West Broad Sts. BOSTON, MASS. Andelman's Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford) CAMBRIDGE, MASS. CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Felix's, Massachušetts Ave. at Harvard Sg. LYNN, MASS. S.W.P., Lynn Labor Lyceum, 127 Oxford St. Sam's Corner, Olympia Square ROXBURY, MASS. 'riendly Variety, WARSS. (Grove Hall) INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA Lyric News Shop, 115 N. Illinois St. MINNEAPOLIS, MIN. Labor Book Store, 919 Marquette Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin; Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet. 410 Washington Blvd. ST. LOUIS, MO. Foster Book Company CLAYTON, MO. The Book Nook, 24A Meramac CLEVELAND, OHIO Rubin's Drug Store 1072 F. 105th Store

LONG ISLAND: 23rd St. & 45th Ave.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza N.; Cres-cent St. and Bridge Plaza, S.; 27th St. and Bridge Plaza So.

CLAYTON, MO, The Book Nook, 24A Meramac CLEVELAND, OHIO Rubin's Drug Store 1072 E. 105th Street Meriam Building, Room 214 5716 Euclid Avenue Schroeder's Book Shop, Public Square YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO Nick's, Wick St. and Commerce SAN FRANCISCO MacDonald's Bookstore, 65--6th St. Fillmore Bookstore Sutter & Fillmore Sts. Golden Gate News Agency, 21--4th St. Fitzgerald's News Agency, 77--3rd St. Sportland Smoke Shop, 3399 Massion St. Store 20, 3057 16th St. Kason Grocery, Mason & Pacific Sts. Ferry Building, Stand at Key System entr. Koblik's Stationery, 1004 Fillmore Room 2, 542 Valencia St. Ray's Smoke Shop, 1203 Sutter Room 11, 542 Valencia St. Bookstore-1502 Haight (nr. Fillmore) Cedar Cafe Cigar Stand-955 Larkin St. Shoe Shine Shop, 2307 Brooklyn Candy Store, 2213 Brooklyn Ave. Sweet Shop, 2526 Brooklyn Ave. San DIEGO, CALIF. Universal News Co., 242 Brooklyn Ave. Sweet Shop, 2526 Brooklyn Ave. San DIEGO, CALIF. Universal News Co., 242 Brooklyn Ave. Sweet Shop, 2526 Brooklyn Ave. San DIEGO, CALIF. Universal News Co., 242 Brooklyn AKRON, OHIO News Exchange, 51 S. Main St. Shoe Shine Shop, CALIF. Th and Washington 12th, bet. B'way and Washington Stan DIEGO, CALIF. Th and Washington 12th, bet. B'way and Washington 12th, bet. B'way and Washington 12th, bet. B'way and Washington 2th Attar Store. 1407 First Ave. Roth Cigar Store. 1407 First Ave. Roth Cigar Store. 1407 First Ave. ROCHESTER, N. Y. 433 N. Clinton St. 257 N. Clinton St. Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts. Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St. S.E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts. S.W. cor. Main & South Ave. Main Street East & Clinton Ave. South. southeast corner Main Street East & Clinton Ave. South. southeast corner Main Street East, front of Edwards' Department Store 208 Clinton Ave., North at Cumberland St. Levine's Delicatessen, 257 Clinton Ave. North at Westcott Carfi Brothers, 433 Clinton Ave. North NEWARK, N. J. Reitman's, cor. Broad & William Littman's cor. Hawthorne Ave. & Reeves Pl. PATERSON N. J. PATERSON, N, J. A. Guabello's Stationery Store 317 Straight St. NEW HAVEN, Conn. Nodelman's Newsstand. Church St., bet. Chapel & Center CHICAGO CHICAGO S.W.P., 160 N. Wells, Rm. 308 Cor. 57th & Blackstone Cor 12th & Kedzie P. O. News, 37 W. Monroe Ceshinsky Bookshop SEATTLE, WASHINGTON Eckhart's News Agency, 104 Washington S Rymer's Book Store, 905 3rd Avenue Roth Cigar Store, 1407 First Ave. Sunday Forum at Independence Hall, 4033 University Way BALTIMORE, MD. Sam Weisberg, 1113 E. Baltimore St. Frigate Book Shop, 515 North Howard St ANNOUNCEMENT

The Constitution also provides

ganization by the membership and guarantees that all funds collectwhich were awarded in the Twice- used to build, and carry on the work of the organization.

YOU HAVE A HEAVY DATE !-Saturday Eve., February 11th. Puppet Show and Dance will be

SHOPPE 114 University Place next to headquarters given at the Brownsville head-quarters of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. 1779 Pitkin Avenue, Special 25c Lunch! Soup, 15c Sandwich, Coffee or Milk with Pastry! "Union Food at a Union Place" Brooklyn. (New Lots Train to Rockaway Ave.) Admission 20c.

SHERIDAN SANDWICH

for democratic control of the or-Dale Edwards of the Lower a-week Campaign.

is George Bernard, well-known and the Stalinists were vieing for Stalinists are keeping a watchful the rank and file group gains of Progressive Workers. eye peeled for the interests of power and momentum and forces Firmly convinced that the intheir company union Workers Al- | this issue to the front, the anti- | terests of the unemployed cannot liance. Two weeks ago when the picketing measure will become law in Michigan.

***** *****

GAKERS

SOCIALIS,

growing, organization contains demands for:

wages. 2. Immediate increase in all SRA and W.P.A. budgets. 3. Large enough housing and

all the unemployed. 4. A decent living for every

ment. These ideas are clearly expressed in the preamble of the U.P.W. Constitution. The program of this new, but

human being.

praise to capitalist mayors, governors and presidents, the membership of the U.P.W. believe that only independent working-class

action, both on the economic and political fronts can wrest any real gains from the bosses' govern-

1. Work for all at union

public works projects to absorb















Tuesday, February 14, 1939

By Dwigh₹ OFF Macdonald Unionists Condemn RECORD THE

Twenty years ago, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered by reactionary army officers acting in collusion with the Social Democratic government of Berlin. As we draw steadily nearer to another world war, as reformism once more prepares a blood bath for the masses, the tragedy of Luxemburg takes on contemporary overtones. I can think of no better beginning for this column of comment on the events of 1939 than to reprint a "newsreel" I compiled last year on the death of Luxemburg in 1919:

From the New York Times, Jan. 18, 1919 Berlin, Jan. 16 (Associated Press)-Dr. Karl Liebknecht was killed by soldiers yesterday while he was trying to escape from custody.

Rosa Luxemburg was beaten into insensibility by a mob and afterward was shot to death. . . Virtually the entire Berlin press regards the

fate of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg as having "something of divine justice in it," as the Tageszeitung phrases it. . . . The press in general deplores the lynching of Rosa Luxemburg, but declares that she fell a victim of the basest passions which she herself had awakened.

The whole city is now swarming with soldiers, wearing steel helmets, carrying loaded rifles, and with hand grenades hanging on their belts. . Karl Kautsky, former Under Secretary in the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Ebert Government . . . was arrested yesterday morning. He was liberated later.

From the New York Times, Jan. 19, 1919

Berlin, Jan. 16 (via Copenhagen)-Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were arrested last night and while being transported to the Moabit Prison were thrashed by infuriated people and shot like mad dogs, the latter by an unknown man whose pistol may have saved her from a worse fate. . . . Their end, however cruel, will certainly do much for the restoration of peace and order. . . . Military Governor Noske is conducting a sharp investigation for the Social-Democratic government, but it seems that the soldiers' conduct was faultless in both cases.

From the N. Y. World, Jan. 18, 1919

Berlin, Jan. 17-I went to Gustav Noske, military governor of Berlin, and asked him how it was possible, with 40,000 troops in the city, that a crowd could get a prisoner away from the soldiers and kill her. Herr Noske replied: "Only a few soldiers were with each automobile, as such an attack was unexpected; the crowd, roused to intense anger by weeks of agitation by both the victims, were too much for the soldiers to handle." "Unfortunately," I said, 'the incident is going to make a bad impression abroad. . . ." "It is regrettable," Herr Noske replied, "but they are dead and we can now ,, only make an inquiry." . . . "Do you expect it will lead to agitation again here?" "If it does," Gov. Noske replied, "we must put it down."

From the New York Times, Jan. 25, 1919 Amsterdam, Jan. 24 The body of Rosa Luxemburg, the Spartacist leader who was killed by a mob recently, was found yesterday in the Landwehr Canal, according to a report from Berlin. The body was terribly mutilated. The news is being kept secret for fear of anarchistic

reprisals.

From The London Times, May 22, 1919 Berlin, May 21-The leading facts leaked out gradually, and there was little inclination among to make a fuse over the end of a pair of rebels. But these rebels were the idols of the people, and their passionate sincerity had commended them to many prominent radicals whose support the Government required. And so after months of waiting, the Government decided that some sort of trial was necessary.

door of the hotel, where a military car was waiting. As they were leaving, one of the company cried out: "See that these swine do not reach the prison alive!"

As soon as Liebknecht got into the car, Private Runge aimed two blows at him with the butt of his rifle. One blow missed, the other cut his head open. Ober-Lieutenant von Pflugk-Hartung, the officer in charge, then got into the car. (He told the Court that he had taken quite a fancy to Liebknecht in the hotel, thought that for a Socialist he had interesting views and a good way of putting them.) He drew his revolver and told him that he would shoot him if he tried to escape. . . . Presently, in a dark corner of the Thiergarten, the car stopped . . . Liebknecht was shot and killed, and evidence was accepted as satisfactory that he must have been running away. Pflugk-Hartung was acquitted, with great applause. . .

About an hour later, Rosa Luxemburg was taken to the front door of the hotel. . . . There, for some reason that was not inquired into, Private Runge was also waiting for her. As soon as she got into the car, he swung his rifle and clubbed her on the head. It was doubtful if his blows had actually proved fatal, and it was suggested that he was mentally defective. And so he was given two years' imprisonment.

Lieutenant Vogel, the officer in charge of this party, then got into the car, accompanied by two other officers. "Fraulein Luxemburg," he testified, "received two violent blows on the head from the butts of rifles of helmeted soldiers. She collapsed, and when we came to a bridge the thought came to us all to throw her body into the river." According to the other officers, however, she was shot through the head by Lieutenant Vogel. He testified that he threw the body into the river "to save the honor of the Garde-Schutzen Division." . . . He was given a sentence of two years and four months imprisonment. Already, however, his escape had been contrived. A man in officer's uniform drove up in a motor car to the prison, presented a forged warrant and released the prisoner.

The Freiheit, the organ of 'the Independent Socialists, is alone in denouncing the proceedings. The other newspapers think that in a case of this kind, "where political feelings are involved," perhaps the whole story has not been sifted, but they are satisfied that substantial justice has been done.

From a statement, signed "Hussar Otto Runge," printed in Freiheit, Jan. 9, 1921

On January 15, 1919, between seven and nine o'clock in the evening, I was stationed as sentry before the chief entrance of the Eden Hotel. Cavalryman Drager was with me. About nine o'clock there was a great to-do and excitement: it was rumored that Liebknecht and Luxemburg had been brought in. Several orders were at once given me by officers and sergeants, and the remark was dropped that these creatures must not be allowed to leave the hotel alive.

Concerning Liebknecht, I received strict orders from officers to knock the fellow down with the butt of my rifle. . . . As for Frau Luxemburg, officers came to me and said: "I order you to see that Luxemburg does not leave the hotel alive. Mind you swallow that!" Lieutenant von Pflugk-Hartung made a note of my name and said to me: "First Lieutenant Vogel will send her straight to you; all you'll have to do is to strike hard." When Frau Luxemburg was being dragged into the motor, somebody jumped up behind just as it was driving off and sent a bullet into her head. I could see that very clearly, as I was only a short distance away, He then jumped down and re-entered the Eden Hotel from the Nurnberger Strasse. . . . Meanwhile the others had returned and were boasting: "We've done for Liebknecht nicely. A trick was played on him. We got him to try to escape." . . . Of Luxemburg it was said: "The old sow is already afloat."

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Injunction Against

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

Rank and File Fur Judge Issues

Jt. Council Regime

Progressive Group

Hits Slanderous

Charges

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK-In a sharply

worded letter addressed to the

file group in the union. charged

the Council with being responsible

for a dictatorial regime in the

The letter was sent as an an-

breaking made by the Council

Progressives assert that they were

found guilty without being given

an adequate opportunity to answer

Trial Threat Fails

bad job. Instead, it wrote the

which the latter were denounced

in vicious language and then

warned not to misbehave on pain

of having action against them.

as the accuser and the judge. . .

Charges Against Council

"We accused the administration

of squandering the Union treas-

making a secret supplementary

the most inexperienced people in

just because they were good fol-

lose faith in the ability of your

tions and if anyone was guilty

leadership to win better condi-

of strikebreaking activity it was

you, the leaders of the last gen-

eral strike. But in order to cover

up your deeds, in order to confuse

the issue you are now trying your

utmost to build up a case against

opposition. . .

against you. . .

Communist Party.

agreement with the bosses. . . .

Having attempted at a long

against the Progressives. The plant to two.

stead, you have chosen to appear near expiration.

methods in time of elections, of completely collapsed.

river.

union.

fashion.

Wilson - Jones Co. Brewery Union Success Chi. News Guild Tied Up By Office **Points to Martel Ouster Goods Union Strike**

CHICAGO, Feb. 8-The strike of all white collar departments of Loose-Leaf Workers the Chicago Herald and Examiner is now in its tenth week. In an

In Two Cities effort to break the strike the Hearst management is supple-Out Solid menting its appeal to the courts by vicious gangsterism.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) Superior Court Judge Niemeyer has issued a temporary injunction CHICAGO-Ending its 5th week Furrier's Joint Council, the United forbidding the Chicago Newspa-Progressive Furriers, a rank and per Guild, which is conducting the strike, from interfering with rethe strike of the United Loose lations between advertisers and the Hearst papers, from picketing Leaf & Blank Book Workers, advertisers, and from interfering C.I.O. Local Industrial Union No. with the distribution of the paswer to the accusation of strike- pers. The injunction limits the number of pickets at the Hearst

Continuing the gangsterism against the union which has marked the strike from the beginthe base calumny in a democratic ning with sluggings of union men, a union truck was hijacked from its garage and dumped in the foremen and stooges at a comdrawn out trial, lasting close to broke the race issue "wide open" In addition, the Hearstlings pany-sponsored Christmas Eve

three months, to obtain confes-sions from the Progressives, the Club to cancel its lease to the administration gave it up as a Guild for a strike benefit dance Progressive group a long letter in Negroes present. on the grounds there would be The strike on the Chicago Herald and Examiner was the out-The letter sent by the United come of a series of firings of un-

Over 1,000 Involved

Council reads, in part, as follows: management to meet with the "We regret very much that you Guild to discuss a contract coverhave rejected our proposal for an ing the commercial employees. impartial committee of the Labor The Hearst management deliber-Movement to examine the charges ately forced the strike at a time and counter-charges and to let the when its contract with the union committee pass judgement. In- for the editorial department was The Guildsmen have had conbut with A.F.L.-C.I.O. solidarity government officials to pay no siderable success in appealing to the public. As a result, advertisers have withdrawn their business ury. We accused the administra- from the paper, and the home cirtion of carrying through a dishonest election, of using fascist ganized at considerable cost, has "During the strike you placed STALINISTS WOO

in the Elizabeth plant, are strikng in solidarity.

(Continued from Page 1) ion has effectively challenged County Federation of Labor to do Martel's phoney practises. When likewise. Martel had the telegram the final decision arrives from the in his possession but suppressed a Executive Council, the central lareading of it at the last meeting bor body will be obliged to repuof the central labor body. The diate his arbitration decisionteamsters were present in a body which will leave "X-X" high and and when Martel's secretary an- dry. nounced that there would be no The brewery drivers organized

further discussion on the team- in the teamsters union will live up sters dispute until further word to the contract signed by Local Monday in Elizabeth, New Jersey, was heard from the Executive 38, with committees of Local 271 and Tuesday in Chicago, Illinois, Council, every drivers' delegate the de facto bargaining agents. left the meeting. That practically And when the agreement comes emptied the hall. Won't Take A Cut

PUERTO RICAN

BOSSES SPIKE

Gov't Sabotages As

Labor Conditions

Worsen

WAGE-HOUR AC1

This is the first time in Detroit have adequate guarantees that labor history that any group in their union will not take the \$6-18 the American Federation of Labor as powerful as the teamsters un- ion officials to the brewery bosses.

up for revision within the next month. the brewerv drivers will wage cut offered by brewery unof the Island from the act, declaring enforcement would kill the industry, which is dependent for its profits on sweated labor.

To employers who paid the great majority of their workers ess than 5 cents an hour in 1936-37, a wage of 25 cents an hour naturally seems preposterous. Employers in other industries are no less opposed to the act, for the average hourly wage of all Puerto Rican labor in 1936-37 was between 13 and 14 cents.

Labor Situation Worse

But the employers are not the SAN JUAN, P. R.-The U. S. only ones determined to kill the administration is none too subtly Wages and Hours Bill in the Issabotaging its own Wages and land. Even the "Socialists"-so Over 1.000 workers are involved Hours Bill in Puerto Rico. On miscalled-and the chicken-heart-

in the struggle, with about 800 the Island we have the spectacle ed Federation of Labor which of them in Chicago alone. The of an Administrator appointed by they control are doing their ut-Chicago plant is so completely the government to enforce the most against it. The only importied up that production can be act, but hampered in all his ef- tant force in the Island that is noted as almost absolute zero. forts by that very government. actively supporting the Wages The fight is harder in Elizabeth, Employers are being advised by and Hours Bill is the C.I.O.

The situation of Puerto Rican in action, the outcome is not in attention to the act. If Washlabor is black in other respects. doubt. The A.F.L. teamsters are ington backed Administrator Clai-The reduction in the sugar quota not delivering goods to, nor trans- borne, something might be acthe Island is permitted to export porting goods from, the branch complished in spite of the powerto the United States, together plant there. When the Elizabeth ful forces in Puerto Rico workwith concessions to Cuban sugar, workers established a picket line | ing to make the law a dead letter, will badly hit the largest industry around the company's New York but Washington has strongly of all. Tobacco has already gone City sales office, Local No. 6, In- hinted to the Administrator that the way of citrus fruits and cofternational Typographical Union it prefers him to do nothing. He fee, in which a thriving trade was (A.F.L.) members also walked the has even been refused means of once done but which are now ine. The A.F.L. printers, working transportation around the Island. negligible. Soon many more will **Boss Protests Work** be thrown out of work with the restrictions on sugar production. The protests of the industrial-

Local 148 won a 7-week struggle ists to Washington, particularly Again the C.I.O. is alone in prewith the Wilson-Jones Company of those in the needlework indus-paring to meet this contingency. in the spring of 1937, and in 1938 try, have evidently had their ef-The C.I.O. has a marvelous optraded a closed shop provision in fect. No sooner was the Wages portunity to capitalize on the suits agreement for a contract cov-and Hours Bill passed than the pineness of the Federation of ering the workers in the Eliza- needlework employers began to Labor in the face of the growing beth, New Jersey, branch plant. bring pressure for the exemption unemployment and mass misery.



BILL HAYWOOD

(Feb. 4, 1869-May 18, 1928)

Big Bill Haywood described his family back-

ground as "so American that if traced back it

would probably run to the Puritan bigots or the

cavalier pirates. Neither would give me reason

Bill's pride lay rather in that by heritage and

life-long activity he was a member of the work-

ing class. From the age of nine up, Bill

worked-as miner, as cowboy, and above all as

labor militant. In 1896, he joined the Western

Federation of Miners, becoming a charter mem-

ber of the Silver City Local. Aggressive, incor-

ruptibly anti-boss, he quickly rose to a position

of leadership. The Denver convention of the

union in 1901 elected him secretary-treasurer of

Bill's towering figure (he was as large in body

as he was unyielding in his devotion to the

cause of the working-class) is associated with

many stirring pages of labor history. Many are

the names of labor's great leaders whose work

is linked with his-Eugene V. Debs, Vincent St.

The Telluride strike, in which the union chal-

lenged the Guggenheim interests and after many

months marked by violence against the strikers,

under the "protection" of martial-law, won its

demands for an eight-hour day and wage in-

creases; the long campaign in Colorado for an

eight-hour day in which the courts, the Rocke-

fellers and other mine barons combined to per-

secute the union-men with floggings, jailings,

"deportation or death;" the Lawrence strike

which drew into its many months of activity,

and finally victory, dozens of the best strike or-

ganizers, including Elizabeth Curley Flynn,

Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovanitti-in all these,

the leadership of the strike halls BOSS DOMINATED lowers of your political party lines. You . . . made the workers OIL FILLERS ASS'N

for pride."

the union.

Wrote Many Pages

of Labor's History

John, and others.

Provokes AFL-CIO Jurisdiction Fight

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS--The Stalinistus. But, although you rehearsed your acts you don't dare put on a controlled C.I.O. International Oil Workers Union of Minneapolis show. You handed down your dethis week resumed its strikebreak-

cision to us in the dark. . . Squander Money

Filling Station Attendants Union, "You collected three days' wages from over 12,000 fur workers, a Local 977, when it met with stasum that is far over \$300,000; you | tion lessees, organized into the even put a special committee in Retail Gasoline Dealers Associacharge of that money. Yet, before tion, to consider affiliating the orthe strike was declared, two-ganization to the C.I.O. union. thirds of the money was gone and The association is under the dom when the strike was on you ination of the big oil companies. The proposal of the C.I.O. union starved the furriers out, and borrowed an additional \$100,000, add- is directed against the local trade ing another burden on the shoul- union movement, whose spearders of the fur workers. While head is the Drivers Union Local you kept on denouncing everyone 544, and the Teamsters Joint as an enemy of the union who Council. The latter two organizadared ask a few cents more bene- tions helped organize Local 977 fit, you paid out to your hand when the majority of station atpicked committee men from nine tendants revolted from the antics to fifteen dollars a week. To cover of the Communist Party people in up all these squanderings you are their union.

148, continues strong against the Wilson-Jones Company, manufacturers of office supplies. The strike was called to secure the reinstatement of two Elizabeth workers, Frank Bailey and Hurley Middleton, leading unionists, discharged after being framed and assaulted by company

party. By taking militant action against the company instead of submitting the cases to arbitration, the most outstanding result has been the gain of over 100 new members for the union in Chicago alone, including persons who scabbed in 1937 when the workers struck to establish their Union. Progressive Furriers to the Joint ion men and the refusal of the

Herr Scheidemann remembered that the accused were soldiers and that the Peace had not been signed. The form of trial he selected was a court-martial, the court being appointed by the Garde-Schutzen Division to which the accused men belonged. . . . The adherents of the victims refused to take any part in the proceedings.

The accused were not brought to the dock in the usual way, but were introduced from the Judge's rooms. They arrived laughing and radiant, their breasts decorated with orders. Throughout the trial, they conducted themselves nonchalantly, one of them reading a newspaper when he felt bored, another eating sandwiches, a third playfully trying to get hold of some hand-bombs which one of his chums in uniform happened to have in his pocket. . .

On the evening of the murders, soon after sunset. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were taken to the Eden Hotel, where they spent some hours in charge of their guardians. There was

. . a good deal of conversation, some of it animated, in which the two victims discussed and defended their views. Orders were received that they were to be transferred to the Moabit Prison, and Liebknecht was taken to the back

Editorial from the New York Times, Jan. 18, 1919

LYNCH LAW IN BERLIN

Regrettable as is the manner of death, the work of private violence, not the law, that came to Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, it was to be expected, and does a summary, if irregular, justice to the fomenters of robbery, murder and anarchy.... These two leaders, the man violent but weak, the woman a termagant of the familiar revolutionary type, have perished miserably by the sword they drew. The defeat of the imitation Bolsheviks, the victory everywhere where elections have been held of the parties of order-Conservatives, Centrists, Democrats, Majority Social Democrats-are of the best omen for a representative moderate National Assembly, for a responsible and stable government. The Allies and the United States have hardly less interest than Germany itself in such an outcome.

Local 977 brands this move of trying to divert the attention of the fur workers from you to the the Stalinists as one calculated to place the lessees in the middle of

the fight between the A.F.L. and **Cannot Deceive Members** "Your letter to us expresses C.I.O. oil workers unions. It has concern that our group may be been pointed out that it is predegenerating into an unprincipled cisely where the Stalinists have clique that may become a tool of managed to secure control of a the bosses. You need shed no tears union that the C.I.O. and A.F.L.

about that, as the history of our engage in jurisdictional strife. Stirs Faction Fight fight against you shows distinctly

Cited as an example of C.I.O.that it is precisely because of your class collaborationist policies, A.F.L. cooperation is the joint your bureaucratic methods and battle these two groups are wagyour disregard for the needs of ing against the Mid-Continent the workers that we are fighting Petroleum Company in Tulsa, where the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the CI.O.

"We were not tried and we were not found guilty. It was you who International Oil Workers Union exposed yourselves as the party are giving this labor-hating outfit guilty of disruption and faction- the battle of its life.

In Minneapolis, however, the commissars who direct the C.I.O. locally are forcing the I.O.W.U. into a jurisdictional battle with Local 977. These misleaders have demonstrated beyond a doubt that they are the organizers only of defeats for the workers. In debacle after debacle they have led

and others, Bill played his part. their blind followers into one pit-When the Industrial Workers of the World fall after another. This move to was founded Bill sat in the chair. He continued a member of the I.W.W., even after the Western

Federation of Miners, moving away from the militancy on which it was founded, left the I.W.W. Bill had also joined the Socialist Party. In 1907, while in prison, he was nominated for governor of Colorado by the S. P., and polled 16,000 votes. In 1912, the Socialist Party, which could no more abide revolutionists in its midst

> Executive Board for "advocating violence." The Bosses Were Always Out to Get Him

Bill was ever a target for the bosses and their police. They were always out to get him. In 1906, the bosses saw their opportunity. An exgovernor of Idaho had been murdered in December 1905. Haywood, Charles H. Moyer, president of the Federation, and G. A. Pettibone were arrested for the crime on the testimony of a

then than now, expelled him from its National

cateur, Harry Orchard, who imp cated the three.

The trial began in May 1907. Borah was attorney for the prosecution, Darrow for the defense. Unions all over the country contributed to the defense. Meetings protested the arrest, and demanded acquittal. There were witnesses everywhere to prove Orchard a liar. The jury brought in a verdict of "Not guilty!"

During the war, the drive against labor militants was particularly vicious. Union offices were everywhere raided. Workers were jailed. On April 1, 1918 there began the biggest of the anti-labor trials in the United States with Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis presiding. Haywood and 94 other "Wobblies" were charged with sedition. The defendants and their lawyers challenged the entire boss system. Bill called the six month trial "a protracted propaganda meeting."

Defense witnesses testified to the horrors to which labor militants had been subjected-the massacre of Frank Little, the lynching and torturing of workers by mobs of business men. The jury, in the hysteria of war-time democracy decided, after being out one hour, the defendants were "Guilty, as charged in the indictment."

Haywood was sentenced to twenty years, and fined \$30,000. On July 28, 1919 Haywood was released from jail, pending his application for a new trial. Bill immediately plunged into the work of the movement-touring the country, raising money for his imprisoned comrades.

In the meantime the split in the Socialist Party between the left and the right was maturing. When it came to a head in September 1919, Bill went with the left and became a member of the Communist Party soon after it was organized.

In the Soviet Land of Freedom

His application for a new trial was denied. Haywood decided to leave the country in disguise. "Saluting the old hag with her uplifted torch, I said: 'Good-by, you've had your back turned on me too long. I am now going to the land of freedom!"

The Russian workers greeted him enthusiastically. Bill, arriving in the early years of the Russian Revolution, felt himself a part of the great edifice the workers there were trying to build. In the film, "Tsar to Lenin," you can see him standing shoulder to shoulder with Russian workers, smiling, at the second congress of the Communist International. In 1928, disheartened by the Stalinist bureaucratism which he saw growing around him, he died of a paralytic stroke.

A newspaperman tells the story that before Bill left, he met Bill smoking an expensive cigar. How, asked the news reporter, can you, a leader of the proletariat, smoke a rich man's cigar: "Nothing, answered Bill, is too good for the proletariat." Big Bill Haywood lived his life in that conviction: Nothing is too good for the proletariat!

The February number of the table of contents of the February New International has been off issue consists of: the press now for several days. Featured are articles on the fall of Barcelona and Spain by Felix

teresting issue. The complete

more than 1,500,000. "If, however proper reserves were maintained employment (on WPA) at the

TO HUSH PROTEST

ON RELIEF SLASH

(Continued from page 1)

1st or a spaced-out cut from then

until June 30 which would total

more than that: "maintaining end of June would drop . . . to a proper reserves" would demand a figure of only slightly more than cut of well over 500,000 even if the additional sum should be ap-1,000,000 persons." propriated.

He asks, therefore, for the res-But the truth is that Roosevelt toration of the \$150,000,000 which he had originally suggested. This will not fight seriously for his

sum, far from keeping the rolls measly \$150,000,000, totally inadeat their present level, much less quate as it is. He wants only "to providing jobs for those who the make the record" and to forestall | Copies of the February issue

message itself states are in bit- a genuine mass struggle by the may be purchased for 20 cents a ter need, envisages a reduction of unemployed for what they really copy, subscription price two dolthe rolls "to an average of 2,700,- need: WPA jobs for all unem- lars per year, by writing The New 000 workers in June." Actually, ployed workers at trade-union International, 116 University Pl., the reduction would have to be wages.

The Editor's Comments. Barcelona and France's Fu-ture, by Felix Morrow. Zionism and the Arab Strug-gle, from The Spark. Haya de la Torre and Democ-

Morrow, and the W.P.A. and Armaments Program of the Roosevelt Administration. Many other significant articles also make up a very attractive and in-

ROOSEVELT SEEKS THE FEBRUARY NEW INTERNATIONAL

racy, by Diego Rivera. The German Left and Bol-shevism, by Walter Held. Behind the Farmers' Vote, by David Cowles. Karl Kautsky, by Leon

Trotsky. Is Austria a Nation? by Charles Crompton. A Letter and Some Notes, by Victor Serge and The Editors. Reading from Left to Right, by Dwight Macdonald.

Chronicle of the French Gen-eral Strike, by C. M. The Paradox of Australian

Capitalism, by Stan. Bollard. Will India Accept Federation? by S. Stanley.

New York, N. Y.

CURRENT PAMPHLETS America's Permanent Depression—Art Preis—3c People's Front-James Burnham—15c **Revolution and Counter-Revo**lution in Spain-Felix Morrow-50c Declaration of Principles ----S.W.P.-10c What Is Socialism — Albert Goldman—10c Stalinism. and. Bolshevism-Leon Trotsky—10c Fascism and the American Scene-Dwight Macdonald --10c Combination-all seven for \$1 LABOR BOOK SHOP

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alism. We therefore disregard the circus which you call a trial. You may be able to pull the wool over the eyes of your close followers, but you can never do that to the membership at large. . . . You are a bureaucratic machine which functions with the blessing of the



SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN Associate Editors FELIX MORROW HAROLD ROBERTS Staff Members: JOSEPH HANSEN EMANUEL GARRETT Business Manager: S. STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

The Auto Union Crisis

The present crisis in the Automobile Workers Union demonstrates once again that Stalinism is a rotten cancer that eats away at the vitals of the labor movement. Either all honest union men will join ranks and destroy Stalinism or Stalinism will destroy the labor movement. There is no third road.

This is lesson No. 1 for all union progressives. Once they have grasped this, they will know how to organize the broadest anti-Stalinist group of all genuine militants to fight for the honesty and integrity of the union movement.

For two years, Martin and his supporters have attempted to fight the Stalinists, not as union militants, but as reactionary union politicians. If the Stalinists were dictatorial, Martin fought them by his own dictatorship. If the Stalinists signed rotten union agreements with the employers, Martin fought them by signing equally rotten union agreements. -

With what results? Martin made the auto workers easy game for the demagogy and slander campaigns of the Communist party and finally succeeded in pushing the most progressive sections of the union into the arms of the Stalinist-controlled Executive Board.

Last year Martin had every opportunity of rallying the majority of the membership behind him and beating the Stalinists hands down. But by his dictatorial methods, his rotten relations with the corporations, his campaigns against "unauthorized" strikes, his incompetant and discredited reactionary co-workers, he turned the rank and file against him and missed his opportunity. The struggle of the last year demonstrates one thing if it demonstrates anything at all: You can fight Stalinism successfully only in one way-By daily preaching and practicing a militant and democratic brand of uniquism. Neither Martin, nor the pitiful Lovestoneite politicians have ever understood this. Their futile reactionary campaign has only succeeded in building and expanding the Stalinist strength for the last year. Lacking the support of the decisive sections of the membership, Martin was inexorably forced into his suicidal step of breaking with the C.I.O. and calling his own anti-C.I.O. convention in Detroit. Martin is now definitely headed towards an alliance with the reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L. Executive Council and an attempted deal with the Michigan automobile manufacturers. The automobile workers cannot and will not follow Martin on this road. In spite of the top bureaucracy of Lewis, Hillman and Murray, the C.I.O. still represents the industrial union movement of America and therefore the most progressive section of American labor. The automobile workers must remain part of the C.I.O. It is therefore the obvious duty of all progressives of the U.A.W. to attend the Cleveland Convention and to reorganize the ranks of the progressive for a new fight against the Stalinist cancer-not by lining up with discredited reactionaries, nor by preaching "respectability," but by an educational campaign for a responsible and aggressive union-building program which will command the support of the rank and file and rebuild the anto workers' union.

This, of course, does not take into consideration the take on treasury stock nor such other transactions in the company books as do not rise to the level of "fit for publication."

Both the abysmally paid Latin-American workers who sweat out these good round profits under the rifles of company-supported dictators and their brothers in the United States whose relief allowances are now being slashed far below the starvation level, will be overjoyed at the good news of United Fruit's superprofits. Once again they will wonder comfortably with the lucky shareholders as this \$10,272,-746 take is distributed: How can you want a revolution in a country as rich as the United States?

Twelve Dictators

The opening barrage of high explosives in the coming war will shatter first of all England's last remaining pretense to democracy.

This is not just a revolutionary apothegm on the nature of capitalist democracy from one of the many articles in the Fourth International press warning the workers that war is an inevitable part of capitalist democracy, but a cold, deliberate pronouncement from one of the official government spokesmen of one of the world's greatest democracies. Sir John Anderson, Minister for Civilian Defense,

told the House of Commons in session on February 2nd that "democratic" England will convert itself into an open dictatorship second to none immediately upon, the declaration of an "emergency" condition by the present government.

England, Scotland, and Wales will be divided into twelve regions and over these twelve regions twelve dictators will rule, each with a power over his region as absolute, arbitrary, and authoritarian as that wielded at any time during the bloody careers of Mussolini and Hitler. Most of these dictators will be APPOINTED by

next month. They will be ready at instant notice to replace the entire "democratic" process, all the "democratic" representatives of the people, and every one of the "democratic" institutions. This is of course quite understandable. Precisely so long as the danger to their existence is not great, the capitalist owners permit the workers to choose which capitalist agent shall rule them. To the exact degree that danger to their domination nears, the capitalists abrogate that democracy, and under war conditions they rip democracy away from the naked reality of their dictatorship like a fouled garment from a hideous body.

This was true during the last world war. Now democratic England's rulers have affirmed that it will be true in the next world war. England's rulers have no illusions. They are preparing for the coming slaughter like any other professional butcher.

All the venal slush about the "democratic" nations lining up against the "fascist" dictatorships is just that-VENAL SLUSH.

In the coming war there will be no capitalist "democracies" to defend against capitalist dictatorships. All the workers of the capitalist democracies will suffer under a yoke as rigid and bitter as that under which the workers of Italy and Germany are now bleeding. The choice between the concentration camps of the fascist nations and the concentration camps of democratic England, of democratic France, and-yes!-of democratic America will be the choice between a long hangman's rope and a short one.

Twelve dictators over democratic England! The enemy is not across the national boundary lines. The enemy is at home!

not insignificant sum of \$3.54 the year's idleness. By Leon Trotsky

For Grynszpan: Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels

It is clear to anyone even | say of these venal "journalists", and bestiality. But those who slightly acquainted with political who no longer have any vestiges like Grynszpan, are able to act history that the policy of the of shame? Since the beginning as well as conceive, sacrificing Fascist gangsters directly and of the socialist movement the their own lives if need be, are sometimes deliberately provokes bourgeoisie has at all times at- the precious leaven of mankind. terrorist acts. What is most as- tributed all violent demonstratonishing is that so far there has tions of indignation, particularly been only one Grynszpan. Un- terrorist acts, to the degenerating not for his mode of action, Gryndoubtedly the number of such influence of Marxism. The Stalin- szpan may serve as an example acts will increase. We Marxists ists have inherited, here as else- for every young revolutionist consider the tactic of individual where, the filthiest tradition of Our open moral solidarity with terror inexpedient in the tasks reaction. The Fourth Internation- Grynszpan gives us an added of the liberating struggle of the al may, justifiably, be proud that right to say to all the other proletariat as well as oppressed the reactionary scum, including would-be Grynszpans, to all those nationalities. A single isolated the Stalinists, now automatically hero cannot replace the masses. links with the Fourth Interna struggle against despotism and But we understand only too clear- tional every bold action and proly the inevitability of such con- test, every indignant outburst, Not the lone avenger can free the vulsive acts of despair and ven- every blow at the executioners. It was so, similarly, with the geance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sac- International of Marx in its time. rificing avengers even though We are bound, naturally, by ties they have been unable to discov- of open moral solidarity to Gryner the correct road. Our sym- szpan and not to his "democratic" pathy becomes intensified because | jailers, or the Stalinist slanderers. Grynszpan is not a political mili- who need Grynszpan's corpse to tant but an inexperienced youth, prop up, even if only partially almost a boy, whose only coun- and indirectly, the verdicts of sellor was a feeling of indigna- Moscow justice. Kremlin diplotion. To tear Grynszpan out of macy, degenerated to its marrow, the hands of capitalist justice, attempts at the same time to which is capable of chopping off utilize this "happy" incident to

his head to further serve capital- renew their machinations for an that of Hitler and Mussolini, ional working class! The Stalinist Campaign

terrorists. Beware, masters of All the more revolting in its fraud! The application of such a police stupidity and inexpressible law will necessitate the immediate struction of fascism, only the violence is the campaign now be- deliverance of Stalin to at least people sitting in merciless judging conducted against Grynszpan a dozen foreign governments. by command of the Kremlin in the international Stalinist press. of the police that Grynszpan at- real satisfaction to the indigna-They attemnt to depict him as tended "meetings of Trotskyites." tion of the people. This is prean agent of the Nazis or an agent That, unfortunately, is not true cisely the task that the Fourth of Trotskyists in alliance with the For had he walked into the milieu International has set itself. It Nazis. Lumping into one heap of the Fourth International he will cleanse the labor movement the provocateur and his victim, would have discovered a different of the plague of Stalinism. It will the Stalinists ascribe to Gryn- and more effective outlet for his rally in its ranks the heroic genszpan the intention of creating a revolutionary energy. People come eration of the youth. It will cut favorable pretext for Hitler's po- cheap who are capable only a path to a worthier and a more

Seek Another Road!

In the moral sense, although capable of self-sacrifice in the bestiality: Seek another road! oppressed but only a great revolutionary movement of the masses which will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution. The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance wholly justifiable. But so monstrous is the scope of their crimes. that this yearning cannot be satisfied by the assassination of isolated fascist bureaucrats. For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds ist diplomacy, is the elementary, international agreement among of millions of the oppressed immediate task of the interna- various governments, including throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the for a mutual extradition of strongholds of the old society. Only the overthrow of all forms of slavery, only the complete de-

ment over the contemporary ban-The Stalinists shriek in the ears dits and gangsters can provide grom measures. What can one of fulminating against injustice humane future.



clear enough. It is important, however, to point out the reason they did so.

The fact is that at no time during the civil war have the government leaders ever made a strong stand in defense of an industrial city or area. The industrial cities of the north-Bilbao, Gijon, Santander-were never besieged by the fascists; as soon as they approached, the cities were surrendered intact to them in 1937. The same thing has now happened in Catalonia

Saving Their Property

Tuesday, February 14, 1939

CORNER **By Max Shachtman** Not as widely noticed as he should have been, a distinguished visitor has arrived in the United States, on an important mission. He is the once powerful editor of the Berlin Vorwarts, central daily paper of the German social democracy-Mr. Friedrich Stampfer. In exile with the rest of the party leadership, he has been from its inception editor of the emigre party

IN THIS

weekly, Neue Vorwarts. You would think that after the ignominious capitulation to which they brought the German working class in 1933, the best thing for the social-democratic leaders would be to retire from the labor movement and politics and hope that if they could not be forgiven they would at least be forgotten. But the old and now army-less bureaucracy lingers on. It is equipped with a generous supply of funds which it thoughtfully took along into exile. It is as vociferous and active as if nothing awfully serious had happened. And it is just as rotten as ever.

They Would Fight. . . .

If They Were Not So Old

Rudely deprived of their old "fatherland" by Hitler, the social-democratic leaders have nonchalantly hired themselves out to other capitalist nations. They have changed national flags, but not their nature. They were good patriots under the Kaiser and behind the lines they fought like tigers in the great War to Defend German Democracy from the Russian Cossack. Now they are ready to join in the new War to Defend Democracy from the German Nazi.

To be sure, most of them being elderly ladies and gentlemen, they would probably have to repeat what Henry Hyndman, the English social democrat, said during the last war: "If I were not 72 years old I would go out and fight myself." But thank God they do have enough strength left with which to exhort the more ablebodied conscripts of imperialism to fight to the death in the coming war.

If the joints of some of them are properly lubricated by a little Democratic money-not much; they are modest folk-their strength is as the strength of ten, and their zeal even greater. There is the case of Max Braun, exiled leader of the Saarland social democracy, who was exposed last year by the German socialist Max Sievers. Together with two bourgeois emigrants, Braun approached the French government for financial aid to his paper and "movement" in return for a promise to impress upon the exiled German youth the desirability of joining the French army.

One, At Least, Found His Sympathies Profitable

Another great lover of the "new fatherlands" is Albert Grzesinski, former socialist police president of Berlin, now in the United States, where he has just published a book on Germany. According to the same Sievers, Grzesinski found while he was in Paris that

the secret supplying of arms to the Loyalists in the Spanish War for Democracy was a highly profitable enterprise, at least until the scandal became widely enough known to make a sea voyage desirable. Most of the German S.P. leaders, however, seek no

personal gain in the business of promoting a new War for Democracy. They are moved only by the loftiest of motives. They want, you see, to free prostrate Germany from the heel of fascism. When they had a magnificent opportunity, at the

head of an army of millions of free, organized workers, to prevent Hitler from coming to power, they demonstrated their complete bankruptcy. They couldn't and didn't do the job of winning socialism. They couldn't even do the job of preserving capitalist democracy, or their very own conservative labor movement.

To make up for all that, they have developed the ingenious idea of asking the capitalist class to do the job at which they failed! What Weis and Stampfer and Hilferding didn't do, they are asking Chamberlain



All Avenues Closed

Front leaders.

If Franco finally refuses to permit the Popular Front leaders in central Spain to leave under safeconduct, it can hardly be expected that the Loyalist troops will conduct a struggle to the death merey for the sake of getting passports for the leaders. Actually, therefore, the Loyalist government leaders have left themselves to way in which to continue the

Let Us Rejoice!

While Congress and the President quibble over the exact depth to which relief appropriations can be lowered without creating "internal disturbances"---the needs of the unemployed naturally are of no concern to these gentlemen-the unemployed can rejoice and find comfort in the fact that profits continue with a merry tinkling ring to lift the dollar sign in the cash registers of the wealthy.

The United Fruit Company, only one of the many pirate enterprises operating in the Caribbean Sea, reports to its shareholders that the take for last year was not less than ten and a quarter million dollars, and that each share of common stock in the family vault of its owner gathered not only dust but the

Can Spain Still Fight?

We agree 100% with the following estimate of the possibilities for continued struggle in Central Spain:

"The position of the Central Zone for resistance is strategically good. The army numbers-around 500,000, the population is around 8,000,000 and the territory is protected by natural defenses in the mountain ranges of Nevada, Morena and Guadarrama.

". . . By adapting their forces to the new situation the Loyalists can resist . . ."

Yes, we agree to this estimate, appearing in the Feb. 8 issue of the Daily Worker. These facts damn the Peoples Front government, Negrin, Azana, General Miaja, etc., who instead of resisting are capitulating to Franco. These facts damn, above all, Stalin and the Spanish Stalinist machine, who were primarily responsible for putting the Spanish masses into the hands of the traitors who are abandoning the struggle.

When, tomorrow, the Daily Worker tries to find an alibi for these traitors, justifying their failure to continue the struggle, remember its own estimate of the possibilities in Central Spain.

Dr. Benes Comes To Town

Dr. Eduard Benes, former President of Czechoslovakia, has come to town and immediately hailed the United States as "democracy's last great and truly powerful bulwark."

Not so long ago he hailed the regime he headed in Czechoslovakia as another great and truly powerful bulwark of democracy.

Somehow, the bulwark didn't seem to hold up very well when it was given a stiff blow from Fascism on the outside and its Czech lickspittles on the inside. The other great democratic bulwarks, France and England, which Benes served so faithfully and lauded as fulsomely as he now praises the United States, didn't seem to hold up very stoutly either. So Dr. Benes decided that the "democratic institutions" of Czechoslovakia were either not worth fighting for, or else beyond saving. Anyway, he abdicated and took the next boat-train West.

Now he is headed for the University of Chicago, to lecture on democracy, democratic institutions, and how to keep them going. We can't imagine anyone better qualified by experience and record for such a job. By the same token, we suggest that the University invite the leader of Tammany Hall to lecture on "Civic Virtue and How to Preserve It."

struggle, even if they actually decided to renew the fight. The psychological moment for a

profuse with promises, immediate-

Alvarez del Vayo

blamed."



declaration for continuation of the struggle was offered to Prem- units arriving at the frontier, as ier Negrin when Azana arrived in well as the truck-trains of muni-France on Monday and announced tions accompanying them, are he wanted peace immediately. certainly evidence bearing out er than to carry on a death strug-But Azana's open treachery met Matthews' report of the conclugle involving destruction of their with not a word of comment from

Negrin! Although he had been circles. **Stalinist Alibis**

ly broken, of making a stand in The Stalinists, part of the gov-Barcelona, Gerona, Figueras, etc., ernment and the general staff and Negrin kept silent once Azana therefore desperately seeking to made his declaration. Azana's asprovide an alibi, have resorted to sociates insisted that he had left numerous ludicrous explanations. Spain on the basis of a "complete That provided by Harry Gannes agreement" with Negrin. in the Daily Worker of Feb. 7 Supplies Abandoned achieves a new record in inven-

Press reports from the frontier | tion. Gannes declares: that hundreds of truckloads of "The spurious talk of surrender war materials were drawn up at to fascism comes from the dives the customs barricade, gave the of the Munich traitors in London lie to Negrin government alibis and Paris. . . . that the abandonment of Catalon-

* "Even after the fall of Barcel a was necessitated by the exhausona, the Loyalist government tion of all munitions. proved its determination to resist. The precipitate abandonment of Despite the gruelling battles, the Catalonia without any attempt to Loyalist Army reformed its lines make a stand, either at Barcelona numerous times. Despite exhaus-

tion and cruel lack of arms, they kept up the fight to the last shot and to the last inch."

What battles? There was nonat Barcelona, or thereafter. No attempt was made to defend Barcelona, which was not even subjected to a siege. No attempt was made to defend the rest of Cata- ers abandoned Barcelona and the last hundreds of miles of inches- fascists. was surrendered intact. Gannes the Daily Worker.

The International Brigade Army of the Ebro was greatly with revolutionists?

The excellent condition and the Daily Worker says nothing! puppets are cast aside, despite al morale of most of the Loyalist | That the Loyalist general staff their servile treachery.

bourgeois leaders of the Loyalist government and general staff, infinitely more loyal to capitalist property than to the fight against fascism, preferred to surrender their property intact to Franco, with a prospect of eventual reconciliation with him, rath-

sion reached by French military property. Rather than submit their property to aerial and artillery bombardment, the Peoples Front lead-



Manuel Azana

lonia. The "last shot" was never adjacent industrial towns-the infired, and the "last inch" -- the dustrial heart of Spain-to the

Now, with Azana racing in the simply lies to befuddle the anx- lead and the others trying to keep ious and heart-broken readers of up with him, they are rushing to show Franco that they deserve at

his hands restitution of their priv-The official Spanish News Agen- ate property. Haven't they shot cy presented an alibi which in- workers and peasants who dared cluded the following, published by to socialize property? Didn't they the Daily Worker on Feb. 7: "The fill the cemeteries and prisons

weakened by the withdrawal of In the final act, the French and the International Brigades, which British governments---"the great were replaced by young recruits." democracies" whose favor the That the brigades were with- Stalinists, Socialists and anardrawn by the government, with chists sought to curry by crushing or elsewhere, continues to puzzle the approval of the Stalinists, in the revolutionary wing-sent their observers. H. L. Matthews of the the hope of thereby showing Loy- emissaries to Franco to offer him N. Y. Times, reported on Feb. 8 alist subservience to France and attractive loans, without waiting that "in high French military cir- England and thus securing out- for Negrin & Co. to conclude their cles the Spanish General Staff is side munitions, which of course surrender. As in Czechoslovakia were never forthcoming-of this the Peoples' Front government

and Daladier and Roosevelt-that is, the General Staffs of the English, French and American armiesto do for them. They wouldn't organize the German workers to smash fascism at the right time and bring liberty, peace and plenty to the land. Now these hopeless people hope to bring liberty to Germany on the point of foreign imperialist bayonets! Stampfer Comes Here

To Try His Luck It is this kind of a holy crusade, another "War for Democracy," that is preached every week in the New

Leader by the emigrated social-democratic Reichstag member, Mme. Tony Sender. Another former member, Gerhard Segers, does his stint in the columns of his Neue Volkszeitung.

When France and England failed to launch a war against Germany a few months ago, during the Munich days, Mr. Stampfer's Neue Vorwarts was positively purple with rage and indignation at this outrageous betrayal of its fondest hopes.

Now Mr. Stampfer has come to the United States to try his luck here. Rabid war-monger and provider of socialist cannon-fodder to his Royal and Imperial Majesty Wilhelm II from 1914 to 1918, he is ready to act now in the same capacity for the Democratic Trinity. He wants, he indicates in his first interview, to see the United States "supporting Europe's democratic nations." He boasts of a considerable force behind him in Germany, ready to overthrow Hitlerism from within. No doubt he will generously offer to put this force at the disposal of the United Democracies to help them win the sacred war of Justice, Decency and Humanity.

Whatever may be the reception he gets from the American ruling class whose notorious love for democracy he seeks to enlist, we hope the working class salutes him with the contempt that an imperialist recruiting-seargent deserves.

Labor Looks Through The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

The figure of Lenin which will top the palace of the Soviets, now under construction in Moscow, will be twice as high as the Statue of Liberty. The building will be taller than the present world's tallest building, the Empire State. The teachings of the grand old revolutionary, however, will continue to remain buried by the Soviet regime.

Eugene Lyons, author of "Assignment in Utopia," and new editor of the American Mercury, upon hearing a description of Doris Duke's palatial new mansion in Honolulu, sighs: "It's enough to make one a Trotskyite. I say this because in these days a person doesn't know what to be, as a protest." You can join Max Eastman in his contemplation of his navel, but we Trotskyites will continue to build the labor and the revolutionary movements.

G-man Hoover (Public Fink Number 1), lays the blame squarely at the door of parental over-indulgence for one of the greatest factors in crime.