

AN EDITORIAL

Demonstrate or starve! That is the alternative the Roosevelt Administration has placed squarely before the unemployed.

F.C. Harrington, Army Colonel in charge of W.P.A., announced last Thursday that unless Congress grants the W.P.A. an additional \$150,000,000 by April 1, he will be forced to reduce relief rolls from 3,000,000 to 2,000,000. On April 1 he will throw one out of every three now on relief into the streets to starve between the gutter and the garbage can.

Colonel Harrington stated that even if Congress votes the \$150,000,000. as suggested by President Roosevelt, it will still be necessary to reduce W.P.A. rolls approximately 150,000,000 a month.

He added-most significantly-that President Roosevelt planned this reduction from the first when he originally asked Congress for only \$875,000,000 instead of the much larger sum that is needed for no more than maintaining relief at its present enrollment. The President himself from the very beginning has deliberately planned to throw unemployed workers on the streets at the rate of 150,000 a month.

Now, most significant statement of all, the Colonel explains that Congress in granting only \$725,000,000 made clear that if an emergency arises the President can come back for more money. In plain language, IF THE UNEMPLOYED STAGE MASS DEMONSTRATIONS OF PROTEST AND REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE CUTS, THEN CONGRESS WILL GRANT MORE FUNDS TO APPEASE THEM.

On Friday, the day following the Army Colonel's announcement, President Roosevelt told the House Appropriations Committee that in a special message to Congress Monday he would renew his request for \$150,000,000 in order to stave off throwing more than 150,000 unemployed workers on the streets April 1.

He stated that a survey of relief needs by Colonel Harrington had determined him on this course.

Members of the Appropriations Committee told reporters after hearing Roosevelt's intention that they will still vote against appropriating the \$150,000,000 unless an investigation shows that it is necessary. THAT IS, UNLESS SENTIMENT AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED THEMSELVES IS STRONG ENOUGH TO BREAK INTO MASS DEMONSTRATIONS OF PROTEST, THEY WILL NOT VOTE FOR EVEN \$150,000,000 MORE.

In order to determine if possible whether the unemployed will protest energetically they proposed to call in state and local relief administrators for questioning. In plain language, they want to find out from local administrators if they will be faced with angry, militant, determined unemployed who will protest at their offices against the cut.

They further explained that as economy-minded representatives of big business they intended their reduction in relief appropriations not as a "slap" at the president personally, but as "gesture of economy designed to encourage business."

While these maneuvers were being carried out, circles close to Secretary Hopkins, who is in charge of Roosevelt's business appeasement program declared that they were bitterly disappointed at the move to demand \$150,000,000 more for the unemployed. As one of the major points on their big business appeasement program, they hoped to reduce not only taxes on giant corporations (whose profits in 1937 ran into the hundreds of millions) but also to reduce income tax rates in the very highest income brackets, so that the "exploitive" leeches in the

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

VOL. III-No. 16

Others to Unload

Responsibility

C. P. SEEKS LINE

The Popular Front Junta had

apparently succeeded by Monday

morning in crushing, at least in

Madrid, the widespread revolt

against its preparations for peace

The revolt had lasted a week,

despite daily reports that fighting

With the exception of one

short artillery bombardment, the

fascists outside Madrid remained

inactive during the fighting be-

tween the Junta and the dissi-

dents. Fran o was clearly wait-

ing for Miaja to finish the blood-

In Burgos it was made plain

that Franco was not quite pre-

pared to accept the capitulation

of the generals. The Burgos radio

munists are our only enemy is

too simple. Nationalist Spain com-

bats equally all four internationals

So far as the fragmentary press

reports indicate, the revolt against

the Junta was limited to uni-

formed troops, with the civil pop-

Muniz Describes

Role of Loyalist

The seizure of power in

Madrid by the General Staff of

* * *

Army

city.

Command

"The conception that the Com-

with Franco.

was over.

deal with Miaja.

without distinction.'

ulation taking no part.

declared:

FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1939

3¢ per copy **375**

1000

New Subscribers

By April Ist!

HITLER IN NEW GRAB Miaja Paves Way for Capitulation Stalin Offers Olive Branch to Hitler in HEROIC MILITANTS FACE GREAT ODDS **Apologizing for the 'Fascist War-Mongers'** IN MADRID STAND Stalinists Vie With

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The text of Stalin's report to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is as yet available only in abridged form and there has not, at this writing, been enough time to give the report the detailed and thoroughgoing analysis it merits.

Even the condensed version, however, is important and clear enough for a number of preliminary observations, both with refence to what it omits as well as to what it contains

1. On the eve of one of the most catastrophic defeats ever suffered by the policy of the Communist International-which is another way of saying the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party-or, for that matter, ever suffered by the working class in Europe, namely, the collapse of the People's Front in Spain, Stalin delivers a report to a PARTY Congress without so much as a word about the Spanish defeat. So far as his speech is concerned, the Spanish civil war never existed.

2. Moreover, the policy and movement of the People's Front in general, Stalin's main contribution to the labor movement in recent years, goes entirely unmentioned. Its existence and the course it has followed is simply not referred to, much less reviewed and analyzed, so far as a close examination of the rather extensive report summary in the Daily Worker reveals.

There are some things it is better to be silent about!

3. About the work of the sister parties-remember, he ispeaking, after all, to the Russian section of the Comintern-not one word. About the Jewish refugees from fascist barbarism and the Soviet attitude towards them, not one word. About the collaps: of his whole foreign policy, not one word. About the physical extermination of the entire Old Guard of the Bolshevik party, of hundreds of leading officials of the government, the party, the army and navy, the police-a passing reference, as to a trifle.

4. At least as significant as the ommission of reference to hi past foreign policy, is the series of statements concerning the present foreign policy. It would be more accurate to say that Stalin did not state a NEW foreign policy, except in such tentative and cloudy form as to enable him to make another "strategic retreat" to the old one. But even in its tentative form, it is already a complete condemnation of the policy that has hitherto been considered sacred and inviolate in all official Stalinist circles.

5. The "democratic front" on which all Stalinist foreign policy hinged-the "united front of the democracies against the fascist aggressors and war-mongers-Stalin has dropped overboard without a splash. In its place, is something so "new" that it must have had a stunning effect upon the Stalinist parrots all over the world. Stalin holds out the olive branch to the fascist powers, to Germany primarily. The thunderous denunciations of fascism

which, up to now, have filled the pages of the Stalinist press, give (Continued on page 3)

By THOMAS O'REILLY

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK --- Father Cough-



ounitive action against Mexico's United States subsidized and supoil well expropriations was coup-ported the Cardenas government?" NEW YORK, March 14 .-- Rep- led with an attack on the Socialist In concluding, Reynolds said: resentatives of the American Fed- Workers Party and Leon Trotsky "I desire to emphasize the fact that the present government of | lin's gang of labor haters and antieration of Labor and the Congress by Senator Reynolds of North of Industrial Organizations failed Carolina, during the Senate ses-But the Spanish Popular Front to reach an agreement yesterday sion, February 27.

Mexico, by its acts, seems to Semites, operating under the have become an active satellite of name of the "Christian Front," Frotsky's communistic Fourth In- held a large

SLOVAKIA FOCUS OF NEW CRISIS IN **CENTRAL EUROPE**

Nazis Step In To Assure Their Hegemony

MANY RIVALRIES

The thin fabric of the peace" established at Munich six months ago was again ripped into shreds this week with the development of a fresh crisis, once more over Czecho-Slovakia. In a swiftly-executed hammer blow, Hitler destroyed the remnant state of post-Munich Czecho-Slovakia, breaking it up into three tiny states whose "independence" was scheduled to be underlined late Tuesday with the entry of German troops to maintain "peace and order."

Thus, although Hungary moved at the same time to invade the Carpathian Ukraine and achieve a common frontier with Poland, Hitler has taken another long stride forward in the direction of Rumania and the road eastward toward the Soviet Union.

Events were precipitated over the week-end by the in Slovakia, the eastern half of the hyphenated state appetites in London, Paris, Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest, and indirectly, in Rome. When the Czech government at Prague moved to prevent the further dismemberment of the already mangled state-its first attempt to act independently since it passed into the German or-Tiso, the premier ousted by Prague, was invited to come to Germany. Goering cut short a "vacation" in Italy and rushed back to Berlin. The "independence" of Slovakia is of course only the fiction thinly concealing the interplay of capitalist rivalries in Central Europe. Hitler has met with certain they have resulted in hundreds resistance, especially in Poof deaths and thousands of wound ed in some of India's major cenland, Rumania, and Yugoters-Lahore, Cawnpore, Calcutta slavia, to his drive toward undisputed mastery of Cen-The action of the British in in tral Europe. He has reason tigating these riots between men who really have the same interest to suspect his axis partner. in driving out the foreign oppress Mussolini, of having a hand in the development of this are determined to hold on to India resistance, because Mussolini may feel that Hitler has been and bloodshed is required. In the a little too lukewarm in acnext few months even the most cynical bourgeois will be unable to tive support of Italy's Meditalk of British "democracy." The terranean "aspirations." British and Scottish troops o

economic system will have more money at their personal disposal.

Naturally, there is not the slightest hint to economize by reducing the \$2,000,000,000 appropriation for war.

In a few short words, the whole program of Roosevelt and his henchmen, Hopkins and Harrington, as revealed by their own incriminating statements is:

No reduction of the \$2,000,000,000 war program.

Slash relief appropriations until the point is reached where the unemployed rebel and protest with mass demonstra-**'tions**

Give the money taken away from the unemployed to the rich by cutting corporation taxes and by cutting income taxes in the higher brackets.

It is as clear as the million dollar figures in the high bracket incomes that the unemployed are faced with the alternative:

Militant mass demonstrations before all local relief headquarters on April 1, OR slow death by starvation.

There is only one answer Congress and the Roosevelt Administration can understand: DEMONSTRATIONS!

All unemployed down to the local W.P.A. headquarters on April 1!

Demand all war funds to the unemployed! W.P.A. jobs at union wages for all unemployed; a blanket \$30 weekly minimum; a \$2,000,000,000 public works program; opening of all idle factories to be operated with government subsidies under workers' control.

And no cuts whatever-not a single worker taken from the rolls!

There is no other way to save yourselves from starvation!



(Special to the Socialist Appeal) | Aid Spanish Democracy. Although LOS ANGELES, March 8-Los the S.W.P. approached the North Angeles police last night used tear American Committee in advance gas to help fascist youth break up seeking to prepare a unified dema picket line which was protesting onstration, the Committee refused a meeting at the Wilshire-Ebell the offer for a united front and Club where Aileen O'Brien, Franco the S.W.P. and the Y.P.S.L. made the principal independent preparations. was supporter, speaker.

About 250 persons marched in Staff was long obvious to every Today a delegation including the picket line, a majority of them representatives from the Socialist with the militant and colorful Workers Party, the Young Peo- SW.P. and Y.P.S.L. contingent. A ple's Socialist League, and the number of the 4th International-American Fund for Political Pris- ists graphically depicted Franco's the south, member of the Comoners and Refugees appeared be- slaughter of the Spanish working munist Party, and Borribar, or through a Cabinet member in Russian Revolution of 1917.

Fascists Begin Provocation the police brutality in breaking up the picket line.

Stalinists Reject United Front (Continued on Page 3) the North American Committee to

press continues to heap denunci- and adjourned until tonight when ations upon the Communist party, they will meet for their fifth seswhich it now blames for all past sion since last Tuesday when Pres-

man.

Echoing them, the New Leader, to put an end to the struggle betorgan of the Social-Democratic ween their groups. Federation here, says under the

The A.F. of L. representatives headline, "All Loyalists united in on the joint unity committee inouster of Communists": cluded Henry C. Bates, chairman; "If peace is obtained upon terms Matthew Woll, T.A. Rickert and ess beneficial to Hitler and Muss-Daniel J. Tobin. The C.I.O. was (Continued on page 3)

represented by John L. Lewis. Philip Murray and Sidney Hill-

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

As spokesman for the joint means that he holds my categoricommittee. Bates vesterday stated cal statement is a lie," Trotsky to the press that the committee had answered in a statement to discussed the C.I.O. proposal to the Mexican press on Feb. 3. form a new organization, the "Therefore I must say that Mr. American Congress of Labor, which would include the railroad brotherhoods as well as the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O.

A.F.L. Opposes Unity The discussion then shifted to

the People's Front Government the A.F. of L. proposal that the was only the logical develop-C.I.O. return to the A.F. of L. under the provisions of the A.F. of ment of the role played by the L. 1937 proposal which had been military throughout the course rejected by Lewis. Other proposof the civil war. A glimpse of als such as A. F. Whitney's, of the Party's picketing against the the functioning of the Loyalist Brotherhood of Railway Train-High Command is given below men, were to be considered at in an extract from an interview later sessions.

Spokesmen for the A.F. of L. with Fernando Grandizo-Muare reported to have said that Mr. niz, leader of the Spanish Bol-Bates' statement after the Friday | Socialist Workers Party and the shevik Leninists, which apmeeting implied that the proposal peared in La Lutte Ouvriere, of Lewis to form one big union had been definitely rejected. A.F. organ of the Fourth Internaof L, bureaucrats linked with the tional in France. Muniz was Republican party are deeply opheld prisoner by the Negrin posed to any plan which would Government in Barcelona until unite labor at this time. Unificaa few hours before the fall of tion they feel would tie the labor bureaucracy to the Roosevelt ma-Barcelona, when he succeeded chine and hinder their swinging in escaping from the doomed votes to the Republican camp.

C.I.O. circles, nevertheless, insisted that the one big union plan

By F. GRANDIZO-MUNIZ was still under consideration. PARIS, Feb. 24-Despite the They are anxious to swing the enstifling censorship and Stalinist tire labor movement under the propaganda, the incompetence and wing of the New Deal.

outright disloyalty of the General F.D.R. May Intervene

persons close to Perkins and the whom he called, after emphasizconference said that if the C.I.O. ing his Jewish birth, "Bronstein-Let us cite one well-known case -that of Antonis Guerra, comand the A.F. of L. do not come to | Trotsky." He reminded the Senate missar - general of the army of an agreement, Roosevelt probably

communist deputy, the two men order to bring about a settlement chiefly responsible for the fall of The demonstration had con- Malaga. The former remained in before the 1940 election. tinued without disorder for an Malaga and became the right-hand It was reported that the official (Continued on Page D) (Continued on Page 2)

Senator Reynolds man who came back from Europe ternational . . . The time of reck- in Prospect Hall where a motion discovery of a separatist plot recently singing the praises of oning for the Mexican government picture, "Spain in Flames" and ident Roosevelt told labor leaders Feuhrer Hitler and who has since is close at hand; and if civil strife several speakers whipped the become the principal unofficial does arise in Mexico, or if out- audience into a frenzy of reacpropagandist for the Fascists in side armed aggression and result- tion against the heroic workers which is the object of rival ing complications occur, it may and peasants of Spain, the Jews, Washington political circles.

well be laid at the door of Leon the trade union movement of the Previously Reynolds, in a radio Trotsky, nee Bronstein, who so United States and the Socialist speech, had charged that Trotsky hostilely states that I am mis- Workers Party. was the instigator of the Mexican leading the public of the United The meeting was opened by the government's expropriation policy States.

chairman, a Mr. Harold Walsh, "I am happy to be able to state, who at once launched into a bit-Mr. President, that the gentleman ter and slanderous attack on the to the south of us, Mr. Trotsky, workers who had joined the pick-

is not today being permitted to et line with the Trotskvists at the formulate a revolution in the German American Bund meeting United States.' two weeks ago. "I was at that Reynolds' attempt to justify in meeting," said he, "and every

advance American intervention in good American citizen should Reynolds is misleading public Mexico is part of a widespread have been there with me...." And bit after Munich-Hitler imopinion in the U.S. It is bad campaign for armed intervention he went on to point out the many mediately stepped in. Joseph to lie and doubly bad to lie if being carried on from the Wall empty seats in the balconies of one is a Senator, and even worse Street offices of Roy P. Monahan, the hall and remarked, "If we if the lie is uttered in the tribune head of a committee which is were running a Bingo game to-

demanding "use of our whole night every Catholic in Brooklyn armed might" against the Car- would be here." (Evidently the often-heard refdenas government.

Benares, etc.

destruction to Franco's Moors!

(see editorial p. 4) (Continued on page 4)

ferred to the Socialist Workers India Congress Meets as **British Begin New Terror**

By SHERMAN STANLEY

The 52nd Annual Convention of the Indian Nationalist Congresslescription of the beating up of the mass movement of Nationalist man in a silver shirt uniform, India-is now in session in the and by the slogans carried by the tiny village of Tripuri in Central

states his intention to impose the

new Slave Constitution upon the country within the next few

Prior to the Congress sessions the country was swept by a series of bloody religious and communal outbreaks between Hindus and that this "anarchist, together with Lenin, organized the bloody Moslems. These riots are the clearest possible symptoms of the India's 11 Provinces are assembled

"The doctrines of the Fourth major battles that approach. Their at Trpuri. They are meeting on a International appear to have made meaning is equivalent to that of a village of bamboo huts has been long strides in Mexico since Car- falling barometer at sea. They are The demonstration was called hour when a group of fascist man of the Franco inquisition in dent after the conference in which sky. . . . Why, with intimate and provoked by the British in an erected. Will they furnish the by the S.W.P., the Y.P.S.L. and youth and students attempted to the repression of the workers. he spoke to the joint committee, knowledge of the background, the effort to relieve the powerful presrevolutionary leadership eagerly sought by the workers and peaspolicies, and influence of this sub- sure of mass discontent. Already (Continued on Page 2)

His Majesty's Colonial Army will It is certain in any event be giving lessons in pillage and that the swiftly changing map of Europe is again to Ghandi Strengthens Right Wing Over 6,000 delegates from the be re-drawn but it is equally most distant corners of British certain that the development of the Slovak crisis will rough plain where a temporary come in a minor key to the development of the major antagonisms leading in Europe toward a new bloodbath, a new world war.

Nazis at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 20 and then went on to read into the record Los Angeles news reports of the picketing there of a Nazi meeting by the Young Peoples Socialist League

on Feb. 22. He was particularly irked by a

pickets. He singled out for read- India. The British slave-masters of ing into the record the following

law! "Socialist Workers Party leads Linlithgow, the Chamberlain-apanti - fascist fight! pointed viceroy of India, openly

"Build workers' defense guards Anti - Semitic Note

Reynolds then launched into a In Washington, well-informed long diatribe against Trotsky, months

India are openly signifying their desire to install throughout the ors, reveals the desperate position slogans: country their brutal military dic- of the imperialist overlords. They Fight against anti-Semitism! "Repeal criminal syndicalism tatorship which they disguise under the name of Federation. Lord no matter how much slaughter

and had waved aside Trotsky's

Refers to Anti-Nazi Actions

In his Feb. 27 speech to the

Senate, Reynolds indignantly re-

Reynolds' assertion

denials

"Senator

of the Senate.'

SOCIALIST APPEAL





Conspicuous by their absence from the C.I.O.'s proposals to the A.F. of L. were two important considerations

In the first place, the C.I.O. proposals threatened to create a new in the direction of restrictive labor "forgotten man" in the labor legislation. The outlawing of sitid Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. John L. Lewis probably snubbing Dubinsky in the pro-

posals for peace in the union direction. movement. Dubinsky's feelings when he read about the proposed convention of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. and the railroad unions without mention of his powerful independent union can easily be

imagined. However, Dubinsky and the I.L. G.W.U. cannot be counted out as easily as Lewis would like. Any peace between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. in regard to the cloththe I.L.G.W.U. simply won't matter.

No Guarantees for Industrial Unionism

In the second place, the C.I.O. committee did not ask for any guarantees for industrial unionism in the mass production in dustries. Since this was the orig inal bone of contention in the la bor movement, the omission is very revealing on how the nature of the struggle and the split in the union movement has changed character.

Lewis did not leave that out be cause he is going to give up in dustrial unionism. Not at all. Industrial unionism is an accepted fact. Not even the most reactionary A.F. of L. negotiator would seriously propose craft unionism for the mass production unions. The A.F. of L. committee already has stated its willingness to recognize industrial unionism in matrial unionism in this respect.

The C.I.O. wants equality with the A.F. of L. in the new union movement. Or to be more specific, Lewis wants to dominate the new American Congress of Labor (if his proposals are carried) through the friendship of the railroad balance of power.

Of course, the A.F. of L. leaders

crats closely to his machine, but Green stated at the banquet the fast approaching war makes that "we will never liquidate the it imperative that the labor move- American Federation of Labor for ment be chained to the capitalist anybody."

He declared that the A.F. of L war machine. was a part of "the fabric of our If the present unity conference fails, it is very probable that the civilization," and continued as President will take drastic steps 'ollows:

Won't Liquidate AFL

"We find men who propose that movement. None other than Dav- down strikes, the business "ap- this organization be wiped out peasement" policy, the various overnight - liquidated, destroyed. schemes to lower taxes on big Who is there here within the business and high incomes as sound of my voice who will agree took great personal satisfaction in well as the drive to reduce relief the American Federation of Laappropriations are steps in this bor shall be liquidated tomorrow?

We are willing to go a long way

to assure good-will and peace in

Green's Plan

That the A.F. of L. top bureau- American labor. But I solemnly racy fears unity proposals of declare we will never liquidate any kind except on their own dic- the American Federation of Labor tatorial terms was clearly shown for anybody."

by assertions af William Green at It remains to be seen whether Washington D.C. banquet last the President's open threat to

Saturday. take drastic action against union-The A.F. of L. plan for unifica- ism will succeed in composing the tion of labor is the return of the jealousies and the thirst for power original A.F. of L unions now in among the labor bureaucrats the C.I.O. to the A.F. of L and which have so far defeated all ing industry that doesn't include division of the 20 new unions upon attempts at uniting the labor a craft basis with "certain indus- movement

N. Y. Housing Plan Is Faced With Oblivion **Realtors Urge Senate to Act Against** Crying Need of Workers

By GRACE SAUNDERS New York City Housing Authority, who certainly should be con-(Special to the Socialist Appeal) NEW YORK-New York State's versant with present housing itally important housing pro-needs.

ram is in imminent danger of Opposed to the allocation of the being shelved. Last fall the voters entire sum now are "real estate of this State overwhelmingly ap- organizations from all over the proved a \$300,000,000 bond issue State," (New York Times, Mar. 2), for slum clearance and the erec- a number of senators and repretion of low-cost housing projects. sentatives, Mayor La Guardia, On March 7 a resolution was in- etc., etc.

The most progressive suggestroduced into the Senate calling for the deferring of this under- tions, and the ones which should taking until next year. This reso- be insistently demanded by every lution is backed largely by Re- worker whether or not he is now jor industries. The addition of publicans, but represents the voice affected by poor housing condi-Dan Tobin, as we pointed out in of the money-grubbing realtors tions, were voiced by the C.I.O. the previous column, helps indus. who care not a whit for the ex- representative, Gustave A. Strebel, pressed will of the people. secretary-treasurer of the New

The proposal to do precisely York State Industrial Council, at nothing about housing, despite the time of the Albany hearing. the crying need, is not new. It has While endorsing the proposal for been heard for months, and was making the full bond issue availvoiced most recently before the able this year, Mr. Strebel likelegislative hearing in Albany on wise advocated the writing of the March 1 by Clarke G. Dailey, vice- following measures into the hous brotherhoods who would hold the chairman of the Real Estate Tax- ing bill: provision for the maintenance of the standards of labor; payers Federation, Inc. This effort on the part of the insurance of the five-day, forty-

realtors and the moneyed inter- hour week, prevailing wage rate,

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) CHICAGO-Over 100 workers marched in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League on Saturday, March 11 in a pro-

test demonstration before the Hearst Building. The demonstration was organized to protest the injunction against the Newspaper Guild pickets now on strike against the Hearst newspapers, the Chicago American and the Herald and Ex-C.I.O.). aminer.

After marching for more than an hour in a drenching rain, the demonstrators paraded down the streets shouting slogans in favor of the strike and denouncing the Hearst thugs and the injunction. The parade then returned to the headquarters of the S.W.P.

MINNESOTA BILL WOULD OUTLAW **UNION ACTIVITIES**

Vicious Oregon Law Is Pattern for Measure

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS, March 10-The yan" had to be found. reactionaries who now control the state of Minnesota are trying to force through a labor law, patmovement here.

gent regulations, secondary boythe bosses to call for an accountpondence and "all other evidence'

of any union at any time. Sets Up Board

The bill provides for a "Labor Relations Board" which would be appointed by the Republican Governor Stassen. This board would

be empowered to hold elections in any place of business where any group of workers wanted to go on strike. They would not only be given the power to force the election but would have the full authority to say just who in the plant could vote. In other words, if the truck drivers from a department store wanted to strike for higher wages or better working conditions, this board, hand-picked by the labor-hating governor, could allow the entire personnel of the store, from the management down, to vote on whether or not the truck drivers could strike.

The only strikes which would be policies, if he were elected, would der to keep the workers in sub-

conditions. Strikes for union rec-

violating the law, and punishable.

Aimed at 544

According to the carefully pre-

pared publicity which has been al-

Bloc." It is almost an established

fact that Stassen intends to veto

the measure when it comes to him.

but the ground work for passing

it over his veto has already been

laid. In this manner our good gov-

ernor can claim that he had noth-

of listening to the dictates of

labor." Actually the bill is the

brain child of the rank reaction-

ary Associated Industries, succes-

sors to the Citizens Alliance. The

Citizens Alliance has tried, unsuc-

cessfully, for many years, to des-

Debate on Bill



Basis to Oust Reactionaries from Control

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) position. But the most amazing NEW YORK - Progressive group's in the union over the en- weeks, has been the growth of a the Party branch. The Appeal tire nation are organizing to fight large progressive group in New the Stalinists and other reaction- York City. ary forces who have been conducting a rule or ruin policy in the

United Shoe Workers of America Although in many sections,

key position of General Organizer. ago the leadership permitted a paign director.

The Stalinist candidate is one passive, and were sitting back McGrath. The progressives are waiting, knowing that the Stalinoushing Michael Padgett of Los ists would eventually ruin the Angeles. John D. Nolan, a reac- Union. Many of them were talkionary red-baiter has been pushed ing of splitting and going back to split the progressive voter

McGrath's Qualification

McGrath, the Stalinist choice,

Michael Padgett, at the present time the General Executive Board ago, the progressives would be in

inists and their paper unions in have had in a long time. complete control of themselves. At the Pittsburgh convention of

the C.I.O., Padgett again exposed Bridges and his union-busting tactics. Nolan's Progarm

John D. Nolan is the former president of the Shoe Workers Protective Union which merged with the U.S.W.A. He is at the present time one of the organizers 150 persons turned out last night jailed in Maine. The boss press to hear James Burnham deliver in all the shoe centers is playing the last of three lectures organup Nolan's candidacy, referring to ized by Local New York of the him as another Mooney. He is S.W.P. on how to fight fascism. spending a barrel of money in cies. He is being supported by all

Situation in N. Y. The New York City Shoe locals are under the complete domination of the Stalinists. The workers bers. Martin Nelson is our star have seen, over a period of time members of the General Execu- that the bosses gain concession ive Board are to be elected, the after concession from the leaders report is made at every branch main fight will center around the f the Union. Only a few days meeting."-M. Freed, Appeal cam-

The post is considered so impor- ten per cent cut to go through in tant that the Stalinists are not a large number of factories. running anyone for the office of It is a matter of only a few Secretáry-Treasurer in order to weeks before the cuts are forced concentrate their fight on winning onto the entire industry. The prohe General Organizer's position. gressive shoe workers had become

and Shoe. The workers were so

sick, disgusted and demoralized at fighting against the Stalinist mawas picked for his name and not chine, that they disliked even vothis ability as a shoe organizer. ing in the coming elections. It The original candidate of the Stal- was when they saw the other secinists was Rosenthal of New York, tions of the country slugging but it was felt that his name was through, that they stiffened, reagainst him and if the provinces gained confidence, and plunged in-

were to vote "Stalinist" and "Ar- to the middle of the fight. If a national progressive group had been developed a few months

member from the west coast, has a position to-day to win the comterned after the notorious Oregon done a good job as an organizer ing elections with ease. But each bill, which would put the curb out there, and the reactionaries group thought it was fighting and bit on the organized labor are at a loss to find some weak- alone, and did not realize that ness in his work in order to sway others in their union were faced House File 352 if passed would a few of the progressives. Padgett with the same problems against outlaw closed shop agreements; has consistently fought the Stal- the same cliques. Nevertheless it strikes except under certain strin- inists on principled ground, and is not too late now, and the enwas instrumental in having the thusiasm with which the procotts, and would open the way for U.S.W.A. and the other bona-fide gressives in all areas are greeting unions on the west coast break the news that they have a fighting ing of the books, records, corres- from the Bridges-dominated Los chance, is giving the Stalinists Angeles Council, leaving the Stal- the biggest headache that they

> BURNHAM SPEAKS **ON FIGHT AGAINST** FASCISM IN U.S.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) NEW YORK, March 13 .-- Despite exceedingly bad weather BROOKLYN

Analyzing the economic crisis advertising through circulars and of American imperialism, compamphlets emphasizing his hatred rade Burnham traced the devel of all radicals and militant poli- opment of the fascist movement and influence in this country the narrow "backyard" unionists | The American bosses, said Burnwho were opposed to national affil- ham, will turn ever more to the iation of shoe workers. Nolan's brutal methods of fascism in or-

THE MINNEAPOLIS RED to go on the Appeal sub drive for BUILDERS AT WORK: 1,000 new readers. So far this

"During February, Minneapolis week things are so good that it sold 1,089 copies of the Appeal- looks like another record-busting sub week! development, during the past two the best record ever achieved by Youngstown, Ohio is stepping Brigade was responsible for the

ahead to first place for the No. 1 showing. We want to do better prize (a set of Lenin's works) with during March. We have set up New York City running a close charts in the headquarters with second. scores of individual Brigade mem-

But there are still three good weeks to go on the drive!

salesman, selling about 40% of MAY DAY PREPARATIONS the total 1,089 copies. A Brigade UNDER WAY:

This week branches will receive full information about the Special May-Day issue of the Appeal al-The Appeal is just splendid. I ready in preparation. Branches imagine that it means very hard should begin preparing to send in work for all of you, but you are greetings, collection lists that are putting out a first rate revolution. filled out, etc. More information ary paper. . . ."-Dr. Konikow of later on.

CHICAGO

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also want to control the united labor movement. That is why they rejected the C.I.O. proposals. The question of which bureaucracy shall dominate is playing a very large role in the present negotiations.

Keeps Faith with Stalinists

It is tragic that the C.I.O. was not able to sweep forward to clearance, but apparently they are people, and particularly the workgreater victories after the auto strikes and the signing of the that the issue is no longer a live heard. We demand: one, and that they can with imsteel contracts. Replacement of the A.F. of L. by a new and larger date given them. They must be the November elections. union movement based on the told again in emphatic terms mass workers would have been a great advance for the American what they are seemingly too prone to forget under the prodworkers. Unfortunately, this did dings of their financial backers. not happen. Between Lewis and his Stalinist allies enough mistakes were made to slow down decent housing! They have ex- taxes. and finally stop the growth of pressly endorsed the spending of the C.I.O.

Lewis proposes the inclusion of certain C.I.O. craft unions in the new set-up. This indicates he is keeping faith with his Stalinist City Councilman. Nor did they allies who control those unions and want to enter the new union movement on the ground floor.

Only Labor Can Achieve Its Own Unity

mate objectives" of housing (N.Y. Perhaps the most popular and Times, Mar. 2). most dangerous part of the C.I.O.

proposals was that President Roosevelt be chairman of the most fond of is that the rents in unification convention. In its own the so-called low-rent projects are way it is a confession of bankrupt too high for the lower-income union leadership to ask for outgroups anyway, and besides the side intervention. It would give proposed housing bills would vir-Roosevelt an unparalleled opportually setup a state-subsidized tunity to swing the entire labor real estate market which would movement behind his war pro

gram. Although we haven't seen enterprise. the Daily Worker because it is Forces Favoring Whole Sum not obtainable in the backwoods, we are confident that this proposal was hailed with great hoz-

zanas! The C.I.O. proposal to have the quacy of the program appear as heretofore; the men will receive U.S. Department of Labor act as mediator "on all controversial a reason for just calling the whole compensation for four of the six questions affecting overlapping thing off. To any individual whose days they were out on strike. jurisdiction or other matters be- chief joy is not the carressing of Had the strike been better mancoins the solution of the inade- aged there is no doubt that the the legislature for the passage of the Slave Federation of Britain, tween the constituent unions of the Congress," is a dangerous at- quacy of the program is its ex- terms of settlement would have the bill. tempt to hog-tie the entire union tension, not its curtailment. movement to the government. It

to the workers can come only tion of Labor, the C.I.O., the teamsters union, than in preparthrough the unions ironing out dinen own differences.

ests who grow fat at the expense and collective bargaining on all of human misery must be stopped. housing projects. In view of the miserable condi-And it can be stopped. Hitherto the workers have been all too tions in which the poor of this ognition would be outlawed. silent on this important issue. rich State are forced to live, it is Representatives and senators are imperative that the Legislature be elected by the people, and can be compelled to pass a housing bill petitioned a central labor body for whole series of Locals throughout the only guarantee they have for

ousted from office by the people. immediately. And more, they must the placement of any firm upon the entire country came out sol-They were told in no uncertain also be compelled to pass a bill terms last fall that the citizens that provides the maximum, not desire a serious attempt at slum the minimum, improvement. The

now inclining toward the view ers, must again make their voice Immediate authorization of the punity override the clear man- \$300,000,000 already sanctioned in with the movement of articles of lowing the sell-out line of these fense guards.

cost housing, and for nothing but low-cost housing. Raising of the requisite money Teamsters International.

The people of this State demand without consumer taxes. Categorical rejection of the

lowed to leak out of the Capital \$300,000,000 for this purpose. They realtors' schemes to provide State about this bill, it is sponsored by did not endorse the spending of a aid for modernizing privatelya group known as the "Farm

mere \$35,000,000 as advocated by held tenements. Erection of homes that can be Joseph Clark Baldwin, New York rented for not more than \$5 per room per month. endorse the meager \$120,000,000

Construction of all low-cost advocated by the great humanitarian mayor, La Guardia, who, projects by union labor, working while chiselling on the appropria- under standard conditions includ-

tion, is nevertheless pleased to ing prevailing wage-rates, fivestate suavely that he is in 'com- day forty-hour week, and collecplete agreement with the ulti- tive bargaining.

American Labor Party, and Al- ing and organizing the strike ade-

fred Rheinstein, chairman of the quately.



(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS, March 10-The strike of the Building Service "unfairly" compete with private workers ended on March 7 with

strikers won several points.

It is true that even the maximum housing program at present week vacations, instead of the envisaged is woefully inadequate. one week the men were getting.

troy and liquidate the labor movecompromise in which the ment. The new contract calls for two

But only to greedy realtors and There will be a payday every 14

their henchmen could the inade- days instead of twice-a-month as 10 at which the Minnesota State Federation of Labor president, of his nomination as "Britain's George Lawson debated the bill best policeman" in India. He, with an attorney named Elmquist along with his middle-class and

> Minnesota labor does not intend been far better. The Stalinists

Liberal Leads Left would place a chain around the line-up of forces who favor the ship of the strike interfered with a most aggressive fight against it. As for the Congress left-wingers, free and independent action of immediate appropriation of the the proper conduct of the strike. 1934 is remembered here as a no doubt many of them are putthe unions, and should be rejected. entire sum for housing. These They were more interested in bloody year. Should House File ting up a serious and militant at: Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th Lasting labor unity with benefit forces include the State Federa- sniping at Local 544, the militant 352 pass and become a law of the struggle against the compromisers. state, 1934 will be remembered, by But they too suffer from the false News stands in Polish speaking comparison to 1939, as a very mild notion that national unity at any sortee.

be as disastrous as those of the jection higher wages or better working Stalinists. The workers in this country

The progressives are gaining will not, however, give up without ground daily. Although Padgett a fight. They have already dem-The secondary boycott would was originally nominated by one onstrated their willingness to dealso be illegal. Any union which Local in California, eventually a fend their hard-won positions. But final victory over the fascist the unfair list would be guilty of idly for him.

forces is a solidly organized party In many sections where the of the working class whose pro-Stalinists have been unopposed grain is that of revolution-the Another vicious feature of this and have held full sway for years, Socialist Workers Party. In the completely vicious piece of legis- progressive groups are being immediate fight against fascism, lature is the clause making it un- formed. In Boston, for example, it is absolutely imperative, that lawful to "interfere in any way the workers are no longer swal- workers organize their own d

commerce by motor vehicles or twentieth century pilgrims, and One worker in the audience Use of the entire fund for low- teams upon the public roads, alleys the next Boston elections will re- joined the party at the conclusion or highways of the state." This is veal it. At Lowell, in the same of the meeting, thus bringing to aimed directly at Local 544 of the state, the Stalinists are on their six the number who have joined way out. Philadelphia has the ele- the party during this series of ments for a strong militant op- three lectures.

India Nationalist Congress Meets

(Continued from Page 1) the Congress ranks. They have pinned their hopes on a false leadsants? The 500.000 workers, peaser who differs in no respect from ants, students and middle class any of the numerous middle-class Indians who are attending the "friends of labor" who always end open-air Congress impatiently up by going over to the other side. wait the answer. Subhas Chandra Bose, newly-Early reports indicate that a elected Congress President, is a sharp and bitter struggle between liberal. cloaking his vacillations the conservative followers of in loud-moth phraseology. But no-Gandhi on the one hand and the body can expect a revolutionary radical-minded Congress socialists lead from him. This "friend of laon the other hand is now going on bor" wrote in a recent issue of Gandhi-who is now held in high the Indian Stalinist paper, "The favor by the British imperialist unity of the national fight for circles, and who is looked upon Independence must be maintained (with complete justification!) as Let this be clearly understood that England's best friend among the we of the Left do not hanker for Indian people-is determined that positions, we do not want to capthe Congress shall not pursue revture the Congress and to oust the olutionary methods. Apparently he Right. We want to retain them, has succeeded by his recent demeven at the very front of our agogic fast in strengthening the movement." To depend on Bose hand of the Congress right-wing. for leadership is equivalent to The furthest thought from Gangoing into battle with hands tied dhi's mind is to embarrass the and eyes blindfolded.



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The joint Minneapolis and St. Paul Workers Defense League British by launching a direct held a dinner meeting on March mass struggle for power. It is

who has represented the bosses in capitalist following, do not oppose

provided certain milk-and-honey reforms are adopted. It is interesting to note the who had a share in the leader- to allow this bill to pass without

ing to do with the bill but that the farmers of the state passed it in defiance of the labor movement. The "Farm Bloc" is supposed to composed of genuine dirt farmers who are "sick to death

Friday, March 17, 1939

SOCIALIST APPEAL

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

A Wave of Persecutions Hits the Polish Trotzkyists

On February 14, the French news agency "Havas" carried the following dispatch over its wires from Warsaw:

"A wide-spread police action has been undertaken against illegal political groups. More than a hundred persons have been arrested and forty-seven are still being held. The police action appears to be directed against Trotskyist elements in the main. In the course of the raids, leaflets and proclamations of the Fourth International were seized in large quantities."

This reign of persecution unleashed against our Polish comrades is of particular significance in view of preceding events.

As reported in these columns, Moscow dissolved the Polish Communist Party last July. The formal dissolution of this Comintern section followed the physical extermination of scores of Polish leading militants during the Stalinist purges in Russia since 1936.

Immediately after the dissolution of the C.P.P. was announced, the Polish Trotskyists issued an appeal for the reconstitution of the Polish Communist Party on the basis of the platform of the Fourth International. They undertook this step under the most dangerous circumstances. The fascist police of Poland was constantly at their heels, aided by the Stalinist agents who openly denounced our comrades to them in the press.

Nevertheless, the Polish Trotskyists carried on widespread activity with excellent results. Several weeks ago they were able to hold a successful conference at which a whole series of important documents were adopted. It was shortly after this conference that the police, encouraged by reports from Stalinist stool-pigons, launched the drive reported by "Havas."

How hard the organization has been hit cannot be said as yet. Reports are too scant. But, although a large number of leading comrades have been jailed, the Polish section of the Fourth International has already established a name for itself as the only revolutionary organization in the country. Its growth can be impeded by police persecutions, but it cannot be stopped. Our most heartfelt feelings of solidarity to the brave illegal Bolshevik fighters in Poland! The victorious revolution of the Eastern and Central European working class will avenge the dastardly murders of their leaders and the stool-pigeoning betrayal of their militants by the Stalinist agents!

Revolutionary Socialists of Ceylon Show Way to Fight Fascism

*Particularly gratifying these days is the

world.

fact that the oppressed of the colonial countries refuse to be fooled by either Stalinists or social democrats in the so-called Mother countries regarding the line-up of the democracies against the totalitarian states for the coming war.

Among those most clearly outspoken against the fraud of the "democratic front" are the militants of the Ceylon Socialist Party. This party has been carrying on a persistent struggle

Eight years ago this month a young student

walked out of a class room in a Connecticut high

school and hitch-hiked to New York City and

hung around the waterfront for a week trying

to find a ship which would take him around the

The first three or four days were wasted in

On the Line . . .

against the British ban of trade unions on the island, against the pussyfooting of the Ceylon National Congress in its dealings with the British colonial office and for democratic rights.

Recently the party held its annual conference, at which 500 delegates were present. Among other resolutions adopted was one on the Munich 'peace." It is in this resolution especially, that the Ceylon revolutionary socialists speak out in a voice which cannot but arouse the attention of the workers misled by Stalinism and social reformism in the imperialist countries. The resolution concludes by "proclaiming to all colonial peoples and to the international working class, that in successful colonial struggle against imperialism lies not only freedom to colonial peoples, but also the main attack against fascism; for finance capital draws its greatest strength from the exploitation of colonial peoples."

Daladier Hits at French Revolutionists While Chamber Talks of "Amnesty"

While the French Chamber of Deputies is preoccupied with debates regarding the granting of amnesty to all those arrested during the general strike last November, the Daladier government, helped into power by the disastrous Popular Front, becomes particularly vicious in its attack against the revolutionary press.

On February 7, comrade Suzanne Charply, former editor of "Revolution," the organ of the Fourth Internationalist youth in France, was condemned to ten months imprisonment and a 2,000 franc fine. The charge was that an article in the paper incited the military to disobedience.

On Feb. 13, comrade Loret, editor of La Lutte Ouvriere, the weekly paper of the Internationalist Workers Party (P.O.I.), French Section of the Fourth International, was hailed into court for an article giving the revolutionary defeatist position of the P.O.I. in the course of the frenzied, social-patriotic days of the September crisis. His case is yet to be tried.

Daladier, the hero of the Popuar Front and the conqueror of the general strike, knows whom French capitalism has to fear. All aid to the French Fourth Internationalists, under attack from the capitalist government, in the front ranks of the working class struggle!

Winston Churchill as Guest of

Soviet Ambassador Maisky

On Tuesday, February 21, that arch-jingo of British imperialism and earliest of enemies of the October revolution, Mr. Winston Churchill, was an official guest at a dinner given at the Soviet Embassy in London by Ivan Maisky, former White Guard and present incumbent in the ambassadorial position.

Apparently there was some confusion as to whether Mr. Churchill had turned left or whether Mr. Maisky was merely renewing acquaintances. A commentator in a rather conservative Brit-

ish labor paper reassuures his readers with the following contribution on the subject: "Churchill's visit to the Russian Embassy

must not be taken as confirmation that he has joined the Communist party. He is regarded as being too far to the Left for that yet."

The valiant Italian anti-Fascists who carried on

the struggle against Mussolini from Paris garrets

and basements welcomed the raw recruit and

made possible the desire to participate in the

agents of Italian Fascism-were good teachers.

The Rossie brothers - since murdered by

v were tireless workers and hardened revo-

active movement.

with Bill Morgan

Stalin Offers Olive Branch To Hitler In **Apologizing For 'Fascist War-Mongers'** (Continued from Page 1)

(Continued from Page 1)

way in Stalin's report to an extremely soft and restrained comment on the activities of the Axis powers. But his change in front is far more drastic than that. In actuality, he offers an apology for them and their activities.

For the first time in years, we hear from the lips of a Stalinist a very careful explanation of the reason for the "fascist aggression." It is all due, we now learn (rather, the Stalinists are instructed to learn) to purely imperialist rivalries between the "democracies" and the Axis powers. These rivalries, we are further enlightened, go back to the unequal distribution of the loot taken in the last World War (in the case of Italy and Japan) and to the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles which was imposed upon Germany. "Germany, which suffered severely as a result of the first imperialist war and the Versailles Peace, joined with Japan and Italy and demanded extension of her territory in Europe and the return of the colonies which were taken from her by the victors in the first imperialist war," Stalin says now.

Democracies Are Now the Aggressors

In other words, the conflicts of the powers have not been based upon the noble idealism of the "democrats" on the one side and the "aggressors" on the other, but upon such classic imperialist consideartions as "a new redivision of the world." But was not this idea the sheerest "Trotskyist-Fascist" heresy up to yesterday?

But Stalin goes still further. The real aggressors, the real warmongers, he points out very elaborately, are actually not such powers as Germany, but rather . . . the Democracies! Unbelievable, yet true.

How? Very simply. Nobody in Russia is thinking of a war with Germany, it goes without saying. But what's more important, nobody in Germany except for a few lunatics, is thinking of war against the Soviet Union All the talk about Hitler seeking to conquer and annex the Ukraine is so much nonsense. Who invented this myth? THE DEMOCRACIES! So says Stalin.

It was the "Democrats" who, according to Stalin, began "urging the Germans to march further East, promising them easy pickings and prompting them on: 'Just you start a war against the Bolsheviks and then everything will proceed nicey.' It must be admitted that this too looks very much like egging on, like encouraging the aggressor."

Warns of Bargain With Germany

If Stalin means to say anything by this, it can only be that it is the "democracies" who are trying to drive the fascist powers into a war!

To make this point even clearer and more emphatic, Stalin points out that the "democracies," the supporters of the "nonintervention" policy have as their aim

"not to prevent, say, Germany from becoming entangled into European affairs, from becoming involved in war with the Soviet Union; [but rather] to allow all the belligerents to sink deeper into the mire of war, to encourage them steathily to follow this line, to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another, and then, when they have become sufficiently weakened, to appear on the scene with fresh forces, to come out, of course, 'in the interests of peace.' and to dictate their terms to the weakened belligerent nations."

Stalin is saying to the "Democracies": Don't think that I intend to pull your chestnuts out of the fire. If you do not string along with me, I can always make a bargain with your rival, Germany.

To Hitler, he says: I am by no means wedded to London, Paris and Washington. There is no reason why we should go to war against each other until we are both worn out and the "Democracies" come in and squeeze us both out of the picture. Instead of allowing yourself to be egged on against the Soviet Union, let us get together, so that you can turn your attention to retrieving the colonies "which were taken from her (Germany) by the victors in the first imperialist war."

To his League of Nations allies of yesterday, Stalin offers the threat of a new turn in foreign policy.

To Hitler, Stalin offers a hand at least half-way outstretched. Which, boiled down to essentials, means that Stalin has turned over the initiative for the next step in world politics to-Hitler!

mand

n men and equipment.

HOW L.A.'S COPS HELPED FASCISTS **ATTACK PICKETS**

3

provoke a disturbance by jostling and pushing the demonstrators and by attempting to rip down banners carried by the pickets. The workers tried to avoid clashes with these provocateurs until the fascist youth made an effort to push the pickets off the sidewalk. The demonstrators began to resist this attack and were succeeding in quelling the disorder when police, who had been standing close by until this time without

intervening, entered the fray.

Black-jack Y.P.S.L. Youths They black-jacked two young members of the Y.P.S.L. One of them, 14 years of age, was beaten unconscious and the other, aged 18, received a scalp wound, necessitating his removal for medical attention.

The demonstrators nevertheless held their ground. The police drew back. In a few minutes, as the pickets continued their peaceful picketing, police threw tear gas bombs into their ranks, forcing them back from the entrance of the theater.

Fascists Threw Bombs

Several of the bombs were thrown by fascist youth and at the protest meeting before the Mayor, the police were accused of having given them to these youth. As soon as the gas drifted away, the entire picket line reorganized and again began marching in front of the theater. A bottle thrown from the balcony of the theater struck a woman picket in the face.

The fascists began taunting the marchers but this time their efforts to provoke a fight were quickly stopped.

Second Barrage

No sooner had the demonstra-The Negrin government was comtors again resisted the fascist celled to bring Borribar to trial attack against their picket line out it was never completed. than a second barrage of tear gas Another example occurred at was fired against them. By this Bilbao. The two commanders of time the ranks of the police had the famous "iron belt" of fortifiswelled to 80 uniformed and plain cations around the city went over clothes policemen, several radio to Franco, who thus knew the cars, state police cars and motorplan of the city's defense far cycles. better than the government com-

When the pickets made a third effort to resume the demonstra-During the Zaragoza offensive tion, tear gas shells were fired at whole section of the governmentthem again, this time enough to al staff-belonging to the Comchoke the entire area with gas. munist Party—went over to Fran-Police continued firing tear gas co. That is how the Belchite camuntil the demonstrators were compaign was lost after terrific losses pelled to retreat.

Hear S.W.P. Speaker

The Position of the Army What happened in the army was A large numbers of the pickets nly a reflection of the general gathered at a vacant lot across the situation in the country, of the street from the theater to listen relationship of forces which ex- to a speech by Dave Stevens of isted between the classes. Without the S.W.P., who pointed out that class base the army could not the united front between the "demexist as a stable force. Despite all ocratic" police and the fascists its efforts, the People's Front was made necessary the organization unable to win the confidence of of Workers Defense Guards.

Many Groups Protest

the national and international bourgeoisie. Its army therefore The S.W.P., Y.P.S.L., American necessarily reflected the inconsis- Fund for Political Prisoners and

IN MADRID STAND -Clarence Hathaway, editor Daily Worker, Feb. 28, **19**39. (Continued from Page 1) Spain Was Cut in Two Just as Now, But It Triumphed." Feb. 8-"Negrin Rejects Mediation; Loyalists To Continue

and Cortes. Miaja Calls War Council For Defense." "Miaja, known as the 'savior of Madrid,' has nearly 400,000 well-trained troops under his command for the defense of such important cities as Madrid, Valencia, Cartagena and Alicante." "The tales about Miaja [capitulating] are fabrications out of the whole cloth."

Chief Cites High Morale of Forces. Colonel Segismundo Casado, Chief of the Central Army, declared today that the Loyalist withdrawal from Catalonia had only strengthened the desire of the Central Army to fight . . . "As Chief of the Army I state that we are giving a unique demonstration of cooperation of the military power with the people without friction."

MIAJA NAMED CHIEF BY NEGRIN

Unites For Resistance. Madrid Hero Given Rank of Gov't. Minister." "General Jose Miaja was named Supreme Commander of all armed forces of the Spanish government on land, sea and in the air today on the Central and Southern fronts."

Map Fight to Finish." "Catalonian Army Now In France Ready to Join Miaja at Front." "General Jose Miaja, Government commander-in-chief, indignantly denied reports abroad that the Re-

Feb. 13-"Loyalists Continue Fight from Madrid. Government Fully Set to Battle Until Victory, Says Negrin." "The newspaper Informaciones told the Madrilenos that 'the government is in Madrid, Miaja heads the army and these are two happy omens.' A decree was published reaffirming Negrin's appointment of the 60-year-old Miaja-the 'Savior of Madrid'- as supreme Generalissimo of the Loyalist armies." "This [the central] army is commanded by Colonel Casado, one of the most brilliant officers of the old Spanish army. . . ."

Muniz Describes IN THE DAILY WORKER'S COLUMNS Role of Loyalist "The Daily Worker, both in its news and in its headlines, seeks constantly to present objective facts." Army Command

Feb. 3-"Why Spain Will Never Be Conquered by Invaders;

War Against Invaders. Azana's Policy Rejected by Government

Feb. 10-"Negrin Names Miaja Supreme Chief; Central Front

Feb. 11-"Negrin Arrives in Valencia; Calls Army Chiefs to publican General Staff was negotiating with the fascist rebels."

HEROIC MILITANTS SPAIN, YESTERDAY AND TODAY --FACE GREAT ODDS

olini than would have been the case two weeks ago, it will be pecause the National Defense Council has cleaned house and showed the world that Loyalist Spain is not Stalinist Spain."

In other words, the local Social Democrats, running true to form, are servilely solidarizing themselves with the butchers of the workers in Madrid. How vain are their hopes and their illusions Franco will once more demonstrate when his legions tramp into the doomed capital.

The Spanish Communist Party has not uttered a single word on the developments in Madrid. Its leaders, who fled like a bunch of rats as soon as the generals took power, have lapsed into complete silence. They have refused interviews to the boss press and no statements from them have appeared in their own press here, the Daily Worker.

In Spain itself only a few second-rank leaders and a host of unknowns joined in the fight. The most prominent remaining Stalinist, Col. Antonio Ortega, took a

Feb. 9--- "Madrid Vows Finish Fight On Franco. Central Army

trying to get aboard some liner to apply in pe son for a job. Then, after sleeping in Battery Park and talking with friendly workers, a sympathetic seaman showed him the ropes. After acquiring the necessary papers - a "life-boat ticket," copy of birth certificate, etc.-the shipping office of a steamship line was the next step. Then, almost before the young man could catch his breath, he was signed on for a round the world trip. The first leg of a long, long journey had begun.

The sudden change from a dull, dreary classroom to an active, exciting and entirely new life aboard a ship was hardly noticed by the youth in his anxiety to forget the past and begin a new life of adventure and association with his fellow shipmates. New faces, new lands, new customs, and above all, new ideas! This was the life and nothing could ever take its place.

Class Struggle Unfolds Before His Eyes

That journey around the world and the new friends made and the new ideas acquired changed the whole life of the young man. The great class struggle was unfolded before his eyes and each event was translated to the student by veterans of every land, of every color and every description. The older workers were ever ready to tell and retell endlessly the story of the working class and its history to the youth, who listened with increasing interest and curiosity.

Endless hours of discussions and questions were followed by the reading of every available book. Working hours were spent in observing intently each habit and characteristic of the workers and planning questions for the all-night gab-fests which followed.

Trade unions, socialism, anarchism, religion, syndicalism, and world politics were the subjects with which, for the first time, the youth found himself at grips. And the various views and conflicting theories only made the new life the future life and activity of the former schoolboy.

The conditions of the working class under Fascism were vividly and indelibly engraved on his memory after visits to several Italian sea ports. The small, and seemingly ridiculous beginnings of reaction in Germany-Hitler was considered a foolish and idle threat at the timewhere the short-sighted and fat-headed Social Democracy was drinking beer under the trees and the make-believe Socialism in Vienna were all examined with conflicting doubt and enthusiasm of youth.

Italian Anti-Fascists His Teacher

Paris at the time was, for most Americans, a haven of refuge against the harsh and painful problems of a capitalism in the early stages of an incurable disease - unemployment. But for the youth it was no bohemia, no escape. It was in Paris that first contact with revolutionary work and revolutionary fighters was established.

lutionists. They insisted, after a period of initiation and experience, that the youth return to America where comrades were needed and where the danger of a knife in the back from an unseen hand was less likely.

Back to the U.S.A. and the depression and the youth began his search for work. From stock-boy in a shoe store to bus boy in a cafeteria to clerk in Wall Street to truck driver for a department store delivery service, to unemployment and W.P.A. Night school and organizing locals of the unemployed followed job after job. Street corner meetings, mass-meetings, distributing endless bundles of leaflets, picketing and speaking for the trade unions,-in and out of work-all combined with periods of hope and enthusiasm and discouragement and fear for the future.

Learns Need of Revolutionary Party

Once again, restlessness and the desire to shake off the feeling of confinement, the youth set out. This time to meet and talk with the workers in other parts of America. By hitchhiking and riding freight cars he travelled across the country with the jobless youth who were in search of work. From New York to New Mexico, from New Orleans to Chicago he walked and rode and slept in "jungles" with every kind of worker from every section of the United States. Odd jobs in gas stations, on wheat fields, in packing plants and canneries provided contact with many active workers in the revolutionary movement.

This trip, above all others, established once and for all in the mind of the youth, the firm belief in the future of the working class and the necessity for a revolutionary party to carry on and direct the activities of the thousands of workers who were preparing to take up the fight.

Back again to New York in time to assist in the building of a new party out of the ashes of the moribund Socialist Party which was bogged down with petty reformers and lawyers and "lady-sympathizers in big hats." And all the years of experience with reformers and dilettantes, all the years of experience with semisocialists and careerists, only sharpened the youth's ability and experience and made possible thé quick understanding and acceptance of the need for a revolutionary party based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky.

The jump from a Connecticut class room and the dull meaningless life of casual contact with the outside world to an active worker in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party is still to be made by many young students and workers. It is a difficult jump for many but the time is short and the distance is growing ever wider as events pile upon each other. The coming war and the decisive show-down between the workers and the bosses cannot be long postponed. Fascism is a ruthless destroyer of the calm, detached life. A choice must be made and made soon.

lemonstratively "neutral" position. keeping his own troops out of the fight and helping to get the rest to surrender, according to press reports.

Stalin Avoids Spain Comment In Moscow the Central Committee of the Communist Party met amid much fanfare. Stalin issued a report on the international situation without so much as mentioning the street fighting in Madrid. After him came Manuilsky of the Comintern who was similarly silent on the events in Spain which are driving straight to the heart of every working class revolutionist in the world!

Most pitiful of all is the local Daily Worker. The first day of the revolt it was completely silent. On Tuesday it appeared with an hysterical editorial accusing "Tory-Trotskyits traitors" with being behind the coup and carefully ignoring the fact that every party in the People's Front had already publicly solidarized with the Miaja junta in Madrid. The only fact adduced in the article to bolster up the "Tory-Trotskyite" headline, was a characterization of Carillo, the U.G.T. representative in the Junta and a Socialist Party leader, as "pro-Trotskyist." But Carillo, they fail to say, actually was one of the closest collaborators of the Stalinists in the U.G.T. right up to the coup d'etat of last Sunday night!

Afraid to Speak

For the rest, in dwindling headlines, the Daily Worker confined itself to United Press dispatches. Finally by last Saturday it abdicated completely any attempt to explain its own position and accompanied the United Press dispatches with a "warning" that the capitalist agencies were "inaccur ately" using the label "Communist" in dealing with the Madrid events.

In other words, the local Stalinists do not know yet what to say about the debacle their policies have led to in Spain. The militant, heroic stand of the fighters in Madrid smacks too much of resolute struggle to fit in with the present-day Communist Party policy of "peaceful collaboration" and sycophantic snivelling before the capitalists.

MADRID HAS FORCES TO CARRY ON

Feb. 14-"Negrin Says City Can Withstand Long Siege. Miaja Will Soon Have 500,000 Trained Men to Hold Area."

Feb. 20-"Franco officials were not even satisfied with British and French promises of pressure on President Manuel Azana, because the Madrid government had consolidated its forces to an extent where it can carry on in the Central Zone despite maneuvers outside of Spain."

Feb. 27-"Loyalists Remain Firm for Defense." ". . . all political leaders of parties in Madrid adhering to the Popular Front have agreed on the necessity of increasing the activities of the Popular Front to meet the more difficult situation created by the closer alliances between London and Paris and Burgos." "Direct news from Madrid again blasts the renewed stream of now-familiar lies about imminent capitulation. Spain's Popular Front is tightening its ranks." (Gannes.)

Mar. 1-"Negrin Girds Forces to Defend Madrid. Army, Press Determined to Resist." "Gen. Segismundo Casado, commander of Madrid, said that the military situation 'is magnificent. Complete tranquility continues along the fronts, but the situation depends upon the action of the Cabinet.' At Valencia, the Communist morning newspaper, La Verdad, devoted its entire front page to a resolution passed by the Political Bureau of the C.P. of Spain declaring that the 'people's army can and will continue to fight.'"

Mar. 6-"A government radio broadcast, meanwhile, stated that the spirit of the troops and population in Loyalist territory is one of 'unbreakable resistance,' marked by a powerful 'feeling of unity and determination' against the fascist invaders." MIAJA "TURNS" TRAITOR

Mar. 7-"Army Conspirators Seize Madrid; Miaja Joins Plot; Plan Surrender." "Besteiro, a permanent leader of the capitulation elements, was accused in 1936 of being an agent of the British Intelligence Service." He shares leadership with Colonel Segismundo Casado, professional soldier of the same political kidney." "The present tragedy of Madrid is but the delayed act begun by Franco and Trotskyite rearguard agents, working under the protection of Caballero from the very outset of the resistance to fascism in 1936." (Gannes!)

Mar. 8-"Miaja Turns Bombers on Madrid Troops. People's Front Forces Combat Traitor Council." "Azana has direct links with Miguel San Andres, who is a member of the new dictatorial council." "General Jose Miaja, President of the new council, poured troop reinforcements into the city as the 'peace' regime battled to crush opposition to its efforts to achieve an armistice with the fascists.'

Mar. 9-(Interview with Negrin representative, page 1) "I wish to tell you also that the report of the resignation of the Republican government is entirely false. They would certainly not resign to a rebel head. If the government had decided to give its resignation it could have given it to the new president of the Republic, Martinez Barrio. With him Negrin knew himself to be in perfect accord after the conversations he had had with him several days previously." (Moscow dispatch of charges made by foreign correspondents of Izvestia and Pravda, page 2) "Col. Segismundo Casado and Julian Besteiro, the leaders of the conspiracy against the Negrin government, acted in collaboration with former President Manuel Azana and Cortes President Diego Martinez Barrio."

Mar. 10-"Because these capitulators [Miaja and Co.], in a most difficult hour, were in strategic military posts, they were able to seize decisive political positions." (Editorial.)

tency that derived from its lack Refugees, the American League of a social basis, since it was for Peace and Democracy, the neither the army of the capitalists North American Committee to Aid nor the army of the workers. Spanish Democracy, the Civil Lib-The superiority in armaments erties Union, and the Municipal of the Franco forces was incontes- League sent representatives to the table but the underlying causes Mayor today protesting the police for the debacle in Catalonia, like brutalities at the demonstration the causes of all the government last night. defeats in the civil war, were to The representative of the Medibe found in the policy pursued by cal Bureau for Aid to Spanish

Democracy brazenly injected a

disruptive note in the protest meet-

The Army Regime

out providing the soldiers with or-

time to check and abolish politi-

Chaos Resulted

cal activity in the ranks.

the People's Front.

to inferior posts.

(Continued from Page 1)

This policy consisted from the ing by accusing the S.W.P. of beginning in weakening the con- joining with the Fascist youth in quests of the working class. Mili- attempting to disrupt the demontarily, despite the People's Front stration and encourage clashes propaganda, this policy led to the with the police. His story was establishment of "discipline" in spiked as a lie by several of the the bourgeois sense of the term, delegates who gave the actual mechanical and repressive, with facts of the event.

Stalinists Disgusted

ganization or technical capacities The S.W.P. delegate explained nor the solidarity of a bourgeois our efforts to enter a united front army. The concrete result was the with the North American Commitmonopoly of all commanding posts tee and our conduct in the picket by careerists entirely without mili- line. Several of the Stalinist obtary ability who maintained "dis-servers expressed disgust at the cipline" over the soldiers only in dishonest tactics of the Medical order to preserve their own priv- Bureau representative.

ileges. The true proletarians who Mayor Bowron made a short had fighting experience and had speech declaring that he was for acquired military ability remained civil liberties but that he was also simple soldiers or were relegated for law and order. He said noth-

ing about stopping future illegal The soldiers soon got the feeling activity of the police except that that the famous "People's Army" he understood the organizations was organized only to guarantee present had the right to picket. the privileges of the careerists and

Build Workers Defense Guards the military caste and at the same

The S.W.P. has made clear its position on anti-fascist activity. Police support of the fascist youth

in their attacks on the picket lines At every dangerous and decisive moment this led inevitably to proves that the only real defense the flight of the command, or its for the workers against the fasdesertion to the enemy, panic cists is Workers Defense Guards. among the troops who felt they The Los Angeles section of the S.W.P. is directing all its energy had been betrayed, a chaotic retreat, heavy losses in equipment— to carrying out this slogan in all due more to the incapacity or Southern California.

leféatism of the commanders than to the actual advance of the enemy. las and shot him. They passed To show the characteristic at- the same verdict on Rojo, but he titude of the professional militar- was able to escape and place himists, we can cite the case of Gen. Vicente Rojo, commander at the go Caballero in the war ministry. beginning of the war, and directly He emerged to become Chief of responsible for the defeats of the General Staff.

Borox, Illiesca, and Getafe, along Innumerable other examples like with General Puydengolas. The this could be cited to show the militia committees judged both attitude of the professional solmen responsible for deliberate diers who remained "faithful" to treason. They arrested Puydengo- the "Republic."

self under the protection of Lar-

SOCIALIST APPEAL

By James Burnham

SOCIALIST APPEAL Vol. 111-No. 16 March 17, 1939

Published twice a week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents. Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.

"Recatcred as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Editor:

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

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST

WORKERS PARTY FOR: 1. 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.

Join the Pledge Fund

The Socialist Appeal has been making great strides towards becoming the voice of militant labor in America. Not only did the Appeal successfully complete its campaign for funds necessary to launch the new Appeal, but the semi-weekly paper is now an established, solid reality. It is here to stay-that is, until our next great success demands more frequent publication.

Dozens of letters are received each week praising the appearance and contents of the Appeal. Our subscription list mounts steadily; mass bundle-order circulation is growing; the Appeal is being sold wherever labor fights. In the organized labor movement the voice of the Appeal is increasingly heard.

But we must confess that there is still one stumbling block in the path of our continued progress. The Appeal now runs at a deficit each week. This deficit arises from greatly increased costs of printing, mailing, labor, etc. It is a drain on our reserve fund. We have been reducing the amount of the deficit steadily, but without the help of our readers we cannot expect to cut it down to zero.

This week we are writing to all regular Appeal subscribers urging them to join our Monthly Appeal Pledge Fund. We request our readers to give this letter their careful and sympathetic attention. We are

laborer-all those who will be shot down first in the approaching war-are not reflected to any considerable extent in the poll.

If the Gallup survey shows a majority favoring a referendum, then we may be sure that all those who will lose the most in the coming world blood-bath, those who will die in the field, those whose homes will be shattered by tragedy, are absolutely opposed to war and want somehow to prevent the coming carnage.

Nevertheless, despite this overwhelming public sentiment against war, Roosevelt last week came out against any kind of war referendum, however mild.

Roosevelt does not want so much as the disemboweled shadow of a referendum to lead the American workers and farmers into believing that they have the final word on going overseas to die.

Their shock at discovering that they did not exercise that right, Roosevelt believes would overthrow his regime. That is why he opposes even this year's version of a war referendum as proposed by a group of 12 in the Senate.

The tremendous war machine constructed by Roosevelt is almost finished. All it lacks is the steelhelmeted rows of American workers and farmers to march through its bristling maw to die for profits. Roosevelt can permit nothing to stand in the way of that death march. He and the small minority of

economic royalists he represents cannot let the people decide. That is why he opposes a war referendum!

Monahan's Campaign

Senator Reynolds' speech in the Senate against Mexico, reported elsewhere in this issue, is part of a systematic campaign being conducted from the law offices of Roy P. Monahan at 49 Wall Street. Mr. Monahan heads a committee which, according to the N. Y. Times Jan. 22, demands use of "our whole armed might" to "bring about restoration of American properties in Mexico and the elimination of Nazism from that state."

Mr. Monahan makes a crude attempt to link up the fight of the oil corporations against Mexico with the fight against Nazism. Too crude you might say? But Mr. Monahan dresses up his "anti-fascism." As chairman of the Americanism committee of the Disabled American Veterans, the Times goes on to report, "Mr. Monahan was the complainant against the German-American Settlement League, six officers of which were recently tried for violation of the State Civil Rights Law.'

Thus Monahan, aided by the publicity of the Times, makes a cheap gesture against the Nazis in order to justify a campaign of intervention against the Cardenas government.

But not only the Times aids him in this crooked maneuver. The central organ of the Communist Party, the Daily Worker, also endorses Mr. Monahan's credentials as an "anti-fascist." In a front-page story, March 8, headlined, "Bund's Menace Lashed by U. S. Vets Leader," Mr. Monahan is copiously quoted by the Daily Worker in a patriotic attack on the Nazis. Like the Times, the Daily Worker retells the story of Monahan's haling the Nazis into court.

In their mad hunt for "democratic allies" the Stalinists take anybody who will give lip-service to anti-fascism. That the anti-fascist language is nothing but "idealistic" justification for reactionary politics, does not repel the Stalinists.

Their build-up for Monahan will help him in his campaign against the Mexican government, just as Stalinist build-ups have helped the Daladiers, Azanas, Miajas, etc., to cut the throats of the workers to whom



Coughlin Spain Film Showing Is Gathering for Fascist Gangs

(Continued from Page 1) erence to St. Patrick's Cathedral just shown, forces like the soas the "Shrine of St. Bingo" has called Loyalists, socialists, comsome to the attention of even the munists, anarchists are organizing about the recent pogrom in Ger-'Christian Front.")

Play on Prejudices Mr. Walsh then introduced speakers who in turn played on he prejudices of the audience by Armies sent to Spain by Trotsky and Stalin" and of "willful destruction of private property and works or art by hoards of Anarchists, Socialists, Communists and small and unprepared!" other kinds of atheists." Urging

the crowd to watch the film carefully to observe the faces of the the chairman rushed to the plat. Communist Party, Socialist Party, Loyalists, speakers thus tried to form and announced that, "we Jewish War Veterans. He lumped prove that only Jews opposed have been informed that an agent all together and heaped abuse General Franco in Spain. This lie and others were refuted in our midst . . ." Whereupon the which hide behind the American completely by the film itself, "Christians" began to look all flag and sing the national anby Franco after the defeat of the him!"

Attacking the refugees and making "humorous" remarks here in America under the names many, one speaker pointed with of American League for Peace glee "to the fact that although and Democracy, the Socialist the President of the U.S.A. feels Workers Party, the Friends of the sorry for the Jewis, no one in International Brigade, the Jew- Russia has invited the victims of ish War Veterans, and the United Hitler's rage to that country these groups before it is too late." write to the President and to "Organize now!" repeated the Congress demanding that no commentator, "and stamp out "scum of Europe be allowed to these people while they are still enter our country."

Again the chairman attacked the S.W.P. and he made no dis-Immediately following the film tinction between members of the day and night and they can call

many scenes of the activity dur. ing the main speaker of the even- members of the Christian Front ing, then went on to attack the are not fooled-we will deal with

THEIR GOVERNMENT I was in Chicago at the time when the Fansteel

sit-in strike was being smashed. I remember talking about it to a brilliant and thoroughly realistic young corporation lawyer who was a friend of the attorney for the Fansteel company. During the conversation I remarked, "I suppose that with this wave of sit-downs upsetting the bosses there will soon be some new laws passed to declare all types of sit-downs illegal?"

His reply showed an admirable lack of illusions about the function of law in capitalist society. He put it in more or less these words: "There isn't any need for new laws. There are plenty of laws on the books already that prove sit-downs illegal. How could it be otherwise? But when the workers by hundreds and thousands occupy the factories, the letter of the law doesn't settle anything. We would have to bring in machine guns to clear them out, and under the present circumstances we can't do that. Wait until the workers quiet down again, and then you'll see the law get into action."

What the Law Is For

This young man, who has cynically rented out his talents to the highest bidders, understands the task of the law-that is, of the statutes, legal "theory," the courts, police and jails. He knows that the law is an integral part of the state, and that the central business. of the state, to which all else is subordinated, is to defend the property rights of the bourgeoisie in the instruments of production. Consequently, in private conversations he does not bother with any hokum about "abstract justice."

The bourgeoisie, in general, is perfectly clear in its own mind about the nature of the law. It uses the law as an instrument in the class struggle, an immensely effective instrument in maintaining its dominance over the masses. The bourgeoisie cannot afford to fool itself with high-sounding phrases.

Most workers, unfortunately, are not clear about the law. Never-ending propaganda assures them that the law administers impartial justice to all members of society. An anti-strike injunction or a Fansteel decision comes as a puzzling shock and disappointment. And, not being clear about the law, not realizing that the law is not "society's law" or worker's law, but solely and exclusively the bosses' law, the workers are handicapped in their unavoidable fight against the law.

The Law and the Factories

For a capitalist, the right to private property means first and foremost the free and untrammelled ability to own and use in any way he may see fit the instruments of production. It means that he shall have at all times free access to these instruments, and that he on his own decision shall be able to grant or refuse such access to others: that he himself shall decide whether or not to employ the instruments to turn out goods; that the entire product of the instruments shall belong to him.

He and his fellow-capitalists have constructed their state to defend this right by all necessary means. However, in the course of the development of capitalism, the original right to private property suffers some modification and limitation.

These limitations are roughly of two sorts: one type is a concession forced on the state by the strength of the workers (for example, the workers' right to strike and picket, both of which are limitations on the capitalist's right to private property); the other and more frequent type is imposed by the bourgeois state itself, acting as representative of the entire capitalist class, in order to protect the system of private property against being undermined by the too anarchic practises of individual capitalists (for example, "blue sky laws," "fair marketing agreements," laws governing fulfillment of contracts, etc.)

Capitalists, as individuals, usually resent both of these types of limitation, but it is only against the first that they carry on and must carry on a bitter and decisive struggle. The second type is in the final analysis a mode of self-preservation for capitalism-in its last stage taking the form of fascism. The first means a direct invasion by the class enemy, means that the workers are stretching their hands toward the seat of power, toward control over the factories and machines and mines which, if really won, would give them control over society as a whole.

that, "forces similar to the ones **Hit Refugee Admission**

fantastic stories of "nuns being ish War Veterans, and the United Hitler's rage to that country openly raped in the streets of Hebrew Trades and that all 'Chris- where international Jewry rules." Madrid and Barcelona by Red tians' must unite now to crush And he asked the audience to

Loyalists at Teruel and showed The chairman, before introduc- themselves Americans but we

Attacks S. W. P.

which, although partly taken by about and yell, "Kill the s-- o- them." "The Jewish War Veterfascist cameramen, was captured b---! Where is he? Let's get ans can denounce Communism all

of the Socialist Workers Farty is especially upon "those groups

counting upon a real response in organizing this Pledge Fund. Especially with present needs, a small deficit cannot stand in the path of our growth. Join the Monthly Appeal Pledge Fund and help raise the voice of militant socialism in the four corners America!

Stalin and Non-Intervention

A very short dispatch from Moscow to the press on March 4, reported the withdrawal of the Soviet government from the Committee on Non-Intervention in Spanish affairs, "because the London committee has not functioned for a considerable period of time and has lost the reason for its existence.'

That the committee lost the reason for its existence-with Anglo-French recognition of Franco-is true; but that it did not function for a considerable period of time is not true. On the contrary it functioned systematically, precisely for the purpose of paving the way for recognition of Franco, and Stalin's endorsement and participation in the committee immeasurably facilitated its work against the Spanish people.

We predicted upon its formation that the committee would serve Franco. This was quickly verified. But when revolutionists therefore demanded that the Soviet government resign from it, continued support of the committee was justified as a way to fight fascism!

The Stalinists will not like to be reminded of such gems as this from Harry Gannes' "How the Soviet Union Helps Spain": "Rather than to allow collusion between the Nazis and the Tory ministers to confront Spain, the Soviet Union strove to do all it could within the non-intervention committee to stop fascist arms from being shipped to Spain." Rather than to allow such collusion, Stalin preferred himself to be in collusion with the Tory ministers right up to the recognition of Franco by Anglo-French imperialism.

Let the People Decide!

The American Institute of Public Opinion, of which Dr. George Gallup is director, has just released the results of a nation-wide poll on the war referendum. According to Gallup's report 58 per cent of the American public favor an amendment to the Constitution which would require Congress to obtain the approval of the people by referendum before the United States can be plunged into a war overseas.

The Gallup poll reflects the sentiment of the middle layers of the American population, the professional occupations, highly skilled workers, and small business men. The lower layers of the population, such as unskilled labor, the ordinary factory worker, the farm

they were recommended by the Stalinists.

The President

A few readers of the Socialist Appeal have asked us why in our articles and editorials exposing the role of the Roosevelt administration as the instrument of American imperialism we have not more sharply criticized Franklin D. Roosevelt as a man and analyzed the personal qualities which have pre-eminently fitted him to act as President of the United States.

These comrades point to his oratorical skill which hypnotizes the workers and farmers, his remarkable finesse in telling the lies which delude them, the ruthlessness with which he builds his war machine and slashes relief rolls-other personal traits which make him probably the most skillful agent the capitalist class of the United States has yet played in the White House.

Why doesn't the Socialist Appeal debunk Roosevelt the man and show him for what he is?

To a Marxist, no leader can do more than express the economic and cultural interests of the class which places him in power. He may lend a special twist to particular circumstances and perhaps alter the time sequence of events. But he cannot change the basic direction nor drive of the forces he heads any more than a headlight on a locomotive can prevent the freight train behind from rushing through a tunnel.

One might speculate at times as to what decaying social forces could bring an intelligent person to believing in or fighting for private property ard the accumulation of profits in this day and age. But it is the task of the party organ to avoid speculation. Its columns must be devoted to analyzing the concrete forces and events through which Roosevelt maneuvers and to fighting with all its energy against the war, the hunger, and the tragedy which he as the head agent of capitalism is organizing.

We know that if any other agent of capitalism were in the White House his agenda now would be substantially the same as Roosevelt's, geniality or no geniality. Not all headsmen are alike. Some are dour, some pleasant and sympathetic, but all lift the axe in conformity with their orders and skillfully or unskillfully bring its edge down upon the neck of the victim. One headsman or another-what difference do his personal qualities make to the one who dies under his blade?

Our task does not L. n analyzing the distortions and limitations of the minds of the enemies of world progress except insofar as such an analysis might help in the struggle to free humanity. Our task as members of the working class lies in action on the road to the socialist revolution.

ng the early days of the uprising in Madrid and Barcelona. Stirring and inspiring shots of the P.O.U.M. militia, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. troops and tanks, young Socialists marching to the first contingent of foreign volunteers, all were deliberately distorted in the running comments of the editor of the film, to make Trotsky of having conspired with ery" conspired to destroy "beautiful and peaceful Spain. . . ."

Mum on Franco Butchery and palaces, the desecration of art and public buildings were all the revolution began here. blamed on the "Reds" and "Jews" but not one word on the cold

blooded murder of women and the speakers were revealed in from Italy and Germany. The movement and on the Loyalist by the film editor who claimed that the city had been destroyed babies were removed to Russia by the "red anarchists" who then shot their own children and women in order to win sympathy America to foment rebellion! from the unsuspecting people in America.

There were no pictures of the Moors who won many a battle for General Franco and who were responsible for the Fascist victory Fascist troops. Instead the whole gos was called, "the greatest rehistory And there were many scenes of bishops and welcoming the Fascist offic who were officials of the Vatican City.

Many feet of film taken by Franco's photographers, were devoted to showing prisoners captured after various battles. These, doomed to death or worse, were evidently divided into two groups armies.

ed on the screen, the audience lay-offs on W.P.A. would react by cat-calling and

Calls for Organization

Socialist Workers Party, the 4th these people when the time comes International and Leon Trotsky. and we will pay special attention He charged the Trotskyists with to Jews who sing the Star Spanhaving attempted to break up the gled Banner-don't worry, we will meetings of the German American take care of them . . ." He said front, mass-meetings in the huge charged Leon Trotsky with hav was organizing a Workers Defense Bund all over the country and he that the Socialist Workers Party ing organized not only the Red Guard because it was evidently Army of Russia, but the Interna- well-informed as to the purposes tional Brigade which fought in of the German American Bund and the "Christian Front." The Old Rape Story

Caballero, Prieto and Stalin to Stooping to such cheap trickery bring what was left of the International Brigade to Mexico where as, "How would you like your he "Trotsky) and Prieto had built sister openly raped on the street The destruction of churches a fortress and were preparing to in Brooklyn?" and, "Do you want invade the United States when to see your poor old father and mother taken to Ebbets Field and mowed down by machine-guns in

Reveal Ignorance

the hands of Reds?" Mr. Kelly, the main speaker, attempted to recruit for the "Christian Front" from the audience. "The 'Christian Front' needs men," said Mr. Government of Spain. One speak-Kelly. But there were few willing to sign the cards distributed by where they are to be taught "ideushers. ology" and then sent to South Couglhlin and asked everyone to

attend the picket line at radio Another roused the crowd to station WMCA every Sunday until fighting pitch by saying, "I have the station officials allow Father been informed that the Jews are Coughlin to spew his anti-Semitic about to plunge America into a lies and slander over the air. war with Hitler and Mussolini along with the Nazi and Italian and that Madame Perkins and Scores of ushers wearing badges President Roosevelt are in on the

of the "Christian Front" patrolled campaign of the butcher of Bur- deal. . . ." Playing on the anti-war the aisles and entrance to the sentiments of the people, each hall during the meeting and at ligious crusade against atheism in speaker in turn blamed the war least 200 police and detectives crisis on the Jews. were on duty at the hall.

> relief stations and handle complaints of their members. "It is very significant," said

George Breitman, militant secretary of the Union, "that the Municipal Assistance Board, while they were handing down this decision, all had in their hands copies of a mimeographed bulletin, titled Retrenchment Program of the Newark Relief Administration.'

All the speakers lauded Father

"The reason that I-Am-The-Law Malady, Newark Overseer for the Rich, wants us barred from the relief station is that he knows that we alone are capable of stopping his proposed \$3,000,000 cut in the Newark relief budget. But if

relling, "Oy! Oy! Look at the ployed Union was served with an stooges thought that they had trouble from the unemployed beicipal Assistance Board that they fore, they're going to realize soon would no longer be permitted to enough that they haven't seen

Sit-Downs and the Law

In a sit-down strike, the workers do not merely limit but indeed negate the property right of the capitalist. It might be said that, in a passive way, they establish control, direct physical control, over the instruments of production. From this it is, really only a small step to active control, to the workers going on to start up the machines again, but as masters, not slaves, of the machines. And that, of course, would be the socialist revolution.

This is why the law, the bourgeois law, would not, could not, will not ever recognize sit-downs as legal. And this why workers, if they are ever to achieve their own emancipation, must throw off the shackles of bourgeois law, to replace it with the workers' law.

Labor Looks Through **The Press** By ARTHUR HOPKINS

"America is asleep at the switch while democracy is threatened in China. Japan is moving south in China where the democracies hold stakes. The only course open to the democracies is to band together against the aggressor nations, not with arms, but with economic sanctions. Let's do something about it," pleads Anna Louise Strong, in Minneapolis for a series of lectures. It looks like the lady Stalinist wants to defend "our" stakes to the last drop of the workers' blood

The Supreme Court rules in the Fansteel Corporation case that "the employes had the right to strike but they had no license to commit acts of violence to seize their employers' plant. To justify such conduct because of the existence of a labor dispute or of an unfair labor practice would be to put a premium on resort to force and to subvert the principles of law and order which lie at the foundation of all society." . . . The United States will eventually recognize General Franco's regime in Spain, officials in Washington indicate, in line with the traditional policy of recognizing governments acheived through revolution. This policy dates back to the time of Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. Moral for workers: If you have the force, and know you have the force, and are willing to use your force, then anything you do is legal.

* DAILY DOUBT

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Foreign office experts of England believe Generalissimo Franco in behalf of achieving unity of the people of Spain will be generous toward the great mass of his former foes.

SET FOR ACTION (Special to Socialist Appeal)

NEWARK, N.J., Mar. 11-Plans

were being made by the newlyformed Workers Relief and WPA and the cameramen were careful Union this week to answer the to show only those whom they attacks of the reactionary Newdescribed as Jewish soldiers in ark relief authorities on the living the uniform of the Loyalist standards of the unemployed, and to launch a series of demonstra-Whenever such pictures appear- tions against the coming mass

Only 2 weeks old, the Unem- Malady and the other Hague Kikes! The Christ-killers! Mock- ultimatum this week by the Mun-

The film ended with a warning have their committees enter the anything yet!"

