

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wednesday, February 8, 1939.

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

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

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

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

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

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens.

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

THEIR GOVERNMENT

By James Burnham

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

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

By B. J. Widick

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

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

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

LEFT JABS

By Bill

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

ON THE LINE

By Bill Morgan

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

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

To keep alive and fresh the memory of the great militants of years gone by, of men and women whose stories are a constant source of inspiration, we are planning a regular feature of short biographies, appropriately entitled:

OUT OF THE PAST

By Emanuel Garrett

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

So, on with the Twice-a-Week Socialist Appeal! More subscribers, more readers, more financial and moral support than ever before!

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

**Open the Doors
To Europe's
Refugees!**

Socialist Appeal

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

**All War
Funds To the
Unemployed!**

VOL. III—No. 5

Saturday, February 4, 1939

375

5¢ per copy

OVER WITH A BANG!

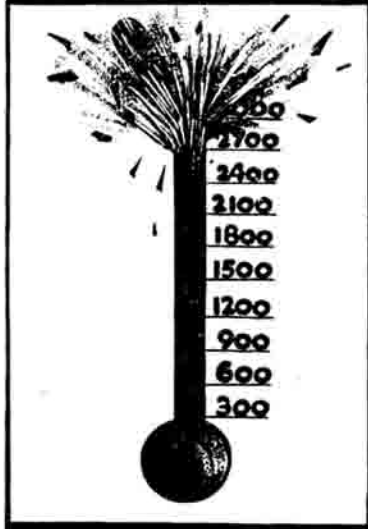
By ROSE KARSNER

Appeal Campaign Director
We've made it, just as we said we would!
Our goal—\$3,000. Our deadline—February 1.

And our total to date is \$3031.75. That's an achievement which even the most hardened skeptic and severest critic of our "small group" will have to admit. A victory which every branch and every member in it, as well as our sympathizers who made it possible have good cause to be proud of.

But we are not satisfied. Why? Because it was our hope that this week's Score Board would record ALL branches' 100% fulfillment of their quotas. However, we have one more chance.

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Suicide or Struggle -- These Choices Face the Unemployed

By BILL MORGAN

A neighbor walked into the home of Leonard Bencivenga and his wife in New York City the other day to inform them of the passing funeral of a mutual friend. But they did not answer his repeated calls. They themselves were seeking death in a gas-filled rear room.

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

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

Suicide is one way out. The bureau and the city officials no longer have to provide for clients who are dead. But to make a fuss in the relief office—to raise hell—is the last thing they desire. And when Mrs. Fanny Marcus did just that there sure was hell to pay in the bureau at 178th St. and Webster Avenue, the Bronx, this week. The papers all sent photographers, the police sent cops to make arrests and the bureau officials were sure embarrassed.

Local 5 Acts

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

Local 5 of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union swung into action when the investigators in the bureau refused to discuss Mrs. Marcus' case and demanded an immediate interview. When the committee from Local 5 was refused an interview Mrs. Marcus just sat down and stayed down for twenty-one hours! It was the first one-woman sitdown strike in history and it brought results.

Arrests Made

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

This sudden publicity aroused the anger of the officials and soon two militant members of Local 5 were arrested. Mrs. Sabelsky and

Ruth Friedman were removed from the scene by a patrol wagon in an attempt to scare off further action.

Then Mrs. Marcus was arrested. She had been turned over to the police by the bureau.

U. P. W. U. Prepares Case

But Local 5 is made up of many militant workers and the arrest of two members and the client will not prevent carrying on the case until satisfaction is granted. The bureau knows that a defeat for the U.P.W.U. on this case will establish convenient alibis for future cases.

Arresting the most active workers and the client will give the bureau a breathing spell but in the meantime the U.P.W.U. is preparing its case and getting ready for a real battle.

This is only one of many cases, but it serves as an example of the endless work carried on by the organized unemployed who know that only a relentless, determined struggle will win relief for workers who are getting the run-around and the Raw-Deal in New York City.

St. Louis Workers Demand Funds For Sharecroppers

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Endorsing the campaign of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union to give relief to the homeless sharecroppers of Southeast Missouri, a mass meeting of 500 people held here today called upon Congress to appropriate funds for the establishment of farm resettlement projects.

The meeting, called by the St. Louis Committee for Rehabilitation of the Sharecroppers, also decided to empower the sponsoring Committee to call a conference of interested organizations which would plan further steps to increase relief aid to the croppers.

Poverty Increased

Owen H. Whitfield, leader of the mass exodus and roadside demonstration of croppers which began Jan. 10, described in detail the plight of his people. Large-scale cotton growing, using machinery which replaced croppers and laborers, he stated, increased the poverty of these workers. The immediate cause of the croppers' revolt was the attempt of the land-

owners to change the croppers into day-laborers in order to deprive them of the Government cotton-reduction payments.

Evicted from their shacks by the landowners when they refused to accept this change in status, the croppers were then ejected from their roadside encampments by the State police, forced back to the farms and put at the mercy of the planters. Several hundred families, who could not be immediately returned to their masters, were corralled in a concentration camp, a barren 40-acre tract which was as devoid of real shelter as their make-shift camps along the highways.

Whitfield estimated that at least 250 persons were living in cold, unheated shacks and barns and are in dire need. A tenant on the government resettlement project at La Forge, the speaker urged the extension of this project of 100 families to include the thousands of needy croppers and laborers.

About \$100 was collected at the meeting.

Auto Workers Union Faces Deeper Split

Martin Resigns from Executive Council of C.I.O.; Indicates Break Away Into Independence or Towards A.F.L.

DETROIT.—The split that has been developing in the powerful Auto Workers Union took a new turn last week when Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, representing the leadership of the C.I.O., decisively rejected the claims of the Martin group and recognized the authority of the Thomas-Addes-Frankenstein group.

Homer Martin, ousted as president of the union by the 15 members of the International Executive Board whom he had suspended from office, countered this move by a letter to John L. Lewis in which he tendered his resignation from the Executive Council of the C.I.O.

To Consider Affiliation

In his letter, Martin indicated that he would present to the convention he has called for March 4 in Detroit the question of disaffiliating from the C.I.O. and of remaining independent or joining with the A. F. of L.

From the letter, and all the events leading up to what has become a definite split of the U.A.W. into two fighting camps, it became clear that these steps were leading the Martin group and its followers to a break with and isolation from the C.I.O., under whose banner the auto workers, in a series of dramatic struggles, built up an imposing industrial union, whose birth the old-line bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. had systematically prevented by their preposterous craft-union policy.

The Martin move, obviously the result of the systematic provocations of the Stalinist union-wrecking crew which has done its best to discredit the C.I.O. in one field after another, was considered by militant workers to be an indefensible step away from the main

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OMAHA DRIVERS SOLID IN 22nd WEEK OF STRIKE

Bosses Quit Parley; Demands 60% Settled

OMAHA, Neb.—With over sixty percent of the operators already signed up, the teamsters' strike continued for the twenty-second week against the remaining operators, when the bosses broke off negotiations last week.

The break came when the bosses refused to negotiate on the issue of a closed-shop clause for contracts covering local Nebraska drivers.

Balk At Closed Shop

Tentative agreement had already been reached on a number of basic issues. On over-road runs, the bosses had agreed to the uniform minimum 11-state North Central Area rate of 24 cents a mile, roughly 75 cents an hour. On Omaha and local runs, agreement had been reached for a wage scale of 60 cents an hour. The bosses had conceded the closed-shop for over-road runs to main terminals—Kansas City, Chicago, etc.—but balked at the closed shop for local Nebraska drivers.

An enthusiastic membership meeting of the union voted to continue the struggle for the closed shop and authorized Farrell Dobbs, leader of the North Central Area Negotiating Committee, to send individual letters to the thirteen remaining operators, calling upon them to deal directly with the union instead of through the bosses' negotiating committee.

Most of the operators have since signified their desire to meet directly with the workers' committee.

SENATE CARRIES HOUSE SLASH OF RELIEF BUDGET

Shipstead, Farmer-Labor Senator, Decides Cut

Last week the Senate, by a vote of 46-47, sustained the House figure of \$725,000,000 as the sum to carry WPA for the remainder of the current fiscal year (until June 30), and thereby made certain a major relief crisis during the next few months.

If the Bill as passed by the Senate, differing only in certain amendments from that already passed by the House, becomes law, and if no additional measure is passed, it will mean that approximately 150,000 W.P.A. workers will be dropped between now and April 1st; and that more than a million additional will be thrown out between April 1 and June 30. This result would be absolutely necessary, because the sum appropriated could not provide for any more.

Shipstead for Cut

The reduced figure was carried in the Senate by a coalition of Republicans and Democrats headed by Senators Byrne (Dem., N.C.) and Harrison (Dem., Miss.). In the final roll call, however, the deciding vote was cast by Shipstead, Farmer-Labor Senator from Minnesota.

The workers of Minnesota should mark this vote well, and remember, when the time comes that Shipstead lined up with the Minnesota business men, bankers, and conservative rich farmers, not with Minnesota's workers.

During its last hours of considering the Bill, the Senate, with no debate or roll-call votes, tacked on a number of amendments. One of these is particularly dangerous in its possibilities for the

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New Crisis Brews in Europe; Negrin Abandons Barcelona

CITY GIVEN UP WITHOUT FIGHT; QUIT IN PANIC

Premier and Other Officials First To Desert

ALL HOPE NOT GONE

Repudiating its pledge of a day earlier to fight to the finish, the Negrin government has surrendered Barcelona without a fight, and has followed this up by evacuating the industrial area just north of Barcelona, including the entire munitions industry.

Premier Negrin himself has crossed the frontier into France, according to the press services.

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

At the time that he was issuing proclamations assuring the Barcelona population of a fight to the end, and that the government would not leave the city, Negrin had already, it develops, rented a villa at Le Perthus, its front door in Spain and its back door in France.

Other Officials Desert

Other officials deserting to France included: Juan Molas, governor of Barcelona province; Edward Ortega Gasset, former gov-

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U.S. BORDER 'IN FRANCE,' F.D.R. TELLS SENATORS

Issue of Colonies Forced by Axis Partners

A MOSCOW DEAL?

GUAM BASE PLAN SHOWS OFFENSIVE U. S. INTENTIONS

Admirals Find It Hard to Explain Its Purpose

The Hepburn Naval Board let the cat out of the bag about American war plans when it proposed the fortification of Guam—a little rocky island 6,000 miles across the Pacific.

All week long Admiral William D. Leahy, chief of Naval Operations, and Rear Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn, have been before the Military Affairs Commission of the House trying to explain how the Guam project fits into the "defense" of the United States.

Leahy was compelled to admit that the West coast and even Hawaii could be "defended" without Guam and was all but forced to confess that Guam, 1,365 miles from Tokyo, would in reality become an advance base for submarine and aerial offensive action against Japanese positions.

The only thing a base on Guam would "defend" would be the imperialist interests of Yankee imperialism in China and the Philippines.

Another aspect of the private arrangements being made by the Roosevelt administration in preparation for war was brought to light when it was learned that U.S. bombing plane secrets were being put at the disposal of France, to whom 600 planes are to be sold with the government's permission and approval.

The vast maneuvers now underway in the Caribbean are designed to present a sharp and unmistakable warning to potential rivals in Europe—primarily Germany—that the United States will fight to protect its grasp on the rich markets of Latin America. The Hepburn plan at the same time makes it clear that U.S. imperialism is preparing swiftly for a showdown with Japan in the Pacific.

With the uneasy truce of Munich running out, President Roosevelt made it plain this week that he intends to thrust this country into war to check the totalitarian threat to American-British-French world domination.

He called members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee to the White House on Tuesday and told them this country's frontier was the French border.

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

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

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

African Colonies

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

In other words, the German and Italian hijackers are ready to take another crack at the long-hoarded loot of the British and French racketeers.

"Have-Not's" Ask Out

And in this country the American boss racketeers are preparing to step into this gang war and international thuggery that goes by the name of "foreign relations" in the capitalist world.

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

"To assume that God has permitted certain nations to take

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Split In Auto Workers Union Deepens

MARTIN LEAVES C.I.O. AS UNION CRISIS SHARPENS

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

Thousands Provoked
Badgered by the Stalinists and their slander campaign for more than a year, and sickened by the brazenly bureaucratic measures of the C.P.-Lewis combination in depriving the union the autonomy which the membership laid great store by, thousands of the best rank-and-file members of the Auto Workers Union were driven to react to such extremes as made plausible to many of them the turn that Martin has taken away from the C.I.O.

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

How erroneous was Martin's decision to give up the C.I.O. movement without a fight, by mistakenly considering Lewis, Browder and Co. to be identical with the masses of the C.I.O. members who have no use for the Stalinist wreckers, is demonstrated further by the fact that the C. P. stooges in the Auto Workers Union are now gleefully exerting every effort to turn the attention of the membership away from their own inglorious record and directing it instead to Martin's ill-considered and dangerous move.

By making this the sole and exclusive question of the day in the Union, the Stalinists hope to escape the criticism and attacks which thousands of progressive elements in the Auto Workers, who are not mere agents of Martin, expect to deliver against the C. P. wreckers at the Cleveland convention which the Executive Board members have called for March 27.

Rank and File Action
That the Stalinist gang will be far from successful in this cunning maneuver to save its hide, is indicated by reports of rank-and-file action which are coming in from all parts of the country.

Very significant in this report is the action reported by the Union Council representing the Auto Workers Union in Wisconsin, Illinois and Minnesota. While it decided to send delegates to the Cleveland convention called by the C. P.-Lewis combination, on the grounds that it would not go along with any course that led away from the C.I.O., the Council nevertheless indicated its firm views against the Stalinists by congratulating Homer Martin for his fight against these elements.

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

Progressives Mobilize
It is yet too early to establish definitely how accurate are the claims made by the two factions as to the percentage of the membership that each represents. Both sides are, of course, voluble in their public estimates, but it is considered that the intervening weeks, to say nothing of the weeks to follow both conventions, may bring forth events and issues that will produce many shifts in the relationship of forces.

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

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

These progressives do not intend to allow the latest Stalinist campaign of demagoguery against Martin to silence them in their fight against the C. P. gang at the Cleveland convention.

Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party Drops Independent Action in Move to Right

ST. PAUL, Minn., Jan. 28.—The state convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association, January 27 and 28, spent most of its time on issues growing out of the activities of the Communist Party in the Farmer-Labor movement.

A strong movement by honest rank-and-file delegates who wanted to get rid of the Stalinist wrecking crew was seized by politicians who had their own reasons for wanting to put the Stalinists into the background (but not necessarily out of the party).

More Conservative Program
The result was a step backward to a more conservative program, some improvement in organizational machinery, and a "purge" of Stalinists for publicity purposes only. A dozen insignificant figures were unseated as delegates, and the real problem of Stalinist activity in the Farmer-Labor movement was not solved. Even the unseated delegates continued to sit in the convention and vote.

The Farmer-Labor convention ten months before had ignored the Stalinist issue, but that was just before an election. It would have been bad publicity to face the turmoil in the movement. At this convention, after a defeat, there was nothing to lose, no patronage machine to hold the delegates in check, and the politicians needed a goat. The Farmer-Labor members were aroused at the work of Stalinist fractions in the ward clubs, and at the herds of delegates from non-existent paper organizations which swung control for the Stalinists in county and district organizations.

The more conservative political leaders had no quarrel with the New Deal program of the Stalinists, had worked with them during the past year, and, "if they'd stay in the background they'd be all right. But we've got to change our window dressing." With these leaders in control the Stalinists were fought only with organizational maneuvers, and not with a political program.

Constitution Revamped
Besides the credentials report which unseated the handful of delegates the main business of the convention was a revamping of the constitution of the Association. Previously the Association had been a federation of Farmer-

Labor clubs and "all organizations... accepting the program." Trade unions affiliated under this clause, and after the C. P. changed its line, a host of workers' orders, culture clubs, literary societies and paper locals of the Workers' Alliance also came in. The new constitution restricts membership to Farmer-Labor clubs and "chartered trade unions." Amendments proposed by the Stalinists to include unemployed organizations and ladies' auxiliary were defeated by large votes.

This change, to eliminate the plague of paper organizations was much needed and by and large an important step forward. Other amendments were decided steps backward.

The constitution committee removed "independent political action" from the purpose of the Association. The purpose was, "to unite the members of all farmer, labor and other kindred organizations, and unorganized elements which support independent political action by economic groups, into a political association."

The committee draft read, "to form a political association to carry on an extensive program of education and organization incidental to participation in the political campaigns of the Farmer-Labor movement." By amendment from the floor this dishwater was diluted even further by striking out the word "political" and substituting "educational."

Communists "Barred"
The other important change in the constitution barred communists, with a rule. There had been a rule against them in the constitution since 1924, and it had not worked, so the convention leaders decided to have another rule. The old constitution barred any person advocating change "by means" of revolution. The Minnesota Stalinists either deny membership in the party or say (truly) that it does not advocate revolution.

The new constitution reads, "Provided, however, that no person who is a supporter of any other political party than the Farmer-Labor Party shall be admitted to membership. No adherent of communism, fascism or Nazism may be a member of, or

hold any position in connection with the activities of the Association of the Party."

The provision is in harmony with the dropping of independent political action. It will have no more effect against the Stalinists than the old rule did, it will be used against real left wingers in the working class movement, and its purpose is to substitute publicity gesture for a real break with the Stalinists.

A real break with the Stalinists would require a break with their program, a break with the New Deal and political trading, and that is just what the F.-L. politicians don't want. To pacify the membership and change the window dressing they put in a new wording for the old rule and call it a purge.

Swing Back to Old Parties
The Stalinists program of liquidating the Farmer-Labor movement into the old capitalist parties was put in a nutshell by the "Daily Record" distributed at the convention: "Convention to rally progressives for New Deal." In contrast the "Minnesota Appeal" issued and distributed at the convention by the Minnesota Section of the Socialist Workers Party pointed out that the New Deal was dragging the Farmer-Labor Party to defeat, and proposed a concrete working class program for the Association. It also pointed out the futility of trying to expel the Stalinists, and added: "Now here is the irony of this tea-pot tempest: The Johnson-Lommen group who are trying to throw out the Stalinists, propose a program identical with that of the Stalinists! They both want the party to stay conservative. They want even closer unholy wedlock with the New Deal. They want to gag the trade unions."

"What we suggest is: REPUDIATE THIS TEA-POT TEMPEST! FIGHT FOR MILITANT REVIVAL OF PRINCIPLES!" Since the convention took the conservative line the problem will remain for solution. If the ban on paper organizations is really carried out it will improve the changes of working for a working-class program in the Minnesota F.L.P. That is the one convention action that did not completely duck the central issue.

Chicago Primary Candidates Avoid Main Issues

By ALBERT GATES

CHICAGO, Ill.—Another primary contest to select mayoralty candidates representing the two major parties is under way here. The democratic nomination is being contested by Mayor Edward J. Kelly, co-leader of the Cook County machine, and Thomas J. Courtney, present state's attorney.

While Kelly is the darling of the Horner downstate machine, and the darling of the Chicago "Daily News" and the "better" business elements.

The "regular" candidate for the Republican nomination is Dwight Green, young, vigorous, and the "Young Republican" man. Big Bill Thompson, denied the "regular" nomination, is running as an independent. He has his own machine, so many times routed but never destroyed.

"Draft Ickes" Campaign
A "draft Ickes" campaign threatened for a time to complicate the primaries. Chicago's perennial political reformers, Professors Merriam and Paul Douglas, began the Ickes boom in much the manner of the first LaGuardia fusion campaign. They rallied all the Chicago liberals and their movement grew daily.

The Stalinists and their mouthpiece, the Chicago "Daily Record" (pronounced "Wrecker" in many places), became at once the most active drafters. The paper carried daily dispatches from Washington on the latest doings of Honest Harold, as true a liberal as ever graced God's country, and certainly the equal of LaGuardia.

But Ickes refused to run. Roosevelt demanded his presence in Washington; he could not be spared in this critical period for the Roosevelt administration.

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

Courtney is for low-cost city government. A crusader against the gangster and the gambler, he has been hacking away at gambling joints for almost a year. As state's attorney, he already has a powerful machine behind him. Unfortunately for him, however, his downstate allies and his Cook County friends cannot help in this local election. Governor Horner, head of the state machine, is conveniently ill, and has been silent about the primaries. And Court-

gress from voting on entering a foreign war. But his main trouble is that he cannot be heard. The press is deliberately silent on the doings of Thompson. It will remain so until the campaign actually gets started, for once it begins he will be smeared as richly as he deserves.

What About Relief?
None of the candidates has a statement to make on the issues that really concern the Chicago workers. Relief, W.P.A., the sales tax, the right to picket, the right to organize in unions without police interference, are not so much as mentioned by these advocates of good city government.

Kelly is head of the administration which is responsible for the Memorial Day Massacre. A local politician, with a nominal salary, he owns a \$50,000 Florida home, an Eagle River estate worth more than that, and a large Chicago home.

Courtney has with impunity raided union offices, fought the C.I.O., and was part and parcel of the local administration until he joined the Horner forces in the 1938 elections. His aide-de-camp,

Chicago and Flint Hear C. L. R. James

CHICAGO—Over three hundred workers gathered to hear the lecture on the "Twilight of the British Empire" given by C. L. R. James, on Friday, January 27th, at the Capitol Building.

The meeting opened with a five-minute speech by Brother Henry Weinberg, a representative of the Chicago Newspaper Guild which is now engaged in strike against the Hearst papers. He called for the support of the strike by all present, asking for a boycott of the Hearst newspapers and advertisers. Many copies of the strike bulletin and strike buttons were sold.

James spoke for almost an hour and a half, tracing the rise of the British Empire, the effect of the world crisis upon British economy and the weakening of British imperialism. The crowd remained for more than an hour afterward to ask questions and listen to the splendid and concise answers given by the speaker.

FLINT, Mich.—C. L. R. James, noted English author and lecturer, spoke before the first open meeting of the Flint branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Tuesday, Jan. 24, to inaugurate in an auspicious manner the party's activity in this city.

Speaking on the topic "The Twilight of the British Empire" before an audience of over 60 workers, James traced the history of domination and oppression of the British Empire, and the spirit of revolt that has prevailed in the colonies.

The meeting was presided over by Genora Johnson, active militant in the auto strikes, who recently broke with the Socialist party to join the S.W.P.

NEW DEALER GETS JOB: ALL-Per IS REWARDED

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Former Congressman George B. Kelly, the ardent New Dealer and candidate of the American Labor Party, has recently been rewarded by the "good" citizens of this city with a lame duck appointment as Regional Director of the Wages-Hours Act. Mr. Kelly, from his East Boulevard Apts., expressed himself pleased with the \$5,600 job and assured the local Chamber of Commerce that he would make every effort to be "Fair to the employers as well as the employees."

DETROIT'S BEER DRIVERS SPURN WAGE CUT PLAN

Union Makes Public Double Cross by Frank Martel

DETROIT—Detroit's beer drivers are continuing their militant fight against the wage-cutting scheme engineered by combination of the breweries and Brewery Workers Union officials.

By tens of thousands of leaflets and posters, the membership of Drivers Local 271 took their case to the public, primarily to the auto workers of this auto center.

"Nine hundred brewery drivers and helpers are being locked out of their jobs," the leaflet declared. "They are fighting for union principles, against a wage-cut and for union democracy. They are fighting against a gang of unscrupulous officials, who call themselves labor leaders."

"The daily press has made it appear as if this was a 'jurisdictional' war between two unions. This is false from start to finish."

Labor Skate Conspiracy

The leaflet then describes in detail the conspiracy between the labor skates of the Brewery Workers Union and the breweries, whereby the charter of Local 38 of the Brewery Workers, covering the drivers, was revoked in November, 1938 and the men ordered into a previously established dual local, in order to institute wage slashes ranging from \$6 to \$18 per week. To protect their wage standards and jobs, the men unanimously voted to join the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which had previously been granted jurisdiction of brewery drivers. Chartered as Drivers Local 271, the men proceeded to enforce the original contract.

In collusion with the breweries, the Brewery Union officials secured an injunction to force the men back into the phony local they had established. The judge's decision was seconded by an "arbitrator's decision" of Frank X. Martel, head of the Detroit Federation of Labor. Since then, Martel's middle name is spelled "XX"—double-cross—by the workers of Detroit.

Drivers Press Demands
Even before the A.F. of L. Executive Council, meeting at Miami, repudiated Martel's verdict, the brewery drivers had already determined to press for their original demands for a union of their own choosing and the original wage contract.

A minority who obeyed Martel quickly discovered what it meant. On seeking to re-register at the Brewery Union, they were given, not union membership cards, but permit cards—a racket which pervades the Brewery Union, whereby by great number of the men in the industry have no standing in the union, neither voice nor vote, no seniority, and receive a lower wage scale than union members.

Return to Local 271

Those who went back also found themselves re-hired not as drivers but at the lower rate of helpers, the trucks being driven by scabs hired during the strike. When the minority realized what it was in for, practically all of them returned to Local 271, scores leaving their trucks standing in the streets.

The Brewery Union's labor skates still trade on the prewar reputation of the union as an industrial union with progressive policies. Actually, the present union bears no resemblance to the pre-prohibition organization. The Teamsters Union has demonstrated that it secures far superior wage scales and working conditions for drivers.

SAM BAUMAN

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

The red banners of the Fourth International are dipped in tribute to this fallen comrade and we pledge to carry on the fight for socialism with ever greater vigor and determination.



SOMETHING NEW FOR APPEAL AGENTS!
Newsboy Aprons!
Made from tough, brown canvas! Neatly lettered, heavily stitched pouch for holding change, section for holding papers comfortably.
ORDER NOW! ONLY 50 cents

APPEAL ARMY

The Two-a-Week Is Here!

Beginning next Wednesday the Socialist Appeal begins its long awaited twice-a-week appearance. And we promise our readers and agents that they have an exceedingly pleasant surprise in store for them when they see the new Appeal with its galaxy of popular, exciting features.

Every branch in our party by now should have made full preparations for the handling, distribution and financing of the new Appeal. There is still time left for branches to send in increased bundle-orders on the semi-weekly paper—provided they act at once. If no word is heard we will assume that the same bundle-order as before is wanted. But we expect branches to increase. This new Appeal will sell to everyone! Literature agents must also remember that the former 1c per copy promotion price no longer exists and that every copy will cost your branch 2c.

The 1,000 New Subscribers Campaign Is On!

Are you looking forward to the new Appeal? Then the first thing to do is to get going on our campaign for 1,000 new subscribers by April 1. Next week we publish in our column the list of new-subscriber quotas that have been assigned to the various branches. Don't forget that every new subscriber now gets twice as many papers for the same price as before. Already several branches have sent in subs which are credited to them in this campaign. Cleveland, Ohio, where John Depner and Bob Dullea handle the Appeal has led off the campaign with 3 new subscribers. Newark, N. J., is second. Who's next?

And now for the rewards in this campaign! We are going to present two sets of rewards to the two branches which, in the opinion of the Appeal staff, conduct the most successful subscription campaign.

First prize will be a complete, new set of all of Lenin's writings for your branch library.

Second prize will be a complete set of Leon Trotsky's writings (books, pamphlets, etc.) also for your branch library.

We are sure every branch will want to possess either one of these prizes. And, incidentally, the Appeal is counting upon the success of this new subscribers campaign. With our new and attractive paper, selling at a greatly reduced price we expect a flock of subs to come pouring

in. All efforts to fulfill your quota of new subscribers!

News From Branches:

San Francisco has cleared up its entire back bill and is starting off with a clean slate. We extend our best wishes to this branch for its new efforts on behalf of the Appeal and urge other branches with large back bills to act accordingly.

"If it continues really cold, I think I'll mail the papers to clubs and those who give me addresses. Our branch is starting to concentrate its efforts on some mill in Allentown. This summer (seems a long ways off!) I'm planning to cover our amusement parks on Sundays."—Ruth Querio in Allentown, Pa.

On Those Newsboy Aprons:

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

They were designed, printed and executed by comrade R. of our Appeal Poster Shop. Those of you acquainted with his work on Appeal posters know what fine work he does. These aprons which, incidentally, sell at practically cost price if we include postage charges, are guaranteed to last for at least one year. They are made of mighty powerful canvas and lettered in white.

This week we went a little over our quota of 50. But let's remember that that was on the old, weekly Appeal. With the semi-weekly paper our goal must be 100 subscriptions per week.

New York City	18
Chicago	6
Minneapolis	6
Philadelphia	4
California	4
Washington, D. C.	1
Michigan	3
Nebraska	2
St. Paul	2
Illinois	1
Massachusetts	1
Washington, D. C.	1
Newark, N. J.	1
Foreign	2
Total	51

OVER WITH A BANG!

(Continued from Page 1)

The next Socialist Appeal will be dated February 8, the FIRST of the twice-a-week issues ON THE ROAD TO A DAILY. It will at the same time be the last issue in which the Score Board will appear. That means that the branches which are still behind have an opportunity to come in with 100%.

LET'S MAKE THE LAST SCORE BOARD RING WITH 100% from top to bottom! We can do it. Just one final push. How about it, New York and points West?

Frankly we are in a dilemma. Originally, we offered three banners and two autographed copies of James' books to the branches making the best showing by January 15th, considering

their numbers, locality, financial status of members, etc. But we did not anticipate that we would have eighteen branches to choose from. That makes our job a tough one. But after due consideration, we have decided to award eight banners and three books as follows:

BANNERS TO—Allentown, Boston, Detroit, Denver, East Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis, St. Paul.

BOOKS FOR—Fresno, Houston and Plentwood.

Cleveland is still in the run, though their balance has not come in before the first, due to bad airmail conditions.

Credit has been given to branches for individual contributions received from their respective cities.

SCORE BOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Durham	\$ 5.00	\$ 10.00	200
Kansas	10.00	20.00	200
Sacramento	10.00	20.00	200
St. Louis	50.00	84.00	168
New Haven	20.00	28.00	140
Allentown	25.00	29.00	116
E. Chicago	10.00	11.50	115
St. Paul	100.00	111.00	111
Plentwood	5.00	5.50	110
Lynn	50.00	54.50	109
Wash., D. C.	20.00	21.00	105
Worcester	10.00	10.50	105
Boston	200.00	205.25	103
Denver, Colo.	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit, Mich.	25.00	25.00	100
Fresno, Calif.	5.00	5.00	100
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	5.00	100
Houston, Tex.	10.00	10.00	100
Minneapolis	500.00	500.00	100
Marston Mills, Mass.	5.00	5.00	100
San Francisco	50.00	50.00	100
Toledo, O.	20.00	20.00	100
Yellow Spgs., O.	5.00	5.00	100
East Oakland	20.00	20.00	100
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	5.00	100
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	15.00	100
Akron	50.00	50.00	100
Seattle	10.00	10.00	100
Newark	100.00	100.00	100
New York	1050.00	970.65	92
Philadelphia	50.00	45.85	92
Los Angeles	200.00	150.00	75
Chicago	250.00	176.50	71
Lexington	10.00	7.00	70
Punta Gorda	5.00	3.50	70
Rochester	25.00	16.50	66
Gardner-Fitchburg	15.00	9.50	63
Baltimore	10.00	6.00	60
Youngstown	50.00	29.00	58
Fargo	10.00	5.50	55
San Diego	10.00	5.50	55
South Bend	10.00	5.50	55
Cleveland	200.00	105.00	53
West Oakland	20.00	10.00	50
Louisville	10.00	1.50	15
Portland, Oregon	5.00	0	0

BARCELONA GIVEN UP WITHOUT FIGHT BY NEGRIN GOV'T

(Continued from Page 1)
ernment prosecutor; Jose Vega, civil governor of Toledo; and Jaime Aguirre, who, as Minister of Public Order of the Catalan government, on May 3, 1937 ordered the police to drive the C.N.T. workers out of the Telephone Building of Barcelona, precipitating a week's armed street fighting.

All press dispatches from the frontier state that the Loyalist government is preparing to evacuate Catalonia.

Retreat Not Justified
Strategic retreats are often justifiable in civil war as in wars between nations but, as observers pointed out, Barcelona and the neighboring industrial area encompassed the major industrial area possessed by the Loyalists.

Military observers of various countries, stationed at the frontier, were puzzled to explain why the Loyalist army did not make a stand in Barcelona, or at least immediately north of the city to protect the munitions factories around Sabadell.

The explanation is not to be sought in military but in political factors.

How Bolsheviks Fought
There were periods during the Russian civil war of 1918-1920 when the Bolshevik regime was in worse plight than the Spanish Loyalists. Hemmed in on all sides by Allied and White Guard armies, the Bolsheviks fought back despite lack of food and ammunition. Surrender was out of the question.

At one point the Bolsheviks held little more than a section of Petrograd and Moscow provinces. Banking on subversive political work inside the interventionist and White Guard territories as a more potent weapon than its own armament, the Red Army extricated itself and went on to victory.

In the face of this great historical precedent, the Negrin government's alibi of lack of food and ammunition must be viewed skeptically.

Workers Not Warned
Even if that were sufficient reason for evacuating Barcelona, it does not explain why thousands of trade union militants, marked for death by the fascists, were never given a chance to flee. When retreats were necessary during the Russian civil war, the workers were given time to retreat with the army.

But so suddenly and without warning did the government evacuate its troops from Barcelona, that many workers were still busily engaged in erecting barricades, unaware of the government's decision to abandon the city, when Franco's troops came down the avenue.

Face Firing Squads
While thousands of fascist prisoners were left behind to be freed by Franco's troops, it appears that great numbers of anti-fascist workers, imprisoned by the Negrin government in its assaults on the collectivized factories and farms, were left behind to face Franco's firing squads.

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

Not dispersed by a destructive battle, the Loyalist forces can have been dispersed for one reason: treachery and cowardice of the government leadership. Soldiers were reported to be stationed at the frontier to turn back deserting officials and officers.

Foisted upon the Spanish masses as "the government of victory," the Peoples Front regime has demonstrated that its sole capacity is to organize defeats. It remains at the helm now only to further the rout of the anti-fascist forces. Its bombastic promises to continue the struggle serve to enable it to continue the rout.

Still Suppresses Workers!
The government does not stop the fascists, but it has plenty of time and forces to continue, even now, its repression against the workers. It announces the suppression of an anarchist "uprising" at Puigcerda by the carabinieri (police). Fighting between Stalinists and anarchists is reported from several north Catalan towns.

Government officials can flee to France, but the vast masses must fight or die. This is literally the alternative for hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers and peasants, their names already in Franco's files of those slated for execution. For the rest of the workers, a fascist regime would mean endless humiliation and slow starvation.

Surrender is out of the question. But to fight back, to regain lost ground, requires that these workers take the fight into their own hands, repudiate the treach-

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

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

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

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

FEAR OF REVOLUTION

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

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

WORKERS' AID STEMMED

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

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

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

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

STALIN'S ALIBIS

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

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

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

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

DEPENDENT ON FALSE ALLIES

But this is only a partial explanation. Real

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

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

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

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

FREEDOM FOR MOORS

2. Freedom for Morocco. The Moors had no reason to look upon the Spanish workers as their brothers. For both the Socialist-Azana government of 1931-1933, and the bourgeois-socialist-Stalinist government of February, 1936 left the

Moors under the dictatorship of the Foreign Legion. A break with this past policy, a decree granting absolute independence to Morocco, would have opened an entirely new period in the relations between the Moorish peasantry and the Spanish masses. If overthrowing Franco would mean independence for their country, the Moors would have revolted against Franco.

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

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

TRAITORS AT THE HELM

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

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

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

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

NEW CRISIS NEAR IN EUROPE OVER COLONIAL ISSUE

(Continued from Page 1)

possession of the world by force and then defend the robbery with moral theories is perhaps comforting and certainly convenient for the possessor, but is uninteresting, immaterial and without obligation for the have-nots."

Europe Has Jitters

For weeks now London and Paris have been waiting to see where the next blow was going to fall. In the process both capitals developed a first class case of the jitters. Mussolini began his unofficial campaign for a slice of France's empire—mentioning Corsica, Tunisia, the Somaliland port of Djibuti in the Red Sea, and even Nice and Savoy in France proper.

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

Slows Eastward Drive

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

Mussolini exerted counter-pressure, sending his foreign minister, Ciano, to Budapest and Belgrade, and in other ways indicating to his axis ally that the time had not yet come to turn faces exclusively eastward. Italy had to be assured of her loot in the Mediterranean first.

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

No Mention of Russia

In his speech on Monday Hitler delivered his usual tirades against Bolshevism and the Jews but omitted entirely his usual references to the Ukraine and the Soviet Union. In Moscow the press simply ignored the Fuehrer's speech, while Pravda featured, without comment, a London editorial about the possibility of a Soviet-Nazi understanding.

These things never happen by accident in present-day international politics. Having been left out in the cold by his "democratic" friends, Joseph Stalin may very well make a pool of some kind with Hitler. That possibility remains one of the major imponderables in international affairs.

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

Spanish Tragedy Is Prelude

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

Play For Another Munich

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

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

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Socialist Appeal

WORKMEN CIRCLE PUSHES S. P.-OLD GUARD FUSION

NEW YORK—Five Workmen's Circle branches in New York, calling for fusion of the Socialist party with the Social-Democratic Federation, last week issued an invitation to other branches for a conference on Sunday, February 5, for "exerting moral pressure upon both wings of the Socialist movement" for unification.

"We feel confident that the ideological issues which brought about the split in the former Socialist party have almost entirely disappeared and that there is now no logical justification for the present said situation," the call to the conference states.

Apparently the conference is to be addressed by spokesmen from both the Socialist party and the Social-Democratic Federation, for the document says that the conference will be addressed by "prominent speakers from the Socialist Movement."

The date set for the conference is on the heels of the February 3 meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party where, it is a foregone conclusion, final steps will be taken for fusion with the Old Guard. The cut and dried plans are indicated by the calling of the Workmen's Circle conference in advance. The conference is designed to provide "popular" sanction for the fusion with the pro-Roosevelt, pro-war Old Guard.

RYAN, LINCOLN BRIGADER, TO SPEAK AT S.W.P. MEET

CHICAGO—Bill Ryan, a member of the Lincoln Battalion who recently returned from the trenches of Spain and Alba Ryan who spent many months as a nurse for the Loyalist armies will speak on the "Tragedy of Spain and Its Consequences" at a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party to be held Sunday, Feb. 5, at 3 p.m. at the Capitol Building, 159 North State Street.

The Ryans will recount their experiences gained during their lengthy stay in Spain where they both participated actively in the struggle against fascism.

Albert Goldman, of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak at the meeting.

erous leadership of the Peoples Front, and organize the fight against Franco under the leadership of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

New York Y.P.S.L. Honors Three Revolutionary Chiefs

NEW YORK—More than 250 youths filled Webster Manor auditorium last Friday night at a meeting of the Young People's Socialist League to honor the memory of Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg, three outstanding fighters in the struggle against militarism and war.

Ernest Erber, national educational director of the Y.P.S.L. told the audience how these three socialist leaders fought against the capitalist war mongers in their own countries, as well as the "people's frontists" in their own parties. Erber showed how a similar struggle must be conducted by the young workers today against the war preparations of the Roosevelt administration.

He urged the youth to fight for the transference of "all war funds to unemployed youth." He called upon the students to insist that

"All R.O.T.C. funds be turned over to N.Y.A. (National Youth Administration)."

The program of the evening included a "March of Time" presentation on the lives of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, by the newly organized dramatic group of the Y.P.S.L. The long round of applause that followed attested to the success of the dramatic group's first venture. The Yipsel chorus led the singing.

Among the highlights of the meeting was the induction of new members who have joined the league since the New Year. These new members pledged themselves to follow the example of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg and do all in their power to bring about a better world through the socialist revolution, without ever betraying the ideals and principles of the socialist movement.

LIKE CHILDREN

It is hardly necessary to comment on the following passage from Mrs. Woodrow Wilson's reminiscences, now running in the *Saturday Evening Post*. She is describing a visit she and President Wilson paid, in 1918, to an American hospital in France:

Having been through the wards, we were shown the very modern operating room. I was counting the minutes until we could get away and breathe God's pure air free from the odor of disinfectants and anesthetics, when the doctor opened a door and stood back for me to enter. Never shall I forget that awful sight! The room seemed to be turning upside down, and through a mist I saw human forms with faces so distorted and mutilated that the place seemed an inferno. I think for an instant only my will to hold on and not let them see my horror kept me from fainting.

Suddenly I heard the doctor's even voice saying to my husband: "Yes, this is the facial ward. You see, we put them all up here together, so they won't get sensitive about seeing people and sort of help each other. If each were off to himself they would not know about the others, and would get morbid and self-conscious." This brought me up with a jerk, and I have never ceased to be grateful to that wise doctor. I felt so ashamed that I should grow faint at merely looking at what these

boys were enduring without a murmur. There they were, some with their entire noses blown away, some totally blind, others with chins and half their faces gone. Well, I shook myself free of horror and stayed on and talked, and told them how proud I was just to touch their hands. My husband made a little talk to them as they gathered around him like children. . . .

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AMERICAN FUND GROUP FORMED IN NEW HAVEN

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—A local sponsoring committee of the American Fund for Political Refugees and Prisoners has been organized in this city. Consisting of many well-known labor and liberal leaders, the committee has already begun a wide campaign to open the doors to the worker-refugees.

Among the members of the committee are the following: Dr. Fleming James, Berkeley Divinity School; Dr. Arthur Mizener, Yale; Jacob Belford, prominent labor attorney; Harry Feinmark, Pres. A.F. of L. Central Trades and Labor Council; Frank Trainor, C.I.O. steel organizer; Alex. Driessens, secretary New England Cigar-makers Council; Mrs. Celia Rostow, a leader among the Connecticut League of Women Voters.

POULIPOULOS, IN METAXAS JAIL, GREET'S FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Writing from his dungeon cell, P. Pouliopoulos, secretary of the group of Greek Communist Internationalists in the jail of Algiers, Greece, has greeted "with the greatest enthusiasm" the foundation of the Fourth International.

In the name of his imprisoned fellow revolutionists, comrade Pouliopoulos pledges "our undying will to continue fighting from the depths of the Metaxas dictatorship's dungeons . . . for the liberation and final victory of the Greek proletariat."

Hails Greek Unification
With unlimited confidence in the principles and ultimate vic-

tory of the Fourth International, comrade Pouliopoulos greets "especially the decision made at its World Foundation Congress for the unification of all the revolutionary Fourth Internationalists into one unified section of the new International for the benefit of the Greek and the world labor movement."

P. Pouliopoulos, ex-secretary of the C.P., escaped from prison several months ago. A reward of \$25,000 was placed on his head, and he was re-arrested soon after. With others of his comrades he is today in the jail of Algiers.

Marxist School Will Open February 27th

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

The courses will be:

I. PRACTICAL TRADE UNIONISM—

Sam Gordon

B. J. Widick

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

II. PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN POLITICS—

James Burnham

Albert Goldman

Max Shachtman

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

III. WHAT IS TROTSKYISM?—John G. Wright

A course for those who want to explore the facts and documents about the history of the "Left Opposition" in the Soviet Union and the emergence of the left-wing movement in other countries that grew into the Fourth International. Tuesdays, 7 P. M. to 8:40 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.

A series of lectures given in conjunction

with the Partisan Review.

Phillip Rahv—A General View of Proletarian Literature.

William Phillips—Marxism and Literary Criticism.

James T. Farrell—The American Novel.

Delmore Schwartz—Contemporary Poetry.

Dwight Macdonald—Left Wing Journalism.

F. W. Dupee—Two Political Novelists: Malraux and Silone.

All those registering for this course will receive free a half-year's subscription to the "Partisan Review." Tuesdays, 8:50 P. M. to 10:15 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.25.

V. LABOR JOURNALISM—James Casey.

A practical course in which reporting, editorial writing, copy reading and headline writing, make-up, etc., will be taught. Wednesdays, 7:15 P. M. to 8:40 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.

VI. THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION—George Novak.

The Civil War of 1861—1865. A Marxist analysis of how the American bourgeoisie completed its revolution. Wednesdays, 8:50 P. M. to 10:15 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.

Registration is now going on at the school office, 116 University Place and at the Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street, New York City, from 1 P. M. to 8 P. M. Registrations will also be accepted by mail to the school office or by calling Stuyvesant 9-0567.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III—No. 5 Saturday, February 4, 1939

Published every week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six
months. Foreign \$2.50 per year. Single copies 5
cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.All checks and money orders should be made
out to the Socialist Appeal.
Entered as second-class matter September 1,
1937, at the post office at New York, New York,
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS FELIX MORROW

Associate Editors

S. STANLEY, Business Manager

The Hague Decision

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Who is going to defend labor at these assault-meetings?

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

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

Is it hopeless? Not at all!
It is hopeless so long as the workers lie down on their backs and wait for someone else to do their fighting for them.

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

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

That force is the organized, militant working class itself!

In a strike, the unions organize their pickets to defend themselves from company gunmen, from scabs, from police. The unions are right, every time, for that's the only way to win.

That's what is needed in Jersey City—and every other locality where labor faces the same problem.

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

Call Their Bluff!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Call their bluff! If they can't run industry, or refuse to do so, then run them out. Let them make way for those who can and want to.

The masses need a government that will take over industry under workers' control.

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

Spain and the Pacifists

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

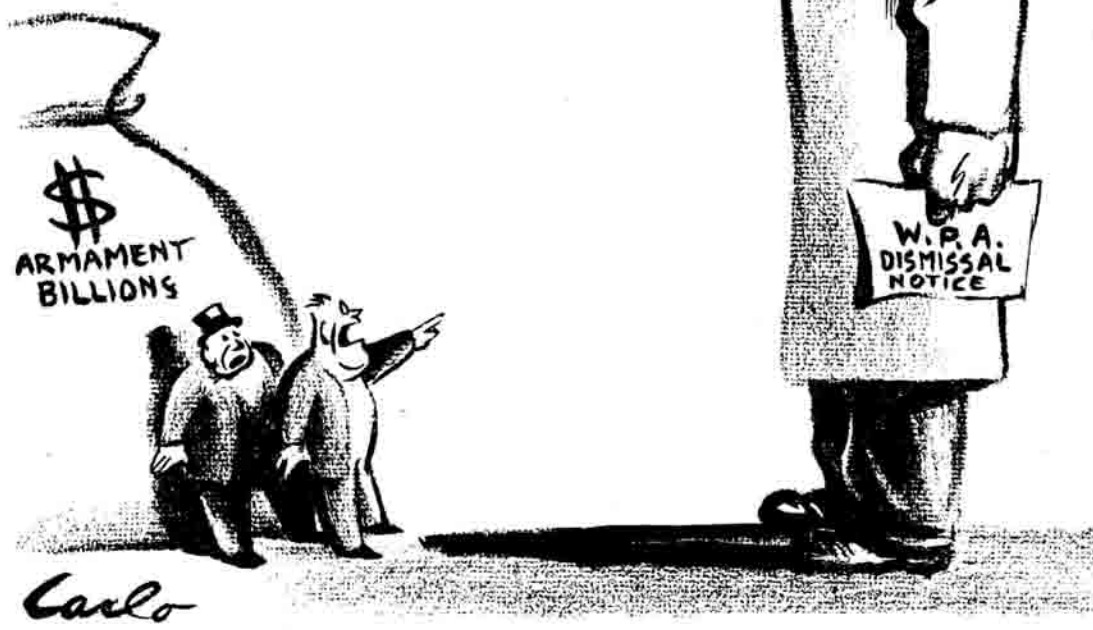
The leaflet is at one with Father Coughlin's followers in calling upon the Roosevelt administration to continue its arms embargo against Spain. It calls for solving the Spanish civil war by mediation "if possible by a non-governmental international committee composed of such people as George Lansbury." And if Franco does not consent? The leaflet has nothing further to say.

We can scarcely find words to describe this piece of swinishness. Elsewhere in this issue we make clear that we have no illusions about the amount of aid anti-fascist Spain can expect from Roosevelt & Co., nor do we believe that the Loyalist struggle must stand or fall by such aid. But no sincere anti-fascist can stand on any other ground except that the Loyalists have a right to purchase arms here and in France, and that those who deprive them of this right are thereby aiding Franco.

Among leaders of these pacifist groups are important members of Norman Thomas' Socialist party: Paul Jones, of the national board of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is state chairman of the Ohio Socialist party; Jesse Holmes, a leader of the Friends Service Committee, is state chairman of the Pennsylvania Socialist party; a prominent New York associate of Thomas, Jessie Wallace Hughan, is secretary of the War Resisters League; others are Devere Allen, Charlotte Bentley and Winston Dancis. That these traitors to the struggle of the Spanish workers will not be expelled by Norman Thomas, we take for granted. What is important is what the remaining militants in the Socialist party will do in the face of this new piece of treachery.

"Your Interests in South America Are Menaced!"

793-RECE



New Soviet Decrees Reflect Acute Crisis In Production

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

On December 29, Stalin officially promulgated the latest of his "labor decrees," to accompany a previous decision to "increase the productivity of labor by 25% while cutting wages 14% and more.

The publication of this decree—which completely invalidates the labor laws of the Soviet Union introduced under Lenin in December 1922 at the beginning of the New Economic Policy—was preceded by a ritualistic campaign in the press of only two weeks duration. To believe Stalin (and the *Daily Worker*) it was the workers of Russia themselves who insisted on the passage of laws which are almost without parallel in reactionary labor legislation. Only the system of "fink books" is comparable to the "system of labor booklets" introduced by Stalin as a New Year's boon, 22 years after the October Revolution.

As for the other provisions in the decree, they violate not only all previous labor legislation but "the great Stalinist Constitution" itself. And all this was headlined in the *Daily Worker* as follows: "SOVIET ACTS TO INCREASE SOCIALIST PRODUCTIVITY HAMPERED BY THOSE WHO ABUSE SOCIAL SECURITY."

"Democratic" Procedure

The decree was issued without even a consultation of the Supreme Council which is scheduled to convene shortly. It sufficed for the passage of this law for Stalin to sign it in the name of the "Communist Party of Russia." Molotov signed it for the "Council of People's Commissars" (the majority of whom have been purged as "wreckers" in the past year), while Shvernik invested it with the "authority" of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. And if any further proof of the legality of this decree was required, the Russian worker could turn to the pages of the latest issue of *Sovetskaya Yustitsia* (the official organ of Vyshinsky's Department of Justice) wherein it is proved that all former "theories of labor and labor laws in the U.S.S.R. have been permeated with capitalist counter-revolutionary spirit." Why consult the Supreme Council on such a detail?

OLD LAW HOUSES PERIL WORKERS

Slum Tenants Must Move Against Owners

NEW YORK—Swiftly and without warning, the whole front wall of an unoccupied tenement at Eleventh Avenue and 55th Street collapsed last week, and bricks and debris tumbled precipitously to the sidewalk below. A few moments before, a group of children had been playing there, unaware of the impending disaster.

They had moved on, fortunately, and at the precise moment of the collapse no one was in front of the building. The only casualty was an empty automobile.

Article 119 of the Constitution guarantees, among other things, rest and leisure to Soviet citizens. We quote this "guarantee": "The right to rest and leisure is ensured by . . . the institution of annual vacations with pay for workers and other employees and the provision of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs serving the needs of the toilers." But Article 119 has been improved by Stalin. Henceforth social security will be provided on the following basis: "100 per cent" only if the worker has remained "in one and the same factory or institution" for more than six years; 80 per cent if his "labor booklet" shows a record of three to six years' stay in one and the same place; 60 per cent for two to three years and 50 per cent for anything below that. The *Daily Worker* heads this paragraph of the decree with the caption "High Benefits."

Tying Workers Down
These "benefits" are indeed so high as to be inaccessible to the vast majority of Russian workers, who have been constantly migrating from factory to factory in the hope of improving their lot. In point of fact the foregoing measure, along with others, is intended in part to cope with the tremendous labor turn-over in Russia, to tie the workers down, somewhat in the manner in which the serfs were tied to the land.

Why these drastic decrees? The official explanation is very, very simple. "The overwhelming majority of workers and office employees," declares Stalin's preamble, "work honestly and sincerely . . ." But there is a handful of "disorganizers" (it used to be "wreckers"—remember?) and it is these "individual ignorant, backward or unscrupulous people who . . . cause industry, transport and the whole national economy great damage." Stalin and his gang do not bother to explain either to the Russian workers or to the world just how these "individual" shirkers and slackers can cause "billions of dollars" annually; nor just why millions of workers have to suffer for the sins of a few.

Workers Blamed Now
A short time ago the disorganization of industry was laid at the door of "wreckers" and "saboteurs," especially of the "Trotskyite-Zinovievite-Bukharinite" variety. Thousands of Old-Law Tenements

There are thousands of other condemned old-law tenements in New York City, many of them occupied, which likewise present a constant threat to residents and passers-by.

Why do the city authorities fail to take the necessary precautionary measures to protect the lives of the people living in and traveling through these danger spots? The tenement owners have adequately demonstrated that they will do nothing, until compelled, to eradicate these hazards. The city fathers, although fully informed of the conditions, do nothing to supply the necessary compulsion.

That compulsion will come only from the slum-dwellers and from the workers generally. They must protest against living in such buildings and such neighborhoods.

Spain: A Lesson For France

AN EDITORIAL

the Paris Commune of 1871 was drowned in blood by the French reaction, Karl Marx set himself to studying the lessons of that defeat so that in its next great struggle labor would not lose again.

When the Revolution of 1905 went down in defeat under the heel of Czar Nicholas the Bloody, Lenin set himself to studying the lessons so that next time the defeat would be wiped out by a victory.

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

Now the Spanish working class has gone down to defeat, as did its brothers before it in Austria and Germany.

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

Remember: the Popular Front said, "Don't fight your capitalist class. Unite with it. Rely on it. Subordinate yourself to it. That'll make you respectable, and you will be able to win the fight."

Remember: the Popular Front said, "Don't fight for socialism. Don't try to take power and control your own destiny. Don't touch private property or you'll make the capitalists angry with you."

Remember: the Popular Front said, "Don't irritate the foreign imperialists of France and London and Washington. Otherwise they will not help you defeat fascism. Otherwise they will not send you arms and food. Otherwise they will not recognize your government."

Remember: the Popular Front said, "Don't free the colonies. Don't give independence to the Moors in Morocco. Otherwise England and France will abandon you, because they are afraid of losing their own African colonies."

Everything the Popular Front promised and guaranteed the workers proved to be a fraud, a delusion, a death-trap. Under the whip of the Stalinists, the social democrats, and the anarchists, the workers and peasants of Spain were driven into this trap. Now they are at the tender mercy of Franco's assassins.

Leaders Flee, Masses Remain
The leaders can flee to safety.

HARRY WICKS TURNS UP UNDER LOVESTONE'S WING AGAIN

We notice with some astonishment in the last issue of the *Lovestone* paper an advertisement of a class in Marxism which is being organized in Chicago. Our astonishment is aroused by the name of the instructor, the not entirely unknown Harry M. Wicks.

At least up to recently, Brother Wicks was one of the luminaries of the Stalinist party. A standardized bureaucrat, he was a Love-

stonite when Lovestone was kingfish of the Communist party, and a Browderite after Lovestone was shown the door. In the former capacity, he was a Trotsky-killer of the first rank; in the latter capacity, he added to his repertory the customary invective against Lovestonism.

His principal claim to fame, however, goes back quite a few years. In 1920, he appeared before the businessmen of Gary, Indiana, as a renegade radical to expose the inner workings of the communist movement. The Gary "Post" of March 25, 1920, quoted him as saying: "With very few exceptions, he said, the radicals are not Americans. Most of the Socialists are people of foreign birth and citizenship and many of them do not even speak the English language. Bill Haywood and his satellites should not be tolerated in this country, Mr. Wicks said, he had been advising American Legion members not to permit these vermin to talk to them, but to knock them down. That, he said, is the only language they understand."

Now, it appears, after several years of faithful service under Mr. Browder, the well-known patron of the American Legion, Brother Wicks has decided to throw in his lot with his former tillycumb, Jay Lovestone. We are not indignant about this because, as physical science points out, sewage cannot rise above the level of its source.

Nevertheless, it does seem to us that, in the interests of public hygiene, the *Lovestone* paper owes its readers some explanation of the circumstances in which Brother Wicks divorced the Stalinist party and came to the Lovestone group. Otherwise, some people might think that what this spotless revolutionist did was to sneak out of the one and into the other under the cover of darkness and in the hope that nobody would take note of his shift. And surely the Lovestonites wouldn't like to have it noised about that that is the way people prefer to join them.

equipped with passports and money. The masses cannot.

Today in France, where the life-and-death struggle is on the order of the day, the workers are being blindfolded, drugged and paralyzed by Popular Frontism. The workers of America, who face the same kind of struggle against fascist reaction tomorrow, are being inoculated with the same Popular Front poison by the Stalinists, the social democrats, the liberals and the labor bureaucracy.

There is still time to learn in France. There is certainly still time to learn in the United States. Popular Frontism ended in a fascist victory in Germany, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Spain.

The workers of France were told to follow capitalist politicians like Daladier and Bonnet. These gentlemen then proceeded to break the workers' general strike with arms in the hands of the "Popular Front" army.

The workers of the United States are still being told to follow the American Daladiers—Roosevelt, Lehman, Olson, Murphy and Co.

Learn the Lesson!

If fascism is not to triumph in France, or in the United States, labor must learn this simple idea:

No capitalist party, no capitalist politicians, no capitalist leaders are going to fight its battles for it. All that labor has to do to swing its mighty, sledgehammer, winning blows, is to free its arms from the chains of the ruling classes.

The workers are invincible—once they realize their own strength and how to use it.

Fascism can be crushed like an egg-shell—once the workers fight as a class, with their own organizations, their own leadership, their own methods, their own weapons.

In Spain, the Popular Front was so worried about maintaining capitalist property, so worried about maintaining its respectability in the eyes of Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt, that it couldn't carry on an effective fight, a working class fight, against fascism, its allies and its patrons.

Let the workers of France and the United States learn from Spain—how not to face fascism.

Prepare now, before it is too late! Crush the fascist monster in the bud by organizing labor's cohorts everywhere into militant, determined, aggressive Workers' Defense Guards!

SENATE CARRIES HOUSE SLASH OF RELIEF BUDGET

(Continued from Page 1)

future. It is allegedly designed to "take politics out of relief," and was motivated on the surface by the entirely true charges that relief has been used by the New Deal machine as a major means for garnering votes.

The amendment prohibits all officials of W.P.A. from making electioneering speeches and forbids any solicitation of funds from W.P.A. workers "for political purposes." All the political history of this country proves that

this amendment will have no effect whatever in getting rid of the manipulation of the relief set-up for the benefit of the Republican or Democratic party organizations.

But the catch is that it will be utilized to try to prevent the entry of unemployed organizations into working-class politics, and to stop the attempt to win the W.P.A. workers to the perspective of independent labor political action.

The relief bill now has gone to a joint committee of the House and Senate so that the slight discrepancies between the two branches of Congress may be ironed out and a final formulation agreed upon. Since both branches have approved the amendment, there is no reason to suppose that it will be raised in the

joint committee.

For the unemployed to take this relief action of Congress lying down would be about the same thing as to commit slow suicide.

Congress will change its mind, will wake up and take notice, as soon as, just as soon as, and only as soon as the unemployed show something on their own hook. Since Congress opened, the unemployed have trusted Roosevelt, Lewis, Lasser and LaGuardia to win concessions for them. These dime-novels heroes have now had a chance to show how much they are going to accomplish for the unemployed: exactly nothing. The unemployed have now got to take their own job on their own shoulders, or look for the nearest hole to crawl into.