

We Must Fight the W.P.A. Cuts!

AN EDITORIAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (1) No reduction of the \$2,000,000,000 war program.
- (2) Slash relief appropriations until the point is reached where the unemployed rebel and protest with mass demonstrations.

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

It is as clear as the million dollar figures in the high bracket incomes that the unemployed are faced with the alternative: Militant mass demonstrations before all local relief headquarters on April 1, OR slow death by starvation.

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

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

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

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

There is no other way to save yourselves from starvation!

L.A. Police Gas Pickets Protesting Fascist Meet

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
LOS ANGELES, March 8—Los Angeles police last night used tear gas to help fascist youth break up a picket line which was protesting a meeting at the Wilshire-Ebell Club where Aileen O'Brien, Franco supporter, was the principal speaker.

Today a delegation including representatives from the Socialist Workers Party, the Young People's Socialist League, and the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees appeared before Mayor Bowron to protest the police brutality in breaking up the picket line.

Stalinists Reject United Front
The demonstration was called by the S.W.P., the Y.P.S.L. and the North American Committee to

Aid Spanish Democracy. Although the S.W.P. approached the North American Committee in advance seeking to prepare a unified demonstration, the Committee refused the offer for a united front and the S.W.P. and the Y.P.S.L. made independent preparations.

About 250 persons marched in the picket line, a majority of them with the militant and colorful S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. contingent. A number of the 4th Internationalists graphically depicted Franco's slaughter of the Spanish working class.

Fascists Begin Provocation
The demonstration had continued without disorder for an hour when a group of fascist youth and students attempted to

(Continued on Page 3)

Socialist Appeal

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

Issued Twice Weekly

VOL. III—No. 16

FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1939

1000
New Subscribers
By April 1st!

375

3¢ per copy

HITLER IN NEW GRAB

Miaja Paves Way for Capitulation

HEROIC MILITANTS FACE GREAT ODDS IN MADRID STAND

Stalinists Vie With Others to Unload Responsibility C. P. SEEKS LINE

The Popular Front Junta had apparently succeeded by Monday morning in crushing, at least in Madrid, the widespread revolt against its preparations for peace with Franco.

The revolt had lasted a week, despite daily reports that fighting was over.

With the exception of one short artillery bombardment, the fascists outside Madrid remained inactive during the fighting between the Junta and the dissidents. Franco was clearly waiting for Miaja to finish the blood-bath in Madrid. Then he will deal with Miaja.

In Burgos it was made plain that Franco was not quite prepared to accept the capitulation of the generals. The Burgos radio declared:

"The conception that the Communists are our only enemy is too simple. Nationalist Spain combats equally all four internationalisms without distinction."

So far as the fragmentary press reports indicate, the revolt against the Junta was limited to uniformed troops, with the civil population taking no part.

But the Spanish Popular Front press continues to heap denunciations upon the Communist party, which it now blames for all past ills.

Echoing them, the New Leader, organ of the Social-Democratic Federation here, says under the headline, "All Loyalists united in ouster of Communists":

"If peace is obtained upon terms less beneficial to Hitler and Muss-

(Continued on page 3)

Muniz Describes Role of Loyalist Army Command

The seizure of power in Madrid by the General Staff of the People's Front Government was only the logical development of the role played by the military throughout the course of the civil war. A glimpse of the functioning of the Loyalist High Command is given below in an extract from an interview with Fernando Grandizo-Muniz, leader of the Spanish Bolshevik Leninists, which appeared in *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Fourth International in France. Muniz was held prisoner by the Negrin Government in Barcelona until a few hours before the fall of Barcelona, when he succeeded in escaping from the doomed city.

By F. GRANDIZO-MUNIZ
PARIS, Feb. 24—Despite the stifling censorship and Stalinist propaganda, the incompetence and outright disloyalty of the General Staff was found obvious to every one.

Let us cite one well-known case—that of Antonio Guerra, commissar-general of the army of the south, member of the Communist Party, and Borribar, communist deputy, the two men chiefly responsible for the fall of Malaga. The former remained in Malaga and became the right-hand man of the Franco inquisition in the repression of the workers.

(Continued on Page 3)

Stalin Offers Olive Branch to Hitler in Apologizing for the 'Fascist War-Mongers'

By MAX SHACHTMAN

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

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

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

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

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

A. F. L. BALKS AT C.I.O. PROPOSALS FOR UNION UNITY

Roosevelt Seeks to Assure a Unified War Front

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK, March 14.—Representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations failed to reach an agreement yesterday and adjourned until tonight when they will meet for their fifth session since last Tuesday when President Roosevelt told labor leaders to put an end to the struggle between their groups.

The A.F. of L. representatives on the joint unity committee included Henry C. Bates, chairman; Matthew Woll, T.A. Rickert and Daniel J. Tobin. The C.I.O. was represented by John L. Lewis, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman.

As spokesman for the joint committee, Bates yesterday stated to the press that the committee discussed the C.I.O. proposal to form a new organization, the American Congress of Labor, which would include the railroad brotherhoods as well as the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O.

A.F.L. Opposes Unity
The discussion then shifted to the A.F. of L. proposal that the C.I.O. return to the A.F. of L. under the provisions of the A.F. of L. 1937 proposal which had been rejected by Lewis. Other proposals such as A.F. Whitney's, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, were to be considered at later sessions.

Spokesmen for the A.F. of L. are reported to have said that Mr. Bates' statement after the Friday meeting implied that the proposal of Lewis to form one big union had been definitely rejected. A.F. of L. bureaucrats linked with the Republican party are deeply opposed to any plan which would unite labor at this time. Unification they feel would tie the labor bureaucracy to the Roosevelt machine and hinder their swinging votes to the Republican camp.

C.I.O. circles, nevertheless, insisted that the one big union plan was still under consideration. They are anxious to swing the entire labor movement under the wing of the New Deal.

F.D.R. May Intervene
In Washington, well-informed persons close to Perkins and the conference said that if the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. do not come to an agreement, Roosevelt probably will intervene, either personally or through a Cabinet member in order to bring about a settlement before the 1940 election.

It was reported that the official press release given by the President after the conference in which he spoke to the joint committee,

(Continued on Page 2)

Attack Launched In Senate Against Trotsky and SWP

Reynolds Blames Mexican Expropriations On Trotsky; Demands Intervention

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON—A demand for punitive action against Mexico's oil well expropriations was coupled with an attack on the Socialist Workers Party and Leon Trotsky by Senator Reynolds of North Carolina, during the Senate session, February 27.

Senator Reynolds is the gentleman who came back from Europe recently singing the praises of Fuhrer Hitler and who has since become the principal unofficial propagandist for the fascists in Washington political circles.

Previously Reynolds, in a radio speech, had charged that Trotsky was the instigator of the Mexican government's expropriation policy and had waved aside Trotsky's denials.

"Senator Reynolds' assertion means that he holds my categorical statement is a lie," Trotsky had answered in a statement to the Mexican press on Feb. 3. "Therefore I must say that Mr. Reynolds is misleading public opinion in the U. S. It is bad to lie and doubly bad to lie if one is a Senator, and even worse if the lie is uttered in the tribune of the Senate."

Refers to Anti-Nazi Actions
In his Feb. 27 speech to the Senate, Reynolds indignantly referred to the Socialist Workers Party's picketing against the Nazis at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 20 and then went on to read into the record Los Angeles news reports of the picketing there of a Nazi meeting by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League on Feb. 22.

He was particularly irked by a description of the beating up of a man in a silver shirt uniform, and by the slogans carried by the pickets. He singled out for reading into the record the following slogans:

Fight against anti-Semitism!
"Repeal criminal syndicalism law!"
"Socialist Workers Party leads anti-fascist fight!"
"Build workers' defense guards!"

Anti-Semite Note
Reynolds then launched into a long diatribe against Trotsky, whom he called, after emphasizing his Jewish birth, "Bronstein-Trotsky." He reminded the Senate that this "anarchist, together with Lenin, organized the bloody Russian Revolution of 1917."

"The doctrines of the Fourth International appear to have made long strides in Mexico since Cardenas gave asylum to Leon Trotsky. . . . Why, with intimate knowledge of the background, the policies, and influence of this sub-

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

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

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

Stalin holds out the olive branch to the fascist powers, to Germany primarily. The thunderous denunciations of fascism which, up to now, have filled the pages of the Stalinist press, give

(Continued on page 3)

COUGHLIN'S RALLY GATHERS LABOR-HATING RIFRAFF

Froth at Anti-Nazi Actions Led By Trotskyists

By THOMAS O'REILLY
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK—Father Coughlin's gang of labor-haters and anti-Semites, operating under the name of the "Christian Front," held a large meeting on March 9 in Prospect Hall where a motion picture, "Spain in Flames" and several speakers whipped the audience into a frenzy of reaction against the heroic workers and peasants of Spain, the Jews, the trade union movement of the United States and the Socialist Workers Party.

The meeting was opened by the chairman, a Mr. Harold Walsh, who at once launched into a bitter and slanderous attack on the workers who had joined the picket line with the Trotskyists at the German American Bund meeting two weeks ago. "I was at that meeting," said he, "and every good American citizen should have been there with me. . . . And he went on to point out the many empty seats in the balconies of the hall and remarked, "If we were running a Bingo game to-night every Catholic in Brooklyn would be here."

(Evidently the often-heard ref-

(Continued on page 4)

India Congress Meets as British Begin New Terror

By SHERMAN STANLEY

The 52nd Annual Convention of the Indian Nationalist Congress—the mass movement of Nationalist India—is now in session in the tiny village of Tripuri in Central India.

The British slave-masters of India are openly signifying their desire to install throughout the country their brutal military dictatorship which they disguise under the name of Federation. Lord Linlithgow, the Chamberlain-appointed viceroy of India, openly states his intention to impose the new Slave Constitution upon the country within the next few months.

Prior to the Congress sessions the country was swept by a series of bloody religious and communal outbreaks between Hindus and Moslems. These riots are the clearest possible symptoms of the major battles that approach. Their meaning is equivalent to that of a falling barometer at sea. They are deliberately organized, planned and provoked by the British in an effort to relieve the powerful pressure of mass discontent. Already

they have resulted in hundreds of deaths and thousands of wounded in some of India's major centers—Lahore, Cawnpore, Calcutta, Benares, etc.

The action of the British in instigating these riots between men who really have the same interest in driving out the foreign oppressors, reveals the desperate position of the imperialist overlords. They are determined to hold on to India no matter how much slaughter and bloodshed is required. In the next few months even the most cynical bourgeois will be unable to talk of British "democracy." The British and Scottish troops of His Majesty's Colonial Army will be giving lessons in pillage and destruction to Franco's Moors!

Ghandi Strengthens Right Wing
Over 6,000 delegates from the most distant corners of British India's 11 Provinces are assembled at Tripuri. They are meeting on a rough plain where a temporary village of bamboo huts has been erected. Will they furnish the revolutionary leadership eagerly sought by the workers and peas-

(Continued on Page 2)

SLOVAKIA FOCUS OF NEW CRISIS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Nazis Step In To Assure Their Hegemony

MANY RIVALRIES

The thin fabric of the "peace" established at Munich six months ago was again ripped into shreds this week with the development of a fresh crisis, once more over Czecho-Slovakia.

In a swiftly-executed hammer blow, Hitler destroyed the remnant state of post-Munich Czecho-Slovakia, breaking it up into three tiny states whose "independence" was scheduled to be underlined late Tuesday with the entry of German troops to maintain "peace and order."

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

Events were precipitated over the week-end by the discovery of a separatist plot in Slovakia, the eastern half of the hyphenated state which is the object of rival appetites in London, Paris, Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest, and indirectly, in Rome.

When the Czech government at Prague moved to prevent the further dismemberment of the already mangled state—its first attempt to act independently since it passed into the German orbit after Munich—Hitler immediately stepped in. Joseph Tiso, the premier ousted by Prague, was invited to come to Germany. Goering cut short a "vacation" in Italy and rushed back to Berlin.

The "independence" of Slovakia is of course only the fiction thinly concealing the interplay of capitalist rivalries in Central Europe. Hitler has met with certain resistance, especially in Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, to his drive toward undisputed mastery of Central Europe. He has reason to suspect his axis partner, Mussolini, of having a hand in the development of this resistance, because Mussolini may feel that Hitler has been a little too lukewarm in active support of Italy's Mediterranean "aspirations."

It is certain in any event that the swiftly changing map of Europe is again to be re-drawn but it is equally certain that the development of the Slovak crisis will come in a minor key to the development of the major antagonisms leading in Europe toward a new blood-bath, a new world war.

In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

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

In the first place, the C.I.O. proposals threatened to create a new "forgotten man" in the labor movement. None other than David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. John L. Lewis probably took great personal satisfaction in snubbing Dubinsky in the proposals for peace in the union movement. Dubinsky's feelings when he read about the proposed convention of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., and the railroad unions without mention of his powerful independent union can easily be imagined.

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

No Guarantees for Industrial Unionism

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

Lewis did not leave that out because he is going to give up industrial unionism. Not at all. Industrial unionism is an accepted fact. Not even the most reactionary A.F. of L. negotiator would seriously propose craft unionism for the mass production industries. The A.F. of L. committee already has stated its willingness to recognize industrial unionism in major industries. The addition of Dan Tobin, as we pointed out in the previous column, helps industrial unionism in this respect.

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

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

Keeps Faith with Stalinists

It is tragic that the C.I.O. was not able to sweep forward to greater victories after the auto strikes and the signing of the steel contracts. Replacement of the A.F. of L. by a new and larger union movement based on the mass workers would have been a great advance for the American workers. Unfortunately, this did not happen. Between Lewis and his Stalinist allies enough mistakes were made to slow down and finally stop the growth of the C.I.O.

Lewis proposes the inclusion of certain C.I.O. craft unions in the new set-up. This indicates he is keeping faith with his Stalinist allies who control those unions and want to enter the new union movement on the ground floor.

Only Labor Can Achieve Its Own Unity

Perhaps the most popular and most dangerous part of the C.I.O. proposals was that President Roosevelt be chairman of the unification convention. In its own way it is a confession of bankrupt union leadership to ask for outside intervention. It would give Roosevelt an unparalleled opportunity to swing the entire labor movement behind his war program. Although we haven't seen the Daily Worker because it is not obtainable in the backwoods, we are confident that this proposal was hailed with great huzzas!

The C.I.O. proposal to have the U.S. Department of Labor act as mediator "on all controversial questions affecting overlapping jurisdiction or other matters between the constituent unions of the Congress" is a dangerous attempt to hog-tie the entire union movement to the government. It would place a chain around the free and independent action of the unions, and should be rejected. Lasting labor unity with benefit to the workers can come only through the unions ironing out their own differences.

AFL Balks at CIO Unity Proposals

(Continued from Page 1)

was much milder than the statements he actually made. Not only is the President eager to bolster the New Deal forces for the 1940 election by uniting the labor movement and tying its bureaucrats closely to his machine, but the fast approaching war makes it imperative that the labor movement be chained to the capitalist war machine.

If the present unity conference fails, it is very probable that the President will take drastic steps in the direction of restrictive labor legislation. The outlawing of sit-down strikes, the business "appeasement" policy, the various schemes to lower taxes on big business and high incomes as well as the drive to reduce relief appropriations are steps in this direction.

Green's Plan

That the A.F. of L. top bureaucracy fears union proposals of any kind except on their own dictatorial terms was clearly shown by assertions at William Green at a Washington D.C. banquet last Saturday.

The A.F. of L. plan for unification of labor is the return of the original A.F. of L. unions now in the C.I.O. to the A.F. of L. and division of the 20 new unions upon a craft basis with "certain industries excepted."

Green plans to atomize the industrial unions so that they can be absorbed into the A. F. of L. craft structure without endangering the control of the reactionary clique now in control.

Green stated at the banquet that "we will never liquidate the American Federation of Labor for anybody."

He declared that the A.F. of L. was a part of "the fabric of our civilization," and continued as follows:

Won't Liquidate AFL

"We find men who propose that this organization be wiped out overnight—liquidated, destroyed. Who is there here within the sound of my voice who will agree the American Federation of Labor shall be liquidated tomorrow? We are willing to go a long way to assure good-will and peace in American labor. But I solemnly declare we will never liquidate the American Federation of Labor for anybody."

It remains to be seen whether the President's open threat to take drastic action against unionism will succeed in composing the jealousies and the thirst for power among the labor bureaucrats which have so far defeated all attempts at uniting the labor movement.

N. Y. Housing Plan Is Faced With Oblivion

Realtors Urge Senate to Act Against Crying Need of Workers

By GRACE SAUNDERS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—New York State's vital housing program is in imminent danger of being shelved. Last fall the voters of this State overwhelmingly approved a \$300,000,000 bond issue for slum clearance and the erection of low-cost housing projects. On March 7 a resolution was introduced into the Senate calling for the deferring of this undertaking until next year. This resolution is backed largely by Republicans, but represents the voice of the money-grubbing realtors who care not a whit for the expressed will of the people.

The proposal to do precisely nothing about housing, despite the crying need, is not new. It has been heard for months, and was voiced most recently before the legislative hearing in Albany on March 1 by Clarke G. Dailey, vice-chairman of the Real Estate Taxpayers Federation, Inc.

This effort on the part of the realtors and the moneyed interests who grow fat at the expense of human misery must be stopped. And it can be stopped. Hitherto the workers have been all too silent on this important issue. Representatives and senators are elected by the people, and can be ousted from office by the people. They were told in no uncertain terms last fall that the citizens desire a serious attempt at slum clearance, but apparently they are now inclining toward the view that the issue is no longer a live one, and that they can with impunity override the clear mandate given them. They must be told again in emphatic terms what they are seemingly too prone to forget under the prodings of their financial backers.

The people of this State demand decent housing! They have expressly endorsed the spending of \$300,000,000 for this purpose. They did not endorse the spending of a mere \$35,000,000 as advocated by Joseph Clark Baldwin, New York City Councilman. Nor did they endorse the meager \$120,000,000 advocated by the great humanitarian mayor, La Guardia, who, while chiseling on the appropriation, is nevertheless pleased to state suavely that he is in "complete agreement with the ultimate objectives" of housing (N.Y. Times, Mar. 2).

The argument the realtors are most fond of is that the rents in the so-called low-rent projects are too high for the lower-income groups anyway, and besides the proposed housing bills would virtually setup a state-subsidized real estate market which would "unfairly" compete with private enterprise.

Forces Favoring Whole Sum

It is true that even the maximum housing program at present envisaged is woefully inadequate. But only to greedy realtors and their henchmen could the inadequacy of the program appear as a reason for just calling the whole thing off. To any individual whose chief joy is not the carressing of the solution of the inadequacy of the program is its extension, not its curtailment.

It is interesting to note the line-up of forces who favor the immediate appropriation of the entire sum for housing. These forces include the State Federation of Labor, the C.I.O., the American Labor Party, and Alfred Rheinhardt, chairman of the

New York City Housing Authority, who certainly should be conversant with present housing needs.

Opposed to the allocation of the entire sum now are "real estate organizations from all over the State" (New York Times, Mar. 2), a number of senators and representatives, Mayor La Guardia, etc., etc.

The most progressive suggestions, and the ones which should be insistently demanded by every worker whether or not he is now affected by poor housing conditions, were voiced by the C.I.O. representative, Gustave A. Strebel, secretary-treasurer of the New York State Industrial Council, at the time of the Albany hearing. While endorsing the proposal for making the full bond issue available this year, Mr. Strebel likewise advocated the writing of the following measures into the housing bill: provision for the maintenance of the standards of labor; insurance of the five-day, forty-hour week, prevailing wage rate, and collective bargaining on all housing projects.

In view of the miserable conditions in which the poor of this rich State are forced to live, it is imperative that the Legislature be compelled to pass a housing bill immediately. And more, they must also be compelled to pass a bill that provides the maximum, not the minimum, improvement. The people, and particularly the workers, must again make their voice heard. We demand:

Immediate authorization of the \$300,000,000 already sanctioned in the November elections.

Use of the entire fund for low-cost housing, and for nothing but low-cost housing.

Raising of the requisite money without consumer taxes.

Categorical rejection of the realtors' schemes to provide State aid for modernizing privately-held tenements.

Erection of homes that can be rented for not more than \$5 per room per month.

Construction of all low-cost projects by union labor, working under standard conditions including prevailing wage-rates, five-day forty-hour week, and collective bargaining.

BUILDING STRIKE ENDED IN MINN.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, March 10—The strike of the Building Service workers ended on March 7 with a compromise in which the strikers won several points.

The new contract calls for two week vacations, instead of the one week the men were getting. There will be a payday every 14 days instead of twice-a-month as heretofore; the men will receive compensation for four of the six days they were out on strike.

Had the strike been better managed there is no doubt that the terms of settlement would have been far better. The Stalinists who had a share in the leadership of the strike interfered with the proper conduct of the strike. They were more interested in sniping at Local 544, the militant teamsters union, than in preparing and organizing the strike adequately.

SWP AIDS GUILD PICKET HEARST

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO—Over 100 workers marched in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League on Saturday, March 11 in a protest demonstration before the Hearst Building. The demonstration was organized to protest the injunction against the Newspaper Guild pickets now on strike against the Hearst newspapers, the Chicago American and the Herald and Examiner.

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

MINNESOTA BILL WOULD OUTLAW UNION ACTIVITIES

Vicious Oregon Law Is Pattern for Measure

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, March 10—The reactionaries who now control the state of Minnesota are trying to force through a labor law, patterned after the notorious Oregon bill, which would put the curb and bit on the organized labor movement here.

House File 352 if passed would outlaw closed shop agreements, strikes except under certain stringent regulations, secondary boycotts, and would open the way for the bosses to call for an accounting of the books, records, correspondence and "all other evidence" of any union at any time.

Sets Up Board

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

The only strikes which would be "legal" would be those called for higher wages or better working conditions. Strikes for union recognition would be outlawed.

The secondary boycott would also be illegal. Any union which petitioned a central labor body for the placement of any firm upon the unfair list would be guilty of violating the law, and punishable.

Aimed at 544

Another vicious feature of this completely vicious piece of legislation is the clause making it unlawful to "interfere in any way with the movement of articles of commerce by motor vehicles or teams upon the public roads, alleys or highways of the state." This is aimed directly at Local 544 of the Teamsters International.

According to the carefully prepared publicity which has been allowed to leak out of the Capital about this bill, it is sponsored by a group known as the "Farm Bloc." It is almost an established fact that Stassen intends to veto the measure when it comes to him, but the ground work for passing it over his veto has already been laid. In this manner our good governor can claim that he had nothing to do with the bill but that the farmers of the state passed it in defiance of the labor movement.

The "Farm Bloc" is supposed to be composed of genuine dirt farmers who are "sick to death of listening to the dictates of labor." Actually the bill is the brain child of the rank reactionary Associated Industries, successors to the Citizens Alliance. The Citizens Alliance has tried, unsuccessfully, for many years, to destroy and liquidate the labor movement.

Debate on Bill

The joint Minneapolis and St. Paul Workers Defense League held a dinner meeting on March 10 at which the Minnesota State Federation of Labor president, George Lawson debated the bill with an attorney named Elmquist who has represented the bosses in the legislature for the passage of the bill. Minnesota labor does not intend to allow this bill to pass without a most aggressive fight against it. 1934 is remembered here as a bloody year. Should House File 352 pass and become a law of the state, 1934 will be remembered, by comparison to 1939, as a very mild sort of.

Shoe Workers Organize Fight Against Stalinists

Progressive Groups Form on Nation-wide Basis to Oust Reactionaries from Control

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK — Progressive groups in the union over the entire nation are organizing to fight the Stalinists and other reactionary forces who have been conducting a rule or ruin policy in the United Shoe Workers of America (C.I.O.).

Although in many sections, members of the General Executive Board are to be elected, the main fight will center around the key position of General Organizer. The post is considered so important that the Stalinists are not running anyone for the office of Secretary-Treasurer in order to concentrate their fight on winning the General Organizer's position. The Stalinist candidate is one McGrath. The progressives are pushing Michael Padgett of Los Angeles. John D. Nolan, a reactionist red-baiter has been pushed in at the last minute in an attempt to split the progressive voter.

McGrath's Qualification McGrath, the Stalinist choice, was picked for his name and not his ability as a shoe organizer. The original candidate of the Stalinists was Rosenthal of New York, but it was felt that his name was against him and if the progressives were to vote "Stalinist" and "Arny" had to be found.

Michael Padgett, at the present time the General Executive Board member from the west coast, has done a good job as an organizer out there, and the reactionaries are at a loss to find some weakness in his work in order to sway a few of the progressives. Padgett has consistently fought the Stalinists on principled ground, and was instrumental in having the U.S.W.A. and the other bona-fide unions on the west coast break from the Bridges-dominated Los Angeles Council, leaving the Stalinists and their paper unions in complete control of themselves. At the Pittsburgh convention of the C.I.O., Padgett again exposed Bridges and his union-busting tactics.

Nolan's Program John D. Nolan is the former president of the Shoe Workers Protective Union which merged with the U.S.W.A. He is at the present time one of the organizers jailed in Maine. The boss press in all the shoe centers is playing up Nolan's candidacy, referring to him as another Mooney. He is spending a barrel of money in advertising through circulars and pamphlets emphasizing his hatred of all radicals and militant policies. He is being supported by all the narrow "backyard" unionists who were opposed to national affiliation of shoe workers. Nolan's policies, if he were elected, would be as disastrous as those of the Stalinists.

The progressives are gaining ground daily. Although Padgett was originally nominated by one Local in California, eventually a whole series of Locals throughout the entire country came out solidly for him. In many sections where the Stalinists have been unopposed and have held full sway for years, progressive groups are being formed. In Boston, for example, the workers are no longer swallowing the sell-out line of these twentieth century pilgrims, and the next Boston elections will reveal it. At Lowell, in the same state, the Stalinists are on their way out. Philadelphia has the elements for a strong militant op-

position. But the most amazing development, during the past two weeks, has been the growth of a large progressive group in New York City.

Situation in N. Y.

The New York City Shoe locals are under the complete domination of the Stalinists. The workers have seen, over a period of time, that the bosses gain concession after concession from the leaders of the Union. Only a few days ago the leadership permitted a ten per cent cut to go through in a large number of factories.

It is a matter of only a few weeks before the cuts are forced onto the entire industry. The progressive shoe workers had become passive, and were sitting back waiting, knowing that the Stalinists would eventually ruin the Union. Many of them were talking of splitting and going back into the notorious A.F.L. Boot and Shoe. The workers were so sick, disgusted and demoralized at fighting against the Stalinist machine, that they disliked even voting in the coming elections. It was when they saw the other sections of the country slugging through, that they stiffened, regained confidence, and plunged into the middle of the fight.

If a national progressive group had been developed a few months ago, the progressives would be in a position to-day to win the coming elections with ease. But each group thought it was fighting alone, and did not realize that others in their union were faced with the same problems against the same cliques. Nevertheless it is not too late now, and the enthusiasm with which the progressives in all areas are greeting the news that they have a fighting chance, is giving the Stalinists the biggest headache that they have had in a long time.

BURNHAM SPEAKS ON FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM IN U. S.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK, March 13.—Despite exceedingly bad weather 150 persons turned out last night to hear James Burnham deliver the last of three lectures organized by Local New York of the S.W.P. on how to fight fascism. Analyzing the economic crisis of American imperialism, comrade Burnham traced the development of the fascist movement and influence in this country. The American bosses, said Burnham, will turn ever more to the brutal methods of fascism in order to keep the workers in subjection.

The workers in this country will not, however, give up without a fight. They have already demonstrated their willingness to defend their hard-won positions. But the only guarantee they have for final victory over the fascist forces is a solidly organized party of the working class, whose program is that of revolution—the Socialist Workers Party. In the immediate fight against fascism, it is absolutely imperative, that workers organize their own defense groups.

One worker in the audience joined the party at the conclusion of the meeting, thus bringing to six the number who have joined the party during this series of three lectures.

India Nationalist Congress Meets

(Continued from Page 1)

sants? The 500,000 workers, peasants, students and middle class Indians who are attending the open-air Congress impatiently await the answer.

Early reports indicate that a sharp and bitter struggle between the conservative followers of Gandhi on the one hand and the radical-minded Congress socialists on the other hand is now going on. Gandhi—who is now held in high favor by the British imperialist circles, and who is looked upon (with complete justification!) as England's best friend among the Indian people—is determined that the Congress shall not pursue revolutionary methods. Apparently he has succeeded by his recent demagogic fast in strengthening the hand of the Congress right-wing.

The furthest thought from Gandhi's mind is to embarrass the British by launching a direct mass struggle for power. It is with little wonder that we learn of his nomination as "Britain's best policeman" in India. He, along with his middle-class and capitalist following, do not oppose the Slave Federation of Britain, provided certain milk-and-honey reforms are adopted.

Liberal Leads Left

As for the Congress left-wingers, no doubt many of them are putting up a serious and militant struggle against the compromisers. But they too suffer from the false notion that national unity at any price is preferable to a split in

APPEAL ARMY

THE MINNEAPOLIS RED BUILDERS AT WORK:

"During February, Minneapolis sold 1,089 copies of the Appeal—the best record ever achieved by the Party branch. The Appeal Brigade was responsible for the showing. We want to do better during March. We have set up charts in the headquarters with scores of individual Brigade members. Martin Nelson is our star salesman, selling about 40% of the total 1,089 copies. A Brigade report is made at every branch meeting."—M. Freed, Appeal campaign director.

The Appeal is just splendid. I imagine that it means very hard work for all of you, but you are putting out a first rate revolutionary paper. . . .—Dr. Konkow of Boston, Mass.

THREE WEEKS TO GO:

There are still three weeks left

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

MANHATTAN
Cherry & Katherine Sts. Monroe & Madison Sts.—K. Stationers. Store. Near Knickerbocker. Village. Chiffonier. General Store. Essex & Delancey Sts.—S.E. Houston & Clinton. Meisel Bookshop—Grand & Astor. St. Clinton & E. Broadway. 5th St. & Ave. B—N.W. 9th St. & Ave. D—Candy Store. 2nd St. & 2nd St.—N.W. 2nd Ave. & 4th St. 17 First Ave. 2nd St. & 9th St. (Stuyvesant Casino). Ave. B & 10th St.—N.E. 2nd Ave. & 12th St. (near Cafe Roy). Waverly Place & Broadway—N.W. Birderman's—184 Second Ave. Univ. Pl. & 12th St.—N.E. 14th St. & Univ. Pl.—S.E. 14th St. & Broadway—S.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—1st Stand S.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—2nd Stand S.E. 14th St. & 3rd Ave.—S.W. 14th St. & 3rd Ave.—N.W. 14th St. opp. Jefferson Theatre. 14th St. & 2nd Ave.—N.W. 14th St. & Ave. A. 14th St. & 8th Ave.—N.E. Labor Book Shop—28 E. 23rd St. 23rd St. & 7th Ave.—N.W. & 6th Ave. 38th St. & 8th Ave. 38th St. & 7th Ave.—N.W. S.W. Broadway & 38th St.—N.E. 131 W. 33rd St.—Rm. 704. 75 Greenwich Ave. 8th St. & 6th Ave.—N.E. 21 University Pl. 4th Ave. & Broadway—J. E. 15th St. 23rd St. & 4th Ave.—S.W. 14th St. & 2nd St. opp. Stern's—South side. 42nd St. & 6th Ave.—S.E. & S.W. 42nd St. & 7th Ave.—S.W. 64th St. & 6th St. B. Broadway—Candy Store. 66th St. & B. Broadway—S.E. 92nd St. & B. Broadway. 96th St. & Cent'l. Pl. West. 110th St. & Columbus Ave.—N.E. 181st St. & B. Broadway. 157th St. & B. Broadway. N.W. 145th St. & St. Nicholas Ave. (Wigwag). Madison Ave. & 90th St.—N.W. BROOKLYN
Longwood Ave. & Southern Boulevard—S.W. 171st St. & Fulton Ave.—S.W. 170th St. & Jerome Ave.—S.E. 167th St. & Jerome Ave. Jerome & Broadway. 161st St. & Prospect Ave. Freeman St. & South Brooklyn. 174th St. & Boston Road. Kingsbridge Rd. & Jerome St. East Moshola Subway Station. 3897 Sedgwick Ave. Meadlan & Grand Concourse—S.E. QUEENS
Sutter cor. Pitkin Ave. Tompkins cor. Myrtle Ave. Havemeyer cor. S. 4th St. Sutter cor. Van Slander. Rockaway cor. Sutter cor. 475 Sutter Ave. Bay Parkway. 86th St. Ave. 'O' & 66th St. Brighton Beach Ave. & 5th St. 50th St. & New Beach Ave. 1510 Kings Highway. MacDonald & Dittmars Ave. 9th Ave. & 40th St. QUEENS
Grand Ave. 31-10 Broadway. 3023 43rd St. Clinton St. 43rd St. Clinton St. 43rd St. Clinton St. Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts. S.E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts. S.E. cor. Main & South Ave. Main Street East & Clinton Ave. South, southeast corner. Main Street East, front of Edwards' Department Store. 208 Clinton Ave., North at Cumberland St. Levine's Delicatessen, 257 Clinton Ave. North at Westside Ave. North NEWARK, N. J.
Rei-an's, cor. Broad & William Littleton cor. Hawthorne Ave. & Reeves Pl. Lorenzo, Washington & Market Sts., S.W. Chuck, Broad & Market Sts., S.W. PATTERSON, N. J.
A. Gushel's Stationery Store. 217 Straight. Eckhart's News Agency, 101 Washington St. NEW HAVEN, Conn.
Nodelman's Newsstand.

Announcing Publication OF FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS

BY DANIEL GUERIN

An American edition of the French book, "Fascism et Grand Capital," by the same author. Translated, edited and brought up to date for the American reader with an introduction by Dwight MacDonald

applying the lessons of the book to the American scene of 1939.

An invaluable guide manual for all who would turn America away from the road to Rome and Berlin.

Pierre Mille (editor of Le Temps, conservative French newspaper): "FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS" is the most remarkable and complete analysis I know of the development, the evolution, and the probably downfall of the black and brown fascist regimes."

J. B. Severac in Le Populaire: "The list of works analyzing fascism is already long but this book of Daniel Guerin's deserves a high place among them."

340 pages — \$2.00

Order Now! PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York City

DETROIT
WORKERS' Discussion Group: Every Sunday night, 8 P. M. Socialist Appeal Hall, 3513 Woodward, Room 5. Adm. free.

GALA SOCIAL by the Socialist Workers Party, Detroit Branch for the benefit of the New International Entertainment Refreshments. Saturday—March 18, Arcadia Bldg., 3513 Woodward, Room 5. 8:00 P. M. to ? Admission, 25c.

SHERIDAN SANDWICH SHOPPE
114 University Place next to headquarters Special 25c Lunch! Soup, 15c Sandwich, Coffee or Milk with Pastry! "Union Food at a Union Place"

Get Your APPEAL At Your Local Newsstand

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

A Wave of Persecutions Hits the Polish Trotskyists

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Revolutionary Socialists of Ceylon Show Way to Fight Fascism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Winston Churchill as Guest of Soviet Ambassador Maisky

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

Apparently there was some confusion as to whether Mr. Churchill had turned left or whether Mr. Maisky was merely renewing acquaintances. A commentator in a rather conservative British labor paper reassures his readers with the following contribution on the subject:

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

Stalin Offers Olive Branch To Hitler In Apologizing For 'Fascist War-Mongers'

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

Democracies Are Now the Aggressors

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

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

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

It was the "Democracies" who, according to Stalin, began "urging the Germans to march further East, promising them easy pickings and prompting them on: 'Just you start a war against

the Bolsheviks and then everything will proceed nicely.' It must be admitted that this too looks very much like egging on, like encouraging the aggressor."

Warns of Bargain With Germany

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HEROIC MILITANTS SPAIN, YESTERDAY AND TODAY -- FACE GREAT ODDS IN THE DAILY WORKER'S COLUMNS

"The Daily Worker, both in its news and in its headlines, seeks constantly to present objective facts."

—Clarence Hathaway, editor Daily Worker, Feb. 28, 1939.

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

In Spain itself only a few second-rank leaders and a host of unknowns joined in the fight. The most prominent remaining Stalinist, Col. Antonio Ortega, took a demonstratively "neutral" position, keeping his own troops out of the fight and helping to get the rest to surrender, according to press reports.

Stalin Avoids Spain Comment

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

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

Afraid to Speak

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

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

Feb. 3—"Why Spain Will Never Be Conquered by Invaders; Spain Was Cut in Two Just as Now, But It Triumphed."

Feb. 8—"Negrin Rejects Mediation; Loyalists To Continue War Against Invaders. Azana's Policy Rejected by Government and Cortes. Miaja Calls War Council For Defense." "Miaja, known as the 'savior of Madrid,' has nearly 400,000 well-trained troops under his command for the defense of such important cities as Madrid, Valencia, Cartagena and Alicante." "The tales about Miaja (capitalizing) are fabrications out of the whole cloth."

Feb. 9—"Madrid Vows Finish Fight On Franco. Central Army Chief Cites High Morale of Forces. Colonel Segismundo Casado, Chief of the Central Army, declared today that the Loyalist withdrawal from Catalonia had only strengthened the desire of the Central Army to fight . . . "As Chief of the Army I state that we are giving a unique demonstration of cooperation of the military power with the people without friction."

MIAJA NAMED CHIEF BY NEGRIN

Feb. 10—"Negrin Names Miaja Supreme Chief; Central Front Unites For Resistance. Madrid Hero Given Rank of Gov't. Minister." "General Jose Miaja was named Supreme Commander of all armed forces of the Spanish government on land, sea and in the air today on the Central and Southern fronts."

Feb. 11—"Negrin Arrives in Valencia; Calls Army Chiefs to Map Fight to Finish." "Catalonian Army Now In France Ready to Join Miaja at Front." "General Jose Miaja, Government commander-in-chief, indignantly denied reports abroad that the Republican General Staff was negotiating with the fascist rebels."

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

MADRID HAS FORCES TO CARRY ON

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

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

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

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

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

MIAJA "TURNS" TRAITOR

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued from Page 1)

provoke a disturbance by jostling and pushing the demonstrators and by attempting to rip down banners carried by the pickets. The workers tried to avoid clashes with these provocateurs until the fascist youth made an effort to push the pickets off the sidewalk.

The demonstrators began to resist this attack and were succeeding in quelling the disorder when police, who had been standing close by until this time without intervening, entered the fray.

Black-jack Y.P.S.L. Youths

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

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

Fascists Threw Bombs

Several of the bombs were thrown by fascist youth and at the protest meeting before the Mayor, the police were accused of having given them to these youth.

As soon as the gas drifted away, the entire picket line reorganized and again began marching in front of the theater. A bottle thrown from the balcony of the theater struck a woman picket in the face.

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

Second Barrage

No sooner had the demonstrators again resisted the fascist attack against their picket line than a second barrage of tear gas was fired against them. By this time the ranks of the police had swelled to 80 uniformed and plain clothes policemen, several radio cars, state police cars and motorcycles.

When the pickets made a third effort to resume the demonstration, tear gas shells were fired at them again, this time enough to choke the entire area with gas. Police continued firing tear gas until the demonstrators were compelled to retreat.

Hear S.W.P. Speaker

A large number of the pickets gathered at a vacant lot across the street from the theater to listen to a speech by Dave Stevens of the S.W.P., who pointed out that the united front between the "democratic" police and the fascists made necessary the organization of Workers Defense Guards.

Many Groups Protest

The S.W.P., Y.P.S.L., American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the Civil Liberties Union, and the Municipal League sent representatives to the Mayor today protesting the police brutality at the demonstration last night.

The representative of the Medical Bureau for Aid to Spanish Democracy brazenly injected a disruptive note in the protest meeting by accusing the S.W.P. of joining with the fascist youth in attempting to disrupt the demonstration and encourage clashes with the police. His story was spiked as a lie by several of the delegates who gave the actual facts of the event.

Stalinists Disgusted

The S.W.P. delegate explained our efforts to enter a united front with the North American Committee and our conduct in the picket line. Several of the Stalinist observers expressed disgust at the dishonest tactics of the Medical Bureau representative.

Mayor Bowron made a short speech declaring that he was for civil liberties but that he was also for law and order. He said nothing about stopping future illegal activity of the police except that he understood the organizations present had the right to picket.

Build Workers Defense Guards

The S.W.P. has made clear its position on anti-fascist activity. Police support of the fascist youth in their attacks on the picket lines proves that the only real defense for the workers against the fascists is Workers Defense Guards.

The Los Angeles section of the S.W.P. is directing all its energy to carrying out this slogan in Southern California.

las and shot him. They passed the same verdict on Rojo, but he was able to escape and place himself under the protection of Largo Caballero in the war ministry. He emerged to become—Chief of the General Staff.

Innumerable other examples like this could be cited to show the attitude of the professional soldiers who remained "faithful" to the "Republic."

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Eight years ago this month a young student walked out of a class room in a Connecticut high school and hitch-hiked to New York City and hung around the waterfront for a week trying to find a ship which would take him around the world.

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

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

Class Struggle Unfolds Before His Eyes

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

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

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

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

Italian Anti-Fascists His Teacher

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

The valiant Italian anti-Fascists who carried on the struggle against Mussolini from Paris garrets and basements welcomed the raw recruit and made possible the desire to participate in the active movement.

The Rossie brothers — since murdered by agents of Italian Fascism—were good teachers. They were tireless workers and hardened revolutionists. They insisted, after a period of initiation and experience, that the youth return to America where comrades were needed and where the danger of a knife in the back from an unseen hand was less likely.

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

Learns Need of Revolutionary Party

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

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

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

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

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III—No. 16 March 17, 1939

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

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle
orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per
copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for
six months; \$3.00 for one year.
"Reentered as second class matter February 18,
1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under
the Act of March 3, 1879."

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

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

Join the Pledge Fund

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

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

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

This week we are writing to all regular *Appeal* subscribers urging them to join our *Monthly Appeal Pledge Fund*. We request our readers to give this letter their careful and sympathetic attention. We are counting upon a real response in organizing this *Pledge Fund*. Especially with present needs, a small deficit cannot stand in the path of our growth. Join the *Monthly Appeal Pledge Fund* and help raise the voice of militant socialism in the four corners America!

Stalin and Non-Intervention

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

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

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

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

Let the People Decide!

The American Institute of Public Opinion, of which Dr. George Gallup is director, has just released the results of a nation-wide poll on the war referendum.

According to Gallup's report 58 per cent of the American public favor an amendment to the Constitution which would require Congress to obtain the approval of the people by referendum before the United States can be plunged into a war overseas.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tremendous war machine constructed by Roosevelt is almost finished. All it lacks is the steel-helmeted rows of American workers and farmers to march through its bristling maw to die for profits.

Roosevelt can permit nothing to stand in the way of that death march. He and the small minority of economic royalists he represents cannot let the people decide. That is why he opposes a war referendum!

Monahan's Campaign

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

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

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

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

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

Their build-up for Monahan will help him in his campaign against the Mexican government, just as Stalinist build-ups have helped the Daladlers, Azanas, Mijas, etc., to cut the throats of the workers to whom they were recommended by the Stalinists.

The President

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Short History of Liberalism

Coughlin Spain Film Showing
Is Gathering for Fascist Gangs

(Continued from Page 1)
erence to St. Patrick's Cathedral as the "Shrine of St. Bling" has come to the attention of even the "Christian Front."

Play on Prejudices
Mr. Walsh then introduced speakers who in turn played on the prejudices of the audience by fantastic stories of "nuns being openly raped in the streets of Madrid and Barcelona by Red Armies sent to Spain by Trotsky and Stalin" and of "willful destruction of private property and works of art by hordes of Anarchists, Socialists, Communists and other kinds of atheists." Urging the crowd to watch the film carefully to observe the faces of the Loyalists, speakers tried to prove that only Jews opposed General Franco in Spain.

This lie and others were refuted completely by the film itself, which, although partly taken by fascist cameramen, was captured by Franco after the defeat of the Loyalists at Teruel and showed many scenes of the activity during the early days of the uprising in Madrid and Barcelona.

Stirring and inspiring shots of the P.O.U.M. militia, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. troops and tanks, young Socialists marching to the front, mass-meetings in the huge bull rings and the arrival of the first contingent of foreign volunteers, all were deliberately distorted in the running comments of the editor of the film, to make it appear that "international Jewry" conspired to destroy "beautiful and peaceful Spain..."

Mum on Franco Butchery
The destruction of churches and palaces, the desecration of art and public buildings were all blamed on the "Reds" and "Jews"; but not one word on the cold blooded murder of women and children by Franco's bombers from Italy and Germany. The bombing of Guernica was denied by the film editor who claimed that the city had been destroyed by the "red anarchists" who then shot their own children and women in order to win sympathy from the unsuspecting people in America.

There were no pictures of the Moors who won many a battle for General Franco and who were responsible for the Fascist victory along with the Nazi and Italian Fascist troops. Instead the whole campaign of the butcher of Burgos was called, "the greatest religious crusade against atheism in history..." And there were many scenes of bishops and priests blessing the soldiers of General Franco and everywhere welcoming the Fascist officer who were officials of the Vatican City.

Many feet of film taken by Franco's photographers, were devoted to showing prisoners captured after various battles. These, doomed to death or worse, were evidently divided into two groups and the cameramen were careful to show only those whom they described as Jewish soldiers in the uniform of the Loyalist armies.

Whenever such pictures appeared on the screen, the audience would react by cat-calling and yelling, "Oy! Oy! Look at the Kikes! The Christ-killers! Mockies!"

Calls for Organization
The film ended with a warning

that, "forces similar to the ones just shown, forces like the so-called Loyalists, socialists, communists, anarchists are organizing here in America under the names of American League for Peace and Democracy, the Socialist Workers Party, the Friends of the International Brigade, the Jewish War Veterans, and the United Hebrew Trades and that all 'Christians' must unite now to crush these groups before it is too late." "Organize now!" repeated the commentator, "and stamp out these people while they are still small and unprepared!"

Attacks S. W. P.
Immediately following the film the chairman rushed to the platform and announced that, "we have been informed that an agent of the Socialist Workers Party is in our midst..." Whereupon the "Christians" began to look all about and yell, "Kill the s-o-b---! Where is he? Let's get him!"

The chairman, before introducing the main speaker of the evening, then went on to attack the Socialist Workers Party, the 4th International and Leon Trotsky. He charged the Trotskyists with having attempted to break up the meetings of the German American Bund all over the country and he charged Leon Trotsky with having organized not only the Red Army of Russia, but the International Brigade which fought in Spain. He went on and accused Trotsky of having conspired with Caballero, Prieto and Stalin to bring what was left of the International Brigade to Mexico where he "Trotsky" and Prieto had built a fortress and were preparing to invade the United States when the revolution began here.

Reveal Ignorance
The ignorance and bigotry of the speakers were revealed in each violent attack on the labor movement and on the Loyalist Government of Spain. One speaker claimed that 10,000 Spanish babies were removed to Russia where they are to be taught "ideology" and then sent to South America to foment rebellion!

Another roused the crowd to fighting pitch by saying, "I have been informed that the Jews are about to plunge America into a war with Hitler and Mussolini and that Madame Perkins and President Roosevelt are in on the deal..." Playing on the anti-war sentiments of the people, each speaker in turn blamed the war crisis on the Jews.

NEWARK JOBLESS
SET FOR ACTION

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

NEWARK, N.J., Mar. 11—Plans were being made by the newly formed Workers Relief and WPA Union this week to answer the attacks of the reactionary Newark relief authorities on the living standards of the unemployed, and to launch a series of demonstrations against the coming mass lay-offs on W.P.A.

Only 2 weeks old, the Unemployed Union was served with an ultimatum this week by the Municipal Assistance Board that they would no longer be permitted to have their committees enter the

Hit Refugee Admission

Attacking the refugees and making "humorous" remarks about the recent pogrom in Germany, one speaker pointed with glee to the fact that although the President of the U.S.A. feels sorry for the Jews, no one in Russia has invited the victims of Hitler's rage to that country where international Jewry rules." And he asked the audience to write to the President and to Congress demanding that no "scum of Europe be allowed to enter our country."

Again the chairman attacked the S.W.P. and he made no distinction between members of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Jewish War Veterans, He lumped all together and heaped abuse especially upon "those groups which hide behind the American flag and sing the national anthem." "The Jewish War Veterans can denounce Communism all day and night and they can call themselves Americans but we members of the Christian Front are not fooled—we will deal with these people when the time comes and we will pay special attention to Jews who sing the Star Spangled Banner—don't worry, we will take care of them..." He said that the Socialist Workers Party was organizing a Workers Defense Guard because it was evidently well-informed as to the purposes of the German American Bund and the "Christian Front."

The Old Rape Story

Stooping to such cheap trickery as, "How would you like your sister openly raped on the street in Brooklyn?" and, "Do you want to see your poor old father and mother taken to Ebbets Field and mowed down by machine-guns in the hands of Reds?" Mr. Kelly, the main speaker, attempted to recruit for the "Christian Front" from the audience. "The 'Christian Front' needs men," said Mr. Kelly. But there were few willing to sign the cards distributed by ushers.

All the speakers lauded Father Coughlin and asked everyone to attend the picket line at radio station WMCA every Sunday until the station officials allow Father Coughlin to spew his anti-Semitic lies and slander over the air.

Scores of ushers wearing badges of the "Christian Front" patrolled the aisles and entrance to the hall during the meeting and at least 200 police and detectives were on duty at the hall.

relief stations and handle complaints of their members.

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

"The reason that I-Am-The-Law Malady, Newark Overseer for the Rich, wants us barred from the relief station is that he knows that we alone are capable of stopping his proposed \$3,000,000 cut in the Newark relief budget. But if Malady and the other Hague stooges thought that they had trouble from the unemployed before, they're going to realize soon enough that they haven't seen anything yet!"

THEIR
GOVERNMENT

By James Burnham

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

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

What the Law Is For

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

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

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

The Law and the Factories

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

He and his fellow-capitalists have constructed their state to defend this right by all necessary means.

However, in the course of the development of capitalism, the original right to private property suffers some modification and limitation.

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

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

Sit-Downs and the Law

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

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

Labor Looks Through
The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

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

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

DAILY DOUBT

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