

**Workers
of the World
Unite!**

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HITLER MARCHES EASTWARD

Auto Progressives Confer on Program

6,000 Workers Organize to Save Auto Union; Martin's Finishing Touch Is Red-baiting

DEMAND UNION STAY IN CIO BULLETIN

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, Mar. 13—Delegates representing five U.A.W. locals of Detroit and Cleveland and groups of a dozen additional local unions of Cleveland, Detroit, Flint and Saginaw met at the Tuller Hotel in Detroit to discuss policies and preparations for the Cleveland convention, scheduled to meet on March 27.

Representing approximately 6,000 automobile workers, who have declared themselves for the third or rank and file group and who have endorsed the militant open letter to all U.A.W. members calling for "One Convention—One Union—One fight against the Employers," these delegates spent a whole day in conference, soberly analyzing the causes for the decline of the Automobile Workers Union and adopted a series of resolutions and proposals calculated to hand back the union into the hands of the rank and file.

An organizing program was also presented and adopted designed to rebuild the union into a powerful instrument for the protection of the automobile workers.

The resolutions calling for the abolition of unemployment in the automobile industry, a closed shop in General Motors, great organizational drives in the Ford Motor Co. and the parts plants industry, organization of the W.P.A. workers, establishment of union defense guards against the attacks of the corporations, a bold fight

against anti-union legislation, constitutional amendments guaranteeing rank and file control of the union machinery and other vital resolutions will be presented to the Cleveland Convention for the consideration of all the delegates. The Conference took the further step of authorizing the issuance of ten thousand copies of its union program for the education of the union membership, calling upon all automobile workers to "Join with us in Support of the Union Building Program."

Martin Meeting Ends In Fiasco

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, Mich.—Homer Martin's personal caucus meeting in this city, hastily termed an auto convention, was the biggest fiasco in recent labor history. Neither in numbers nor in policy did it represent the interests or the strivings of the nation's organized automobile workers. It was Homer Martin's swan song as a progressive labor leader.

A careful survey of the official representation reported at the convention reveals that some where less than one-fourth of the United Automobile Workers Union sent delegates to Detroit. If we grant that the U.A.W. dropped 100,000 in its dues-paying membership, from the estimate of 875,000 reported at the Milwaukee Convention in Aug. 1937, the Martin following would still be less than 60,000.

Tide Against Martin
More important however is the specific gravity of these local unions in the automobile industry. In the original report of the credentials committee, General Motors workers were accredited with representation from Pontiac Motor, Fisher Body and Yellow Cab of Pontiac, from Fisher Body, Chevrolet, Buick and A.C. Spark Plug of Flint, from Cadillac in Detroit, from Oldsmobile in Lansing and from various General Motors plants in Bay City, Saginaw and other assembly plants in Indiana and on the east coast.

No claims were made to Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Fleetwood,

Fisher Body tool and die or Turnsted in Detroit, to the big G.M. plants in Canada, to the G.M. plants on the West Coast, to Fisher Body in Cleveland, to the Chevrolet transmission works in Toledo. Thus if Martin's figures were to be accepted at face value for General Motors, more than one-third of the workers would be aligned against him. But his estimates are highly misleading. Ever since Martin broke from the C.I.O. the tide has been daily turning against him both in Flint and in Pontiac. Yellow Cab and Fisher Body of Pontiac are now definitely on the C.I.O. lists. Chevrolet, A.C. Spark Plug and Buick of Flint have hopped on the C.I.O. bandwagon. The remaining General Motors plants in these cities are divided at least in half, with the C.I.O. holding a slight and increasing edge. Actual count will show that whatever remains of a union in Lansing General Motors is with the C.I.O., that the Chevrolet transmission in Saginaw is with the C.I.O. Ditto for Anderson and

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It's Your Money Or Their Lives!

Twenty-five Sudeten-German, Jewish, and Czechoslovakian anti-fascists are waiting to hear our answer. For months they have been living under permanent threat of arrest by the fascist-minded authorities. The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees had almost completed arrangements for their rescue. This work was carried on under almost insurmountable difficulties. Now Hitler's conquest of Czechoslovakia threatens these arrangements—and their lives.

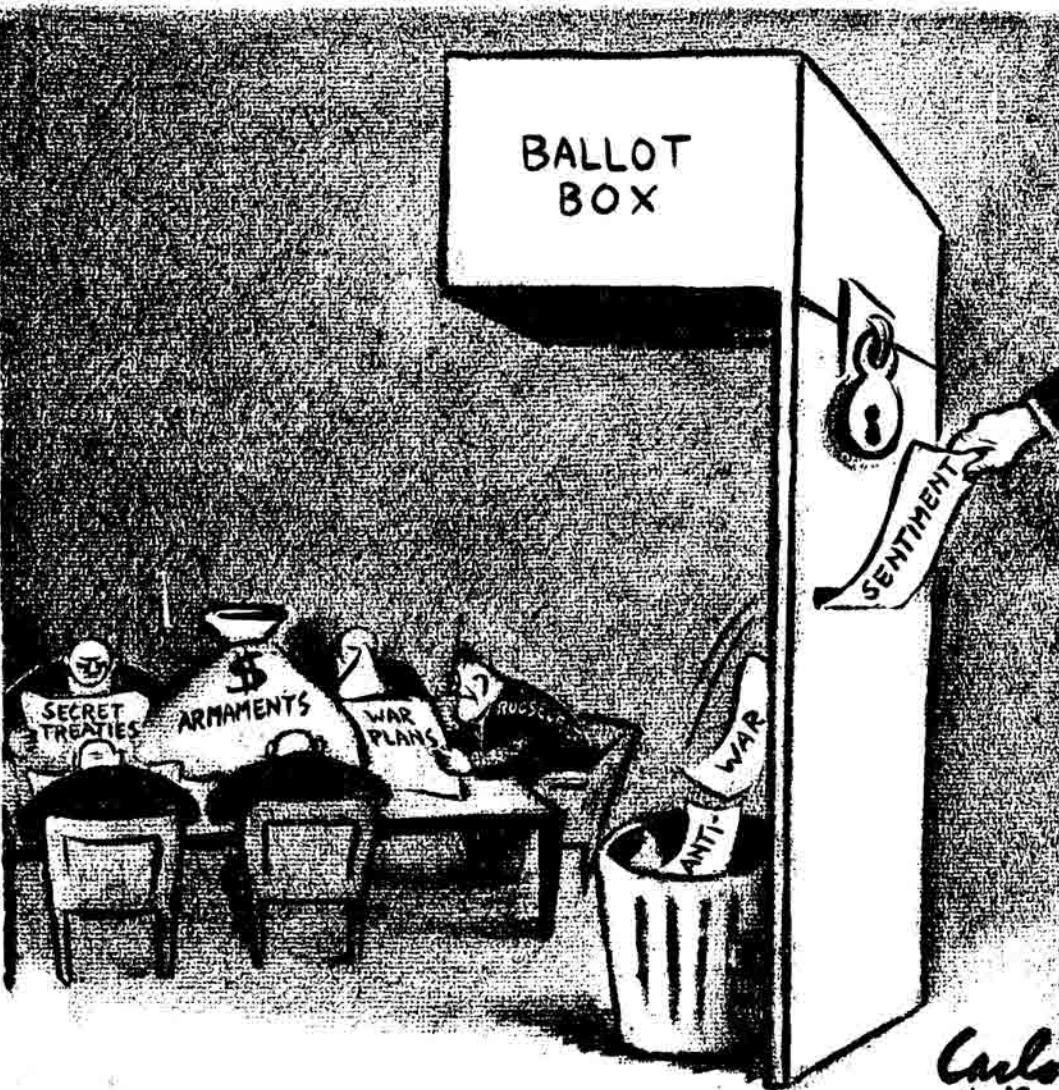
Immediately after the Fascist march into the Sudeten territory last October, thanks to the generous response of its friends, the American Fund sent an envoy into Czechoslovakia. He was able to save four anti-fascists from the Nazis by transporting them to safe places of refuge.

It is now necessary to do this again, not for four, but for twenty-five people. The American Fund has already set in motion the necessary machinery for getting at least fifteen of these people out of the hands of the Gestapo. We must not fail them now. We count on you to help us save them.

A minimum of \$2,500 must be raised within one week. Show this appeal to your friends, your fellow trade unionists, your fellow students. Set yourself a quota to raise within one week.

IT IS A QUESTION OF LIFE OR DEATH!
Send all funds to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, George Novack, Secretary, 100 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.

The Champions of Democracy at Work!



WHO IS GENERAL MIAJA?

Who is General Jose Miaja?

He is head of the "Madrid Defense Council" which is organizing the final betrayal of the Spanish workers and peasants to Franco.

He is the organizer of the massacres of militant anti-fascist workers—communists, anarchists and socialists—who want to continue the fight against Franco in Central Spain and who are mowed down by Miaja's machine guns and artillery.

The Daily Worker says that "Trotskyists" are in this Council of Treachery. The Stalinist liars say this in the hope that we will forget the answer to the question so embarrassing to them—

Who is General Jose Miaja?

Here is the answer—the official answer:

"The President of the famous Madrid Defense Commission, Comrade Miaja, is a member of the Communist Party. His work, with that of the other delegates, will go down in history."

This answer is to be found in the official organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the "International Press Correspondence" (Inprecorr) of February 6, 1937 (Vol. 17, No. 6, page 121). It is contained in a Madrid dispatch, dated Jan. 28, from the English Stalinist correspondent, Hugh Slater.

Miaja the Traitor, the assassin of communist, anarchist and socialist workers—a member of the Communist Party of Spain!

Have the Stalinists even bothered to expel him? In any case, they have maintained a discreet silence about his membership.

"His work . . . will go down in history."

Indeed! And so will the work of the whole Stalinist machine.

Spanish C. P. Leaders Seek Peace With Madrid Junta

By FELIX MORROW

The Spanish Communist Party has made its peace with the Casado-Miaja Junta, it would appear from a Valencia dispatch to the N. Y. Times, March 15:

"The Communist morning newspaper Verdad appeared today for the first time in ten days. It laid great stress on the assertion that the Communist party wanted only 'an honorable peace,' the same that other parties are striving for, and pointed to the number of Communists who had fallen on Spanish battlefields 'in the fight for our common ideals.'"

This development appears to be the explanation for the sudden cessation of the anguished outcries against the Miaja junta uttered last week by the Stalinist press. Since Monday, no anti-Junta material has appeared in the Daily Worker. On Wednesday and Thursday Spain disappeared from its front pages altogether. Nor has there been any editorial comment or any other material seeking to explain the Spanish events. This studied silence of the Stalinist press seems to indicate a change of line toward support of the Miaja Junta.

First Direct Statement

The first direct statements by Communist Party leaders on the Madrid fighting against the Jun-

ta were published by "La Voz," Spanish-language Popular Frontist daily of New York, in a Paris dispatch, March 16. It was an interview with Antonio Mije and Francisco Anton, members of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party.

Anton, as Political Commissar of the Army of the Center, was the right-hand man of Miaja during the siege of Madrid.

"This could have been avoided said Anton, speaking of the fighting in Madrid, 'because there were legal methods available for ousting the Communists from the government. We are not intransigent, but the violence employed against us forced us to defend ourselves. The coup d'etat was avowedly anti-Communist. Our people were arrested and in some places, like Valencia, the buildings of the Communist party were assaulted.

Did Not "Prolong" Fight
"To these aggressions," continued Anton, "the Communists" answered by taking up arms against the Defense Council. But we did not break up any front, we did not draw off forces from any firing line to extend our protest. We Communists used only those forces that we had in reserve.

"Nor did the Communist lead-

ers prolong the rebellion, although we would have been justified. We would have been able to increase our forces, beside those fighting, for we had men in the armies of all the Central zones that would have obeyed our orders to fight; we preferred, nevertheless, not to benefit by extending the field of battle (against Miaja).

"We wished to continue united, resisting (Franco) as well as we could, in order to obtain an honorable peace, because we know that fascism does not parley with the weak, and we were able to offer at the least three months of resistance with the materials at our disposal. Meanwhile many men could have left Spain who are now going to fall into the hands of the enemy, because of lack of military strength to continue resisting."

In conclusion, Anton said: To negotiate with Franco is now more difficult. . . . We wished to continue the war because our resistance was efficacious for obtaining peace. But they (the rest of the Popular Front) did not know how to understand us."

What It Means
This significant statement of the Spanish Stalinist leaders clarifies a number of important

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PLAN SUBMITTED TO CUT 400,000 FROM WPA LISTS

**Harrington Outlines
Slashes Set for
April 1**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, March 16—F. C. Harrington, army colonel in charge of the Works Progress Administration, today submitted a plan to the House Appropriations Committee for making the first major slash in relief rolls on April 1.

If Congress does not grant the \$150,000,000 requested by Roosevelt, then Harrington will proceed to immediate execution of his plan and eliminate projects now employing 400,000 relief recipients. On May 1 600,000 more will be cut from relief rolls, and on June 1 200,000 more. Roosevelt's plans call for the elimination of 150,000 per month from the rolls. He is opposed to greater slashes at the present time, fearing that it would lead to demonstrations and mass protests which would arouse the unemployed movement.

Will Eliminate Projects
Harrington's plan, according to Committee members, would cut by projects rather than on the basis of "individual needs." Wherever it was necessary to cut in any particular region, entire projects would be eliminated and with them the unemployed who had been working on them.

It was not certain whether Harrington had provided a table giving State by State cuts on a percentage basis, or whether he had only promised such a breakdown for the next hearing. Reports of Committee members conflicted on this point.

To Eliminate 1,000,000

Last week Harrington announced that it would be necessary for him to reduce relief rolls by one-third, that is, 1,000,000 persons, beginning the cut April 1, if the present appropriations were not increased by that date. But he did not specify the exact procedure he would use in reducing the relief rolls to the level demanded by Congress.

Now according to his announcement, he will begin by cutting 400,000 from various projects as the first step in the plan to slash 1,000,000 from the rolls. Congress has already signified to the President that if an emergency arises (read, mass demonstrations) then Congress will immediately grant more funds to appease the unemployed.

Roosevelt's Program

The reduction of relief appropriations is one of the major points in the Roosevelt program to increase profits for business. The administration hopes not only to lower taxes for the higher bracket incomes and the big corporations at the expense of the workers, but in addition believes that relief appropriations can be greatly reduced in view of the disorganized state of the unemployed movement.

The question as to whether immediate reductions should affect no more than 150,000 a month as Roosevelt advocates or 1,000,000 within the immediate future as Congress advocates is merely a tactical question as to the best way of accomplishing the reductions without arousing a militant response from the unemployed.

Members of the Appropriations Committee told reporters immediately after learning of Roosevelt's intention to ask for \$150,000,000 more for the unemployed that they would not vote for this unless an investigation showed

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Move Brings Bandits Nearer Soviet Union

Spurs World Crisis as "Democracies" Wail and Mussolini Is Left Holding the Bag

WORKERS, DEFEND THE USSR!

In a series of lightning blows that left both his rivals and his victims stunned and helpless, Adolf Hitler last week established German rule in Czecho-Slovakia.

Bohemia and Moravia, with their 6,000,000 Czech inhabitants, and Slovakia, with its 2,500,000 Slovaks, became "protectorates" incorporated into the Great Reich.

The spearhead of German imperialist expansion, pointed toward Rumania, Poland and the Soviet Union, advanced 500 miles eastward. The new German advance post is only 150 miles from the border of the Soviet Ukraine.

This was Hitler's answer to Stalin, who only a few days earlier told the Communist Party Congress in Moscow that Hitler had turned his face westward, and that only

Britain and France were trying to foment a needless Nazi-Soviet war.

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and the French wait that Hitler has violated the "spirit" of Munich, by which they only mean he has struck his ruthless blows without first asking their permission. For actually, by making another thrust eastward Hitler is carrying out the tacit understanding at Munich that his future field of expansion would be in Central and Eastern Europe, and not in the West.

The difficulty is that the French and British leaders realize that a Reich expanding, even to the East, represents an increasingly urgent menace to the status quo in the British and French Empires. They shiver under the constant threat of German pressure for colonies and the stronger Germany gets the less able they will be to resist its demands.

That is why the past six months since Munich have been characterized by an unprecedented rearmament program, especially in Great Britain. That is why Roosevelt, fully aware that American capitalism will have to intervene in the impending war for a re-division of the war's spoils, has hurled this country into an arms program of equal magnitude.

Purpose Clear
The purpose of the resolution is as clear as day. Administration spokesmen said it was intended to build a "united front" of American nations (including Bloody Batista's Cuba and Vargas's Brazil) against European totalitarian states. What that means in simple language is Roosevelt's determination to impose his "good" Yankee will on each of our southern "neighbors." Specifically, Roosevelt's aim is to oust from Latin America European business interests in favor of Wall Street's brand of brigands.

The arms-sale is only one in a long series designed by Roosevelt to make the Monroe Doctrine clear beyond any possible doubt. Part of the same series were the recently concluded naval maneuvers in South American waters, and the trade agreement signed by Brazil and this country which gives Yankee profiteers a strangle hold on the economic, hence political life of Brazil. Before that, the administration had announced an addition above those already there of spies and military attaches in Latin American Embassies.

The Pittman-Bloom bills are intended to bring the nations of Latin America closer to the United States by force of any means, military or economic, that may be necessary. Such Latin American countries as resist Yankee intervention will find their neighboring countries armed to the teeth and politically directed by the United States, ready to move in at a moment's order to execute Roosevelt's will.

Drops Pretense
Hitler accomplished his coup with all the characteristic features of speed, surprise, and thoroughness to which he has accustomed the world during the past three years. Little pretense was made this time that he was acting in behalf of Germans across the Reich borders. The German press screamed, to be sure, about anti-German atrocities. But in fact Hitler aimed straight for the absorption of nearly 10,000,000 non-Germans who only six months ago were dominant rulers of the polyglot monstrosity of a nation created at Versailles.

The "legalities" were observed only by having President Emil Hacha of Czecho-Slovakia come to Berlin and "ask" for German protection. Like Schuschnigg, he had a gun put to his head and like a wise bourgeois politician, he reached fast for the ceiling. Slovakia, the second section of the hyphenated state, proclaimed its "independence" and immediately after Hitler marched into Prague it in turn asked for his "protection"—which the Fuehrer, without displaying any particular reluctance, immediately granted.

Hungary Rushes Troops
Meanwhile Hungary rushed troops into the Carpathian Ukraine to secure the common border with Poland, which, it is fondly believed in Warsaw and Budapest, will offer some slight bulwark against the expanding Nazi colossus. In this they may have the tacit support of Mussolini, who was certainly both surprised and

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LEFT—JABS

Healing Stalin

Last week Stalin called in the coming year's quota of "cut-throats," "gangsters of the pen," "double dealers," "Fascist spies," "Trotskyist-Bukharinist scum," etc., for some boot licking practice in preparation for the fall confessional. After reading the reports in the "D.W." and elsewhere we are ready to predict that if the boys do as well in the finals as they did in practice, we are due for some of the crawling, put frame-ups and murder on a mass production basis.

The Leader Spoke

The occasion for the orgy was a gathering humorously referred to as the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The place, Moscow. Of course the great man delivered an oration and all the speakers that followed hung around that speech like flies around a manure pile.

Stalin the Historian

Yaroslavsky, a veteran bootlicker, still paying hooky from the firing squad, praised Stalin as being responsible for a "veritable about face in the science of history" and for directing the new party history which gives Stalin credit for all the accomplishments of the men he murdered, exiled or jailed.

He Built Khabarovsk

A delegate from Khabarovsk told of the building up of that region—stopping at every paragraph to praise Allah—we mean Stalin—as the creator, founder and perpetuator of all that is good in Khabarovsk.

Manulsky Goes to Town

Manulsky next knelt by the boots of the "father of all mankind" and he really went to town. He heeled Stalin's drive as an "historic report" "a valuable contribution" "unsurpassed in its profundity," etc., etc. Quotations from Stalin and no one else studied his speech. (It was published in full in the Daily Worker).

The Holy Father

Manulsky continued. . . "The Spanish People enjoyed the support of the father of all working people, Comrade Stalin." . . . (Loud applause). He spoke of the International Brigade as "men and women of the Stalin era" . . . of the same temper as those who marched into the battle at Lake Hasen with the battle cry: "For the Fatherland, for Communism, for Stalin." (Applause). All delegates rise to their feet. Shouts of "Long Live the Great Stalin! Hurrah!" (Stormy applause. "Long live the Great Leader!" etc., etc.)

Gannes on the Stalin Speech

Just to show that 20th Century Americans can outplay even the Russian Stalinists at this game and no doubt with an eye on the editors job, Harry Gannes took up in the Daily Worker where Manulsky left off. After a thorough slobbering over the fuhrer's boots, he licked his way to higher places as he went into a twittering ecstasy over the Stalin speech. "Historic speech" . . . "Most lucid possible manner" . . . "Stalin's report is making history" . . . "Masterful simplicity" . . . "How confident and powerfully calm was Stalin" . . . "How sharp and precise were Stalin's thrusts of irony and wit" . . . "Breath-taking in its brilliance" . . . "A work to be treasured" . . . "Its clarification is a joy."—And all this about a drizzling piece of empty boasting and stupid lying, whose high and also low point was his whining appeal to Hitler for a deal.

"Glory Road"

The program for Earl Browder's talk on Religion at Boston's Community Church was as follows: 1—Hymn, "One Holy Church of God Appears." 2—Prayer. 3—Offering. 4—Hymn, "The Voice of God is Calling." 5—Earl Browder—"A Communist speaks to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews." 6—Hymn, "Arise Democracy." 7—Benediction.

W.P.A. at World's Fair

The W.P.A. is to have an exhibit at the New York World's Fair. Its theme will be "Work—the American Way Out of Unemployment." It is not likely that the firing of 1,000,000 W.P.A. workers while employment declines will be depicted in the exhibit.

Rosenberg Resigns

The National Office of the Socialist Workers Party announced that upon the request of the Political Committee of the Party, Irving Rosenberg, of Newark, N. J., submitted his resignation from the party in a letter declaring that the public effect of his present commercial activities has tended to have an injurious result for the party and its name. The resignation was accepted and a decision adopted to make it public.

Martin Convention Ends in Fiasco

RED-BAITING TONE DOMINATES; TIDE AGAINST MARTIN

(Continued from Page 1)

Muncie, Indiana. Cadillac is overwhelmingly for the C.I.O.

Exaggerated Claims

Thus real figures already prove that Martin's following accounts for less than one-third of organized G.M. workers, and that every day reduces this figure substantially.

Similar estimates can be made for the Chrysler workers. Only Plymouth was officially represented in the original credentials report. Yet even here, large membership meetings of Plymouth workers showed an approximate 50-50 division of loyalties between Martin and the C.I.O. Neither Dodge, Dodge Truck, Dodge Forge, Chrysler Local 7, nor Chrysler Highland Park were officially listed.

Of the independents, neither the large Briggs body local, Hudson Motor, Studebaker, Murray Body, nor Nash were accounted for in the first report. Only Packard and Seamen Body of Wisconsin were listed. But the true figures would show a 50-50 division in Packard and a decisive majority for the C.I.O. in Seamen Body. Naturally large claims were made of support at the Ford Motor Co. But so negligible are the actually organized here, it is futile to devote even an extra sentence to these claims. If the C.I.O. makes claims of a similar nature, they will be just as false.

Small Unions Represented

Who then was represented at Martin's convention? Only the smallest local unions, unimportant parts and accessory plants which carry no decisive weight in the automobile industry. For the most part, these were legitimate delegates, even if their membership figures were padded to a greater or lesser degree.

With this tiny minority Martin could not justifiably maintain his wild statement that this convention represented "75 percent of the auto workers organized in the U.A.W.," nor could he hope to have his union respected as the bona fide auto workers organization after the convention. Hence it was necessary to ring into the convention the so-called "rank and file" delegations as authoritative bodies. The "rank and file" was alleged to represent the majority of workers in Dodge, Dodge Truck, Chrysler, Chrysler Highland Park, Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Hudson Motor, Briggs and Murray Body, G.M. on the West Coast, Fisher Body of Cleveland and every other local where Martin's following was only a tiny portion of the membership.

The delegates in large part represented nobody but themselves. Many of them were picked off the street. Others had not worked in their plants, e.g. the Murray Body delegation, for upwards of a year. But Martin needed them to maintain the fiction of his majority support in the union. And also—

Whatever struggle there was at this convention revolved around the seating of the "rank and file" and the inevitable consequences of this action. It took place behind closed doors in what was called a "conference of the whole." Lovestonites fearful of their inevitable displacement and crucifixion united with representatives of small locals, jealous of their democratic rights and their power at the convention, and fought bitterly against the seating of the "rank and file." They were soundly trounced by the well-oiled Martin machine.

Dispute Martin's Powers

These padded rolls were soon to have their effect at the convention. The first major dispute, in closed session also, concerned the extension of Martin's powers as president. The original proposal was to give Martin power to appoint the International Executive Board members. This was too broad for even many of the "rank and file" delegates to swallow and it was voted down by an overwhelming vote. But—and it is not

SHACHTMAN WILL DEBATE SHAPLEN

NEW YORK, March 16.—Max Shachtman, editor of the Socialist Appeal, will represent the position of the Socialist Workers Party at a debate on the question: HAS BOLSHIEVISM FAILED?

Shachtman will maintain that Bolshevism has not failed and that only through the program of Bolshevism can fascism be defeated and socialism achieved. Joseph Shaplen of the Social Democratic Federation will oppose him, taking the position that Bolshevism has failed.

Sponsored by the Rand School Forum and the Marxist School, the debate will be held Friday evening, March 31st, at 8:30 P.M. in the Rand School at 7 East 15 Street (Auditorium). Admission will be 25 cents.

State Moves to Curtail Aid to N. Y. Job-Seekers

Budget Slash to Result in Mass Firing in Agency Staffs; Youth Hardest Hit

NEW YORK—A new blow was struck at the unemployed when it was announced this week that mass staff firings and the shutting down of local offices of the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, New York's free employment agency and unemployment insurance office, would result from a recent slash in the state budget.

The harshest cut was made on the junior division of the employment service which has been attempting to assist the jobless youth under the age of 21. The staff of the junior division was slashed by more than 37 per cent in New York City, and 9 of the 18 junior division offices have been shut down.

Already, 197 placement and insurance interviewers have received dismissal notices. More than half are slated to go on March 15, while the remainder will be fired on March 31. All of those fired because of the budget cut are civil service appointees.

Virtual Shutdown

One of the most important functions of the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance was to visit employers in New York State for the purpose of soliciting jobs for the unemployed. It is admitted by the Division administration that less than 3 per cent of the employers have been visited during the last year because the Division office has been understaffed. The present cut in staff means a virtual shutdown of the job service for the unemployed.

Because the youth have added handicaps to face when it comes to finding work, the Division had maintained a Junior service. The present shutdown of offices and

reduction of staff has forced the youth to compete for the same jobs with more experienced adult workers.

In the Bronx all Junior Division offices have been shut. Youth are asked to apply for jobs and unemployment insurance in the adult offices. All youth who have formerly applied to the East 149th St. office are now forced to report to the office at 80 Lafayette St. in downtown Manhattan. In Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens a similar crisis is in existence.

Shift Staff to Insurance Work

The Central Placement office, which formerly handled all types of placement work is being closed except for professional and technical job placement. In some offices the entire interviewing staff has been transferred from placement to insurance work.

Persons entitled to unemployment insurance have been obliged to wait months for their checks. The present reduction in staff will delay the issuance of checks still more.

On top of this it was announced that work on unemployment insurance formerly done in Albany will now be shifted to the understaffed offices in New York City. A backlog of 350,000 claims for unemployment insurance has been sent from Albany to the local offices. This work, which needs careful checking, actually demands an increase rather than a reduction in the staff.

The administration has offered to keep 98 of the civil service workers if they agree to take a salary cut of from \$300 to \$1800 a year. The S.C.M.W.A., Local 28, is fighting against the staff and salary cuts.

AFL-CIO Negotiations Adjourn Without Progress

NEW YORK, March 15.—After a two hour conference last night at the Hotel Biltmore, the joint union committee representing the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations adjourned without making public the results of their discussions and agreed to meet again at the Department of Labor Building in Washington on March 24.

Harry C. Bates, spokesman for the joint committee, stated that the committee adjourned in order that A.F.L. representatives might confer with William Green, C.I.O. committee members had other important engagements which would

prevent them from meeting during the next ten days.

Both John L. Lewis and Philip Murray are now negotiating with coal operators for a new contract and Sidney Hillman, third member of the C.I.O. group has conferences in Washington scheduled. The two hour conversation last night, it was reported, covered rival jurisdictions of unions in the A.F.L. and the C.I.O.

It is the general impression among labor bureaucrats that little progress has been made toward a program of unity acceptable to the delegates from the two labor camps.

unlike that the original proposal was only a come-on for the real proposition—a compromise followed in swift order.

The "compromise" allowed for the election of board members but stipulated the appointment of regional directors. The board members are to be paid only per diem for attendance at quarterly board sessions but the regional directors are to be paid per annum. Thus the real power in the localities is in the hands of Martin appointees who need not be board members if Martin so chooses.

Tightens Machine

Martin's personal machine was finally tightened against any eventuality by the elections to the Executive Board. One contest took place between the same forces that had battled over the other issues. A Martin stooge, Jerry Aldred of Flint, ran against Anthony Doria of Milwaukee for the post of Secretary-Treasurer. At best Doria was an honest conservative but he did represent most of the legitimate delegates at the convention. He was defeated according to official count by 620 to 367. Almost 220 of Aldred's votes came from the "rank and file." Another 154 votes were thrown to Oliver Hamel, a dark horse from the Dodge Local whose candidacy was used to sidetrack votes from Doria.

Of the fifteen of the Executive Board, only two might be classified as "progressive," the Lovestonites Lester Washburn and Irving Brown. The remainder, Irvin Carey, Vice-President, Jerry Aldred, McCartney, Dewey Smith, Fred Durrance, Jack Little, Frank Tucci, Elmer Davis, Peter Noll, Errol Heaton, George Kiebler, Elmer Dowell and Charles West—they are either outright and vicious reactionaries of the Pat McCartney-Tucci stripe or Martin hand-raisers of the Carey-Dowell description, or both. In any case, Martin can expect little difficulty in holding his board in line. Most of them, beginning with Carey, can't even make a coherent speech. The Martin convention was a big day for little men.

Reactionary Tone

As has already been reported in the Appeal, the tenor of the convention was viciously reactionary. Good progressives suffocated in

this atmosphere which was created by Martin in a manner not unlike that of Gerald Smith or Father Coughlin. No speech, no resolution, no token of tribute was complete without a virulent attack on "reds" and "communists." The press has already reported the clause in the constitution barring membership to members of the Communist Party, Nazi or Fascist organizations. How far-reaching this clause is can be seen from the last words: (or members of any organization) which makes its interests and policies on union matters binding upon its members irrespective of the decisions interests and policies of the union.

Every radical must come under this axe—or bury his ideas under a bushel. Every progressive will be charged with membership in a radical organization if he differs with the machine. As if this was not sufficient another resolution was introduced and passed affirming allegiance to "President Martin's philosophy" which condemns "Communism, Nazism, Fascism and all other isms opposed to democratic government." A delegate rose at this point and wanted the resolution referred back to committee in order that the I.L.L.A. the Lovestonites be included in the resolution. Martin's reply for the committee was significant. In the past Martin had always upheld the Lovestonites as good unionists. This time he ignored them entirely stating only that the resolution covered "all other philosophies opposed to democratic government at work in our international union and at work in the nation." Like Caesar, the Lovestonites must have signed at this, the unkindest cut of all: "Et tu Brute?"

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1800 WORKERS STRIKE SERVEL ELECTROLUX CO.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

EVANSVILLE, IND., March 16.—Local 1002, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, today struck the Servel Electrolux plant. 1800 workers have quit work and thrown a picket line around the factory.

The company refused to meet the representatives of the union, Joe Hood, strike chairman, and Arthur Meloan, union organizer, and also refused to meet the government labor conciliator.

STRIKE FOR SIX-HOUR DAY VOTED BY N.Y. PLUMBERS

Unification of Two Locals Seen as Urgent

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK.—The plumbers of Manhattan and the Bronx organized in Local 463 of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam fitters, voted on March 8 to strike for the 6-hour day. This is the second time within recent months that the plumbers are faced with a strike in the struggle for the 6-hour day.

For almost a year the Plumbers and Helpers like several other crafts in the building trade, had enjoyed the 6-hour day. Towards the end of last year however, the employers confronted the Local with an ultimatum setting Jan. 15, 1939 as the date when the plumbers are to start working 8 hours per day with a 25% reduction in pay. This ultimatum was rejected by the unanimous vote of the membership and on Jan. 15, the men were locked out.

On the third day of the lockout, the Assistant General President of the International Union, Mr. Masterson, came to New York to lend his hand to the employers in killing the 6-hour day. He together with General Organizer Leonard and the Local President Dodd in a conference with the plumbing contractors agreed to bring the members of the Local two propositions: one, the 8-hour day for \$13.60 per day for mechanics, and \$7.80 for helpers; two, the 7-hour day with \$12.60 per day for mechanics and \$7.35 for helpers.

Both propositions represented a wage cut and an increase in hours as against the old agreement under which the plumbers have been receiving \$12.00 per day for a 6-hour day, and the helpers \$7 for the same work day. In presenting the two proposals, to the membership of the Union, these officials ruled out the 6-hour day as something unattainable, intimating that the fight for the 6-hour day would not be backed by them or by the General Office.

Local officials with the notable exception of delegates Tobin and Heckler and Vice-President J. Cohen, argued for the 7-hour day. The Rank and File speakers stood solidly for the 6-hour day in accordance with the sentiment of the bulk of the membership.

But Mr. Masterson was determined that the mandate of the employers—to smash the 6-hour day—be carried out. He painted a glowing picture of a bright future for the industry and for the men employed in it, if the 6-hour day is given up. He attempted to frighten the membership of the Local with the threat that their charter would be lifted and given to another Local existing in the same trade in Manhattan and the Bronx, Local 463 Auxiliary, whose jurisdiction at present is confined to jobbing and alteration work, and which has a wage scale of \$9 for an 8-hour day.

Masterson promised that Local 463 will be able to share in the work at the World's Fair, which has been under the jurisdiction of Local 1, of Brooklyn and Queens, if the men would see eye to eye with him. This carried weight, since there is severe unemployment in the trade. To top it off, the President and Business Manager of the Local, the two highest ranking officials submitted their resignations, to take effect if the membership upholds the 6-hour day.

The vote taken at this meeting, Jan. 18, carried the 7-hour day proposition with the 10% cut in wages. But despite the pressure upon the membership, 40% of the votes cast, favored the 6-hour day. It must be pointed out that the whole vote was irregular. It was not taken at a special meeting provided by the constitution, but at a regular meeting of the Local and the membership books were not checked.

Following this vote, which ended the lockout, efforts have been made by members of the Local to declare the vote illegal on constitutional grounds, and to have a new vote taken. The President of

ELECTION VICTORY TO PROGRESSIVES IN AKRON COUNCIL

Bloc Wins Four Seats in Defeating CP Slanderers

By R. FERGUSON

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, Ohio, Jan. 15.—Pointing out that all C.I.O. unionists must smash the reactionary influence of the Stalinists in the trade union movement, the Akron Industrial Union Council has decisively defeated the anti-progressive-Stalinist slate in its annual elections at the last two meetings. The progressive bloc, representing all the large rubber locals and many miscellaneous C.I.O. unions, swept to victory in the elections by placing four out of five candidates in the Council offices, five out of six members on the Executive Board, and one trustee.

This great victory came only after the first elections had been challenged successfully by the Progressives on the grounds of election irregularities, wherein improperly credentialed delegates had voted and the Stalinist slate had gained a temporary victory.

Oppose C.P. Slanderers

The significance of this victory for progressive unionism can hardly be overestimated. But, if it accomplished nothing else, it has first of all removed the fear of the C.P. slander campaign from the workers. In fact, the progressive bloc gained wide support by virtue of its opposition to the Stalinist methods of labelling any opponent either a "fascist" or a "trotskyist." The labor movement is now in a position to discuss questions on their merits.

The election landslide, although some individual candidates won by only small margins, culminates a long period of struggle against the rule-or-ruin policy of the Stalinists. Rebellion against the C.P.'s attempts to underhandedly sabotage the militancy of the C.I.O. in the Goodyear strike of last May; opposition to their stooges' efforts to dominate undemocratically or smash small unions instead of co-operating with them; disgust with the do-nothing policy of the Workers Alliance, which claims jurisdiction over laid-off unionists and yet refuses to fight militantly for their interests; resentment against the "Keller boys" fake shouts for "unity" and "democracy" in the labor movement while they persistently and ruthlessly violate the elementary principles of fighting labor unity or slander their opponents "most democratically"; and finally, indignation at the Browdermen's blustering threats against certain A.F.L. leaders which might have disrupted the excellent cooperation that exists here—all these responses, and a hundred others, can be cited as the underlying causes for the growth of the Progressive group and its victory.

Now, seeing in practice that the Stalinists are not invincible, the Progressives can turn their faces towards the reconstruction of the old union movement of the "heroic" days of the C.I.O.

The Local however, in a very high-handed manner refused to entertain any such motion.

After March 1, when the 7-hour day took effect the spirit of revolt among the plumbers grew more and more uncontrollable. This revolt was accentuated by the arrogance of the employers, who, not satisfied with the increase in hours and the reduction in the hourly rate of wages, have dragged the negotiations for the new agreement and pressed for other concessions.

At a special meeting, March 8, the membership voted five to one in favor of the 6-hour day. At another special meeting, March 11, the conference Board negotiating an agreement with the employers, was removed from office and delegate Heckler was elected Chairman of the new committee to negotiate the agreement. March 18 was set as the deadline for strike action.

The membership also voted unanimously to approach Local 463 Auxiliary, the jobbing and alteration Local, to prevail upon them to carry on joint negotiations with the employers for a common agreement that will include all plumbing in the city.

This motion was intended as a step towards the unification of the two locals, which is the need of the hour. There is no conceivable reason why the amalgamation of the locals which everyone claims to favor, should not take effect immediately. It is the task of the Rank and File in both of these Locals to press for immediate unification which would guarantee victory for the 6-hour day not only on new construction but for all plumbing work.

APPEAL ARMY

"My friends certainly do like to read the paper. They honestly think it is very good."—A reader in New Castle, Penna.

"The fine appearance, militant style, and improved contents of the semi-weekly APPEAL make it possible for us to sell more copies."—H.M., agent of East Chicago, Ind.

"In the past weeks we have systematized the sales of the Appeal. Each active comrade in the St. Louis branch takes at least 3 copies of each issue. Comrades have been assigned to cover important streets with the Appeals."—J. Carter, St. Louis, Mo.

MAY DAY APPEAL PLANS:

Preparations are now under way for the special May-Day issue of the Appeal. This issue will be an extra large paper, containing many features. We are planning to have it in the hands of each and every branch before May Day and in sufficient time to sell at all demonstrations and parades. Instructions are now going out to all branches about greetings, prices, etc. The time to act is now—in advance. Let's make this May Day issue of the Appeal a real success!

ALL-TIME RECORD HIGH FOR APPEAL SUBS!

This week, just as we had predicted, we hit an all-time record high for new subscriptions. The

results are more than pleasing and we feel confident that if it is kept up for the next few weeks of our drive for 1,000 new Appeal readers, we'll make it.

Special mention should be given Boston, Minneapolis, New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles and Newark for their splendid efforts this past week. Over the top on the 1,000 new readers campaign!

Here's the list:

MINNEAPOLIS	28
New York City	24
Chicago	16
Los Angeles	10
Boston	10
Newark	5
Foreign	4
Ohio	4
St. Louis	4
Philadelphia	3
St. Paul	3
Missouri	2
New Jersey	2
California	2
Connecticut	2
Minnesota	1
Washington	1
Pennsylvania	1
Total	129

We have a new bundle order agent in England. Pioneer Bookshop of London which takes 10 copies of each issue.

Also, our agent of Kent, Ohio has already doubled his order to 10 per issue.

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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.

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This Week at the Marxist School

Monday, March 20th at 7:15 P.M.

SAM GORDON—The role of Progressive Blocs in Trade Unions.

Monday, March 20th at 8:50 P.M.

MAX SHACHTMAN—Changes in America's Political Structure.

Tuesday, March 21st at 7 P.M.

JOHN G. WRIGHT—The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern.

Tuesday, March 21st at 8:50 P.M.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ—Contemporary Poetry.

Wednesday, March 22nd at 8:00 P.M.

GEORGE NOVACK—The Role of the Working Class in the Civil War.

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NEW YORK, N. Y.—How many times have you heard someone say to you, "Don't be a fool"? Hundreds, perhaps thousands of times? Well, before complete frustration sets in and ruins your sense of humor, your desire to be yourself and your ability to win friends and influence people you had better attend the All-Fools' day masquerade at Irving Plaza at 9 P. M. on April 1.

Let yourself go—be yourself—act your mental age all for the small sum of 49 cents (without costume, 65 cents) and know that the funds are for the S. W. P.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

PATE DE FOIE GRAS? IT'S FREE! at UN SOIREE DANTS featuring recordings by swing artists. Skits by our own Wash. Lights, Fellow Travelers, Games, Refreshments, etc.—March 18—at 916 9th Ave.—March 18—at 916 9th Ave. Send in your questions, Refreshments, eats, etc. Admission, 30c.

FIRST ISSUE OF WALKA, new Polish Monthly, now available at: Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th St., N.Y.C., 22-51 38th St., Astoria; News stands in Polish speaking areas in Manhattan. 5 cents per copy. Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year.

STUMP THE EXPERTS! If you stump some of our brightest "big-shots" with your questions, you'll receive a prize at the "QUESTION MARK DANCE" Saturday, March 25—916 9th Ave., N.Y.C. Send in your questions, Refreshments, eats, etc. Admission, 30c.

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

At long last, after many delays and false alarms, Daniel Guerin's *Fascism and Big Business* is off the press. I am informed by persons whose testimony I believe to be reliable that they have seen with their own eyes a large number of copies neatly piled up in the offices of Pioneer Publishers. Considering that I wrote the introduction and helped get out the book, it is perhaps unnecessary to say that I consider it a most important work. We have had a flood of books on fascism, which in liberal circles has become the new demology, but *Fascism and Big Business* stands out both as to form and content. Simply written, clearly organized, it should be of great use in workers' educational and discussion groups.

Guerin analyzes the phenomenon of fascism in Marxist terms. That is, he deals not in backstairs gossip nor in Freudian psychology, but in basic economic factors. His primary question is always: who profits? He helps explode a myth which has become a platitude in certain liberal quarters: that fascism is a form of state socialism, that Hitler and Mussolini are middle class revolutionists, that the iron hand of the fascist state rests as heavily on business as on labor, etc. These propositions Guerin buries under a landslide of data as to the essentially capitalist nature of fascism. An especially interesting chapter he devotes to the struggle for power between the fascist "plebeians" and their big business masters. He shows that even though the plebeians seem to control entirely the State power, in fact when the real showdown comes (the Party "reorganizations" of 1923, 1925, and 1928 in Italy; the 1934 "Blood Purge" in Germany) the plebeians always knuckle under, and he shows why this must necessarily be the case. Above all, Guerin makes clear in copious detail that fascism can be fought only by the united, militant power of the workers. After reading his account of how the "progressive" governments of Gollitti and Bruening handed over the power to the fascists without a murmur, it takes an airtight closed mind to continue to believe in reformist political action. Guerin's Marxist economic analysis leads him straight to the conclusion that the fascist drive to power can be smashed only by its natural enemy: the working class.

It Has Happened Here

Guerin writes of Italy and Germany, but our own experience bears out his points. There was the recent Nazi Bund meeting in Madison Square Garden, for instance. What could express better the policy of the Stalinists and the other reformist and "liberal" groups towards this incipient fascist threat than these words of Guerin: "Let us be careful not to reply to fascist violence, the reformist leaders said in both Italy and Germany; we should arouse 'public opinion' against us. Above all, let us avoid forming combat groups and semi-military bodies, for we should risk antagonizing the public authorities, who, we are confident, will dissolve the semi-military groups of fascism." And what could be more

closely applicable to the Madison Square Garden affair, where the 50,000 workers and other anti-fascists who demonstrated under S.W.P. leadership against the Bund were attacked and dispersed again and again by LaGuardia's police—what could be more pat than this quotation from Guerin: "They counted, not on the militancy of the masses but on the Prussian police. . . . But the forces of 'Law and Order' backed up the Brown Shirts." For "Berlin Sportsplatz, 1932" read "Madison Square Garden, 1939."

Patching Up the Barrel

Radek once wrote: "Fascism is the iron hoop with which the bourgeoisie tries to patch up the broken barrel of capitalism." A great many people these days waste much time in demonstrating that an iron hoop is not the most comfortable thing in the world. They reason that since the business man under fascism suffers from all sorts of bureaucratic restrictions, he is sorry he ever heard of Adolf Hitler. Therefore, fascism is not a class phenomenon. Q.E.D. One more article along this line appears in the current issue of *Harpers*: "Doing Business in Germany" by Gunther Reimann. The interesting thing about Reimann's article is that, although he thinks he is proving that the business man gets it in the neck under Hitler, the actual data he brings up tends to confirm Guerin's analysis of the class nature of fascism. Thus Guerin writes that heavy industry (steel, iron, coal, etc.) for good economic reasons backs the fascist drive for power, while light industry (textiles, foods, and other consumer goods) in general opposes fascism—until it grows too strong to be peacefully suppressed, at which point light and heavy industrialists unite to place the fascists in power. Reimann's article tells how the heavy industrialists, due largely to the rearmament program, are prospering as never before, while by comparison "the manufacturer of consumer goods appears as an unhappy Cinderella." Guerin shows how the fascists hand back to private ownership many enterprises formerly operated by the State.

Finally, Guerin demonstrates that the condition of the small shopkeepers and petty bourgeois who flocked to Hitler's banner became worse, not better, after their Fuehrer took power. Reimann calls the small retailer "the most depressed and the most restricted business man in Germany." This is his major argument, in fact, to support his thesis that Nazism is not "the shield of private property." But it is, to say the least, misleading to lump small shopkeepers and steel magnates under one head as "capitalists." In fascist Germany, as Guerin abundantly demonstrates and as Reimann himself indicates, those who control the very heart of modern capitalism, the big industrial magnates, are still firmly in the saddle. "What is really happening in German business," writes Reimann, "is a gradual fusion between private enterprise and State bureaucracy." Or, to put it another way, the capitalist magnates retain their class supremacy by taking over the State.

Hitler Seizes Slovakia; March Eastward Threatens the Ukraine

(Continued from Page 1)

shocked by the swift, sudden coup of his axis partner. And because Mussolini wants it, Hitler may permit that common frontier to stand for a brief time. If, however, his plans call for immediate advance toward the oil fields of Rumania and thence toward the granaries of the Ukraine, we may be sure it will not stand for long. Harried map-makers would be well advised to wait before rushing new gazetteers to the presses. Mussolini has been left holding a pretty empty bag. He had succeeded in keying up London and Paris to the expectation of early demands for a Mediterranean Munich, but he was retarded by Hitler's seeming passivity. Hitler, with an eye on British and American rearmament, did not regard a Mediterranean offensive, at the moment, as offering him sufficient advantages, so he thrust eastward on his own and won enormous strategic gains without firing a shot.

Not the least of the loot was the arms and equipment for 40 divisions, brought with the voted approval of the Czech Communist Party and paid for mostly with funds provided by the French government with the voted support of the French Communist Party. Hitler also got the great Skoda munitions plants, ore and coal mines, gold stocks, foreign exchange reserves—and an open road into Hungary, Rumania and Poland.

Next on Program

Thus in less than three years, by a policy of open power politics, Hitler has destroyed the Versailles structure created by the World War victors over the corpses of 20,000,000 dead. He re-occupied the Rhineland, took back the Saar, recreated Germany's armed forces, absorbed Austria, the Sudetenland, and now has gone beyond to swallow the countries carved out of the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire. Next on his program—and there will be no lengthy intermission—will be Memel, the Polish Corridor, Rumania and the Ukraine.

Add to this Nazi program of expansion the "natural aspirations" of Italy in the Mediterranean, the development of acute tension between the Soviet Union and Japan—likely to flower into a full-blown crisis next month—and one realizes how hopelessly enmeshed the world has become in imperialist rivalries and how close it is to a new imperialist war.

Accepting this now as an inevitability and knowing no way of averting it, the "liberal" pacifists and democrats in the "democratic" countries have become the most rabid partisans of preparing for and embarking upon a war that will assure Anglo-Franco-American domination in the world in preference to German-Italian-Japanese domination.

Clean Out Swamp!

We say the workers of the world have nothing in common with the greeds and appetites of either of these bands of capitalist gangsters—the one that will fight to protect its swag, or the other that want to hijack that swag for itself. Our job in this country is to make it impossible for our bosses to drag us into another war to "save the world for democracy." The last one produced Fascism, starvation, unemployment, and a new war is upon us. This way and this way alone will enable us to cut across the foul national and race rivalries nourished on the greeds of the masters, to join hands with the workers of all lands and with them abolish war by cleaning out the swamp in which it breeds—the swamp of the capitalist system.

PLAN SUBMITTED TO SLASH W. P. A.

(Continued from Page 1)

it necessary. They suggested calling in state and local relief administrators in order to question them. They wished to learn from first hand sources how the unemployed would react to a slash as large as they hope to obtain.

The Only Answer

For all those on relief there is only one way of safeguarding their checks, that is by militant mass demonstrations of protest at all relief headquarters on April 1, the day the first cuts are scheduled.

Demand all war funds to the unemployed! W. P. A. jobs at union wages for all unemployed; a blanket \$30 minimum; \$2,000,000 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!

NAZI THUGS HAVE DOOMED CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S JEWS TO THIS!



PEACE OVERTURES TO MIAJA JUNTA BY SPANISH C. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

points: 1. The Communist party did not make a decision to revolt against Miaja. Party units, attacked by the Junta, merely defended themselves.

2. As soon as possible, they cut short the fighting, having no intention or perspective of continuing the struggle to the point of overthrowing Miaja. The main forces under Communist military leaders were not brought into the fighting.

3. The Communist party was in fundamental agreement with the Miaja Junta for making peace with Franco, but speaking of an "honorable" peace. Only after they were assaulted, did the Communist party leaders discover a tactical difference on how to secure the best peace.

Stalinist press claims that they and Negrin were for a last-ditch fight are thus blasted by the testimony of their own Spanish leaders. They had no principled difference with the "Trotskyist-fascist" Miaja Junta, and the United Press was probably correct in reporting, the day after the Junta took power, that the Communist party had declared its support to the Junta. But Miaja rejected their support, and launched an attack upon them, for one of the primary purposes of establishing the Junta was to throw the Stalinists to the wolves in the hope of thereby securing better concessions from Franco.

Threaten Resistance

Franco's continued insistence on unconditional surrender and preparations for an offensive against Madrid may be the cause of the compromise between the Junta and the Stalinists. The reappearance of the Spanish Stalinist press may be notice by the Miaja Junta to Franco that if he does not grant their request for amnesty, they will reunite with the Stalinists for a show of resistance.

That tomorrow Miaja will again throw the Stalinists to the wolves in return for minor concessions from Franco must be obvious to the Stalinists. But their main preoccupation now is not the lives of their Spanish party members, but the preservation of the Popular Front myth.

If they can patch things up with Miaja, they will brazen out afterward the peace with Franco. Whereas to fight Miaja would mean to admit publicly that the Spanish Popular Front has betrayed the fight against fascism.

REMAINDERS

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MANUILSKY EXPANDS ON STALIN; WINS DEFEATS THROUGH SILENCE

The second big feature of the 18th congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union was the lengthy speech of D. Z. Manuilsky, on March 11, published in the *Daily Worker*, March 13.

It followed slavishly, of course, the line laid down in Stalin's speech (analyzed in the last issue of the *Appeal*) but deserves separate commentary on a number of points:

Where Is Dimitroff?

1. The totalitarian regime existing in the Communist International is revealed by the appearance of Manuilsky as "Secretary of the Communist International." Who elected him? When? Titles come and go in the Comintern without even the pretense of democratic elections. This is Manuilsky's first appearance under this title. Where is Dimitroff, "helmsman of the Comintern"?

2. The Secretary of the Communist International, making a report to a Party congress on the work of Communist parties, one week after the seizure of power by the Casado-Miaja Popular Front Junta and while it was in the midst of shooting down protesting Loyalists, including particularly Communist Party members, has not a word to say about this event which demonstrated the hopeless bankruptcy of Peoples Frontism.

Congresses in the Stalinist system, are a time for self-congratulation. How possibly congratulate themselves on the Spanish debacle? By the simple expedient of saying nothing about the Miaja Junta, nothing about its assault on the Communist party of Spain! Instead, Manuilsky has the effrontery to report that the "miracle of holding out" in Spain is because "the masses of the people in Spain have been united into the anti-fascist Peoples Front, that this front has been cemented together by the Communist Party, which has grown into a major political force."

At the moment when the Spanish section of the Comintern is being hounded by its "loyal allies," its best militants shot down or executed, Manuilsky boasts about its 300,000 members, "a party which has mastered in full seriousness Comrade Stalin's wise advice. . . ." Satire stands defenseless against such brazen smugness.

A Few Perfunctory Words

3. Even in the days when Stalin and his henchmen were covering up their criminal policies resulting in such disasters as the defeat of the Chinese Revolution (1927), the memory of the original methods of Lenin and Trotsky in the Comintern were still so prevalent, that the Stalinists went through the motions of drawing a balance sheet of events as they occurred. By today, however, the most terrible defeats are passed over with a few perfunctory words, with no pretence at estimating the causes and the lesson of the future.

The Stalinists, through the medium of the Peoples Front, delivered the French masses into the hands of Deladier. From June, 1936, until the Munich pact, the Stalinists supported continuously

HOLLYWOOD MERRY-GO-ROUND

CRISIS, produced and directed by Herbert Kline, photographed by Alexander Hackenschmidt, commentary by Vincent Sheean, presented at the 55th Street Playhouse, New York City.

Herbert Kline and those associated with him have brought back a film chronicle of those September days six months ago that marked the first phase of the break-up of Czecho-Slovakia.

One sees everything within the power of a single cameraman to record, from the beginnings of the crisis in May all the way through to the fateful Four-Power meeting at Munich. The film is a powerful document, evoking all the explosive elements which seemed perilously near bursting six months ago.

But the commentary, written by Vincent Sheean, is quite another matter. It is nothing else than an expression of sterile anger at the policy pursued by the European democracies toward "little Czecho-Slovakia." Mr. Sheean is pained and disappointed that the struggle was given up without carrying it to the point of imperialist war.

For at stake was the imperialist partnership of democratic France and her vassal, Czecho-Slovakia. A defense of that partnership meant the defense of the democratic robbers against the Nazi vultures. The liberals of the Sheean stripe are now in a position where, unable to present any program for averting the horror of war, they become its most shameless partisans.

It is of some note that when the film showed a band of refugees stranded in no man's land on the Czech-Polish frontier, a woman in the audience shrieked, "shame." Of admission of refugees into this country, or the Soviet Union, Mr. Sheean, of course, said nothing.

CROSSROADS, produced by B. U. P. Franciose, story by H. Kafka, directed by Kurt Bernhardt, with Charles Vanel, Jules Berry and Suzy Prim. At the Filmarte, New York City.

It may be remarked that while the current feature at the Filmarte is Hollywood stuff, Hollywood would have committed mayhem upon it. As it stands, or runs, "Crossroads" is a highly engrossing motion picture.

Briefly, it is the story of a man who was shell-shocked during the war and after many years is reminded of his pre-war origin. At first unable to believe that he is merely Jean Pelletier, one time common thief, he nevertheless submits himself to a thorough search concerning his real identity.

The chief character is acted with great sincerity and understatement by Charles Vanel. On the whole, it is a worthy two hours spent at the cinema by those who would escape being mangled by the star spangled offerings now showing elsewhere.

—Nat Levine

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THE APPEAL
POSTER SHOP

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

By EMANUEL GARRETT

LOUIS AUGUSTE BLANQUI (Feb. 1, 1805 — Jan. 1, 1881)

"For the realization of this emancipation of the workers, this abolition of the classes, aim of the social revolution it is necessary that the bourgeoisie be deprived of its political privilege by which it maintains all its others. It is necessary during a period of revolutionary dictatorship for the proletariat to employ for its freeing the power till then used against it, to turn against its adversary the very weapons that till then have held it down in oppression."

Nineteenth century France was chock full of people who had worked up beautiful schemes for the betterment of society. Some of them added to their pictures of a future perfect world a really vivid and potent criticism of contemporary society, thus answering in part the demands of the masses. Virtually all of these schemers, Utopians, were found wanting when events, the successive series of revolutions which culminated in the Paris Commune, actually required leadership and program.

The truth was that "organizers" of a future world had no real idea of how their own world operated, or what to do about it; they were not, in short, revolutionists. All that is, except a few, and of these few, one in particular. That one was Louis Auguste Blanqui who was in every sense of the word a real revolutionist, and who paid for his convictions and activities with forty years imprisonment.

Masters Held Him Prisoner

Blanqui was born into a family whose members had been active participants in the great French Revolution of 1789. Before he was twenty, he joined a conspirative insurrectionist society as a member of which he participated in the Revolution of 1830. From then on, he was a prominent and leading figure in every revolutionary action of the French masses up to the day of his death.

Sentenced to death after an abortive attempt at insurrection in 1839, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Released shortly before the Revolution of 1848 (because his jailers expected him to die), he advocated a more socialist policy in the conduct of the revolution, and criticized the coalition government that was then established. Arrested again, he was interned until 1859. Released, he began to organize secretly, and built up a secret armed force of 4,000 men.

On the eve of the Paris Commune, on March 17, Thiers who was preparing to seize the arms of the Paris National Guard, had him arrested. Though kept under lock and key by Thiers, who knew his enemy well, Blanqui was elected to a

seat in the Commune. Again sentenced to a life term, he was freed in 1879 after a great agitation for his release which ended in his election as a deputy. For the remaining two years of his life, he edited a journal, "Neither God, Nor Master!"

Advocated Proletarian Dictatorship

There was more however to Blanqui than singleness of purpose, loyalty and self-sacrifice. Few men have ever been more resolutely devoted to the cause of the oppressed than was Blanqui who never for a moment wavered despite persecution and hounding. But Blanqui contributed more to the working-class than an incorruptible spirit and a body wracked by revolutionary labors. Blanqui brought to French socialism the life-blood of the class struggle. In that respect he may be said to have built the bridge between the Utopian philosophers ("political reactionaries," he called them) and the fighting Marxists.

Most important, however, is that he was among the first to advocate in action the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unfortunately, a stigma has been attached to his theories which belittles the tremendous value they had in the middle of the last century. It was his view that the workers and declassed bourgeoisie had to band together, arm themselves, seize power, disarm the bourgeoisie and establish a working class dictatorship. Inasmuch as communism cannot be introduced by decree (he overlooked his own warning on this score), it would be the duty of the new government to educate the masses to communism. The actual seizure of power need not involve the bulk of the masses; it would be accomplished by a conscious minority that would win over the majority after the transfer of power had been accomplished.

Lifted Utopian Fog

It is possible to explain at great length the flaws in this theory. Today we know that the great majority of the working class must be won over to revolutionary action by a well-conceived plan of action. Without the support of the masses, the revolution cannot possibly succeed, or defend itself from attack.

But his views in the context of their generation helped lift the fog of utopian hopes from the working class movement. Like Marx he was primarily concerned with the world around him, and how to destroy it, and not with the world to be.

And if today with the greater precision and understanding of Marxism, we can give a more complete and adequate answer to the problem of how to seize power, it is nevertheless well-worth pausing for a moment to pay tribute to the contributions and devotion of a truly great proletarian leader, Auguste Blanqui.

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10. An independent Labor party.
11. Workers Defense Guards against Vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Hitler Answers Stalin

On Friday, March 10, Stalin addressed the opening session of the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stripped of its heavy overload of incredibly dull verbiage, of its bluff and bombast, the central point of the speech boiled down to a whining, cringing bid for a deal with Hitler.

Stalin begged only that the borders of the Soviet Union should not be crossed; that and nothing more. If that were granted, he promised the peaceful development of all "business relations." If that were granted, he promised, in virtually so many words, a free hand for Hitler—so far as Russia and the Comintern are concerned—in the rest of the world.

He promised to alibi Hitler in all his aggressive acts; indeed he stated the alibi by stating that everything Hitler has done has in actuality been provoked and caused by England and France.

He promised, if his plea were granted, to do nothing, nothing whatever, to hinder Hitler's plans for taking over colonies. "Go west, go west, young man," he kept repeating.

Echoing the speech, the entire Stalinist press now shouts with one voice: "Hitler's next moves will be to the west, will be against England and France and their satellites and colonies."

This theory is, from one point of view, simply an invitation to Hitler: turn west, turn against England and France, and there will be no trouble from us.

But at the same time it is a desperate and tragic attempt to turn a wish into a reality.

The reality was indicated, in a manner no sober man can mistake, by Hitler's answer to Stalin.

Hitler did not answer by another speech. He answered in blunter fashion, by moving his troops and tanks and airplanes into what was left of Czechoslovakia. He answered by advancing his front line to within less than two hundred miles of the border of the Ukraine.

One hundred forty of these miles are within Carpatho-Ukraine. Even if Hungary retains nominal control of this region, Hitler's troops are already also there, and his overlordship is sure. In effect, therefore, Hitler's guns now point at the Soviet border from a distance of only sixty miles.

It is not yet certain what Hitler's next major drive will be. He may well take some further time to consolidate his position in central Europe. It is not yet by any means excluded that he will then turn directly against Holland, England, France and their colonies.

But this much is certain: in the light of the present situation and the present evidence, the main danger is that the drive to the East will continue, the main danger is to the Soviet Union.

And how does Stalin propose to meet that danger? As utopian as he is contemptible, Stalin proposes to meet it by begging for a deal. Ironically enough, he tries to adopt "the policy of appeasement" which he himself declares has been Hitler's chief support—at the same time that even Chamberlain and Daladier are getting a little sceptical about appeasing the never satiated Nazi cannibal.

Defense of the Soviet Union dramatically forges into the front of the immediate tasks of the workers of the world. The Soviet Union is in terrible, mortal, close danger.

And once again, for the thousandth time, history is making clear: The Soviet Union cannot, will not be defended by the degenerate and counter-revolutionary Stalin and his gang.

The Soviet Union can be defended not by "appeasing" any imperialism, democratic or fascist, but by overthrowing every imperialism, democratic and fascist.

To struggle against every imperialism, above all their own imperialist states, this is the task of the workers of the world in defense of the Soviet Union. And to carry through this task they must cast from their backs the hangman of the Kremlin who last Friday drove one more nail deep into the coffin which he has designed for the October Revolution.

They Must Eat!

President Roosevelt in asking for an additional relief appropriation of \$150,000,000 from Congress last Tuesday revealed a few facts about the dire situation of the unemployed which make startling reading to say the least.

After pointing out that "employment has decreased since the end of December" and that the "number of persons now certified as being in need and eligible for employment is actually higher than it was a month ago," the President gave out some of the recent figures which have just been made available concerning relief.

If \$150,000,000 is not appropriated immediately, stated the President, 400,000 now on various projects will be dismissed during the first week of May, 600,000 during the first week of June, and 200,000 more before the end of June.

In addition to these, 850,000 now certified as needing relief will be eliminated from all further consideration. That means more than 2,000,000 people will be thrown off the relief rolls by the end of June. The reduction, says the President, including the number of dependents, will affect 5,000,000 people.

The President's own plan when he asked for only \$875,000,000 in his original estimate of relief needs, was to cut off 300,000 from the present relief rolls.

These together with the 850,000 on the "waiting" list who would be eliminated from further consideration would bring the total to 1,115,000 people whom the President proposes be doomed to starvation. Congress wants to make it more than 2,000,000.

The President's own message thus gives a faint picture of the real relief needs of the unemployed. If there are 850,000 who have been passed by Administration bureaucrats as needing relief, as admitted by Roosevelt himself—now starving on "waiting" lists—then the President's own demand for \$150,000,000 additional does not even achieve the status of a temporary sop.

The callousness of the President and Congress in arguing over whether one million or two million should face immediate starvation, and especially the hypocrisy of the President in posing as the champion of the unemployed when he actually plans to doom more than one million unemployed to starvation no matter what Congress does deserves only one reply. ACTION!

From California to Maine the unemployed must mass at local relief headquarters in militant protest. The unemployed cannot be plowed under like a "surplus" crop. They are human beings. If Congress and the President deny them the right to eat, they must fight for that right!

Supreme Court Aftermath

One of the first results of the Supreme Court decision outlawing sit-down strikes is the suit instituted in Philadelphia against the American Federation of Hosiery Workers by the Apex Hosiery Company.

The company is demanding no less than \$3,500,000 "damages" for harm allegedly done to its plant during the sit-down strike in May 1937.

The long delay in bringing the case to court shows that the suit and the Supreme Court decision immediately preceding it, are more than coincidental.

The reactionary decision of the Nine Old Men in Washington was rendered at a time when the ruling class of this country thought that it had labor in an apathetic mood—quite different from the militancy that characterized it during the dramatic and effective period of the big sit-down strikes. Then the capitalists quaked with fear. Now they have grown impudent to the point of trying to cripple the trade union movement with suits for fantastic sums of money, based on the Supreme Court decision.

The only answer labor can give to such insolent, but dangerous, attacks, is one that the economic overlords of the land understand: a renewal of united, militant action on such a scale that the Supreme Court decision, and such preposterous suits as the Apex Hosiery Company has now instituted, will go no further than the paper they are written on.

The workers wielded, with great success and greater justification, the invaluable weapon of the sit-down strike—and they never stopped to ask the permission of the private-property-defending Courts. They don't need that permission today any more than they did yesterday.

United fighting labor is so invincible that it can easily teach the courts and their capitalist masters a lesson that the latter will not quickly forget.

'Economy' in the Senate

While Congressmen argue with President Roosevelt that 1,000,000 unemployed should be thrown off the relief rolls immediately in place of 150,000 a month as proposed by the President in order to "apease" big business with an "economy" measure, various senators are working out a formula whereby they would receive a pension of \$5,000 to \$10,000 for life upon their retirement from Congress.

At the present time a Congressman or Senator gets only \$10,000 a year, barely above a relief allowance, so to speak.

Those members of Congress advocating the plan argue that it "would make members independent of group pressure." That is, make all Congressmen independent of the voters who had put them in office. Any Congressman, naturally, would consider this a real "economy" measure.

For a Congressman whom the voters have retired and who is faced with the somewhat uncertain gratitude of big business for future income in recognition of past services, a pension would provide a welcome addition to whatever windfall he has managed to lay by out of his \$10,000 a year.

Besides it can easily be financed. It won't even be necessary to touch the \$2,000,000,000 appropriation for war. Just lop off a few million unemployed from the relief rolls.

On the Causes for the Defeat Of the Spanish Revolution

THE INVENTORS OF THE UMBRELLA

An old French humorist once wrote an account of how a petty bourgeois came to invent the umbrella. Walking the street in the rain he began pondering how fine it would be if the streets were covered with roofs. . . . But that would interfere with the free circulation of air. . . . It would have to be a portable roof, one for each person—but how move it? Of necessity it would have to be moved by the pedestrian, holding some sort of lever in his hands, etc., etc. Finally, our inventor exclaimed, "Bah! Why, that's an umbrella!" Inventors of the umbrella can nowadays be encountered at every step among the "leftists." In its time Bolshevism discredited reformist politics for a number of years. But with the coming of reaction the Stalinists together with all the sub-Stalinists have begun inventing anew the umbrella of reformism: "The People's Front" (coalition with the bourgeoisie), the duty of the proletariat to defend the democratic fatherland (social patriotism), and so on. And they do it with all the vigor of ignorance!

ANOTHER NEWLY INVENTED UMBRELLA

In the Mexican newspaper *El Popular*, which has achieved almost world fame for the profundity of its erudition, its honesty of thought and the revolutionary character of its politics, Guillermo Vegas Leon, who is not altogether unknown to our readers, comes to the defense of the policies of the Spanish "People's Front," with the aid of a newly invented umbrella: The war in Spain, you see, is not a war for socialism but rather a war against Fascism. In war against Fascism it is impossible to engage in such adventures as the seizure of factories and the land. Only the friends of Fascism are capable of proposing such plans. And so forth and so on. Historical events obviously exercise no sway over people who live in the kingdom of cheap news paper copy.

Mr. Leon is unaware that the self-same umbrella was used in their operations by the Russian Mensheviks and "Social Revolutionaries" (the party of Kerenky). They never tired of repeating that the Russian revolution was "democratic" and not socialist; that in a war with Germany, which was menacing the young democratic republic, any attempt to engage in such adventures as the expropriation of the means of production was to give aid to Hohenzollern. And inasmuch as there were not a few scoundrels among them, they also asserted that the Bolsheviks did all this for some secret reason. . . .

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION

Whether a revolution is "anti-fascist" or proletarian, bourgeois or socialist is determined not by political labels but by the class structure of a given nation. For Leon, the development of society approximately from the middle of the Nineteenth century has passed unnoticed. Yet this development has washed away in capitalist countries the petty and the middle bourgeoisie, pushing them into the background, degrading and lowering them. The principal classes in modern society—including Spain—are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie cannot—at all events for any lengthy period—yield power; the latter must be either in the hands of the bourgeoisie or in the hands of the proletariat. In Spain, the bourgeoisie driven by fear for its property went completely over into the camp of Fascism. The only class capable of waging a serious struggle against Fascism is the proletariat. It alone could have rallied the oppressed masses, above all the Spanish peasantry. But the workers' power could only be the Socialist power.

THE EXAMPLE OF CHINA AND RUSSIA

But, objects Mr. Leon, the immediate goal is the struggle against Fascism. All our forces must be centered on this immediate goal, etc., etc. Of course, of course! But tell us, pray, why during a struggle against Fascism must the land belong to the landlords and the factories and mills to the capitalists all of whom are in Franco's camp? Is it perhaps because the peasants and workers "have not matured" for the seizure of land and factories? But they proved their maturity by this, that on their own initiative they seized lands and factories. Reactionaries, who call themselves Republicans, under the leadership of the Stalinists were able to smash this powerful movement allegedly in the name of "anti-fascism," but in reality in the interest of bourgeois proprietors.

Let us take another example. At present China is engaged in a war against Japan, a just, defensive war against plunderers and oppressors. With this war as a pretext, the government of Chiang Kai-Shek, aided by Stalin's government, has crushed all revolutionary struggle and above all the struggle of the peasants for land. The exploiters and the Stalinists say: "Now is not the time to solve the agrarian question. Now it is a question of a common struggle against the Mikado." Yet, it is self-evident that were the Chinese peasants precisely at the present time in possession of the land, they would defend it tooth and nail against the Japanese imperialists. Need we recall once again that if the October revolution was able to triumph in a war of three years duration over countless enemies, including the expeditionary forces of the mightiest imperialist powers, it was only because this victory was assured above all by this, that during the war the peasants had gained possession of the land while the workers held the mills and factories. Only the fusion of the socialist overturn with the civil war made the Russian revolution unconquerable.

Gentlemen like Mr. Leon determine the character of a revolution by the name given it by bourgeois liberals and not by the manner in which it is expressed in the actual class struggle, nor by how it is sensed—even if not always clearly understood—by the revolutionary masses. But we look upon the Spanish revolution not through the eyes of the liberal philistine Azana, but through the eyes of the workers of Barcelona and Asturias, and the peasants of Seville who were fighting for mills and factories, for land, for a better future and not at all for the old parliamentary umbrella of the "People's Front."

THE EMPTY ABSTRACTION OF "ANTI-FASCISM"

The very concepts of "anti-Fascism" and "anti-Fascist" are a fiction and a lie. Marxism approaches all phenomena from a class standpoint. Azana is "anti-Fascist" only to the extent that Fascism hinders bourgeois intellectuals from carving out parliamentary or other careers. Confronted with the necessity of choosing between Fascism and the proletarian revolution, Azana will always prove to be on the side of the Fascists. His entire policy during the seven years of revolution proves this.

On the other hand, the slogan: "Against Fascism, For Democracy!" cannot attract millions and tens of millions of the populace if only because during wartime there was not and is not any democracy in the camp of the Republicans. Both with Franco and with Azana there have been—military dictatorship, censorship, forced mobilization, hunger, blood and death. The abstract slogan: "For Democracy!" suffices for liberal journalists but not for the oppressed workers and peasants. They have nothing to defend except slavery and poverty. They will direct all their forces to smashing Fascism only if at the same time they are able to realize new and better conditions of existence. In consequence, the struggle of the proletariat and the poorest peasants against Fascism cannot in the social sense be defensive but only offensive. That is why Leon goes "way wide of the mark" when, following the more "authoritative" philistines, he lectures us that Marxism rejects Utopias, and the idea of a socialist revolution during a struggle against Fascism is utopian. In point of fact, the worst and most reactionary form of Utopianism is the idea that it is possible to struggle against Fascism without overthrowing capitalist economy.

VICTORY WAS POSSIBLE

Truly astonishing is the total ignorance of these people. They have no inkling of the fact that there is, beginning with Marx and Engels, a world literature in which the very concept of the democratic revolution and its in-

ner class mechanism have been subjected to analysis. It is obvious that they never read the basic documents of the first four Congresses of the Communist International, nor the theoretical researches of the Fourth International which prove and explain and enable even an infant to digest the fact that the struggle against Fascism is unthinkable in modern conditions otherwise than by the methods of the proletarian class struggle for power.

These gentlemen picture history as painstakingly preparing the conditions for the socialist revolution, apportioning roles, inscribing in large letters on a triumphal arch: ENTRANCE TO THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, guaranteeing victory, and then politely inviting the Messrs. Leaders to assume the prominent posts of ministers, ambassadors, etc. No. The question stands somewhat differently: it is far more complex, difficult, and dangerous. Opportunists, reactionary blockheads, and petty bourgeois politicians never have recognized and never will recognize the situation when it places the socialist overturn on the order of the day. To do so one must be a revolutionary Marxist, a Bolshevik; to do so one must be able to despise the public opinion of the "educated" petty bourgeoisie, which reflects only the egotistic class fears of capitalism.

THE PROLETARIAT WAS STRONG ENOUGH

The leaders of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. themselves declared after the uprising of May, 1937: "Had we wished we could have seized power at any time, because all the forces were on our side, but we did not want any dictatorship, etc., etc." What the anarchist servants of the bourgeoisie did or did not want is in the long run a secondary issue. They did, however, admit that the insurrectionary proletariat was strong enough to have conquered power. Had it possessed a revolutionary and not a treacherous leadership, it would have purged the state apparatus of all the Azanas, instituted the power of the Soviets, given land to the peasants, the mills and factories to the workers—and the Spanish revolution would have become Socialist and unconquerable.

But because there was no revolutionary party in Spain and because there was instead a multitude of reactionaries imagining themselves as socialists and anarchists they succeeded under the label of the "People's Front" in strangling the socialist revolution and assuring Franco's victory.

It is simply ridiculous to justify the defeat by references to the military intervention of Italian Fascists and German Nazis, and to the perfidious conduct of the French and British "democracies." Enemies will always remain enemies. Reaction will always intervene whenever it can. Imperialist "democracy" will always betray. This means that the victory of the proletariat is impossible in general! But what about the victory of Fascism in Italy and Germany itself? No intervention there. Instead we had there a powerful proletariat and a very large socialist party and, in the case of Germany, a large communist party as well. Why then was there no victory gained over Fascism? Precisely because the leading parties tried to reduce the question in both these countries to a struggle "against Fascism" when only a socialist revolution can defeat Fascism.

The Spanish revolution was the supreme school. It is impermissible to allow the slightest frivolousness towards its dearly bought lessons. Down with charlatanism, phrasemongering, smug ignorance and intellectual parasitism! We must study seriously and honestly and prepare for the future.

Sub-human Relief Standards Is Aim Of Newark Head

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEWARK, N.J.—Continuing his vicious attacks upon the already miserable low living standards of relief clients and W.P.A. workers Owen A. Malady, Overseer of the Poor, recommended to the Newark Municipal Assistance Board that direct relief in Newark be reduced. Two plans for retrenchment were submitted to the Assistance Board for consideration, one calling for reductions totaling \$1,475,184.77 and the other providing a cut of \$2,901,052.95, both plans to be effective as of April 1 to December 31.

Under Plan A (\$1,475,184.77) Malady would (1) eliminate special diets, (2) reduce milk allowance to children to ½ pint daily, (3) eliminate all store clothing purchases except shoes, (4) stop payment for electric and gas "except in cases of illness or where there are no other facilities for cooking," (5) eliminate surgical appliances and glasses, (6) eliminate purchases of household goods,

(7) reduce payments to private hospitals for care of indigent patients almost 50%, (8) eliminate supplementary relief to those on W.P.A., (9) give no supplementary relief to private incomes of families of six or less "where there are no health problems."

Under Plan B, Malady would include all the above items and would also eliminate supplementary relief to all private incomes, eliminate relief to all able-bodied single persons, eliminate relief to all families of two, where both are able-bodied. In addition Malady would remove from the relief rolls all unemployables, on the assumption that care of unemployables is a state function and perhaps the state would take care of them.

Malady's proposals for a more than 60% cut in relief made in accordance to his promise to State Senate President Hendrickson to help relieve the tax situation by relief retrenchments, are being seriously considered by the Newark Municipal Assistance Board, which Board, incidentally, was appointed by a "liberal" mayor. The unemployed are also seriously considering Malady's proposals and extensive plans are being made for vigorous protests against the inhuman policies advocated by the "Overseer of the Poor."

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

The intricacies of the social-democratic mind are often difficult to follow. Take, for example, the comment of the New Leader (March 11) on the situation in Spain after the coup d'état of the treacherous "Loyalist" generals in Madrid who ousted the Negrin regime and set up their own Defense Council.

"There can be no doubt of the loyalty to the Spanish people of the Defense Council. The Communist uprising, which was smashed by Miaja, is a revolt against the legitimate Spanish government."

Now, leaving aside for the moment the more than dubious assertion that the Council's loyalty to the Spanish people is indubitable, it would be interesting to learn from the New Leader writer just what criterion he employed in designating the Council as the "legitimate Spanish government."

Just what makes it "legitimate"? Is it, perhaps, the legal product of the democratic suffrage of the Spanish masses? Was it voted into office in an election—any kind of election? Was it designated as the successor by a previously existing government?

Obviously, none of these is the case.

Where the Difference Lies

The Miaja-Casado-Besteiro gang came into power purely and simply by means of an armed seizure of power by a conspiratorial group of military men. It overturned by force the Negrin government which the New Leader itself, along with all other Popular Frontist organs, said up to yesterday was the "legitimate Spanish government."

Again, what makes Miaja's regime legitimate in the eyes of the social democrats?

We know that although more than two decades have elapsed, the social democrats have continued to be unrelenting in their condemnation of the Bolsheviks for dispersing the Constituent Assembly in Russia. With undiluted bitterness they tax the Bolsheviks with having overthrown by force of arms the "legitimate Spanish government"—although the Negrin regime of March 1939 was more representative, alas! of the masses than was the vastly discredited Constituent Assembly of January 1938.

The only conceivable basis for the social-democratic legitimization of the Miaja regime must therefore be sought in the fact that it has smashed "the communist uprising." By the latter phrase, the New Leader is referring to the masses of workers of all political opinions who were ready to fight to the end against fascist slavery rather than capitulate ignominiously under the direction of Miaja. In estimating the two contending groups, the social democrats, true to their nature, rally instantaneously to the "legitimate Spanish government"—legitimate by virtue of the simple fact that it is led by capitalists. For where would Oneal, Lee, Waldman and Co. feel more at home than among the capitalists to fascism, with whom they have now been intimately associated for the past 17 years at least?

And in their enthusiasm for Miaja's latest move, they are even prepared to forgive him for his membership in the Stalinist party. He is more than making up for that error by the energy he displays in shooting down revolutionary workers.

When Violence Is Permissible

Which brings to mind another couple of social-democratic peculiarities.

The abhorrence which the good people of the New Leader feel towards revolutionary Marxists is based in large measure on the accusation that the latter employ violence in fighting to replace capitalism by socialism. No violence is permissible in the struggle! they say.

Violence is reprehensible when used by the workers either to defend themselves from reaction or to establish the rule of the proletariat.

But—violence is perfectly all right when it is used to suppress the working class. Noske was not one whit more tender than Miaja when, in 1919, he used the machine guns and bayonets of the monarchist troops to exterminate the Berlin Spartacists who were fighting for the Soviet power.

And—violence is perfectly all right when it is used for the mutual slaughter of the workers in an imperialist war. In that case, the New Leader has already guaranteed in advance its support of one imperialist band against the other.

In a word, for the pacifistic social democrats, violence is "legitimate" when the capitalist class uses it against the workers, but entirely impermissible the other way around.

Not Like the Bolsheviks!

Among the heads of the New Leader's "legitimate Spanish government" is Julian Besteiro. He is now engaged in shooting down and imprisoning all supporters of Juan Negrin, whose government he helped overturn. Almost two years ago, Negrin himself overthrew the government of Francisco Largo Caballero, and devoted himself in the intervening period to shooting and imprisoning the supporters of the latter.

Look at the terrible Bolsheviks, the New Leader says with horrorification from time to time, all they do is kill each other under their one-party dictatorship. Thank God we social democrats are not like the Bolsheviks!

But this is the pay-off! Caballero and Negrin and Besteiro are, singly and severally, members and leaders of the same organization, the Socialist Party of Spain. Praise be to Allah, they too are not Bolsheviks, out social democrats. Yet, bafflingly enough, these good social democratic comrades settle their differences by overturning each other's governments by armed force and putting each other's partisans in prison or in front of a firing squad.

All of them together are, along with the editors of the New Leader, members of the Second International. So, of course, is comrade ex-Premier Leon Blum. They all belong to it, you understand, because they are devout believers in international socialist solidarity.

Fine International! Fine comrades! Fine socialists! Thank God, again, they are not Bolsheviks.

Immediate wholesale deportation of at least 30,000 unemployed aliens from the United States is demanded by Senator Robert R. Reynolds, (D., North Carolina). Calling the dislodged W.P.A. workers "perfect public charges who must be deported in the same manner as criminal aliens are deported," he stated that he "couldn't see why the American taxpayer should be called upon to support the citizens of other countries." And a lot of us workers can't see why we should support citizens of "our own" country, like the Senator, for instance—and his paymasters.

A bill is introduced in the Minnesota senate providing \$1000 for the visit to this state in June of Crown Prince Olav and Crown Princess Martha of Norway. Non-royal bums, (those whose ancestors were not bums before them) will, however, receive the customary treatment.