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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

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 against anti-union legislation, conpresented and adopted designed stitutional amendments guaranto rebuild the union into a powerful instrument for the protection of the automobile workers.

abolition of unemployment in the consideration of all the delegates. of the corporations, a bold fight Building Program."

teeing rank and file control of the union machinery and other vital resolutions will be presented to The resolutions calling for the the Cleveland Convention for the

automobile industry, a closed shop The Conference took the further in General Motors, great organi- step of authorizing the issuance of zational drives in the Ford Motor ten thousand copies of its union Co. and the parts plants industry, program for the education of the organization of the W.P.A. work- union membership, calling upon ers, establishment of union de- all automobile workers to "Join fense guards against the attacks with us in Support of the Union

Martin Meeting Ends In Fiasco

DETROIT, Mich.-Homer Martin's personal caucus meeting in this city, boastfully termed an auto convention, was the biggest flasco 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

representation reported at the stedt in Detroit, to the big G.M. convention reveals that some plants in Canada, to the G.M. where less than one-fourth of plants on the West Coast, to Fishthe United Automobile Workers er Body in Cleveland, to the Union sent delegates to Detroit. Chevrolet transmission works in If we grant that the U.A.W. Toledo. Thus if Martin's figures dropped 100,000 in its dues-paying were to be accepted at face value of 375,000 reported at the Milwau- one-third of the workers would be kee Convention in Aug. 1937, the aligned against him. Martin following would still be less than 60,000.

Tide Against Martin

In the original report of the cre- tiac are now definitely on the dentials committee, General Mo- C.I.O. lists. Chevrolet, A.C. Spark representation from Pontiac Mo- hopped on the C.I.O. bandwagon. tor, Fisher Body and Yellow Cab The remaining General Motors of Pontiac, from Fisher Body, plants in these cities are divided Chevrolet, Buick and A.C. Spark at least in half, with the C.I.O. Plug of Flint, from Cadillac in De- holding a slight and increasing troit, from Oldsmobile in Lansing edge. Actual count will show that and from various General Motors whatever remains of a union in plants in Bay City, Saginaw and Lansing General Motors is with other assembly plants in Indiana the C.I.O., that the Chevrolet and on the east coast.

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

A careful survey of the official | Fisher Body tool and die or Turnmembership, from the estimate for General Motors, more than

But his estimates are highly misleading. Ever since Martin broke from the C.I.O. the tide has More important however is the been daily turing against him specific gravity of these local both in Flint and in Pontiac. Yelunions in the automobile industry. low Cab and Fisher Body of Pontors workers were accredited with Plug and Buick of Flint have transmission in Saginaw is with

the C.I.O. Ditto for Anderson and (Continued on Page 3)

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 fascistminded 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.

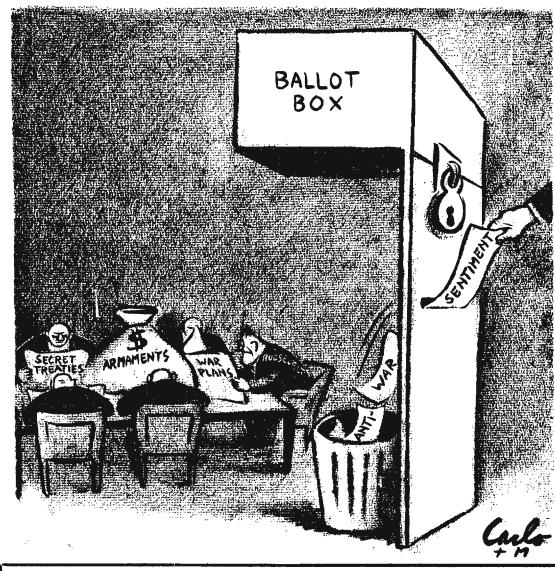
Immediately after the Fascist march into the Sudeten territory last October, thanks to the generous response of its friends, the American Fund sent an envoy into Czechoslovakia. He was able to save four anti-fascists from the Nazis by transporting them to safe places of refuge.

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 standents. 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 lose 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**

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 news-

paper Verdad appeared today for the first time in ten days. It laid great stress on the assertion that of the Army of the Center, was the Communist party wanted only the right-hand man of Miaja dur-'an honorable peace,' the same that | ing the siege of Madrid. 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 oress. Since Monday, no antifunta 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-

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

"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 intransigeant, 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 as-

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 leadthough 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

What It Means This significant statement of ifies a number of important (Continued on Page 3)



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

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 Committee members, would cut by of "individual needs." Wherever Latin American nations. 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 onethird, 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 announcenent, he will begin by cutting 400,000 from various projects as he first step in the plan to slash 1,000,000 from the rolls. Congress as 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 appro-

priations is one of the major points in the Roosevelt program to increase profits for business. The administration hopes not only bracket incomes and the big corporations at the expense of the workers, but in addition believes greatly reduced in view of the disorganized state of the unemployed movement.

The question as to whether immediate reductions should affect within the immediate future as Embassies. Congress advocates is merely a tactical question as to the best tions without arousing a militant

response from the unemployed. Members of the Appropriations diately after learning of Roose-000,000 more for the unemployed

(Continued on page 3)

Move Brings Bandits

WORKERS, DEFEND THE USSR!

In a series of lightning blows that left both his rivals and his victims stunned and helpless, Adolf Hitler last

Bohemia and Moravia, with their 6,000,000 Czech inhabitants, and Slovakia, with its 2,500,000 Slovaks, be-

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

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

CONGRESS BILL wail that Hitler has violated

Aim Is Full Yankee Hold on Nations to South

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 15—Plans of the administration to enforce absolute domination of Latin America moved a step fur ther today with the presentation of a bill in both the Senate and Harrington's plan, according to the House which would allow the government to build warships and projects rather than on the basis other military equipment for French and British leaders realize

> The proposal, which is sponsor ed by Senator Pittman and Re- ly urgent menace to the status quo presentative Bloom is the broadest of its kind yet to be put be- in the British and French Emfore Congress. Technically label- pires. They shiver under the coned as a measure to facilitate the stant threat of German pressure sale of arms, its purpose is ob- for colonies and the stronger viously of the deepest political Germany gets the less able they that is payment, is admittedly of will be to resist its demands.

> no importance. already begun. Various army and navy officials have appeared be- Great Britain. That is why Roofore the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to urge adoption of the capitalism will have to intervene resolution. The Committee is sure to adopt it, and its passage is division of the war's spoils, has almost certain in the Senate. The same is true of the House:

Purpose Clear

The pupose of the resolution is as clear as day. Administration with all the characteristic feazil) against European totalitarian ple language is Roosevelt's determination to impose his "good" Yankee will on each of our southbrand of brigands.

The arms-sale is only one in a long series designed by Roosevelt at Versailles. to make the Monfoe Doctrine clear beyond any possible doubt. to lower taxes for the higher Part of the same series were the Hacha of Czecho-slovakia come recently concluded naval maneu- to Berlin and "ask" for German vers in South American waters, protection. Like Schuschnigg, he and the trade agreement signed had a gun put to his head and that relief appropriations can be by Brazil and this country which like a wise bourgeois politician, gives Yankee profiteers a stran- he reached fast for the ceiling. gle hold on the economic, hence political life of Brazil. Before the hyphenated state, proclaimed that, the administration had an- its "independence" and immedinounced an addition above those ately after Hitler marched into no more than 150,000 a month as already there of spies and military Prague it in turn asked for his Roosevelt advocates or 1,000,000 attaches in Latin American "protection"—which the Fuehrer,

The Pittman-Bloom bills are intended to bring the nations of way of accomplishing the reduc- Latin America closer to the United States by force of any means, troops into the Carpathian Ukmilitary or economic, that may be raine to secure the common bornecessary. Such Latin American der with Poland, which, it is fond-Committee told reporters imme- countries as resist Yankee inter- by believed in Warsaw and Budavention will find their neighbor- pest, will offer some slight bulvelt's intention to ask for \$150,- ing countries armed to the teeth wark against the expanding Nazi and politically directed by the colossus. In this they may have the Spanish Stalinist leaders clar- that they would not vote for this United States, ready to move in the tacit support of Mussolini, who unless an investigation showed at a moment's order to execute was certainly both surprised and Roosevelt's will.

Nearer Soviet Union

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

week established German rule in Czecho-Slovakia.

came "protectorates" incorporated into the Great Reich.

Ukraine.

LATIN AMERICA Britain and France were trying to foment a needless Nazi-Soviet war. WILL GET GUNS IN Prime Minister Neville

Chamberlain and the French 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 that a Reich expanding, even to

That is why the past six months since Munich have been charac-Senate hearings on the bill have terized by an unprecedented rearmament program, especially in sevelt, fully aware that American in the impending war for a rehurled this country into an arms program of equal magnitude,

Drops Pretense

Hitler accomplished his coup spokesmen said it was intended tures of speed, surprise, and to build a "united front" of Am- thoroughness to which he has acerican nations (including Bloody | customed the world during the Batista's Cuba and Vargas' Bra past three years. Little pretense was made this time that he was states. What that means in sim- acting in behalf of Germans across the Reich borders. The German press screamed, to be sure, about anti-German atrociern "neighbors." Specifically, Roo- ties. But in fact Hitler aimed sevelt's aim is to oust from Latin straight for the absorption of America European business in nearly 10,000,000 non-Germans terests in favor of Wall Street's who only six months ago were dominant rulers of the polygot monstrosity of a nation created

The "legalities" were observed only by having President Emil

Slovakia, the second section of without displaying any particular reluctance, immediately granted.

Hungary Rushes Troops

Meanwhile Hungary rushed

(Continued on Page 3)

Heiling Stalin

coming year's quota of "cutthroats" "gangsters of the pen," etc., for some boot licking practice in preparation for the fall confessionals. After reading the reports in the "D.W." and else- | Muncie, Indiana. Cadillac is over where we are ready to predict whelmingly for the C.I.O. that if the boys do as well in the finals as they did in practice, we are due for some of the crawlingist confessions staged since Stalin for less than one-third of organ-sion of Placement and Unemploymass production basis.

The Leader Spoke

The occasion for the orgy was a gathering humorously referred to as the 18th Congress of the Com-munist Party of the Soviet Union. Ship meetings of Plannouth munist Party of the Soviet Union. munist Party of the Soviet Union. ship meetings of Plymouth work- tempting to assist the jobless similar crisis is in existence. great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered and \$50-50 great man delivered an oration division of leveltics between \$50-50 great man delivered and \$50-50 great man delive great man delivered an oration division of loyalties between Mar-staff of the junior division was hung around that speech like flies around a manure pile.

Stalin the Historian

or jailed.

He Built Khabarovsk

told of the building up of that tile to devote even an extra sen-Stalin—as the creator, founder they will be just as false and perpetuator of all that is good in Khabarovsk.

Manuilsky Goes to Town

profoundity," etc., etc. Quotations or lesser degree. in full in the Daily Worker).

The Holy Father

Manuilsky 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 Hasan 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 Manuilsky left off. After a thorough slobbering over the fuehrer's boots, he licked his way to higher places as he went into a twittering ecstacy 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 treasured" . . . "Its clarification is a joy."-And all this about a drivelling piece of empty boasting and stupid lying, whose high and appeal to Hitler for a deal.

"Glory Road"

tants, Catholics, and Jews." 6-Hymn, "Arise Democracy." 7-Benediction.

W.P.A. at World's Fair

Fair. Its theme will be "Workthe 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 announces that upon the request of the Political Committee of the Party, Irving Rosenburg, of Newark, N. the party in a letter declaring shevism has failed. that the public effect of his predecision adopted to make it Street (Auditorium).

LEFT Martin Convention Ends in Fiasco APPEAL ARMY

(Continued from Page 1)

Exaggerated Claims Thus real figures already prove that Martin's following accounts day reduces this figure substantially.

for the Chrysler workers. Only the state budget. Plymouth was officially represenland Park were officially listed. shut down.

Of the independents, neither Yaraslavsky, a veteran bootlick- the large Briggs body local, Hud- surance interviewers have received has been transferred from placeer, still paying hookey from the son Motor, Studebaker, Murray dismissal notices. More than half firing squad, praised Stalin as be- Body, nor Nash were accounted are slated to go on March 15, ing responsible for a "veritable for in the first report. Only Pack- while the remainder will be fired about face in the science of his- ard and Seamen Body of Wiscon- on March 31. All of those fired to wait months for their checks. torv" and for directing the new sin were listed. But the true fig-because of the budget cut are party history which gives Stalin ures would show a 50-50 division civil service appointees. credit for all the accomplishments in Packard and a decisive majorof the men he murdered, exiled ity for the C.I.O. in Seamen Body. Naturally large claims were made of support at the Ford Mo- and Unemployment Insurance was surance formerly done in Albany tor Co. But so negligible are the to visit employers in New York will now be shifted to the under-

Small Unions Represented

Martin's convention? Only the staffed. The present cut in staff in the staff. smallest local unions, unimportant means a virtual shutdown of the Manuilsky next knelt by the parts and accessory plants which job service for the unemployed. to keep 98 of the civil service 1939 as the date when the plumb- the Stalinist methods of labelling boots of the "father of all man- carry no decisive weight in the kind" and he really went to town. automobile industry. For the most handicaps to face when it comes salary cut of from \$300 to \$1800 He heiled Stalin's drivel as an part, these were legitimate dele- to finding work, the Division had a year. The S.C.M.W.A., Local 28, "historic report" "a valuable con- gates, even if their membership maintained a Junior service. The is fighting against the staff and "unsurpassed in its figures were padded to a greater present shutdown of offices and salary cuts.

With this tiny minority Martin 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 organiza-

tion 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 public the results of their discus- ferences in Washington scheduled. 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.

resented nobody but themselves. Many of them were picked off unlikely that the original pro- this atmosphere which was creatthe street. Others had not worked posal was only a come-on for the ed by Martin in a manner not unand no doubt with an eye on the in their plants, e.g. the Murray editors job, Harry Gannes took Body delegation, for upwards of followed in swift order. up in the Daily Worker where a year. But Martin needed them to maintain the fiction of his ma- the election of board members but complete without a virulent attack by the General Office. jority support in the union. And stipulated the appointment of re- on "reds" and "communists." The

Lovestoneites fearful of their in- if Martin so chooses. evitable displacement and crualso low point was its whining were soundly trounced by the sues. A Martin stooge, Jerry Alwell-oiled Martin machine.

Dispute Martin's Powers The program for Earl Browd- to have their effect at the conven- was an honest conservative but er's talk on Religion at Boston's tion. The first major dispute, in he did represent most of the legit-Community Church was as fol- closed session also, concerned the imate delegates at the convention. lows: 1-Hymn, "One Holy Church extension of Martin's powers as He was defeated according to ofof God Appears." 2-Prayer. 3- president. The original proposal ficial count by 620 to 367. Almost Offering. 4-Hymn, "The Voice of was to give Martin power to ap- 220 of Aldred's votes came from God is Calling." 5-Earl Browder point the International Executive the "rank and file." Another 154 _"A Communist speaks to Protes- Board members. This was too votes were thrown to Oliver Hamit was voted down by an over- to sidetrack votes from Doria. whelming vote. But—and it is not

The W.P.A. is to have an ex- SHACHTMAN WILL fied as "progressive," the Lovehibit at the New York Worlds 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 BOLSHEVISM FAILED?

Shachtman will maintain that that only through the program of Bolshevism can fascism be defeated and socialism achieved. Joseph Shaplen of the Social Democratic Federation will oppose J, submitted his resignation from him, taking the position that Bol-

Sponsored by the Rand School sent commercial activities has Forum and the Marxist School, tended to have an injurious result the debate will be held Friday for the party and its name. The evening, March 31st, at 8:30 P.M. resignation was accepted and a in the Rand School at 7 East 15

Admission will be 25 cents.

RED-BAITING TONE State Moves to Curtail DOMINATES; TIDE Aid to N. Y. Job-Seekers

"double dealers," "Fascist spies," "Trotskyist - Bukharinist scum," AGAINST MARTIN Budget Slash to Result in Mass Firing In Agency Staffs; Youth Hardest Hit

> mass staff firings and the shutting workers. down of local offices of the Divi-

tin and the C.I.O. Neither Dodge, slashed by more than 37 per cent Dodge Truck, Dodge Forge, Chry- in New York City, and 9 of the of placement work is being closed sler Local 7, nor Chrysler High- 18 junior division offices have been

Already, 197 placement and in-

Virtual Shutdown One of the most important func-A delegate from Khabarovsk actually organized here, it is fu- State for the purpose of solicit staffed offices in New York City. ing jobs for the unemployed. It is A backlog of 350,000 claims for region-stopping at every para- tence to these claims. If the C.I.O. admitted by the Division admini- unemployment insurance has been graph to praise Allah-we mean makes claims of a similar nature, stration that less than 3 per cent sent from Albany to the local ofduring the last year because the ful checking, actually demands an Who then was represented at Division office has been under-increase rather than a reduction

NEW YORK-A new blow was reduction of staff has forced the struck at the unemployed when it youth to compete for the same was announced this week that jobs with more experienced adult

In the Bronx all Junior Division offices have been shut. Youth are put frame-ups and murder on a ized G.M. workers, and that every ment Insurance, New York's free asked to apply for jobs and unememployment agency and unem- ployment insurance in the adult ployment insurance office, would offices. All youth who have for-Similar estimates can be made result from a recent slash in merly applied to the East 149th St. office are now forced to report The harshest cut was made on to the office at 80 Lafayette St. in ted in the original credentials re- the junior division of the employ- downtown Manhattan. In Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens a

> Shift Staff to Insurance Work The Central Placement office. which formerly handled all types except for professional and technical job placement. In some offices the entire interviewing staff ment to insurance work.

Persons entitled to unemployment insurance have been obliged The present reduction in staff still more.

On top of this it was announced tions of the Division of Placement that work on unemployment in to strike for the 6-hour day. This had gained a temporary victory. of the employers have been visited fices. This work, which needs care-

The administration has offered Because the youth have added workers if they agree to take a

from Stalin and no one else studded his speech. (It was published ded his speech (It was published could not justifiably maintain his could not justifiably maintain his could not justifiably maintain his convent that this convent Adjourn Without Progress

NEW YORK, March 15-After a prevent them from meeting durtwo hour conference last night at ling the next ten days. sions and agreed to meet again at the Department of Labor Build- night, it was reported, covered

ng in Washington on March 24. Harry C. Bates, spokesman for A.F.L. and the C.I.O. the joint committee, stated that confer with William Green. C.I.O. ward a program of unity accept-The delegates in large part rep- portant engagements which would two labor camps.

real proposition — a compromise like that of Gerald Smith or Fa-

Tightens Machine

cifixion united with representa- Martin's personal machine was tives of small locals, jealous of finally tightened against any eventheir democratic rights and their tuality by the elections to the Expower at the convention, and ecutive Board. One contest took fought bitterly against the seating place between the same forces of the "rank and file." They that had battled over the other isdred of Flint, ran against Anthony Doria of Milwaukee for the post of These padded rolls were soon Secretary-Treasurer. At best Doria much for even many of the "rank el, a dark horse from the Dodge and file" delegates to swallow and Local whose candidacy was used

Aldred, McCartney, Dewey Smith, entirely stating only that the res-Fred Durrance, Jack Little, olution covered "all other philos- day. Frank Tucci, Elmer Davis, Peter Elmer Dowell and Charles Westthey are either outright and vi nation." Like Caesar, the Love-Bolshevism has not failed and cious reactionaries of the Pat Mc-Cartney-Tucci stripe or Martin this, the unkindest cut of all: "Et 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

the Hotel Biltmore, the joint unity Both John L. Lewis and Philip committee representing the Amer- Murray are now negotiating with ican Federation of Labor and the coal operators for a new contract Congress of Industrial Organiza- and Sidney Hillman, third memtions adjourned without making ber of the C.I.O. group has con-

The two hour conversation last rival jurisdictions of unions in the

It is the general impression the committee adjourned in order among labor bureaucrats that litthat A.F.L. representatives might the progress has been made tocommittee members had other im- able to the delegates from the

The "compromise" allowed for olution, no token of tribute was would not be backed by them or here—all these responses, and a gional directors. The board mem- press has already reported the this convention revolved around for attendance at quarterly board membership to members of the the seating of the "rank and file" sessions but the regional directors Communist Party, Nazi or Fascist of this action. It took place behind the real power in the localities is this clause is can be seen from closed doors in what was called in the hands of Martin appointees the last words: (or members of "conference of the whole." who need not be board members any organization) which makes its interests and polices on union matters binding upon its members irrespective of the decisions interests and policies of the un-

> 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.

'President Martin's philosophy" for an 8-hour day. which condemns "Communism, ophies opposed to democratic govtional union and at work in the stoneites must have sighed at

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Get Your APPEAL

BY N.Y. PLUMBERS Unification of Two Locals Seen as Urgent

1800 WORKERS

STRIKE SERVEL

ELECTROLUX CO.

-Local 1002, United Electrical,

Union, today struck the Servel

Electrolux plant. 1800 workers

The company refused to meet

the representatives of the union.

Arthur Meloan, union organizer,

and also refused to meet the gov-

ernment labor conciliator.

have quit work and thrown a

picket line around the factory.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) NEW YORK-The plumbers of is the second time within recent months that the plumbers are faced with a strike in the struggle for the 6-hour day.

by the unanimous vote of the cuss questions on their merits. membership and on Jan. 15, the

men were locked out. sitions: one, the 8-hour day for

anics and \$7.35 for helpers. wage cut and an increase in hours the two proposals, to the memberthing unattainable, intimating which might have disrupted the ther Coughlin. No speech, no resthat the fight for the 6-hour day excellent cooperation that exists

exception of delegates Tobin and growth of the Progressive group Whatever struggle there was at bers are to be paid only per diem clause in the constitution barring Heckler and Vice-President J. and its victory. Cohen, argued for the 7-hour day. The Rank and File speakers the seating of the "rank and nie" sessions but the regional directors and the inevitable consequences are to be paid per annum. Thus organizations. How far-reaching stood solidly for the 6-hour day Progressives can turn their faces 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 Local with the threat that their charter would be lifted and given to another Local existing in the another resolution was introduced to jobbing and alteration work, and passed affirming allegiance to and which has a wage scale of \$9

Masterson promised that Local Nazism, Fascism and all other 463 will be able to share in the isms opposed to democratic gov- work at the Worlds Fair, which ernment." A delegate rose at this has been under the jurisdiction of point and wanted the resolution Local 1, of Brooklyn and Queens, referred back to committee in or- if the men would see eye to eye der that the I.L.L.A. the Love- with him. This carried weight, Of the fifteen of the Executive stoneites) be included in the res- since there is severe unemploy-Board, only two might be classi- olution. Martin's reply for the ment in the trade. To top it off, committee was significant. In the the President and Business Manstoneites Lester Washburn and past Martin had always upheld ager of the Local, the two highest Irving Brown. The remainder, Ir- the Lovestoneites as good union- ranking officials submitted their van Carey, Vice-President, Jerry ists. This time he ignored them resignations, to take effect if the membership upholds the 6-hour

The vote taken at this meeting. upon the membership, 40% of the plumbing in the city. votes cast, favored the 6-hour day.

At Your Local Newsstand new vote taken. The President of for all plumbing work.

ELECTION VICTORY TO PROGRESSIVES (Special to the Socialist Appeal) EVANSVILLE, IND., March 16

Radio and Machine Workers Bloc Wins Four Seats In Defeating CP Slanderers

By R. FERGUSON

Joe Hood, strike chairman, and (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 STRIKE FOR SIXunion movement, the Akron In- MAY DAY APPEAL PLANS: dustrial Union Council has de-HOUR DAY VOTED cisively defeated the anti-progreselections at the last two meetings. The progressive bloc, represent-

ing all the large rubber locals and many miscellaneous C.I.O. unions, and every branch before May Day swept to victory in the elections by placing four out of five candi- all demonstrations and parades. dates in the Council offices, five out of six members on the Execu- to all branches about greetings, tive Board, and one trustee.

This great victory came only after the first elections had been May Day issue of the Appeal a challenged successfully by the Manhattan and the Bronx organ- Progressives on the grounds of will delay the issuance of checks | ized in Local 463 of the United | election | irregularities, | wherein Association of Plumbers and improperly credentialled delegates Steam fitters, voted on March 8 had voted and the Stalinist slate

Oppose C.P. Slanderers

The significance of this victory for progressive unionism can For almost a year the Plumbers hardly be overestimated. But, if and Helpers like several other it accomplished nothing else, it crafts in the building trade, had has first of all removed the fear enjoyed the 6-hour day. Towards of the C.P. slander campaign the end of last year however, the from the workers. In fact, the employers confronted the Local progressive bloc gained wide supwith an ultimatum setting Jan. 15, port by virtue of its opposition to ers are to start working 8 hours any opponent either a "fascist" or per day with a 25% reduction in a "trotskyist." The labor movepay. This ultimatum was rejected ment is now in a position to dis-The election landslide, although

some individual candidates won On the third day of the lockout, by only small margins, culminates the Assistant General President of a long period of struggle against the International Union, Mr. Mas- the rule-or-ruin policy of the Stalterson, came to New York to lend inists. Rebellion against the C.P.'s his hand to the employers in kill- attempts to underhandedly saboting the 6-hour day. He together age the militancy of the C.I.O. in with General Organizer Leonard the Goodyear strike of last May; and the Local President Dodd in opposition to their stooges' efforts a conference with the plumbing to dominate undemocratically or contractors agreed to bring the smash small unions instead of comembers of the Local two propo- operating with them; disgust with the do-nothing policy of the Work-\$13.60 per day for mechanics, and ers Alliance, which claims juris-\$7.80 for helpers; two, the 7-hour diction over laid-off unionists and day with \$12.60 per day for mech- yet refuses to fight militantly for their interests; resentment against Both propositions represented a the "Keller boys'" fake shouts for "unity" and "democracy" in the as against the old agreement un- labor movement while they perder which the plumbers have been sistently and ruthlessly violate receiving \$12.00 per day for a the elementary principles of fight-6-hour day, and the helpers \$7 for ing labor unity or slander their the same work day. In presenting opponents "most democratically"; and finally, indignation at the ship of the Union, these officials Browdermen's blustering threats hundred others, can be cited as Local officials with the notable the underlying causes for the

Now, seeing in practice that the Stalinists are not invincible, the towards the reconstruction of the old union movement of the "hero ic" days of the C.I.O.

the Local however, in a very highhanded manner refused to enter tain any such motion.

After March 1, when the 7-hour day took effect the spirit of revolt is given up. He attempted to among the plumbers grew more frighten the membership of the and more uncontrollable. This revolt was accentuated by the arrogance of the employers, who, not satisfied with the increase in same trade in Manhattan and the hours and the reduction in the Bronx, Local 463 Auxiliary, whose hourly rate of wages, have As if this was not sufficient jurisdiction at present is confined dragged the negotiations for the new agreement and pressed for

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 The membership also voted un-

Noll, Eral Heaton, George Kiebler, ernment at work in our interna- Jan. 18, carried the 7-hour day to carry on joint negotiations with times? Well, before complete preposition with the 10% cut in the employers for a common frustration sets in and ruins your wages. But despite the pressure agreement that will include all sense of humor, your desire to be

> not taken at a special meeting of the hour. There is no conceiv- at 9 P. M on April 1. provided by the constitution, but able reason why the amalgamaat a negular meeting of the Local tion of the locals which everyone and the membership books were claims to favor, should not take effect immediately. It is the task Following this vote, which end- of the Rank and File in both of ed the lockout, efforts have been these Locals to press for immedimade by members of the Local to ate unification which would guardeclare the vote illegal on consti- antee victory for the 6-hour day tutional grounds, and to have a not only on new construction but

in New Castle, Penna.

"The fine appearance, militant readers, we'll make it. style, and improved contents of the semi-weekly APPEAL make 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 im portant streets with the Appeals.' -J. Carter, St. Louis, Mo.

Preparations are now under way for the special May-Day issue of sive-Stalinist slate in its annual 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 in sufficient time to sell at Instructions are now going out prices, etc. The time to act is now -in advance. Let's make this real success!

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Special mention should be given Boston, Minneapolis, New it possible for us to sell more York City, Chicago, Los Angeles and Newark for their splendid offorts this past week. Over the top on the 1,000 new readers cam-

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Chicago 16
Los Angeles 10
Boston 10
Newark 5
Foreign 4
Ohio 4
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California 2
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Washington 1
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We have a new bundle order agent in England. Pioneer Bookshop of London which takes 10 copies of each issue.

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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

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This Week at the Marxist School

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party (Local New York)

Monday, March 20th at 7:15 P.M. SAM GORDON-The role of Progressive Blocs in Trade

Tuesday, March 21st at 7 P.M. JOHN G. WRIGHT-The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern.

MAX SHACHTMAN—Changes in America's Political Struc-

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. ALL CLASSES HELD AT IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th St., N.Y.C.

ADMISSION TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER LECTURE DON'T BE A FOOL **ANNOUNCEMENTS**

NEW YORK, N. Y.-How many animously to approach Local 463 times have you heard someone Auxiliary, the jobbing and altera- say to you, "Don't be a fool"? tion Local, to prevail upon them Hundreds, perhaps thousands of yourself and your ability to win This motion was intended as a friends and influence people you It must be pointed out that the step towards the unification of had better attend the All-Fools' at: Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th whole vote was irregular. It was the two locals, which is the need day masquerade at Irving Plaza

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

Let yourself go-be yourselfact 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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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

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 demonology, 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

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 Giolitti 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 Happend 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 antifascists who demonstrated under S.W.P. leadership against the Bund were attacked and dispersed again and again by LaGuardia's policewhat 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 Sportspalast, 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.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

of the

LOUIS AUGUSTE BLANQUI

(Feb. 1, 1805 — Jan. 1, 1881)

"For the realization of this emancipa-tion 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 which it maintains all its others, it is necessary during a period of revolution-ary 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

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

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. Unforunately, 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 fogginess 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

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.

By Dwight Macdonald Hitler Seizes Slovakia; March THE RECORD 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, hower, 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 rushng new gazeteers to the presses.

Mussolini has been left holding a pretty empty bag. He had suceeded 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

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 Hungarian Empire. Next on his selves. program—and there will be no lengthy intermission—will be Meand the Ukraine.

tions" of Italy in the Mediter- leaders were not brought into the ranean, the development of acute fighting. tension between the Soviet Union full-blown crisis next monthand one realizes how hopelessly close it is to a new imperialist

Accepting this now as an in- cure the best peace. evitability and knowing no way of averting it, the "liberal" paciand Negrin were for a last-ditch of the Comintern"? for and embarking upon a war Japanese domination.

itself. Our job in this country is better concessions from Franco. to make it impossible for our bosses to drag us into another cracy." The last one produced abolish war by cleaning out the ists for a show of resistance. swamp in which it breeds-the swamp of the capitalist system.

PLAN SUBMITTED

(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

Demand all war funds to the unempleyed! W. P. A. jobs at union wages for all unemployed; a blanket \$30 minimum: \$2.000.-000,000 public works program; opening of all idle factories to be operated with government subsidies under workers' control.

And no cuts whatever-not a single worker taken from the NAZI THUGS HAVE DOOMED CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S JEWS TO THIS!



PEACE OVERTURES Thus in less than three years, by a policy of open power politics,

(Continued from Page 1)

1. The Communist party did not make a decision to revolt against Miaja. Party units, attacked by Daily Worker, March 13. carved out of the defunct Austro- the Junta, merely defended them-

2. As soon as possible, they cut short the fighting, having no inmel, the Polish Corridor, Rumania tention or perpective of continu-Add to this Nazi program of overthrowing Miaja. The main expansion the "natural aspira- forces under Communist military

3. The Communist party was in and Japan-likely to flower into fundamental agreement with the Miaja Junta for making peace with Franco, but speaking of an munist party leaders discover a

Stalinist press claims that they with the "Trotskyistthat will assure Anglo-Franco- fascist" Miaja Junta, and the world have nothing in common rejected their support, and bers, has not a word to say about sufficiently prepared for abrupt meant the defense of the demowith the greeds and appetites of launched an attack upon them, either of these bands of capitalist for one of the primary purposes of hopeless bankruptcy of Peoples gangsters—the one that will fight establishing the Junta was to to protect its swag, or the other throw the Stalinists to the wolves that want to hijack that swag for in the hope of thereby securing

Threaten Resistance

Franco's continued insistence on war to "save the world for demo- unconditional surrender and preparations for an offensive against Fascism, starvation, unemploy- Madrid may be the cause of the ment, and a new war is upon us. compromise between the Junta This way and this way alone will and the Stalinists. The reappearenable us to cut across the foul ance of the Spanish Stalinist press national and race rivalries nour- may be notice by the Miaja Junta ished on the greeds of the masto Franco that if he does not ters, to join hands with the work- grant their request for amnesty, ers of all lands and with them they will reunite with the Stalin-

> That tomorrow Miaja will again throw the Stalinists to the wolves in return for minor concessions from Franco must be obvious to 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

speech (analyzed in the last issue reactionaries "prepared the capiback a film chronicle of those of the Appeal) but deserves sep-tulation of the government which of points:

Where Is Dimitroff?

al is revealed by the appearance ternationalists predict that Dela-Where is Dimitroff, "helmsman

Junta, nothing about its assault called "democratic' states" and fugees stranded in no man's land Instead. Manuilsky has the ef- must take the blame for having woman in the audience shrieked, frontery to report that the "mira- said what he told them to say "shame." Of admission of recle of holding out" in Spain is previously. because "the masses of the people | In the usual Stalin method of

political farce.

smugness. A Few Perfunctory Words

and his henchmen were covering Hitler. up their criminal policies resulting in such disasters as the defeat of the Chinese Revolution (1927), the memory of the original the Comintern were still so pre-

The second big feature of the a series of Popular Front govern-18th congress of the Communist ments. Manuilsky finds no need party of the Soviet Union was the to analyze these events. Instead, lengthy speech of D. Z. Manuilsky, he blames the reactionary bouri. e., precisely those whom the It followed slavishly, of course, Popular Front policy was supthe line laid down in Stalin's posed to render impotent! These

Manuilsky as "Secretary of the geoisie would inevitably betray? Communist International." Who And did not the Stalinists de-"honorable" peace. Only after elected him? When? Titles come nounce us, and in no way warn in imperialist rivalries and how they were assaulted, did the Com- and go in the Comintern without the masses of what was to come? even the pretence of democratic Manuilsky blandly goes on to tactical difference on how to se- elections. This is Manuilsky's pleasanter subjects. first appearance under this title. 2. The Secretary of the Com- tic "has given rise to certain policy pursued by the European

this event which demonstrated the turns in events."

the Stalinists. But their main lies", its best militants shot down tions." Thus Stalin warns Champreoccupation now is not the lives or executed, Manuilsky boasts berlain-Daladier that he will not

3. Even in the days when Stalin democracies, he will turn

Stalinists supported continuously latter's maneuvers in time. . ".

on March 11, published in the geoisie of France and England, house, New York City.

tention or perpective of continuing the struggle to the point of arate commentary on a number enjoyed the support of the Peothat marked the first phase of the ple's Front." Was that capitula- break-up of Czecho-Slovakia. tion not to be foreseen, was it 1. The totalitarian regime exist- not actually foreseen by all real ing in the Communist Internation- Marxists, did not the Fourth Inat the Russian party congress of dier and the "progressive" bour- the crisis in May all the way

"Applying" the Popular Front 4. Manuilsky says that "appli-matter. It is nothing else than an cation" of the Popular Front tac- expression of sterile anger at the fists and democrats in the "democratic" countries have become the timony of their own Spanish leadmunist International, making a tendencies of a Right opportunist democracles toward "little Czecho-BY EMANUEL GARRETT most rabid partisans of preparing ers. They had no principled difwork of Communist parties, one the struggle against elements adweek after the seizure of power vocating capitulation. The ten- was given up without carrying it American domination in the world United Press was probably correct by the Casado-Miaja Popular dency to idealize the role of the to the point of—imperialist war. in preference to German-Italian in reporting, the day after the Front Junta and while it was in so-called 'democratic' states and For at stake was the imperialist Junta took power, that the Com- the midst of shooting down pro- of glossing over their imperialist partnership of democratic France munist party had declared its testing Loyalists, including par- character. . . . Communists of and her vassal, Czecho-Slovakia. We say the workers of the support to the Junta. But Miaja ticularly Communist Party memthe capitalist countries are not A defense of that partnership

The Browders everywhere are vultures. The liberals of the thus chastised for . . . translating Sheean stripe are now in a posi-Congresses, in the Stalinist sys- Pravda's editorials. Human in- tion where, unable to present any tem, are a time for self-congrat- genuity has not yet learned to program for averting the horror ulation. How possibly congratu- anticipate what Stalin has not yet of war, they become its most late themselves on the Spanish de- thought about. Now that Salin shameless partisans. bacle? By the simple expedient has made a half-turn away from of saying nothing about the Miaja the democracies, they become "so- the film showed a band of reon the Communist party of Spain! the servile flunkies everywhere on the Czech-Polish frontier, a

in Spain have been united into preparing for a turn, Manuilsky course, said nothing. the anti-fascist Peoples Front, digs up a quotation from the that this front has been cemented Stalin of 1927 which, had he or together by the Communist Parlany other flunky dared repeat bety, which has grown into a major tween 1935 and yesterday, would have cost him his head: "British At the moment when the Span-capitalism has always been, and ish section of the Comintern is will continue to be, the most vile being hounded by its "loyal al- executioner of popular revoluabout its 300,000 members, "a remain passive if they continue arte is Hollywood stuff,... Hollyparty which has mastered in full their course. What will he do? wood would have committed mayseriousness Comrade Stalin's wise His poo-poohing of possibilities hem upon it. As it stands, or runs, advice." Satire stands de- of German designs on the Uk- "Crossroads" is a highly engrossfenseless againt such brazen raine, reiterated by Manuilsky, ing motion picture. means, that, once he gives up hope of an alliance with the who was shell-shocked during the to

Polish Party Dissolved

press reports on the subject, never common thief, he nevertheless denied or confirmed by the Sta- submits himself to a thorough methods of Lenin and Trotsky in linist press. Manuilsky partially search concerning his real idenconfirms the fact that the Polish tity. valent, that the Salinists went Communist Party has been disthrough the motions of drawing solved: "The Communist Party with great sincerity and undera balance sheet of events as they of Poland was most affected by statement by Charles Vanel. On occurred. By today, however, the enemy elements. Agents of Polish the whole, it is a worthy two most terrible defeats are passed fascism had succeeded in gaining hours spent at the cinema by over with a few perfuctory words, positions of leadership in the those who would escape being with no pretence at estimating the | Communist party." To justify the | mangled by the star spangled causes and the lesson of the dissolution by the external inter- offerings now showing elsewhere. vention of the Comintern appara-The Stalinists, through the tus, Manuilsky says: "And it was medium of the Peoples Front, the fault of the Communist workdelivered the French masses into ers that they allowed themselves the hands of Deladier. From June, to be deceived by class enemies, 1936, until the Munich pact, the that they failed to unmask the POSTER SHOP

MERRY-GO-ROUND

CRISIS, produced and directed by Herbert Kline, photographed by Alexander Hackenschmied. commentary by Vincent Sheean, presented at the 55th Street Play-

Herbert Kline and those associated with him have brought September days six months ago

One sees everything within the 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 and disappointed that the struggle

cratic robbers against the Nazi

It is of some note that when fugees into this country, or the Soviet Union, Mr. Sheean, of

CROSSROADS, produced by B. U. P. Francaise, 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 Film-

Briefly, it is the story of a man war and after many years is reminded of his pre-war origin. At first unable to believe that he is 5. Nearly a year after capitalist merely Jean Pelletier, one time

The chief character is acted -Nat Levine

AT YOUR SERVICE! THE APPEAL

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

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

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

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 "appease" 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 'Bah! Why, that's an umbrella!" begun inventing anew the umbrela of reformism: "The People's lution unconquerable. Front" (coalition with the bourgeto defend the democratic fathervigor 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 impermissible 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 their operations by the Russian Mensheviks and "Social Revolutionaries" (the party of Kerensky). They never tired of repeating that the Russian revolution was "democratic" and not socialist; that in a war with Germany, for some secret reason. . . .

THE CLASS CHARACTER

OF THE REVOLUTION Whether a revolution is "antifascist" 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 poorest peasants against Fascism many itself? No intervention there. 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 - wield 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 im mediate 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 "antifascism," but in reality in the diets, (2) reduce milk allowance to seriously considered by the Newinterest of bourgeois proprietors.

government, has crushed all revo- purchases of household goods, the "Overseer of the Poor."

lutionary struggle and above all | ner class mechanism have been the struggle of the peasants for An old French humorist once land. The exploiters and the Stal- that they never read the basic wrote an account of how a petty inists say: "Now is not the time documents of the first four Conbourgeois came to invent the um- to solve the agrarian question. gresses of the Communist Interbrella. Walking the street in the Now it is a question of a common national, nor the theoretical rerain he began pondering how fine struggle against the Mikado." searches of the Fourth Internait would be if the streets were Yet, it is self-evident that were covered with roofs. . . . But that the Chinese peasants precisely at and enable even an infant to would interfere with the free cir-the present time in possession of digest the fact that the struggle culation of air . . . It would have the land, they would defend it against Fascism is unthinkable in to be a portable roof, one for each tooth and nail against the Japan-modern conditions otherwise than person—but how move it? Of ne- ese imperialists. Need we recall by the methods of the proletarian cessity it would have to be moved once again that if the October class struggle for power. by the pedestrian, holding some revolution was able to triumph in These gentlemen picture history sort of lever in his hands, etc., etc. a war of three years duration as painstakingly preparing the

> the workers of Barcelona and As- THE PROLETARIAT turia, and the peasants of Seville who were fighting for mills and 'People's Front.'

THE EMPTY ABSTRACTION

OF "ANTI-FASCISM" cism" and "anti-Fascist" are a vitors of the bourgeoisie did or fiction and a lie. Marxism ap- did not want is in the long run a proaches all phenomena from a secondary issue. They did, howclass standpoint. Azana is "anti- ever, admit that the insurrection Fascist" only to the extent that ary proletariat was strong enough Fascism hinders bourgeois intel- to have conquered power. Had it fronted with the necessity of have purged the state apparatus choosing between Fascism and the of all the Azanas, instituted the proletarian revolution, Azana power of the Soviets, given land will always prove to be on the to the peasants, the mills and self-same umbrella was used in side of the Fascists. His entire factories to the workers—and the policy during the seven years of Spanish revolution would have berevolution proves this.

On the other hand, the slogan:

racy!" cannot attract millions cause there was instead a multiand tens of millions of the popu- tude of reactionaries imagining lace if only because during war- themselves as socialists and anarwhich was menacing the young time there was not and is not chists they succeeded under the democratic republic, any attempt any democracy in the camp of the label of the "People's Front" in to engage in such adventures as Republicans. Both with Franco strangling the socialist revolution the expropriation of the means of and with Azana there have been and assuring Franco's victory. production was to give aid to —military dictatorship, censorship It is simply ridiculous to justify Hohenzollern. And inasmuch as forced mobilization, hunger, blood the defeat by references to the there were not a few scoundrels and death. The abstract slogan: military intervention of Italian among them, they also asserted "For Democracy!" suffices for lib- Fascists and German Nazis, and that the Bolsheviks did all this eral journalists but not for the to the perfidious conduct of the oppressed workers and peasants. French and British "democracies." They have nothing to defend ex- Enemies will always remain enecept slavery and poverty. They mies. Reaction will always interwill direct all their forces to vene whenever it or smashing Fascism only if at the "democracy" will always betray. same time they are able to realize This means that the victory of new and better conditions of ex- the proletariat is impossible in istence. In consequence, the strug- general! But what about the vicgle of the proletariat and the tory of Fascism in Italy and Gercannot in the social sense be de- Instead we had there a powerful fensive but only offensive. That proletariat and a very large sois why Leon goes 'way wide of cialist party and, in the case of the mark when, following the Germany, a large communist parmore "authoritative" philistines, ty as well. Why then was there no he lectures us that Marxism rejects Utopias, and the idea of a cisely because the leading parties socialist revolution during a tried to reduce the question in struggle against Fascism is utop- both these countries to a struggle

Utopianism is the idea that it is Fascism. possible to struggle against Fascism without overthrowing capitalist economy. VICTORY WAS POSSIBLE

democratic revolution and its in- future

Sub-human Relief Standards Is Aim Of Newark Head

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEWARK, N.J.—Continuing his include all the above items and vicious attacks upon the already would also eliminate supplementmiserable low living standards of ary relief to all private incomes. relief clients and W.P.A. workers eimintae relief to all able-bodied Owen A. Malady, Overseer of the single persons, eliminate relief to Poor, recommended to the New- all families of two, where both are ark Municipal Assistance Board able-bodied. In addition Malady that direct relief in Newark be re- would remove from the relief rolls duced. Two plans for retrench- all unemployables, on the assumpment were submitted to the Assis- tion that care of unemployables tance Board for consideration, one is a state function and perhaps calling for reductions totaling the state would take care of them. \$1,475,184.77 and the other providing a cut of \$2,901,052.95, both plans to be effective as of April 1 accordance to his promise to State to December 31.

lady would (1) eliminate special relief retrenchments, are being children to ½ pint daily, (3) ark Municipal Assistance Board, Let us take another example, eliminate all store clothing pur-At present China is engaged in chases except shoes, (4) stop pay- pointed by a "liberal" mayor. The a war against Japan, a just, de-ment for electric and gas "except fensive war against plunderers in cases of illness or where there sidering Malady's proposals and and oppressors. With this war as are no other facilities for cook-extensive plans are being made a pretext, the government of Chi- ing," (5) eliminate surgical appli- for vigorous protests against the ang Kai-Shek, aided by Stalin's ances and glasses, (6) eliminate inhuman policies advocated by

subjected to analysis. It is obvious

Finally, our inventor exclaimed, over countless enemies, including conditions for the socialist revoluthe expeditionary forces of the tion, apportioning roles, inscribing Inventors of the umbrella can mightiest imperialist powers, it in large letters on a triumphal nowadays be encountered at every was only because this victory was arch: ENTRANCE TO THE SOstep among the "leftists"! In its assured above all by this, that CIALIST REVOLUTION, guartime Bolshevism discredited re- during the war the peasants had anteeing victory, and then politeformist politics for a number of gained possession of the land ly inviting the Messrs. Leaders to years. But with the coming of while the workers held the mills assume the prominent posts of reaction the Stalinists together and factories. Only the fusion of ministers, ambassadors, etc. No with all the sub-Stalinists have the socialist overturn with the The question stands somewhat civil war made the Russian revo- differently; it is far more complex difficult, and dangerous. Oppor Gentlemen like Mr. Leon deter- tunists, reactionary blockheads, oisie), the duty of the proletariat mine the character of a revolution and petty bourgeois poltroons nev by the name given it by bourgeois er have recognized and never will land (social patriotism), and so liberals and not by the manner in recognize the situation when it on. And they do it with all the which it is expressed in the actual places the socialist overturn on class struggle, nor by how it is the order of the day. To do so sensed—even if not always clearly one must be a revolutionary Marxunderstood-by the revolutionary ist, a Bolshevik; to do so one must masses. But we look upon the be able to despise the public opin-Spanish revolution not through ion of the "educated" petty bourthe eyes of the liberal philistine geoisie, which reflects only the Azana, but through the eyes of egotistic class fears of capitalism WAS STRONG ENOUGH

The leaders of the C.N.T. and factories, for land, for a better F.A.I. themselves declared after future and not at all for the old the uprising of May, 1937: "Had parliamentary umbrella of the 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, The very concepts of "anti-Fas- etc., etc." What the anarchist serectuals from carving out parlia- possessed a revolutionary and not mentary or other careers. Con- a treacherous leadership, it would come Socialist and unconquerable

But because there was no revo-'Against Fascism, For Democ- lutionary party in Spain and be-

victory gained over Fascism? Preian. In point of fact, the worst "against Fascism" when only a and most reactionary form of socialist revolution can defeat

The Spanish revolution was the supreme school. It is impermissible to allow the slightest friv Truly astonishing is the total olousness towards its dearly ignorance of these people. They bought lessons. Down with charhave no inkling of the fact that latanism, phrasemongering, smug there is, beginning with Marx and ignorance and intellectual para-Engels, a world literature in sitism! We must study seriously which the very concept of the and honestly and prepare for the

(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

Malady's proposals for a more than 60% cut in relief made in Senate President Hendrickson to Under Plan A (\$1,475,184.77) Ma- help relieve the tax situation by which Board, incidentally, was ap unemployed are also seriously con-

CORNER

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'etat 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 egal product of the democratic suffrage of the Spanish masses? Was it voted into office in an electionany 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 1918.

The only conceivable basis for the social-democratic legitimation 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 capitulators. For where would Oneal, Lee, Waldman and Co. feel more at home than among the capitulators to fascism, with whom they have now been intimately associated for the past 17

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 socialdemocratic 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!

Violence is reprehensible when used by the workers either to defend themselves from reaction or to estabhe 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 Spartacans who were fight-

ing 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 overturned 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 horrification 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 burns, (those whose ancestors were not burns before them) will, however, receive the customary