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LAUNCH FIGHT TO SAVE U.A.W.

People's Front Deserts Spanish Anti-Fascist Struggle

Negrin, Azana Dicker Capitulation Terms

Seek to Save Skins of Government
Leaders While Abandoning
The Anti-Fascist Cause

BASE TREACHERY AT END

American, English, and French press services continued over the week end to make specific references to Loyalist government negotiations for surrender to Franco. Formal denials by People's Front leaders were not taken seriously. Even the consistently pro-Front correspondent H. L. Matthews has finally, in a Perpignan dispatch of February 10, reported that "the Negrin government seems to be wavering in its decision to continue the fight."

Can Negrin and Miaja get the half-million soldiers in central Spain to surrender? It is one thing to induce soldiers to make retreat after retreat without a fight, as happened in Catalonia on the basis of declarations by the government that it would make a stand farther north. It would be an entirely different task for Miaja and Negrin to call upon the soldiers to lay down their arms in their present positions in central Spain. For this reason, it is likely that the pattern laid down in Catalonia, of pretending to continue the struggle but actually abandoning the basic positions, may now be attempted by Miaja and Negrin in central Spain.

ROOSEVELT AGAIN COVERS UP CUT IN RELIEF FUNDS

Gives Pretty Speech To Hush Protest Movement

In a special message on relief, sent to Congress last Tuesday, President Roosevelt tried to clear his skirts of responsibility for the drive against the unemployed which he launched in November and which is now being carried forward by a division of labor between him and Congress.

Basic Aim Accepted
The special message makes startling reading. Roosevelt's protest is directed only against the rate and manner of the Congressional plans to reduce relief, while it accepts fully the basic Wall Street aim of cutting the unemployed to the bone. In effect, Roosevelt is merely arguing that his own way of conducting the drive against the unemployed is more effective than that of Congress, and will cause less trouble. "I call your attention," the message reads, "to the fact that the rolls have already been reduced by 350,000 since the last week of last October." But this cut was, of course, engineered by Roosevelt alone, without any participation on the part of Congress; when, in fact, Congress was not even in session.

Were these 350,000 "re-absorbed into private industry"? The message gives the answer: "As no new assignments have been made during this period, there has been a large accumulation of able-bodied people certified to us as in need of relief—people, however, who have not been able to secure places on the work program." That is to say, the 350,000 were thrown on the street.

Does Roosevelt then propose that the WPA rolls be increased to a point where they could take care of all those in need? Not in the least. He says only that "the rolls . . . ought not to be reduced during February and March." After that, reductions can start again, with the full consent of the President.

Fears Sharp Opposition
But Roosevelt is afraid that the rate of reduction planned by Congress will excite too sharp an opposition. A more gradual rate, he figures, would paralyze resistance from the unemployed. He uses Colonel Harrington's estimates to show that the \$725,000,000 appropriated by Congress will necessitate either an immediate cut of 1,000,000 from the rolls on April

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Although a Loyalist army of half a million men is still in the field, in control of a fourth of the country, in a position to fight on and, under revolutionary direction, to carry on a political and military offensive into Franco's camp, the People's Front leaders are to all practical purposes giving up the struggle.

Minorca Surrendered
The heavily fortified stronghold of Minorca, the island base held by the Loyalists since the war began, was surrendered intact to the fascists on Tuesday, government officials trading it in return for safe passage on the British cruiser Devonshire. British officials arranged the parleys leading to the surrender.

Reports persist, despite denials, that General Miaja, commanding central Spain, has secured a French visa on his passport and asked the French government to assure his safe departure. President Azana's capitulation to Franco, indignantly denied by the Stalinists who were his close associates in the Peoples Front government, was finally admitted by the Stalinist Daily Worker on Feb. 8. The day before, it had displayed a skyline banner, "In complete agreement with Negrin, says Azana," and had denounced as "capitalist press lies" the fact that Azana had fled to Paris and called for surrender.

Negrin's Terms
Premier Negrin, his first offer to cease resistance on three conditions having been rejected by Franco, is reported by the Associated Press as ready to capitulate on the sole condition that his associates in central Spain do not face Franco's firing squads.

Negrin's original terms, as the Socialist Appeal pointed out in its last issue, were merely a face-saving device, the "demands" for the country's independence from foreign control and for a plebiscite having already received lip service from Franco. The Stalinist

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"The Bulwark Against War and Fascism?"



LEFT WING WINS IN MINE WORKERS UNION ELECTIONS

Brewery Union Success Points to Martel Ouster

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — A victory for the progressive elements in the election for officers of the Progressive Mine Workers of America was recorded here in the tabulation of votes made public here by the official organ of the union. The P.M.W., which broke away from the United Mine Workers union in a fight against the Lewis bureaucracy a few years ago, and recently received a charter for the A.F.L., has the main body of its membership in Illinois. The election results showed that Dave Reed defeated the retiring secretary-treasurer, Claude E. Peary, for the presidency of the state and national organization. Another prominent progressive was elected to the Executive Board.

The defeat of Peary is seen as doubly significant. The Peary-Ozanic faction had succeeded in converting the P.M.W. from a rank-and-file militant organization into one committed to the most reactionary and bureaucratic policies—at least so far as the leadership was concerned. At the same time, it bitterly opposed the aspirations of the best elements in the union to achieve a restoration of fighting unity with the United Mine Workers union. Reed and Battuello represent the growing forces clamoring for that unity.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, Feb. 6—Local 271 of the teamsters union took a long step on the road to victory today in its fight against an alliance of brewery manufacturers, corrupt officials of the brewery union and Frank "X-X" Martel.

Trucks of all the major Detroit breweries, Schmidt, Detroit, Ekhardt & Becker, Stroth, Pfeiffer, Old Brew left their barns today driven by teamsters proudly displaying Local 271 buttons on their caps.

Bosses Settle Quickly
Committees of Local 271 went into the managements this morning and declared that they were all members of Local 271 and would not drive trucks unless all 271 men were reinstated and scabs imported by the phoney Local 38 of the brewery union put off the trucks. In all cases, with the exception of Tivoli's, the managements capitulated to this demand. In many instances, trucks were tied up in the barns for an hour or two until the committee forced the bosses into line. Tivoli's will probably get into step before 24 hours have passed.

This demonstration of success was organized at a meeting yesterday morning at Schiller Hall, called by Local 271. More than 600

men were present out of a possible total of 900 drivers who work during busy season. The meeting rang with cheers as teamsters officials, J. M. ("Red") O'Laughlin, Bert Brennan, Harry Apers, and General Organizer John F. English addressed them. Frank S. Ford, Sr., President of Local 271, was in the chair.

Martel Sure To Go
When this battle ends, it is the general opinion here, Frank "X-X" Martel, President of the Detroit Federation of Labor, will be among the casualties. Martel's strictly prejudiced arbitration decision against the teamsters brought around his ears the wrath of Dan Tobin, International Union president. Tobin took the matter before the Executive Council of the A.F.L., now meeting in Miami, and backed by 400,000 organized drivers and the decisions of A.F.L. conventions awarding brewery drivers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, secured a repudiation of Martel's decision from the Executive Council.

William Green wrote a long, strongly-worded telegram to Martel not only repudiating his decision but calling on the membership of the Detroit and Wayne

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Three Automobile Locals Reject Martin, Stalinists, Favor C.I.O.

See page 3 for the complete text of the union-building program issued by the newly organized rank and file group in the United Automobile Workers Union. See also editorial on page 4: "The Crisis in the Auto Union."

ANTI-PICKET LAW FOUGHT BY FLINT U.A.W. MEMBERS

Union Demonstration Answers Boss Attack

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FLINT, Mich. — Flinging down the gauntlet in the face of a militant demonstration of several thousand U.A.W. members and hundreds of other union men, the City Commission of Flint voted 5 to 3 last week to enact a vicious anti-picketing law aimed at stifling all union activity in the city.

Part of a general campaign on the part of Michigan manufacturers, the Flint law provides for banning of picketing, forbids approaching men at plant gates for union membership and in general is one of the most flagrant violations of the rights of organized labor in any section of the country.

Representatives of the United Automobile Workers Union led the protest demonstration, in which the workers gave most militant evidence in every way of their determination to fight the new law.

Will Picket City Hall
Flint auto workers are planning a campaign to recall the commissioners who voted for the flint bill, and are going to post a picket line at the Flint city hall. This move on the part of the Flint City Commission indicates the intention of General Motors to take advantage of the U.A.W. faction fight to smash the union by means of a vigorous anti-union campaign. It serves to warn once again that a union split serves the interest of the bosses.

Many auto workers have already come to realize this fact, and have launched a campaign to preserve the unity of the U.A.W., calling for all locals to attend the Cleveland C.I.O. convention, and fight the irresponsible Martin and Executive Board factions who plunged the union into the present split situation.

Won't Rely on "Lobbying"
Rank-and-file sentiment in Flint is demanding immediate militant action to force rescinding of the Flint anti-picketing law, and to teach the manufacturers that the auto workers are an organized power which cannot be beaten into submission.

Call For Immediate Action To Save Union From Suicidal Battle of Martin And Stalin Factions

HIT DISRUPTIVE LEADERS

DETROIT, Feb. 8—Interest in the auto situation was focussed today in all local newspapers on the statement issued by John Anderson, vice-president of Fleetwood Local 15, on behalf of his own and two other locals, announcing the formation of a third grouping distinguished from the Martin and Stalinist factions by its clear-cut militant program.

Martin could not be reached for comment on this important development. R. J. Thomas, asked to comment particularly on the demand for an impartial arrangements committee which would seat all bona fide delegates, "including Martin and his supporters" at the March 27 Cleveland convention, refused to say anything except that "any delegates elected in a constitutional manner will be seated."

DETROIT, Feb. 6—The most promising sign for the future of the auto workers union appeared this week when a third group, representing the interests of the rank and file and fighting for a militant program against the unprincipled cliques, publicly announced its position.

The group is solidly for the C.I.O. and its delegates will attend the Frankenstein-Addes combination directed by the Communist party wreckers and controlled by the Lewis-Hillman bureaucracy.

Locals Back Program
Three locals have already voted for the program set forth by this group, and the volume of support is beginning to swell as the rank and file is informed of its program and aims. The locals are Willard Storage Battery (Local 88), Weatherhead (Local 463) of Cleveland and Local 15, (Fleetwood Fisher Body) in Detroit. Chevrolet Transmission of Saginaw, Mich. (Local 467) voted to attend the C.I.O. convention but refused to commit itself to either faction while sentiment ran high for the program of the independent group.

Other locals have already indicated agreement or sympathy with the program of the independent group. By the end of the week additional names should appear on this roster which will yet be a roll of honor in the United Automobile Workers of America. Groups are already being formed in major locals in Detroit, Flint and Cleveland. Whether or not these groups attain a majority in their locals and send delegates to Cleveland, they will be a strong leaven in their plants against any corporation attacks, and in their locals against the vicious Stalinist crew.

A Call To Action
The program of this group, (printed elsewhere in this issue), is a call to action to all honest and progressive auto workers against the "Stalinist Executive Board Majority . . . and the Martin gang." It examines the accusations and charges made by the self-seeking officials against each other which have all but disgraced the U.A.W. in the state of Michigan. It finds that the record of failure, incompetence and negligence in General Motors, in organizing the union-

That the sentiment of the militants in the auto union was overwhelmingly in favor of the C.I.O. was indicated this week as local after local went on record at its local meetings in favor of the Cleveland Convention. These include the largest divisions of General Motors and Chrysler corporations and of the parts plants.

Oppose Union Wreckers
Yet the strongest sentiment current is antagonism and hatred on the part of large sections of the rank and file for all 24 Executive Board officers who brought their union to the brink of disaster.

The large Chrysler local failed to take a vote after a lengthy meeting in which both sides presented their case. William Marshall, president of that local, openly declared that he was sitting on the fence. In the Dodge local, meetings continued from week to week and a definite position for the C.I.O.

(Continued on page 2)

POLICY OF THE S.W.P. IN THE U.A.W. SITUATION

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

During the past few weeks the policy of the S.W.P. with respect to the crisis in the U.A.W. has undergone sharp change, and has not received a clear and definitive formulation until this current issue of The Appeal. This has undoubtedly been evident to the party members as well as to the other readers of our press.

During the past period there has been a unanimous conviction throughout the party that the central task for the auto workers and the only solution which will be able to re-establish the unity, democracy and militancy of their union and at the same time make possible the complete organization of the industry, lies in THE BUILDING OF A NEW PROGRESSIVE GROUPING WITHIN THE UNION, BASED ON A DEMOCRATIC, MILITANT PROGRAM, AND FREE FROM ANY SUBORDINATION TO EITHER OF THE TWO MAJOR PRESENT FACTIONS—THE MARTIN CONTROLLED CLIQUE OR THE STALINIST OUTFIT.

However, this perspective, though in our opinion decisive in the longer run, did not in itself answer the specific questions raised by the open split and the calling of two separate conventions; in particular it did not answer a crucial question now posed before the auto workers: which convention to go to.

The lead editorial published in the January 28 issue of THE SOCIALIST APPEAL, oriented toward attendance at the Detroit convention, was drawn up immediately following the calling of the two conventions. At the time of its formulation it represented an opinion opposed by many party members. Subsequent to its formulation and just prior to its public appearance there took place the recognition by the C.I.O. leadership of the Cleveland Convention and Martin's publication of his letter of withdrawal from the C.I.O. Executive. In the opinion of many members of the N.C. and of a decisive majority of

the party members actively engaged in the party's work in auto, these events clinched the argument against an orientation on the Detroit Convention and demanded an orientation on Cleveland as the only effective way in which to carry out the general perspective in consonance with the aim of preserving the unity of the progressive industrial union movement.

Thorough discussion and consultation, though it did not remove differences of opinion, led to the practical conclusion that the Detroit orientation contained in the party's earlier policy must be abandoned in favor of a Cleveland orientation as stated and motivated in the current issue of The Appeal.

Quite independently of any differences, we believe that the most hopeful sign for the long term future of the U.A.W. is to be read in the news reports of the concrete beginnings of the

formation of a new and independent progressive grouping. If this continues and gains real scope, it will solve the problems, however difficult and acute, of the preservation and extension of the union in auto.

We are aware that these sudden shifts that our party has made in the policy it has presented have created a certain temporary confusion. But decision has now been reached and will be vigorously carried out.

The difficulties created by the delay in arriving at a definitive decision and the inconsistency occurring during the past three weeks, serious as they have been, are, however, outweighed in our estimate by the benefits obtained through adhering to a regime in our party under which decisions are reached through democratic collective effort and not by bureaucratic decree.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE,
Socialist Workers Party

In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

In the daily and pressing struggles which militant unionists face there is little time left for a consideration of the broader questions before the labor movement.

The split in auto, the crisis in textiles, and other trade union matters deserve and obtain serious study from progressive unionists.

However, the life and death question of the attitude of trade unions towards war seems much neglected, especially in comparison to the history of the labor movement from 1914-1918.

In the days of Woodrow Wilson, the anti-war sentiment was so strong that the Democratic president was re-elected on a "Keep America Out of War!" program. Hundreds of thousands of militant workers expressed their opposition to war at union meetings, mass meetings, and other forms of protest.

Eugene Debs grew in stature to a historical figure in the annals of the working class because of his fight against imperialism.

Militant workers understood very well the implications of a "War to Save Democracy!" in 1917.

War-Mongering in the Unions

Today, the foreign exchange and stock market prices jump around at every rumor of war! Confidential Wall Street bulletins speak of 1939 as the "war year!"

Roosevelt blunders and admits his plan to make "France America's frontier!" Another war to make the world safe for "democracy" with American workers dying in the same trenches in France as in the offing.

How different labor today is reacting to this crisis! Recently, we made a survey of the number of unions that have passed anti-war resolutions. They seem like a mere drop of water compared to the ocean tides of protest that swept the country in 1917.

War-mongering is more common in unions today than anywhere in the country because of the power of the Stalinists who are determined to chain the working class to another imperialist war.

Yet, M. Day will bring a virtual fascism of the union movement. And death on the bloody battlefields of imperialism war will be the lot of millions of union militants, not only here but in every country.

War Means End of Unions

"Save the Unions!" is the slogan of every serious unionist in fighting the Stalinist rule-or-ruin policy on concrete issues today. Too few unionists understand, however, that the union-wrecking tactics of the Stalinists are part and parcel of their political line. And that unions can be saved only by combining the fight against the bosses with the struggle against the Stalinists and their war-mongering.

"Save the Unions!" from the trap that the U.S. General Staff has planned in war-time. No strikes, no shop committees, no direct negotiations, no union meetings if it can be helped. There is only one way to fight this danger. A clear and unambiguous struggle against imperialism war is the method.

Both the C.I.O. and A.F.L. top leadership are for support of Roosevelt's war plans. Conservative labor leaders in every union will support the war! And when the federal government suppresses all unionism in war-time the same people will make a feeble criticism too late.

Time to Get Tough

The job of every progressive unionist has become tougher. The union wreckers from within the labor movement, the class enemies from without, are determined to crush the workers in the interests of Wall Street and its profit.

Now is the time to take stock of the situation, tighten up the belt another notch, and "get tough." The union struggles of today are preliminary training bouts to the real battle ahead. It is time to get in shape now for the knock down, drag-out fight with capitalism and its war dangers.

Workers Educational Forum Presents
KARL SCHOLZ
Noted economist
on "Conflicting Forces in Europe Today"
Thursday, Feb. 23rd, 8:30 P.M.
810 Locust Street
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

AT YOUR SERVICE!
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V. R. Dunne Asks Unity Convention For Auto Workers

Progressives Cannot Support Dual Union Move

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS — "Progressives in the Auto Workers Union must gather their forces and force the Martin and Thomas groups to meet jointly in a unity convention," declared Vincent R. Dunne, noted labor figure and organizer for the militant Drivers Union, Local 544 of Minneapolis.

Dunne reported this to a large Socialist Workers Forum last Sunday at Socialist Workers Party headquarters, 919 Marquette. He had recently arrived from Detroit where he had conferred with leading figures in the auto situation.

"We will support the March 27 Cleveland convention, and whether or not to send delegates to Martin's convention in Detroit March 4, is purely a tactical consideration," said Dunne. "No progressive can support Martin in his move for a dual union and his plan to carry off a segment of the auto union into either the A.F.L. or into an independent set-up like Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union, The L.L.G.W.U. succeeded from the C.I.O. for the same reason Martin is now threatening to—inability to deal with the Stalinist union bosses on a principled basis."

Dunne advanced a minimum four-point program around which the struggle for unity must be fought: the organization of Ford, the renewal of the contracts with the auto bosses, the organization of the parts plants and the organization of the unemployed in the auto centers.

ARMOUR YIELDS AT FARGO

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FARGO, N. D. — Scoring another smashing victory against Armour and Company, 600 Armour workers in Fargo went back to work after a three-day strike.

For 14 years speed-up on the Beef Kill has been an outstanding grievance of the Fargo workers. Today it is ended.

In its customary high-handed way, the Armour management sent home all workers of the Beef Kill when the Grievance Committee protested against the speed-up.

Rallying to the support of the Beef Kill other departments put in their protests. One after another, every department in the plant was shut down. The Armour workers were locked out. Three days were enough to show Armour that it was playing with fire. Telegrams poured into Fargo from Armour plants all over the country insisting that the plant reopen and the grievance be settled at once.

The Fargo unionists themselves stood firm. The avalanche of wires that struck the management made it clear that P.W.O.C. locals stick together. There was nothing for the company to do but GIVE IN. It did!

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ONE CONVENTION --- ONE UNION ONE FIGHT AGAINST THE BOSSES!

An Independent Program of Action for the United Automobile Workers Union of America in the Crisis Created by Martin's Pull-Away from the C.I.O. and the Stalinist Wrecking Crew

Already supported by such locals as Willard Storage Battery (88), Weatherhead of Cleveland (463) and Fleetwood Fisher Body of Detroit (15), the program of the independent forces is making headway in all parts of the Auto Workers Union. The genuine progressives are determined to remain within the ranks of the C.I.O., in spite of the Stalinist-Lewis provocations, but they want a program that will build and strengthen the union instead of allowing it to be destroyed by the Stalinist-Hillman-Murray combination now at its head.

The U.A.W. faces the worst crisis of its history. Will it destroy itself and bring back the open shop? Or will it survive the crisis and go forward as a fighting organization to improve and protect the interests of the automobile workers?

The answer to this question lies squarely in the hands of the rank and file of the union.

Today two factions in the top leadership of the union are hurling damning accusations at each other. The Martin gang accuses the Stalinist Executive Board majority of betraying the automobile workers. The Stalinist Executive Board Majority accuses the Martin gang of betraying the automobile workers.

It is our considered judgement that BOTH ACCUSATIONS ARE TRUE! Let us look at the record of the Martin outfit and the Communist Party-dominated Executive Board majority.

General Motors

Dozens of key union men and stewards have been fired by the management out of the G.M. plants because the International Executive Board (the entire 24) submitted to G.M. a letter giving the company permission to "discipline" union men. Result: Chaos in G.M. locals and a worse contract now in existence than over a year ago and present negotiations with the company completely at a standstill.

Who is responsible? Obviously both groups on the board!

Organize the Unorganized?

What progress has been made in the organization drive supposed to have been launched among the unorganized workers of the aircraft and automotive parts industries? Zero! No progress! And that goes for the Martin Regional Directors as well as for the Mortimer-Frankenstein Regional Directors. Both gangs were too busy playing shoestring politics to bother about organizing the unorganized.

Ford Drive

For over six months Frankenstein was director of the Ford Organization Campaign. During this period he spent thousands of dollars of our money. How many Ford workers did he organize? When Frankenstein finished with the drive, there were less Ford men in the U.A.W. than at the time of the Milwaukee Convention.

Now Martin has made some backstairs deal with Harry Bennett of the Ford Motor Company. What Martin promised and what Bennett offered, nobody knows. We stand against negotiations conducted behind the backs of the membership.

But the Stalinist controlled Executive Board majority, which ac-

uses Martin of conspiring to build a "company union" at Ford's, themselves sanctioned the Martin negotiations and instructed him several days previous to making their charges to continue the negotiations. This same Stalinist crew halls with Joy THE SAME KIND OF A BACK-STAIRS DEAL WHICH JOHN L. LEWIS ENGINEERS WITH MYRON C. TAYLOR OF U.S. STEEL.

The Ford campaign has become a political football of the two unprincipled factions, while the interests of the Ford workers have been completely forgotten.

Union Democracy?

Both gangs are guilty of the worst autocracy towards the rank and file. Each ruthlessly squelches all opposition members. Both Martin and Mortimer voted to kick out of the union two members of the Lansing Fisher local. These men were expelled without trial. Martin, when in power, automatically appointed administrators over the Flint local and many other locals. The Stalinist controlled Executive Board majority automatically took charge of elections at the Packard local and other locals when they were in power. Both gangs are guilty of destroying democracy in the U.A.W.

Which Convention?

We must openly condemn the fatal step Martin proposes to take to split the automobile workers from the C.I.O. We are against the autocratic rule imposed on the U.A.W. by Lewis, Hillman and Murray. But the C.I.O. is the industrial union movement of America, and as mass production workers we must remain part of that movement. We must remain part of the C.I.O.

We stand for ONE UNION IN THE INDUSTRY. We stand for ONE CONVENTION, but inside the C.I.O. We therefore call upon all locals to attend the Cleveland convention and to insist upon the formation of an impartial arrangements committee which will

seat all bona-fide delegates including Martin and his supporters on the Executive Board.

The crying need of the hour is the organization of a new group representative of the rank and file and controlled by the rank and file. This new group must be built on the lines of a fighting program and on constructive UNION-BUILDING principles.

The Only Union-Building Program

1. ABOLISH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY. We propose the immediate launching of a systematic, aggressive campaign through union action and legislative pressure to establish the 30 HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY throughout the automobile industry.

2. CLOSED SHOP IN GENERAL MOTORS: We propose the immediate convocation of a representative rank and file G.M. conference to negotiate a closed shop contract, with a 30-hour week and no reduction in pay clause. The G.M. conference shall abolish the infamous "disciplinary" letter granted G.M. by the entire Executive Board of 24.

3. FORD AND PARTS PLANTS: We propose the immediate launching of a big drive to organize all Ford workers and workers of the competitive parts plants. We propose the signing of closed shop contracts with standardized rates of pay and standardized working conditions, upon the successful conclusion of organizational campaign.

4. WPA WORKERS: We propose a great economic and legislative campaign for a five billion dollar WPA appropriation for low-cost housing and medical care for the workers. We propose to use our union power to establish a thirty-hour week and \$30 weekly pay—the only decent standard on WPA. We propose to ask the C.I.O. to charter the WPA workers into WPA industrial unions affiliated with the labor movement.

5. AUTONOMY: We propose to establish local union autonomy from Executive Board dictatorships; and U.A.W. autonomy from a Lewis-C.I.O. dictatorship. Let us fight for democratic rights for all including protection of any minority opinions.

6. UNION DEFENSE GUARDS: Let us organize union defense guards to protect our unions from the violence and attacks of thugs, vigilantes and fascists hired or sponsored by the corporations to smash the union. DEFENSE GUARDS TO PROTECT THE UNION. NOT GOON SQUADS TO PROTECT THE CLIQUE INTEREST OF SOME FACTION.

7. A BOLD FIGHT AGAINST ALL OPEN-SHOP, ANTI-UNION LEGISLATION: We propose a vigorous campaign of economic and legislative action to defeat the vicious anti-union legislation proposed by Governor Fitzgerald of Michigan and the governors of other states.

8. RED SCARE: The red scare is the weapon of the employers to smash our union. Both top factions in this fight are guilty of employing this dangerous anti-union weapon. Martin calls his opponents "Communists." The Communist party brands all opponents who oppose its criminal anti-union policies as "fascists." We are opposed to union men employing this anti-union weapon and we propose to fight any group within the union that raises the red scare.

9. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS: We make the following constructive suggestions for amendments to our present constitution:

a) Simplify and speed up procedure for the authorization of strikes; all strikes to be called within the constitutional procedure.

b) Establishment of a monthly conference of local union officers, rather than the present set-up of district councils.

c) For a ten member International Executive Board—one from each region.

d) For reducing the number of vice-presidents to two.

e) For provisions giving the membership right of referendum vote on all important questions.

f) Submission of quarterly financial reports by the International Union and Regional Directors to all locals.

The Only Answer!

Only quick action of the rank and file will save the U.A.W. We have lost the union wreckers inside our own ranks.

JOIN WITH US TO DEFEAT UNION WRECKERS WITH A UNION BUILDING PROGRAM.

If your local is in agreement with this program of action, notify us at once. Send all communications, letters, etc., to: 12808 Shaw Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

APPEAL ARMY

HOW DO YOU LIKE THE NEW APPEAL?

This is the second of the Twice-a-Week Appeal. The first one has met with nothing but praise and acclaim from all sides. We'd like all branches, friends and sympathizers to send us their opinion of the semi-weekly Appeal. Next week we intend to run extracts from comments received. Send yours in now and—don't forget—serious criticism is a healthy thing for us.

NEW YORK CITY BRANCHES SWING INTO ACTION:

Under the able direction of comrade Abe Miller the branches and comrades in New York are beginning to solve distribution problems on the semi-weekly paper. First, a highly efficient squad of professional salesmen has been organized. They can be seen during the day covering New York's garment workers' area, Times Square and Union Square. Dressed up in their newsboy aprons they look like the real McCoy. All of them are cracker jack salesmen, too!

Branches have begun mass street sales activity. Last week the Upper West Side branch turned out en masse to distribute and sell Appeals in the Times Square and theatre areas. With great success, too! Branches are issuing leaflets, small cards advertising newsstands that carry our paper folders, etc. And on the subscription drive, New York has gotten off to a flying start with 15 in one week. The Twice-a-Week Appeal is putting a little zest into the New York party's blood stream!

AND FROM OTHER SPOTS:

"We are organizing the Appeal Brigade to handle the circulation of our press effectively. Already 18 comrades are participating in the work. We should raise that number to 30 over a period of time. Minneapolis will build an effective propaganda machine."—M. Freed, Appeal director of Minneapolis. Incidentally, Mpls. has ordered and paid for 6 newsboy aprons.

"We have every hope that your project to bring out the Appeal semi-weekly will meet with success."—A letter from the Socialist Workers League of Johannesburg, South Africa.

ON THE SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE:

This week has seen a fairly good start, considering that it is only the first week. But we must increase our weekly list of new subscribers to at least 100 if we are to reach the 1,000 goal by April 1st.

We have sent around a special offer to branches and comrades

which will enable almost every party member to become a subscriber. Take this offer up at your next branch meeting and send in the results. Subscriptions obtained this way will be credited to your branch quotas.

Remember our slogan: Every Class Struggle Fighter a Twice-a-Week Subscriber!

STATEMENTS NOW IN THE MAIL:

We are now mailing our final statements on the old, weekly Appeal. This will give each branch an opportunity to clear up its old balance before we bill it on the semi-weekly paper. Many branches have done so—but there are some large branches which, instead of cutting down their bills, have added to them. It is necessary for us to increase our income beginning right now. We feel that no agitation on this point is needed—the thing to do is act immediately. Send in payments on your balance to the Appeal.

Here's the list of new subscriptions obtained during the first week of the Campaign:

New York City	15
California	10
Chicago	8
Ohio	7
Rochester	4
Pennsylvania	3
Massachusetts	2
Detroit	2
Kansas	1
Newark	1
St. Paul	1
Wisconsin	1
Foreign	1
Total	56

The following new bundles orders were received during the week:

(1) New Brunswick, N. J., begins its history with an order of 5 copies per issue.

(2) Fresno, Calif. has resumed taking the Appeal and likewise begins with an order of 5.

This week we take pleasure in introducing and greeting a bunch of new literature-agents for the Appeal. E. McCreary of Fresno, California; M. Meyers of New Brunswick, New Jersey; Paul Fielding of Akron, Ohio; A. J. Mounjic of Toledo, Ohio; and finally, John Margo of Los Angeles. We wish all these comrades the best of success in their new jobs.

A FEW REMINDERS:

(1) Have you ordered your newsboy aprons yet?

(2) Act now on your Appeal bill!

(3) How many bound volumes (1937 and 1938) have you sold?

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

MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S.E.; at Broadway, S.E.; at Fourth Ave., S.W.; at Fourth Ave., N.E.; at Fifth Ave., S.E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S.W.; at Third Ave., N.W.; at Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N.W.; at Sixth Ave., N.E.; at East Book Store, 7 E. 12th St.; 12th St. and University Pl., N.E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave.; Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave., S.W.; at Sixth Ave., S.E.; at Sixth Ave., S.W.; at Seventh Ave., S.W.; opp. Sterns; 23rd St. & 4th Ave., S.W. & N.W.; Candy Store, 17 First Ave.; Clinton & East Broadway; Candy Store, Broadway, bet. 64 & 65 Sts.; 66th St., Broadway, bet. 6th & 7th Ave. subway stand; 10th St. & Ave. B (S.E.); Sullivan & W. 3rd St. (N.W.); MacDougal & 1st St. (S.W.); 36th St. & 7th Ave. (N.E.); Breckman, 184 2nd Ave. (near 12th St.).

Essex and Delaney Sts.; Bookstore at Grand and Astor Sts.; at Candy Store, S.E. 9th St. and Second Ave.; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave.; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave.; 110th St. and Columbus Ave.

BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th St.; Jerome Ave. & 167th St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); 206th St. & Bainbridge Ave.; Jerome & Burnside Aves.; 160th St. & Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman St. & Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Jerome Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 3897 Sedgwick Ave.;

BROOKLYN: Havemeyer & So. 4th St.; Tompkins & Myrtle Aves.; Strauss St., 4th St. & Avenue C; near Van Sinderen Ave.; Sutter Ave. & E. 98th St.; 3897 Sedgwick Ave.; 1877 Crotona Ave.; 18th St. & Tremont Ave., north-west & south-west corners; Candy Store, 1510 Kings Highway; Stand, 1510 Kings Highway.

LONG ISLAND: 23rd St. & 45th Ave.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza N.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza S.; 27th St. and Bridge Plaza S.

ROCHESTER, N. Y. 433 N. Clinton St.; 457 N. Clinton St.; Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts.; Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St.; S.E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts.; S.W. cor. Main & South Ave.; Main Street East, front of Edwards' Department Store

208 Clinton Ave., North at Cumberland St. Levine's Delicatessen, 257 Clinton Ave. North at Westcott

Carli Brothers, 433 Clinton Ave. North

NEWARK, N. J. Reitman's, cor. Broad & William

LITMANN's cor. Hawthorne Ave. & Reeves Pl.

PATERSON, N. J. A. Guabell's Stationery Store, 317 Straight St.

NEW HAVEN, Conn. Nedelman's Newsstand, Church St., bet. Chapel & Center

CHICAGO S.W.P., 169 N. Wells, Rm. 308

Cor. 57th & Blackstone

Cor. 12th & Kedzie

P. O. News, 37 Monroe

Cashinsky Bookshop

BALTIMORE, Md. Sam Weisberg, 1113 E. Baltimore St.

Frigate Book Shop, 515 North Howard St.

ANNOUNCEMENT

YOU HAVE A HEAVY DATE!—Saturday Eve., February 11th. Puppet Show and Dance will be given at the Brownsville headquarters of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L., 1779 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn. (New Lots Train to Rockaway Ave.) Admission 20c.

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



Dale Edwards of the Lower East Side Branch, Local New York, making up the banners which were awarded in the Twice-a-week Campaign.

Frisco Unemployed Form Strong Union

By BILL GANNON

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SAN FRANCISCO—Because of the growing misery of the unemployed and W.P.A. workers, plus the thoroughly dishonest nature of the Workers Alliance leadership, a new relief workers' union has been organized in this city and is laying the basis for a revival of a class-conscious anti-militant movement among the unemployed. It is called the Union of Progressive Workers.

Firmly convinced that the interests of the unemployed cannot be served by singing hymns of praise to capitalist mayors, governors and presidents, the membership of the U.P.W. believe that only independent working-class action, both on the economic and political fronts can wrest any real gains from the bosses' government. These ideas are clearly expressed in the preamble of the U.P.W. Constitution.

The program of this new, but growing, organization contains demands for:

1. Work for all at union wages.
2. Immediate increase in all S.E.A. and W.P.A. budgets.
3. Large enough housing and public works projects to absorb all the unemployed.
4. A decent living for every human being.

The Constitution also provides for democratic control of the organization by the membership and guarantees that all funds collected from the membership shall be used to build, and carry on the work of the organization.

er, who used to peddle his reactionary buncombe in Walter Reuther's West Side Conveyor, is carrying on a little red-baiting of his own in the union paper. He says that Martin was once a member of the left wing of the Socialist Party and that he is now advised by the Lovestone "Communists."

The Executive Board has not a word to say about the organization of WPA workers in industrial union set-ups under the C.I.O. The Stalinists are keeping a watchful eye peeled for the interests of their company union Workers Alliance. Two weeks ago when the question of a cut in WPA appropriations was before Congress, this Executive Board favored Roosevelt's slash as against Garner's.

They have not a solitary word to utter against Roosevelt's jingo war program and armaments budget. Nor do they have any program to fight the attacks of the corporations or to defend the interests of the unemployed or return them to their jobs.

Meanwhile General Motors is making the best of the factional situation. Last week it issued a statement to the press saying that it would not negotiate with either set-officers until "their positions and authority have been clarified."

But although local unions have proved strong enough, despite the split, to force them to deal with shop committees, workers can expect a first class battle on their hands when the inter-union fight subsides.

While this fight is raging, Gov-

ences that have subversive, un-American and dangerous potentials. The conference also went on record against indecent motion pictures and the sale of liquor to young people.

On the other side of the fence a heated squabble was reported in progress among the Executive Board members. Frankenstein made a public declaration against Fred Pieper of Atlanta and is said to have planted a left hook between Pieper's eyes. Reuther and the Stalinists were vying for positions as President and Vice-Presidents.

Who is to get the swag? That is the only consideration that this pot-pourri of Stalinists and former Martin supporters pay any attention to at all. They are blissfully unconcerned with any program that will push the union forward—except of course when some statement is required for public effect.

Characteristic of the mentality of the Stalinist gang was the splitting statement of Wyndham Mortimer that locals who attended the Martin convention would be suspended from the U.A.W. Mortimer's statement came from New York where he probably just had emerged from a conference with Earl Browder. The rest of the Executive Board immediately disowned Mortimer, saying in a faint-hearted voice that this was Mortimer's personal opinion.

Silent on WPA Union
The new editor of the United Automobile Worker, official organ of the Executive Board of the U.A.W., is that well-known Stalinist scribbler, Carl Haessler. Haessler

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

Twenty years ago, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered by reactionary army officers acting in collusion with the Social Democratic government of Berlin. As we draw steadily nearer to another world war, as reformism once more prepares a blood bath for the masses, the tragedy of Luxemburg takes on contemporary overtones. I can think of no better beginning for this column of comment on the events of 1939 than to reprint a "newsreel" I compiled last year on the death of Luxemburg in 1919:

From the New York Times, Jan. 18, 1919

Berlin, Jan. 16 (Associated Press)—Dr. Karl Liebknecht was killed by soldiers yesterday while he was trying to escape from custody. Rosa Luxemburg was beaten into insensibility by a mob and afterward was shot to death. . . . Virtually the entire Berlin press regards the fate of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg as having "something of divine justice in it," as the Tageszeitung phrases it. . . . The press in general deplores the lynching of Rosa Luxemburg, but declares that she fell a victim of the basest passions which she herself had awakened. . . .

The whole city is now swarming with soldiers, wearing steel helmets, carrying loaded rifles, and with hand grenades hanging on their belts. . . . Karl Kautsky, former Under Secretary in the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Ebert Government. . . . was arrested yesterday morning. He was liberated later.

From the New York Times, Jan. 19, 1919

Berlin, Jan. 16 (via Copenhagen)—Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were arrested last night and while being transported to the Moabit Prison were thrashed by infuriated people and shot like mad dogs, the latter by an unknown man whose pistol may have saved her from a worse fate. . . . Their end, however cruel, will certainly do much for the restoration of peace and order. . . . Military Governor Noske is conducting a sharp investigation for the Social-Democratic government, but it seems that the soldiers' conduct was faultless in both cases.

From the N. Y. World, Jan. 18, 1919

Berlin, Jan. 17—I went to Gustav Noske, military governor of Berlin, and asked him how it was possible, with 40,000 troops in the city, that a crowd could get a prisoner away from the soldiers and kill her. Herr Noske replied: "Only a few soldiers were with each automobile, as such an attack was unexpected; the crowd, roused to intense anger by weeks of agitation by both the victims, were too much for the soldiers to handle." "Unfortunately," I said, "the incident is going to make a bad impression abroad. . . ." "It is regrettable," Herr Noske replied, "but they are dead and we can now only make an inquiry. . . ." "Do you expect it will lead to agitation again here?" "If it does," Gov. Noske replied, "we must put it down."

From the New York Times, Jan. 25, 1919

Amsterdam, Jan. 24—The body of Rosa Luxemburg, the Spartacist leader who was killed by a mob recently, was found yesterday in the Landwehr Canal, according to a report from Berlin. The body was terribly mutilated. The news is being kept secret for fear of anarchistic reprisals.

From The London Times, May 22, 1919

Berlin, May 21—The leading facts leaked out gradually, and there was little inclination among those in power to make a fuss over the end of a pair of rebels. But these rebels were the idols of the people, and their passionate sincerity had commended them to many prominent radicals whose support the Government required. And so after months of waiting, the Government decided that some sort of trial was necessary.

Herr Scheidemann remembered that the accused were soldiers and that the Peace had not been signed. The form of trial he selected was a court-martial, the court being appointed by the Garde-Schutzen Division to which the accused men belonged. . . . The adherents of the victims refused to take any part in the proceedings.

The accused were not brought to the dock in the usual way, but were introduced from the Judge's rooms. They arrived laughing and radiant, their breasts decorated with orders. Throughout the trial, they conducted themselves nonchalantly, one of them reading a newspaper when he felt bored, another eating sandwiches, a third playfully trying to get hold of some hand-bombs which one of his chums in uniform happened to have in his pocket. . . .

On the evening of the murders, soon after sunset, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were taken to the Eden Hotel, where they spent some hours in charge of their guardians. There was . . . a good deal of conversation, some of it animated, in which the two victims discussed and defended their views. Orders were received that they were to be transferred to the Moabit Prison, and Liebknecht was taken to the back

door of the hotel, where a military car was waiting. As they were leaving, one of the company cried out: "See that these swine do not reach the prison alive!"

As soon as Liebknecht got into the car, Private Runge aimed two blows at him with the butt of his rifle. One blow missed, the other cut his head open. Ober-Lieutenant von Pfugk-Hartung, the officer in charge, then got into the car. (He told the Court that he had taken quite a fancy to Liebknecht in the hotel, thought that for a Socialist he had interesting views, and a good way of putting them.) He drew his revolver and told him that he would shoot him if he tried to escape. . . . Presently, in a dark corner of the Thiergarten, the car stopped. . . . Liebknecht was shot and killed, and evidence was accepted as satisfactory that he must have been running away. Pfugk-Hartung was acquitted, with great applause. . . .

About an hour later, Rosa Luxemburg was taken to the front door of the hotel. . . . There, for some reason that was not inquired into, Private Runge was also waiting for her. As soon as she got into the car, he swung his rifle and clubbed her on the head. It was doubtful if his blows had actually proved fatal, and it was suggested that he was mentally defective. And so he was given two years' imprisonment.

Lieutenant Vogel, the officer in charge of this party, then got into the car, accompanied by two other officers. "Fraulein Luxemburg," he testified, "received two violent blows on the head from the butts of rifles of helmeted soldiers. She collapsed, and when we came to a bridge the thought came to us all to throw her body into the river." According to the other officers, however, she was shot through the head by Lieutenant Vogel. He testified that he threw the body into the river "to save the honor of the Garde-Schutzen Division." . . . He was given a sentence of two years and four months imprisonment. Already, however, his escape had been contrived. A man in officer's uniform drove up in a motor car to the prison, presented a forged warrant and released the prisoner.

The Freiheit, the organ of the Independent Socialists, is alone in denouncing the proceedings. The other newspapers think that in a case of this kind, "where political feelings are involved," perhaps the whole story has not been sifted, but they are satisfied that substantial justice has been done.

From a statement, signed "Hussar Otto Runge," printed in Freiheit, Jan. 9, 1921

On January 15, 1919, between seven and nine o'clock in the evening, I was stationed as sentry before the chief entrance of the Eden Hotel. Cavalryman Drager was with me. About nine o'clock there was a great to-do and excitement: it was rumored that Liebknecht and Luxemburg had been brought in. Several orders were at once given me by officers and sergeants, and the remark was dropped that these creatures must not be allowed to leave the hotel alive.

Concerning Liebknecht, I received strict orders from officers to knock the fellow down with the butt of my rifle. . . . As for Frau Luxemburg, officers came to me and said: "I order you to see that Luxemburg does not leave the hotel alive. Mind you swallow that!" Lieutenant von Pfugk-Hartung made a note of my name and said to me: "First Lieutenant Vogel will send her straight to you; all you'll have to do is to strike hard." When Frau Luxemburg was being dragged into the motor, somebody jumped up behind just as it was driving off and sent a bullet into her head. I could see that very clearly, as I was only a short distance away. He then jumped down and re-entered the Eden Hotel from the Nurnberger Strasse. . . . Meanwhile the others had returned and were boasting: "We've done for Liebknecht nicely. A trick was played on him. We got him to try to escape." . . . Of Luxemburg it was said: "The old sow is already afloat."

Editorial from the New York Times, Jan. 18, 1919

LYNCH LAW IN BERLIN
Regrettable as is the manner of death, the work of private violence, not the law, that came to Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, it was to be expected, and does a summary, if irregular, justice to the fomenters of robbery, murder and anarchy. . . . These two leaders, the man violent but weak, the woman a tennant of the familiar revolutionary type, have perished miserably by the sword they drew. The defeat of the imitation Bolsheviks, the victory everywhere where elections have been held of the parties of order—Conservatives, Centrists, Democrats, Majority Social Democrats—are of the best omen for a representative moderate National Assembly, for a responsible and stable government. The Allies and the United States have hardly less interest than Germany itself in such an outcome.

ROOSEVELT SEEKS TO HUSH PROTEST ON RELIEF SLASH

(Continued from page 1)

1st or a spaced-out cut from then until June 30 which would total more than 1,500,000. "If, however, proper reserves were maintained . . . employment (on WPA) at the end of June would drop . . . to a figure of only slightly more than 1,000,000 persons."

He asks, therefore, for the restoration of the \$150,000,000 which he had originally suggested. This sum, far from keeping the rolls at their present level, much less providing jobs for those who are in bitter need, envisages a reduction of the rolls "to an average of 2,700,000 workers in June." Actually, the reduction would have to be

THE FEBRUARY NEW INTERNATIONAL

The February number of the New International has been off the press now for several days. Featured are articles on the fall of Barcelona and Spain by Felix Morrow, and the W.P.A. and Armaments Program of the Roosevelt Administration. Many other significant articles also make up a very attractive and interesting issue. The complete

more than that: "maintaining proper reserves" would demand a cut of well over 500,000 even if the additional sum should be appropriated.

But the truth is that Roosevelt will not fight seriously for his measly \$150,000,000, totally inadequate as it is. He wants only "to make the record" and to forestall a genuine mass struggle by the unemployed for what they really need: WPA jobs for all unemployed workers at trade-union wages.

Rank and File Fur Unionists Condemn Jt. Council Regime

Progressive Group Hits Slandering Charges

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—In a sharply worded letter addressed to the Furriers' Joint Council, the United Progressive Furriers, a rank and file group in the union, charged the Council with being responsible for a dictatorial regime in the union. The letter was sent as an answer to the accusation of strike-breaking made by the Council against the Progressives. The Progressives assert that they were found guilty without being given an adequate opportunity to answer the base calumny in a democratic fashion.

Trial Threat Fails
Having attempted at a long drawn out trial, lasting close to three months, to obtain confessions from the Progressives, the administration gave it up as a bad job. Instead, it wrote the Progressive group a long letter in which the latter were denounced in vicious language and then warned not to misbehave on pain of having action against them.

The letter sent by the United Progressive Furriers to the Joint Council reads, in part, as follows: "We regret very much that you have rejected our proposal for an impartial committee of the Labor Movement to examine the charges and counter-charges and to let the committee pass judgement. Instead, you have chosen to appear as the accuser and the judge. . . .

Charges Against Council
"We accused the administration of squandering the Union treasury. We accused the administration of carrying through a dishonest election, of using fascist methods in time of elections, of making a secret supplementary agreement with the bosses. . . .

"During the strike you placed the most inexperienced people in the leadership of the strike halls just because they were good followers of your political party lines. You . . . made the workers lose faith in the ability of your leadership to win better conditions and if anyone was guilty of strikebreaking activity it was you, the leaders of the last general strike. But in order to cover up your deeds, in order to confuse the issue you are now trying your utmost to build up a case against us. But, although you rehearsed your acts you don't dare put on a show. You handed down your decision to us in the dark. . . .

Squander Money
"You collected three days' wages from over 12,000 fur workers, a sum that is far over \$300,000; you even put a special committee in charge of that money. Yet, before the strike was declared, two-thirds of the money was gone and when the strike was on you starved the furriers out, and borrowed an additional \$100,000, adding another burden on the shoulders of the fur workers. While you kept on denouncing everyone as an enemy of the union who dared ask a few cents more benefit, you paid out to your hand-picked committee men from nine to fifteen dollars a week. To cover up all these squanderings you are trying to divert the attention of the fur workers from you to the opposition. . . .

Cannot Deceive Members
"Your letter to us expresses concern that our group may be degenerating into an unprincipled clique that may become a tool of the bosses. You need shed no tears about that, as the history of our fight against you shows distinctly that it is precisely because of your class collaborationist policies, your bureaucratic methods and your disregard for the needs of the workers that we are fighting against you. . . .

"We were not tried and we were not found guilty. It was you who exposed yourselves as the party guilty of disruption and factionalism. We therefore disregard the circus which you call a trial. You may be able to pull the wool over the eyes of your close followers, but you can never do that to the membership at large. . . . You are a bureaucratic machine which functions with the blessing of the Communist Party.

CURRENT PAMPHLETS
America's Permanent Depression—Art Preis—3c
People's Front—James Burnham—15c
Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain—Felix Morrow—50c
Declaration of Principles—S.W.P.—10c
What Is Socialism—Albert Goldman—10c
Stalinism, and Bolshevism—Leon Trotsky—10c
Fascism, and the American Scene—Dwight Macdonald—10c
Combination—all seven for \$1
LABOR BOOK SHOP
28 East 12th Street, N.Y.C.
Open 10 A.M.—8 P.M.

Judge Issues Injunction Against Chi. News Guild

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO, Feb. 8—The strike of all white collar departments of the Chicago Herald and Examiner is now in its tenth week. In an effort to break the strike the Hearst management is supplementing its appeal to the courts by vicious gangsterism.

Superior Court Judge Niemeyer has issued a temporary injunction forbidding the Chicago Newspaper Guild, which is conducting the strike, from interfering with relations between advertisers and the Hearst papers, from picketing advertisers, and from interfering with the distribution of the papers. The injunction limits the number of pickets at the Hearst plant to two.

Continuing the gangsterism against the union which has marked the strike from the beginning with sluggings of union men, a union truck was hijacked from its garage and dumped in the river.

In addition, the Hearstings broke the race issue "wide open" when they induced the Medina Club to cancel its lease to the Guild for a strike benefit dance on the grounds there would be Negroes present.

The strike on the Chicago Herald and Examiner was the outcome of a series of firings of union men and the refusal of the management to meet with the Guild to discuss a contract covering the commercial employees. The Hearst management deliberately forced the strike at a time when its contract with the union for the editorial department was near expiration.

The Guildsmen have had considerable success in appealing to the public. As a result, advertisers have withdrawn their business from the paper, and the home circulation system of the paper, organized at considerable cost, has completely collapsed.

STALINISTS WOO BOSS DOMINATED OIL FILLERS ASS'N

Provokes AFL-CIO Jurisdiction Fight

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS—The Stalinist-controlled C.I.O. International Oil Workers Union of Minneapolis this week resumed its strikebreaking onslaught against the A.F.L. Filling Station Attendants Union, Local 977, when it met with station lessees, organized into the Retail Gasoline Dealers Association, to consider affiliating the organization to the C.I.O. union. The association is under the domination of the big oil companies.

The proposal of the C.I.O. union is directed against the local trade union movement, whose spearhead is the Drivers Union Local 544, and the Teamsters Joint Council. The latter two organizations helped organize Local 977 when the majority of station attendants revolted from the antics of the Communist Party people in their union.

Local 977 brands this move of the Stalinists as one calculated to place the lessees in the middle of the fight between the A.F.L. and C.I.O. oil workers unions. It has been pointed out that it is precisely where the Stalinists have managed to secure control of a union that the C.I.O. and A.F.L. engage in jurisdictional strife.

Stris Faction Fight
Cited as an example of C.I.O.-A.F.L. cooperation is the joint battle these two groups are waging against the Mid-Continent Petroleum Company in Tulsa, where the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the C.I.O. International Oil Workers Union are giving this labor-hating outfit the battle of its life.

In Minneapolis, however, the commissars who direct the C.I.O. locally are forcing the I.O.W.U. into a jurisdictional battle with Local 977. These misleaders have demonstrated beyond a doubt that they are the organizers only of defeats for the workers. In debacle after debacle they have led their blind followers into one pitfall after another. This move to place the lessees into the C.I.O. union, will only furnish the bosses with another means to fight the A.F.L. unions of this city.

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Neatly Bound in Black and Red Covering
PRICE (incl. postage) \$3.00

Wilson - Jones Co. Tied Up By Office Goods Union Strike

Loose-Leaf Workers In Two Cities Out Solid

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO—Ending its 5th week Monday in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Tuesday in Chicago, Illinois, the strike of the United Loose Leaf & Blank Book Workers, C.I.O. Local Industrial Union No. 148, continues strong against the Wilson-Jones Company, manufacturers of office supplies.

The strike was called to secure the reinstatement of two Elizabeth workers, Frank Bailey and Hurley Middleton, leading unionists, discharged after being framed and assaulted by company foremen and stooges at a company-sponsored Christmas Eve party.

By taking militant action against the company instead of submitting the cases to arbitration, the most outstanding result has been the gain of over 100 new members for the union in Chicago alone, including persons who scabbed in 1937 when the workers struck to establish their union.

Over 1,000 Involved

Over 1,000 workers are involved in the struggle, with about 800 of them in Chicago alone. The Chicago plant is so completely tied up that production can be noted as almost absolute zero. The fight is harder in Elizabeth, but with A.F.L.-C.I.O. solidarity in action, the outcome is not in doubt. The A.F.L. teamsters are not delivering goods to, nor transporting goods from, the branch plant there. When the Elizabeth workers established a picket line around the company's New York City sales office, Local No. 6, International Typographical Union (A.F.L.) members also walked the line. The A.F.L. printers, working in the Elizabeth plant, are striking in solidarity.

Local 148 won a 7-week struggle with the Wilson-Jones Company in the spring of 1937, and in 1938 traded a closed shop provision in its agreement for a contract covering the workers in the Elizabeth, New Jersey, branch plant.

Brewery Union Success Points to Martel Ouster

(Continued from Page 1)

County Federation of Labor to do likewise. Martel had the telegram in his possession but suppressed a reading of it at the last meeting of the central labor body. The teamsters were present in a body and when Martel's secretary announced that there would be no further discussion on the teamsters dispute until further word was heard from the Executive Council, every drivers' delegate left the meeting. That practically emptied the hall.

Won't Take A Cut

This is the first time in Detroit labor history that any group in the American Federation of Labor as powerful as the teamsters un-

ion has effectively challenged Martel's phoney practices. When the final decision arrives from the Executive Council, the central labor body will be obliged to repudiate his arbitration decision—which will leave "X-X" high and dry.

The brewery drivers organized in the teamsters union will live up to the contract signed by Local 38, with committees of Local 271 the de facto bargaining agents. And when the agreement comes up for revision within the next month, the brewery drivers will have adequate guarantees that their union will not take the \$6-18 wage cut offered by brewery union officials to the brewery bosses.

PUERTO RICAN BOSSES SPIKE WAGE-HOUR ACT

Gov't Sabotages As Labor Conditions Worsen

SAN JUAN, P. R.—The U. S. administration is none too subtly sabotaging its own Wages and Hours Bill in Puerto Rico. On the island we have the spectacle of an Administrator appointed by the government to enforce the act, but hampered in all his efforts by that very government. Employers are being advised by government officials to pay no attention to the act. If Washington backed Administrator Claiborne, something might be accomplished in spite of the powerful forces in Puerto Rico working to make the law a dead letter, but Washington has strongly hinted to the Administrator that it prefers him to do nothing. He has even been refused means of transportation around the island.

Boss Protests Work

The protests of the industrialists to Washington, particularly of those in the needlework industry, have evidently had their effect. No sooner was the Wages and Hours Bill passed than the needlework employers began to bring pressure for the exemption of those in the needlework industry, have evidently had their effect. No sooner was the Wages and Hours Bill passed than the needlework employers began to bring pressure for the exemption

of the Island from the act, declaring enforcement would kill the industry, which is dependent for its profits on sweated labor.

To employers who paid the great majority of their workers less than 5 cents an hour in 1936-37, a wage of 25 cents an hour naturally seems preposterous. Employers in other industries are no less opposed to the act, for the average hourly wage of all Puerto Rican labor in 1936-37 was between 13 and 14 cents.

Labor Situation Worsen

But the employers are not the only ones determined to kill the Wages and Hours Bill in the Island. Even the "Socialists"—so misnamed—and the chicken-hearted Federation of Labor which they control are doing their utmost against it. The only important force in the Island that is actively supporting the Wages and Hours Bill is the C.I.O.

The situation of Puerto Rican labor is black in other respects. The reduction in the sugar quota the Island is permitted to export to the United States, together with concessions to Cuban sugar, will badly hit the largest industry of all. Tobacco has already gone the way of citrus fruits and coffee, in which a thriving trade was once done but which are now negligible. Soon many more will be thrown out of work with the restrictions on sugar production.

Again the C.I.O. is alone in preparing to meet this contingency. The C.I.O. has a marvelous opportunity to capitalize on the unpopularity of the Federation of Labor in the face of the growing unemployment and mass misery.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

BY EMANUEL GARRETT

BILL HAYWOOD

(Feb. 4, 1869—May 18, 1928)

Big Bill Haywood described his family background as "so American that if traced back it would probably run to the Puritan bigots or the cavalier pirates. Neither would give me reason for pride."

Bill's pride lay rather in that by heritage and life-long activity he was a member of the working class. From the age of nine up, Bill worked—as miner, as cowboy, and above all as labor militant. In 1896, he joined the Western Federation of Miners, becoming a charter member of the Silver City Local. Aggressive, incorruptibly anti-boss, he quickly rose to a position of leadership. The Denver convention of the union in 1901 elected him secretary-treasurer of the union.

Wrote Many Pages of Labor's History

Bill's towering figure (he was as large in body as he was unyielding in his devotion to the cause of the working-class) is associated with many stirring pages of labor history. Many are the names of labor's great leaders whose work is linked with his—Eugene V. Debs, Vincent St. John, and others.

The Telluride strike, in which the union challenged the Guggenheim interests and after many months marked by violence against the strikers, under the "protection" of martial-law, won its demands for an eight-hour day and wage increases; the long campaign in Colorado for an eight-hour day in which the courts, the Rockefeller and other mine barons combined to persecute the union-men with floggings, jailings, "deportation or death;" the Lawrence strike which drew into its many months of activity, and finally victory, dozens of the best strike organizers, including Elizabeth Curley Flynn, Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti—in all these, and others, Bill played his part.

When the Industrial Workers of the World was founded Bill sat in the chair. He continued a member of the I.W.W., even after the Western Federation of Miners, moving away from the militancy on which it was founded, left the I.W.W.

Bill had also joined the Socialist Party. In 1907, while in prison, he was nominated for governor of Colorado by the S. P., and polled 16,000 votes. In 1912, the Socialist Party, which could no more abide revolutionists in its midst than he, expelled him from its National Executive Board for "advocating violence."

The Bosses Were Always Out to Get Him

Bill was ever a target for the bosses and their police. They were always out to get him. In 1908, the bosses saw their opportunity. An ex-governor of Idaho had been murdered in December 1905. Haywood, Charles H. Moyer, president of the Federation, and G. A. Pettibone were arrested for the crime on the testimony of a

paid provocateur, Harry Orchard, who implicated the three.

The trial began in May 1907. Borah was attorney for the prosecution, Darrow for the defense. Unions all over the country contributed to the defense. Meetings protested the arrest, and demanded acquittal. There were witnesses everywhere to prove Orchard a liar. The jury brought in a verdict of "Not guilty!"

During the war, the drive against labor militants was particularly vicious. Union offices were everywhere raided. Workers were jailed. On April 1, 1918 there began the biggest of the anti-labor trials in the United States with Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis presiding. Haywood and 94 other "Wobblies" were charged with sedition. The defendants and their lawyers challenged the entire boss system. Bill called the six month trial "a protracted propaganda meeting."

Defense witnesses testified to the horrors to which labor militants had been subjected—the massacre of Frank Little, the lynching and torturing of workers by mobs of business men. The jury, in the hysteria of war-time democracy decided, after being out one hour, the defendants were "Guilty, as charged in the indictment."

Haywood was sentenced to twenty years, and fined \$30,000. On July 28, 1919 Haywood was released from jail, pending his application for a new trial. Bill immediately plunged into the work of the movement—touring the country, raising money for his imprisoned comrades.

In the meantime the split in the Socialist Party between the left and the right was maturing. When it came to a head in September 1919, Bill went with the left and became a member of the Communist Party soon after it was organized.

In the Soviet Land of Freedom

His application for a new trial was denied. Haywood decided to leave the country in disguise. "Saluting the old hag with her uplifted torch, I said: 'Good-by, you've had your back turned on me too long. I am now going to the land of freedom!'"

The Russian workers greeted him enthusiastically. Bill, arriving in the early years of the Russian Revolution, felt himself a part of the great edifice the workers there were trying to build. In the film, "Tsar to Lenin," you can see him standing shoulder to shoulder with Russian workers, smiling, at the second congress of the Communist International. In 1928, disheartened by the Stalinist bureaucracy which he saw growing around him, he died of a paralytic stroke.

A newspaperman tells the story that before Bill left, he met Bill smoking an expensive cigar. How, asked the news reporter, can you, a leader of the proletariat, smoke a rich man's cigar? "Nothing," answered Bill, is too good for the proletariat." Big Bill Haywood lived his life in that conviction: Nothing is too good for the proletariat!

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

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

The Auto Union Crisis

The present crisis in the Automobile Workers Union demonstrates once again that Stalinism is a rotten cancer that eats away at the vitals of the labor movement. Either all honest union men will join ranks and destroy Stalinism or Stalinism will destroy the labor movement. There is no third road.

This is lesson No. 1 for all union progressives. Once they have grasped this, they will know how to organize the broadest anti-Stalinist group of all genuine militants to fight for the honesty and integrity of the union movement.

For two years, Martin and his supporters have attempted to fight the Stalinists, not as union militants, but as reactionary union politicians. If the Stalinists were dictatorial, Martin fought them by his own dictatorship. If the Stalinists signed rotten union agreements with the employers, Martin fought them by signing equally rotten union agreements.

With what results? Martin made the auto workers easy game for the demagoguery and slander campaigns of the Communist party and finally succeeded in pushing the most progressive sections of the union into the arms of the Stalinist-controlled Executive Board.

Last year Martin had every opportunity of rallying the majority of the membership behind him and beating the Stalinists hands down. But by his dictatorial methods, his rotten relations with the corporations, his campaigns against "unauthorized" strikes, his incompetency and discredited reactionary co-workers, he turned the rank and file against him and missed his opportunity.

The struggle of the last year demonstrates one thing if it demonstrates anything at all: You can fight Stalinism successfully only in one way—By daily preaching and practicing a militant and democratic brand of unionism. Neither Martin, nor the pitiful Lovestoneite politicians have ever understood this. Their futile reactionary campaign has only succeeded in building and expanding the Stalinist strength for the last year.

Lacking the support of the decisive sections of the membership, Martin was inexorably forced into his suicidal step of breaking with the C.I.O. and calling his own anti-C.I.O. convention in Detroit. Martin is now definitely headed towards an alliance with the reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L. Executive Council and an attempted deal with the Michigan automobile manufacturers. The automobile workers cannot and will not follow Martin on this road.

In spite of the top bureaucracy of Lewis, Hillman and Murray, the C.I.O. still represents the industrial union movement of America and therefore the most progressive section of American labor. The automobile workers must remain part of the C.I.O.

It is therefore the obvious duty of all progressives of the U.A.W. to attend the Cleveland Convention and to reorganize the ranks of the progressive for a new fight against the Stalinist cancer—not by lining up with discredited reactionaries, nor by preaching "respectability," but by an educational campaign for a responsible and aggressive union-building program which will command the support of the rank and file and rebuild the auto workers' union.

Let Us Rejoice!

While Congress and the President quibble over the exact depth to which relief appropriations can be lowered without creating "internal disturbances"—the needs of the unemployed naturally are of no concern to these gentlemen—the unemployed can rejoice and find comfort in the fact that profits continue with a merry tinkling ring to lift the dollar sign in the cash registers of the wealthy.

The United Fruit Company, only one of the many pirate enterprises operating in the Caribbean Sea, reports to its shareholders that the take for last year was not less than ten and a quarter million dollars, and that each share of common stock in the family vault of its owner gathered not only dust but the

not insignificant sum of \$3.54 the year's idleness. This, of course, does not take into consideration the take on treasury stock nor such other transactions in the company books as do not rise to the level of "fit for publication."

Both the abysmally paid Latin-American workers who sweat out these good round profits under the rifles of company-supported dictators and their brothers in the United States whose relief allowances are now being slashed far below the starvation level, will be overjoyed at the good news of United Fruit's superprofits. Once again they will wonder comfortably with the lucky shareholders as this \$10,272,746 take is distributed: How can you want a revolution in a country as rich as the United States?

Twelve Dictators

The opening barrage of high explosives in the coming war will shatter first of all England's last remaining pretense to democracy.

This is not just a revolutionary apothegm on the nature of capitalist democracy from one of the many articles in the Fourth International press warning the workers that war is an inevitable part of capitalist democracy, but a cold, deliberate pronouncement from one of the official government spokesmen of one of the world's greatest democracies.

Sir John Anderson, Minister for Civilian Defense, told the House of Commons in session on February 2nd that "democratic" England will convert itself into an open dictatorship second to none immediately upon the declaration of an "emergency" condition by the present government.

England, Scotland, and Wales will be divided into twelve regions and over these twelve regions twelve dictators will rule, each with a power over his region as absolute, arbitrary, and authoritarian as that wielded at any time during the bloody careers of Mussolini and Hitler.

Most of these dictators will be APPOINTED by next month. They will be ready at instant notice to replace the entire "democratic" process, all the "democratic" representatives of the people, and every one of the "democratic" institutions. This is of course quite understandable. Precisely so long as the danger to their existence is not great, the capitalist owners permit the workers to choose which capitalist agent shall rule them. To the exact degree that danger to their domination nears, the capitalists abrogate that democracy, and under war conditions they rip democracy away from the naked reality of their dictatorship like a fouled garment from a hideous body.

This was true during the last world war. Now democratic England's rulers have affirmed that it will be true in the next world war. England's rulers have no illusions. They are preparing for the coming slaughter like any other professional butcher.

All the venal slush about the "democratic" nations lining up against the "fascist" dictatorships is just that—VENAL SLUSH.

In the coming war there will be no capitalist "democracies" to defend against capitalist dictatorships. All the workers of the capitalist democracies will suffer under a yoke as rigid and bitter as that under which the workers of Italy and Germany are now bleeding. The choice between the concentration camps of the fascist nations and the concentration camps of democratic England, of democratic France, and—yes!—of democratic America will be the choice between a long hangman's rope and a short one.

Twelve dictators over democratic England! The enemy is not across the national boundary lines. The enemy is at home!

Can Spain Still Fight?

We agree 100% with the following estimate of the possibilities for continued struggle in Central Spain:

"The position of the Central Zone for resistance is strategically good. The army numbers around 500,000, the population is around 8,000,000 and the territory is protected by natural defenses in the mountain ranges of Nevada, Morcena and Guadarrama.

"... By adapting their forces to the new situation the Loyalists can resist..."

Yes, we agree to this estimate, appearing in the Feb. 8 issue of the *Daily Worker*. These facts damn the Peoples Front government, Negrin, Azana, General Miaja, etc., who instead of resisting are capitulating to Franco. These facts damn, above all, Stalin and the Spanish Stalinist machine, who were primarily responsible for putting the Spanish masses into the hands of the traitors who are abandoning the struggle.

When, tomorrow, the *Daily Worker* tries to find an alibi for these traitors, justifying their failure to continue the struggle, remember its own estimate of the possibilities in Central Spain.

Dr. Benes Comes To Town

Dr. Eduard Benes, former President of Czechoslovakia, has come to town and immediately hailed the United States as "democracy's last great and truly powerful bulwark."

Not so long ago he hailed the regime he headed in Czechoslovakia as another great and truly powerful bulwark of democracy.

Somehow, the bulwark didn't seem to hold up very well when it was given a stiff blow from Fascism on the outside and its Czech lickspittles on the inside. The other great democratic bulwarks, France and England, which Benes served so faithfully and lauded as fulsomely as he now praises the United States, didn't seem to hold up very stoutly either. So Dr. Benes decided that the "democratic institutions" of Czechoslovakia were either not worth fighting for, or else beyond saving. Anyway, he abdicated and took the next boat-train West.

Now he is headed for the University of Chicago, to lecture on democracy, democratic institutions, and how to keep them going. We can't imagine anyone better qualified by experience and record for such a job. By the same token, we suggest that the University invite the leader of Tammany Hall to lecture on "Civic Virtue and How to Preserve It."

By Leon Trotsky

For Grynspan:
Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels

It is clear to anyone even slightly acquainted with political history that the policy of the Fascist gangsters directly and sometimes deliberately provokes terrorist acts. What is most astonishing is that so far there has been only one Grynspan. Undoubtedly the number of such acts will increase. We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road. Our sympathy becomes intensified because Grynspan is not a political militant but an inexperienced youth, almost a boy, whose only counselor was a feeling of indignation. To tear Grynspan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head to further serve capitalist diplomacy, is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class!

The Stalinist Campaign

All the more revolting in its police stupidity and inexpressible violence is the campaign now being conducted against Grynspan by command of the Kremlin in the international Stalinist press. They attempt to depict him as an agent of the Nazis or an agent of Trotskyists in alliance with the Nazis. Lumping into one heap the provocateur and his victim, the Stalinists ascribe to Grynspan the intention of creating a favorable pretext for Hitler's pogrom measures. What can one

say of these venal "journalists" who no longer have any vestiges of shame? Since the beginning of the socialist movement the bourgeoisie has at all times attributed all violent demonstrations of indignation, particularly terrorist acts, to the degenerating influence of Marxism. The Stalinists have inherited, here as elsewhere, the filthiest tradition of reaction. The Fourth International may, justifiably, be proud that the reactionary scum, including the Stalinists, now automatically links with the Fourth International every bold action and protest, every indignant outburst, every blow at the executioners. It was so, similarly, with the International of Marx in its time. We are bound, naturally, by ties of open moral solidarity to Grynspan and not to his "democratic" jailers, or the Stalinist slanderers, who need Grynspan's corpse to prop up, even if only partially and indirectly, the verdicts of Moscow justice. Kremlin diplomacy, degenerated to its narrow, attempts at the same time to utilize this "happy" incident to renew their machinations for an international agreement among various governments, including that of Hitler and Mussolini, for a mutual extradition of terrorists. Beware, masters of fraud! The application of such a law will necessitate the immediate deliverance of Stalin to at least a dozen foreign governments.

The Stalinists shriek in the ears of the police that Grynspan attended "meetings of Trotskyites." That, unfortunately, is not true. For had he walked into the milieu of the Fourth International he would have discovered a different and more effective outlet for his revolutionary energy. People come cheap who are capable only of fulminating against injustice

and bestiality. But those who, like Grynspan, are able to act as well as conceive, sacrificing their own lives if need be, are the precious leaven of mankind.

Seek Another Road!

In the moral sense, although not for his mode of action, Grynspan may serve as an example for every young revolutionist. Our open moral solidarity with Grynspan gives us an added right to say to all the other would-be Grynspans, to all those capable of self-sacrifice in the struggle against despotism and bestiality: **Seek another road!** Not the lone avenger can free the oppressed but only a great revolutionary movement of the masses which will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution. The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance wholly justifiable. But so monstrous is the scope of their crimes, that this yearning cannot be satisfied by the assassination of isolated fascist bureaucrats. For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society. Only the overthrow of all forms of slavery, only the complete destruction of fascism, only the people sitting in merciless judgment over the contemporary bandits and gangsters can provide real satisfaction to the indignation of the people. This is precisely the task that the Fourth International has set itself. It will cleanse the labor movement of the plague of Stalinism. It will rally in its ranks the heroic generation of the youth. It will cut a path to a worthier and a more humane future.

Negrin, Azana and Company
Dicker for Capitulation Terms

(Continued from Page 1)

press (*Daily Worker*, Feb. 8) admits that Negrin made the offer. The sole point of dickering now is over the hides of the Popular Front leaders.

All Avenues Closed

If Franco finally refuses to permit the Popular Front leaders in central Spain to leave under safe-conduct, it can hardly be expected that the Loyalist troops will conduct a struggle to the death merely for the sake of getting passports for the leaders. Actually, therefore, the Loyalist government leaders have left themselves no way in which to continue the struggle, even if they actually decided to renew the fight.

The psychological moment for a declaration for continuation of the struggle was offered to Premier Negrin when Azana arrived in France on Monday and announced he wanted peace immediately. But Azana's open treachery met with not a word of comment from Negrin! Although he had been profuse with promises, immediately broken, of making a stand in Barcelona, Gerona, Figueras, etc., Negrin kept silent once Azana made his declaration. Azana's associates insisted that he had left Spain on the basis of a "complete agreement" with Negrin.

Supplies Abandoned

Press reports from the frontier that hundreds of truckloads of war materials were drawn up at the customs barricade, gave the lie to Negrin government alibis that the abandonment of Catalonia was necessitated by the exhaustion of all munitions.

The precipitate abandonment of Catalonia without any attempt to make a stand, either at Barcelona



Juan Negrin

units arriving at the frontier, as well as the truck-trains of munitions accompanying them, are certainly evidence bearing out Matthews' report of the conclusion reached by French military circles.

Stalinist Alibis

The Stalinists, part of the government and the general staff and therefore desperately seeking to provide an alibi, have resorted to numerous ludicrous explanations. That provided by Harry Gannes in the *Daily Worker* of Feb. 7 achieves a new record in invention. Gannes declares:

"The spurious talk of surrender to fascism comes from the dives of the Munich traitors in London and Paris. ... Even after the fall of Barcelona, the Loyalist government proved its determination to resist. Despite the gruelling battles, the Loyalist Army reformed its lines numerous times. Despite exhaustion and cruel lack of arms, they kept up the fight to the last shot and to the last inch."

What battles? There was none at Barcelona, or thereafter. No attempt was made to defend Barcelona, which was not even subjected to a siege. No attempt was made to defend the rest of Catalonia. The "last shot" was never fired, and the "last inch"—the last hundreds of miles of inches—was surrendered intact. Gannes simply lies to befuddle the anxious and heart-broken readers of the *Daily Worker*.

The International Brigade

The official Spanish News Agency presented an alibi which included the following, published by the *Daily Worker* on Feb. 7: "The Army of the Ebro was greatly weakened by the withdrawal of the International Brigades, which were replaced by young recruits." That the brigades were withdrawn by the government, with the approval of the Stalinists, in the hope of thereby showing Loyalist subservience to France and England and thus securing outside munitions, which of course were never forthcoming—of this the *Daily Worker* says nothing! That the Loyalist general staff

simply abandoned Catalonia is clear enough. It is important, however, to point out the reason they did so.

The fact is that at no time during the civil war have the government leaders ever made a strong stand in defense of an industrial city or area. The industrial cities of the north—Bilbao, Gijon, Santander—were never besieged by the fascists; as soon as they approached, the cities were surrendered intact to them in 1937. The same thing has now happened in Catalonia.

Saving Their Property

The bourgeois leaders of the Loyalist government and general staff, infinitely more loyal to capitalist property than to the fight against fascism, preferred to surrender their property intact to Franco, with a prospect of eventual reconciliation with him, rather than to carry on a death struggle involving destruction of their property.

Rather than submit their property to aerial and artillery bombardment, the Peoples Front lead-



Manuel Azana

ers abandoned Barcelona and the adjacent industrial towns—the industrial heart of Spain—to the fascists.

Now, with Azana racing in the lead and the others trying to keep up with him, they are rushing to show Franco that they deserve at his hands restitution of their private property. Haven't they shot workers and peasants who dared to socialize property? Didn't they fill the cemeteries and prisons with revolutionists?

In the final act, the French and British governments—"the great democracies" whose favor the Stalinists, Socialists and anarchists sought to curry by crushing the revolutionary wing—sent their emissaries to Franco to offer him attractive loans, without waiting for Negrin & Co. to conclude their surrender. As in Czechoslovakia, the Peoples' Front government puppets are cast aside, despite all their servile treachery.

IN THIS
CORNER

By Max Shachtman

Not as widely noticed as he should have been, a distinguished visitor has arrived in the United States, on an important mission. He is the once powerful editor of the Berlin *Vorwarts*, central daily paper of the German social democracy—Mr. Friedrich Stampfer. In exile with the rest of the party leadership, he has been from its inception editor of the emigre party weekly, *Neue Vorwarts*.

You would think that after the ignominious capitulation to which they brought the German working class in 1933, the best thing for the social-democratic leaders would be to retire from the labor movement and politics and hope that if they could not be forgiven they would at least be forgotten. But the old and now army-less bureaucracy lingers on. It is equipped with a generous supply of funds which it thoughtfully took along into exile. It is as vociferous and active as if nothing awfully serious had happened. And it is just as rotten as ever.

They Would Fight...
If They Were Not So Old

Rudely deprived of their old "fatherland" by Hitler, the social-democratic leaders have nonchalantly hired themselves out to other capitalist nations. They have changed national flags, but not their nature. They were good patriots under the Kaiser and behind the lines they fought like tigers in the great war to defend German Democracy from the Russian Cossack. Now they are ready to join in the new war to defend Democracy from the German Nazi.

To be sure, most of them being elderly ladies and gentlemen, they would probably have to repeat what Henry Hyndman, the English social democrat, said during the last war: "If I were not 72 years old I would go out and fight myself." But thank God they do have enough strength left with which to exhort the more able-bodied conscripts of imperialism to fight to the death in the coming war.

If the joints of some of them are properly lubricated by a little Democratic money—not much; they are modest folk—their strength is as the strength of ten, and their zeal even greater. There is the case of Max Braun, exiled leader of the Saarland social democracy, who was exposed last year by the German socialist Max Sievers. Together with two bourgeois emigrants, Braun approached the French government for financial aid to his paper and "movement" in return for a promise to impress upon the exiled German youth the desirability of joining the French army.

One, At Least, Found His
Sympathies Profitable

Another great lover of the "new fatherlands" is Albert Grzesinski, former socialist police president of Berlin, now in the United States, where he has just published a book on Germany. According to the same Sievers, Grzesinski found while he was in Paris that the secret supplying of arms to the Loyalists in the Spanish War for Democracy was a highly profitable enterprise, at least until the scandal became widely enough known to make a sea voyage desirable.

Most of the German S.P. leaders, however, seek no personal gain in the business of promoting a new War for Democracy. They are moved only by the loftiest of motives. They want, you see, to free prostrate Germany from the heel of fascism.

When they had a magnificent opportunity, at the head of an army of millions of free, organized workers, to prevent Hitler from coming to power, they demonstrated their complete bankruptcy. They couldn't and didn't do the job of winning socialism. They couldn't even do the job of preserving capitalist democracy, or their very own conservative labor movement.

To make up for all that, they have developed the ingenious idea of asking the capitalist class to do the job at which they failed! What Weiss and Stampfer and Hilferding didn't do, they are asking Chamberlain and Daladier and Roosevelt—that is, the General Staffs of the English, French and American armies—to do for them. They wouldn't organize the German workers to smash fascism at the right time and bring liberty, peace and plenty to the land. Now these hopeless people hope to bring liberty to Germany on the point of foreign imperialist bayonets!

Stampfer Comes Here
To Try His Luck

It is this kind of a holy crusade, another "War for Democracy," that is preached every week in the *New Leader* by the emigrated social-democratic Reichstag member, Mme. Tony Sender. Another former member, Gerhard Segers, does his stint in the columns of his *Neue Volkszeitung*.

When France and England failed to launch a war against Germany a few months ago, during the Munich days, Mr. Stampfer's *Neue Vorwarts* was positively purple with rage and indignation at this outrageous betrayal of its fondest hopes.

Now Mr. Stampfer has come to the United States to try his luck here. Rabid war-monger and provider of socialist cannon-fodder to his Royal and Imperial Majesty Wilhelm II from 1914 to 1918, he is ready to act now in the same capacity for the Democratic Trinity. He wants, he indicates in his first interview, to see the United States "supporting Europe's democratic nations." He boasts of a considerable force behind him in Germany, ready to overthrow Hitlerism from within. No doubt he will generously offer to put this force at the disposal of the United Democracies to help them win the sacred war of Justice, Decency and Humanity.

Whatever may be the reception he gets from the American ruling class whose notorious love for democracy he seeks to enlist, we hope the working class salutes him with the contempt that an imperialist recruiting-sergeant deserves.

Labor Looks Through
The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

The figure of Lenin which will top the palace of the Soviets, now under construction in Moscow, will be twice as high as the Statue of Liberty. The building will be taller than the present world's tallest building, the Empire State. The teachings of the grand old revolutionary, however, will continue to remain buried by the Soviet regime.

Eugene Lyons, author of "Assignment in Utopia," and new editor of the American Mercury, upon hearing a description of Doris Duke's palatial new mansion in Honolulu, sighs: "It's enough to make one a Trotskyite. I say this because in these days a person doesn't know what to be, as a protest." You can join Max Eastman in his contemplation of his navel, but we Trotskyites will continue to build the labor and revolutionary movements.

G-man Hoover (Public Fink Number 1), lays the blame squarely at the door of parental over-indulgence for one of the greatest factors in crime.