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FIGHT REPRESSIONS IN SPAIN

CIO Heads Meet A F L Over Unity

Warring Camps May Form One Big Union

CONSIDER CIO PLAN

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, March 9—The joint committee representing the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor, which was initiated at the request of President Roosevelt to consider the possibilities of peace between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., recessed yesterday, agreeing to meet in New York again Friday to continue discussions.

At the end of the White House conference last Tuesday, John L. Lewis, one of the C.I.O. members of the joint committee, handed the other representatives and President Roosevelt copies of a proposed plan to form a new organization, the American Congress of Labor, which would embrace both camps, and the independent Big Four railway brotherhoods.

The A.F. of L. promptly rejected the proposal, stating that it did not offer "any possible solution to the problems facing us. We are convinced it was not even designed for serious consideration."

Upon the following day, however, the A.F. of L. announced that it would consider the C.I.O. plan and "any other suggestions that may be laid before it."

F.D. Would Preside
The C.I.O. plan calls for special conventions of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. to pass upon and approve the plan for forming a new organization. A convention would then be called with delegates from the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. and the four brotherhoods in the railroad transportation field.

This convention, at which President Roosevelt would preside, would organize the American Congress of Labor designed to supersede and embrace the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. and to include the railroad unions.

Neither Wm. Green nor John L. Lewis would be eligible for office, the president being selected from the railroad brotherhoods. Wm. Green and Frank Morrison would receive a life long pension at their present salaries.

The plan calls for equal representation from the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. with proportionate representation from the Brotherhoods, which would give these conservative organizations the balance of power. For a year after the new organization was formed the Department of Labor and its conciliation bureau would mediate all controversial questions affecting overlapping jurisdiction among the member unions.

Tobin Attends
Following the White House conference, Daniel J. Tobin of the teamsters, who has been a strong advocate of unity between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., agreed to reconsider his resignation from the joint committee and attended the next meeting of the committee which discussed some of the issues with Secretary of Labor Perkins.

The A.F. of L. committee is composed of Harry C. Bates, president of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International, Matthew Wolf, A.F. of L. vice-president, and Thomas A. Rickert, president of the United Garment Workers Union. Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters made a fourth member.

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The Gravedigger of the Revolution



Roosevelt Attacks Referendum on War

Gallup Poll Shows Boss Gov't Does Not Represent Will of People

In brutal disregard of overwhelming popular sentiment, the administration war-mongers, headed by President Roosevelt, continued this week to lash out against the new proposal for a constitutional amendment to require a nation-wide referendum before the United States should enter a war overseas.

On Wednesday, the American Institute of Public Opinion (the "Gallup poll") released the results of its latest survey on the question of the war referendum. These showed the decisive majority of 58% in favor of the referendum. Significantly enough, the most frequent reason given for supporting the referendum was, according to the release, that "the politicians should consult the people, because the people have to do the fighting."

Indicates Distrust
The present Gallup majority of 58% is a considerable drop from the really tremendous majorities (ranging up to 71%) shown in previous surveys; but when it is kept in mind that during the past two years an almost unprecedented campaign against the referendum has been conducted by the administration and by the entire press of the country, and that the leading supporters of the referendum have replied in the most feeble and weak-kneed fashion, the 58% figure is a remarkable expression of the distrust felt by the people toward the Roosevelt war plans.

Gov't Is Enemy of People
In a press interview on Tuesday, Roosevelt, agreeing with Hull's earlier statement, tried to argue that the war referendum was in conflict with the "representative" form of government established by the Constitution.

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cannot possibly have any hesitation about laying its proposals before the people through a popular referendum.

The argument that a popular referendum is in conflict with a representative form of government is in reality a demonstration that what the existing government represents is not the will of the people, that on the contrary the government is the enemy of the great masses of the people and the representative of the banks and corporations which are demanding a war of imperialist aggression in order to lift their profits at the expense of the people.

Many Loopholes
The war referendum, as now proposed by the La Follette bloc in the Senate, is so filled with loopholes that it could not, of course, stop the war. Nevertheless, it offers some hindrance and obstacle, some chance for the masses to express their true opinion. The war-mongers are therefore out to smash it to bits because, in their headlong drive toward the war, they cannot endure the slightest brake on their plans.

POLICE GIVE NAZI PERSONAL GUARD

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK, N. Y., March 8 —A personal guard for Fritz Kuhn, fascist leader of the German-American Bund, has been established by LaGuardia police, Inspector Charles Mooney announced today.

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WOULD RESTORE VOUCHER SYSTEM FOR UNEMPLOYED

Tickets for Buying Food Is Latest Plan

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, D. C.—A new plan openly to brand all unemployed and relief workers as paupers was announced this week by the W.P.A. administration, the Department of Agriculture and other relief agencies.

If present arrangements are carried out, the plan will be tried out in six or seven cities beginning April 1.

The plan calls for the issuance of two different-colored stamps—blue and orange are mentioned—to W.P.A. workers and relief clients. These stamps would be used to purchase food in privately owned stores. Additional stamps would be issued for use in the Government Surplus Commodities Stores.

Second-Class Citizens
Only half of the workers' wages would be paid in cash. The tickets, of course, would mark the worker as a relief worker or relief client and many will recall the treatment given to such customers when home-relief vouchers were used in the early days of the relief administration. Inferior groceries, half-rotten fruit and vegetables, second grade eggs and butter were issued to workers who had only relief vouchers to offer for food.

Here is an example of how this plan would work:
W.P.A. worker Smith, who at present receives \$50 a month on a project would, under the new plan, receive \$30 cash and \$20 in orange stamps. These stamps are to be exchanged for food at any grocery store. He would also receive \$10 in blue stamps which he could exchange only for food at the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation—when there is a surplus.

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HAIL THE FIGHTERS OF MADRID!

AN EDITORIAL

The revolutionary workers and soldiers of Madrid fought this week with their backs against the wall.

Against overwhelming odds, abandoned by their own leaders and their own organizations, they fought with immeasurable courage against the agents of Fascism who sprang up behind them in the government they had been taught to regard as their own.

The boss press has tacked the label "Communist" to these heroes of Madrid but the men and women fighting today in Madrid are the workers and soldiers of all parties, Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, and non-party workers who would fight on to the death rather than accept the enslaving yoke of Fascism.

Now, as before, we salute them and pledge our undying solidarity!

Death rather than Fascist slavery! This is the heroic spirit that has characterized the Spanish masses throughout these bloody 32 months of civil war!

If they have been backed against the wall now, the responsibility lies with their cowardly and treacherous leaders who have known only how to lead them into a blind alley.

Gen. Jose Miaja, Casado and the other generals—only yesterday the "heroes" of the People's Front—seized power in Madrid, begged Franco for an "honorable peace" and turned their guns on the revolutionary workers and soldiers.

Premier Negrin, Del Vayo and all the other ministers fled back to France. With them went the leaders of the Communist Party, headed by La Pasionaria, who only a few days ago pledged to keep up the fight as long as there was an inch of soil left to defend. Since their arrival in France, La Pasionaria and the other Stalinist bureaucrats have crawled into their holes and have not even expressed solidarity with their abandoned comrades!

But the workers and peasants cannot run away. They cannot hide from the Fascist terror. Surrender means enslavement for all workers and certain death for all the militant fighters of all parties and all unions of the workers. For the workers it is a choice of slavery or the fight for freedom. The men making the magnificent stand in Madrid have made their choice clear. How worthier of better leaders are these heroic fighters!

This, then, is the tragic, final chapter of the People's Front—the organizer of defeats and new catastrophes for the working class. All the People's Front "heroes"—so loudly hailed by the Communist Party—have today either abandoned the fight or gone over to the other side, to the side of the Fascists.

And today the Communist Party whines that it has been "betrayed."

But who really are the betrayers? For two and a half years the People's Front in Spain has been carrying out the orders of French and British imperialism in the interests of their maneuvers against Italo-German imperialism. To make this possible the Stalinists crushed the magnificent revolutionary movement of the Spanish workers and peasants and yoked them to the generals and the capitalist politicians. Now Britain and France seek and demand liquidation of the civil war in Spain and with perfect consistency, Miaja, Casado, and the others are carrying out their orders.

No, the betrayers are those who said the People's Front would or could defeat Fascism. The betrayers are those who destroyed the mass movement and crushed the Spanish revolution and made it possible for the Fascists to sweep across the country and have now made it possible for the generals and politicians on the Loyalist side to seek salvation for their own skins by making a blood-sacrifice of the revolutionary soldiers and workers.

The Communist Party betrayed the masses of Spain by butchering the revolution. Now its own best militants are reaping the reward: they are being butchered on the streets of Madrid, Valencia, and half a dozen other cities in the remaining Loyalist zone.

In Shanghai 12 years ago—on the bloody day of April 12, 1927—Chiang Kai-shek played exactly the same role that Miaja is playing today in Madrid. He transformed himself overnight from the hero of the "People's Front" of that period into the brutal butcher of the working class. Like Miaja, he too took as his chief victims the same Communist militants who had been taught to follow him so blindly. And like those heroic Chinese workers, the revolutionary militants of Madrid fought back in a desperate, heroic rear-guard battle.

The People's Front—"weapon of the anti-Fascist struggle"—has broken like a reed once more in the hands of the workers. Now all the traitors and cowards and head-shakers want to say that their struggle, their sacrifice, their heroism, has been and is futile.

But the masses have displayed not futility but the most inspiring, most creative courage the world has ever seen! Their struggle has been again and again defeated because they have been misled by those who serve not the interests of the workers but the interests of the bosses, of the capitalist rulers of society.

The workers and soldiers in Madrid are proving again that their will to struggle, guided and molded by a revolutionary party that will unswervingly fight for a workers' revolution, can and will put an end to the dying capitalist system that threatens to engulf us all in war, misery, privation, and death.

We will fight Fascism by fighting capitalism and all its minions, not by compromising with them. This, in their hour of tragedy, the Spanish workers are once more teaching us. Let us prove that their struggle is not in vain!

Workers In Madrid Battle New Junta

Communist Party Leaders Abandon Fight At Critical Hour; Miaja Seeks Franco Favor Through Blood-Bath

WAGE HEROIC STRUGGLE

By FELIX MORROW

Battles in a dozen cities between the forces of the Madrid Defense Junta and troops opposed to surrender to Franco were still going on late Thursday night, in spite of two previous announcements by the Junta that it had succeeded in suppressing its opponents.

Labelled indiscriminately "Communists" by the Popular Front Junta, the resisting troops definitely included regiments never identified with Communist party leadership. Moreover, the fighting broke out Tuesday, whereas the top leadership of the Communist party and the Negrin cabinet had fled the country the previous day.

A Paris dispatch dated Tuesday to the Stalinist Daily Worker already reported that "More than 400 Loyalists, including many Communist leaders, escaped by plane and boat to Oran and other French North African ports."

Among the Stalinist chieftains who fled were La Pasionaria, vice-president of the Cortes; Vincente Uribe, Minister of Agriculture; Jesus Hernandez, Minister of Education; Col. Hidalgo de Cisneros, Negrin's air force chief; Gen. Juan Modesto, Col. Enrique Lister, Gen. Antonio Cordón, Garcia Antonio Compaz, Pereda Goiri, and Carlos Nunez Mazas.

With the main leadership of the Communist party out of the country before the outbreak of fighting on Tuesday, it is difficult to credit the Junta's claim that their opponents are exclusively "Communists."

Communist Leaders Defied
Moreover, such leaders as remain appear nowhere in the reports by name as active figures. On the contrary the United Press stated Thursday afternoon that "it was reported the Communists defied orders of their leaders to surrender and renewed the revolt."

SWP PICKET LINE FIGHTS FASCISTS IN LOS ANGELES

Cops Use Tear Gas To Guard Nazi Meeting

Ten persons were beaten and hundreds tear-gassed in a battle between anti-fascist pickets and police and fascists in Los Angeles Wednesday night, according to a special dispatch Thursday morning in La Voz, Spanish-language anti-fascist daily of New York.

Several hundred pickets, identified in the dispatch as members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the North American Committee, and the American League for Peace and Democracy, were demonstrating at the Wilshire Ebell theater where Alleen O'Brien, fascist "nurse" was propagandizing for Franco.

Fascist students from the Saint Ignatius of Loyola school, acting as "ushers" at the meeting, attacked the picket line but without success.

The police came to the rescue of the fascists, the reserves being called out. They attacked the picket line with clubs, following up with a tear-gas barrage. Pickets caught some of the bombs before they exploded and threw them back at the police, and two officers were injured, according to the La Voz dispatch.

One of the injured anti-fascists had been picketing, with a sign announcing that the bandages he wore were the result of one of Franco's bombing expeditions.

The fascist meeting was under (Continued on Page 2)

Furthermore, the Communist party press here, serviced by Communist cable service, gives no indication of accepting responsibility for leadership of the fight against the Junta. It describes the resistance as "spontaneously" developed.

Had the Communist party actually planned to resist the Junta's program of capitulation to Franco, it would have arranged, it seems reasonable to assume, for its leadership to remain in Spain, if necessary in hiding, instead of ignominiously fleeing to foreign soil.

Certainly the allegation of the Popular Front Junta that the resisting troops are fighting at the behest of the Negrin cabinet is nonsense, for Negrin himself has refused to support the opposition to the Junta.

Negrin "Reconciled"
In an interview while on the way from Toulouse to Paris on Tuesday, Dr. Negrin "expressed himself as reconciled to the failure of his long effort and hopeful that peace could now be made between the generals in charge of Spain." (N.Y. Times, Mar. 9)

Later attempts to get Negrin to declare himself proved unavailing. The most that was published was a statement by a person near Negrin "duly authorized" to speak. And this—published in the Daily Worker under the misleading heading, "Negrin alide gives facts behind Casado betrayal"—not only did not denounce the Junta in any way but made no bones about the fact that Negrin himself was seeking to make peace with Franco.

The Negrin ministers, it said, "were mainly concerned with one task—to save the lives of tens of thousands of their comrades, Republicans, Socialists and Communists, who would become victims of reprisals from Franco if peace were to be signed without guarantees."

In other words, the Negrin ministers did envision a peace without really binding guarantees of amnesty, and at most justified their course on the basis that they would precede the peace by evacuating from the country the Popular Front's leading elements.

It is clear, then, that this shade of difference—if there is even a shade—between the Negrin government and that of Miaja—can scarcely be the issue over which tens of thousands of troops are refusing to yield to the Junta.

Fighting Widespread
All of the Junta's claims to the contrary, the fighting is of major proportions. The Junta has had to bring a whole army corps into Madrid to attack the fighters in the working class district of Cuatro Caminos. Thursday afternoon, it was officially admitted that the "rebellion" was gaining ground in Ciudad Real, south of Toledo, and that Almeria had been captured by the "rebels."

Valencian troops of the Junta were preparing to defend the city against advancing "Communists." Communications between Madrid and Valencia had been cut. Pre- (Continued on Page 3)

LEFT —JABS

Buckets of Blood

The Academy of Medicine urged the French government to set aside reserves of human blood for transfusion operations in the event of war. Of course, of course, everything must be ready. Barrels of tin medals and gold stars, wooden crosses by the million, piles of crutches, lunatic asylums, schools for the blind, firing squads for those unwilling to die, and buckets of blood.

Infringe on Free Speech? Never!

Acting Secretary of the Navy, Charles Edison, submitted a Bill to Congress, which provides for a fine of \$1,000 or two years imprisonment for any person or persons "who advises, counsels, urges, or solicits soldiers or sailors to disobey orders of superiors or military and naval regulations or who publishes or distributes any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter or other writing containing such advice." Under this bill which Mr. Edison said was directed against Communists, the authorities would be authorized to seize subversive literature. Mr. Edison said: "It does not infringe upon the rights of free speech or free press." We thought, for a moment, that there was a slight infringement, but of course a government so devoted to the defense of democracy as ours is, would never think of infringing on any democratic right.

Maybe in King Arthur's Time

Major Atlee, leader of the British Labor Party, made, according to the N. Y. Times the following statement in the House of Commons: "There was a time when this country (he means Britain, mind you) was universally known as the friend of liberty and the freedom of peoples and as the enemy of tyrants." Now, Mr. Atlee, on behalf of myself, a couple of Irishmen, a Negro or two and a few Indians, will you please tell us when that time was?

Oil Workers, Attention!

Count Ludwig Salm has arthritis, expensive tastes and no money to speak of. So, he wants to draw \$30,000 a year out of the oil workers of America. You see, the Count married Milcent, daughter of H. H. Rogers of Standard Oil and begat a son, Peter, now fourteen years of age. Col. Rogers couldn't take it with him, so he left sixty million bucks of which \$32,500,000 went to his grandson Peter. Now the Count, divorced from Milcent, is badly in need of cash. Both he and his mother, "the aged Countess" (pardon these tears) are threatened with eviction from their home in Monte Carlo and all that he asks, is that he be given a paltry \$30,000 a year out of the millions which his son sucks out of the oil workers. It's a wise child that knows its own father, but young Peter seems to have the straight dope on the Count, and he says to dear pappa "Scram, I never want to see you again." If the workers of America would only learn from that fourteen year old brat how to deal with all their parasites... No, no, no, that wouldn't help Roosevelt and Hopkins and Browder "restore confidence to business" and as everyone knows that's what all progressive minded people must do to-day if we are to keep Fascism and Reaction away from our door.

A Letter a Day

Writing to your Congressman is the favorite indoor sport of the Communist party. Circulating petitions, their chief outside activity. One correspondent to the Daily Worker raises the slogan "A letter a day keeps reaction away." On Feb. 28 another, Sam Latner, complains, "I have frequently come home from work, had some spare time and wondered whether I ought not to write certain letters that ought to be written. I remembered several urgings to write certain letters but could not remember just to whom. . . . I think it would be a good idea to run a column listing the letters that any progressive person ought to write in order to make his or her influence felt for good in the proper places." Ah, if only the German Communists had had this line in 1931-3 wouldn't Hitler have been stopped in his tracks.

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

CIO-AFL Open New Unity Talks

PLAN FOR UNITED LABOR CONGRESS OFFERED BY CIO

(Continued from Page 1)
"going along" with the other groups if they wanted to "set up a cooperative program."
War Program Behind Move
Washington observers were skeptical of the possibilities of uniting the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. Conflicting jurisdictional claims between the two groups constitute an extremely difficult barrier to surmount as does the fear of trade union bureaucrats that their posts would be jeopardized in a united organization.
The president's demand for unity is ascribed to his wish to consolidate labor forces behind the Democratic Party for the 1940 elections, serious losses having affected the New Deal during the last election because of the warfare in labor's camp.
Another vital consideration motivating the president is his de-



sire for a united labor camp in which the labor officialdom will support his leadership when the rapidly looming war he is entering breaks.

The administration hopes too that, by taking the initiative in unifying the labor movement in response to the intense desire of the rank and file membership for unity, they can be regimented more easily behind Roosevelt's drive to help big business through outlawing strikes, slashing relief appropriations, and revising taxes so as to take a bigger cut out of the worker's pocketbook.

NEW INSURANCE BOSS TO SLASH OHIO PAYMENTS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
COLUMBUS, Ohio, March 10.—H. C. Atkinson, shrewd representative of big business and one of the first of its henchmen to discover that the Trotskyists are the genuine revolutionists, has been appointed administrator of the Ohio Unemployment Compensation Commission.
He will have control over the \$100,000,000 unemployment compensation reserve which both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. state leaders admit is being converted into a war chest for a fight against labor.

His appointment came as the direct result of the trade union bureaucracy's "practical politics" in the last election when they supported capitalist party candidates instead of running their own ticket. The appointment of Atkinson is the opening gun of big business in its campaign to destroy what little relief the present unemployment insurance offers.

Already rubber companies are falsifying their payroll accounts in order to offer lower weekly benefits. This is done by arbitrarily increasing the record of number of weeks worked without increasing the total yearly wage of the worker. Thus the weekly average which should be paid over 16 weeks is reduced to starvation figures.

Hundreds of workers have been thrown off W. P. A. because they are eligible for compensation at the rate of from two to eight dollars a week. Thousands more will follow when the campaign to cut W. P. A. is completed.

The fight against Governor Elicker and his henchmen must be launched immediately with mass meetings and demonstrations against his anti-labor policy. The fight to preserve and increase unemployment benefits must be linked with a general campaign against the anti-labor laws which are pending before the state legislature.

Grave Crisis Threatens California Unemployed; Olson Favors Bosses

By NORMAN MINI
SACRAMENTO, Mar. 1.—A determined drive to cut the relief standards of the unemployed is gradually assuming serious proportions in California.

Speaking before a legislative committee last week Deway Anderson, Relief Administrator, declared bluntly that "bankruptcy" faces the state if present relief conditions continue. This is but one of many recent moves by the Democratic state administration to convince the public at large that a serious crisis is impending in the relief setup.

A short time previously Anderson had presented to Governor Olson—with a great deal of publicity—a "Production for use" Plan designed to reduce relief costs. This was closely followed by an announcement from President Roosevelt that California would receive federal aid to help solve the "migrant" problem. And for the past month a legislative sub-committee has been holding open hearings on unemployment in the larger cities.

Bosses Demand Cuts
Originally announced as an attempt to win business, industrial and farm leaders to support the "Production for use" scheme the committee's meetings have rapidly developed into field days for reactionary attacks upon the unemployed. In practically every instance the spokesmen of the bosses organizations have put forward the stern demand—cut relief costs!

Leo Shapiro, representing the San Francisco Trade Executives' Association, declared: "vast reductions could be made in this (relief) outlay without neglecting the problems of the truly needy." Harold Pomeroy, former Relief Administrator and now executive secretary of Associated Farmers, said: "Production for use would prove only a disappointing failure."

Actually the elements of a serious relief crisis exist in California. Primarily the unemployed problem is a rural condition. Vast numbers of migratory agricultural laborers, who work only intermittently during the harvests, are thrown onto the relief rolls during the off seasons. Within the last few years the number of these transient workers has increased considerably due to the influx of dispossessed and homeless farmers and sharecroppers from the South and Middle West. A recent estimate places the number dependent upon relief in California at the astounding figure of 550,000.

SWP PICKET LINE FIGHTS FASCISTS IN LOS ANGELES

(Continued from Page 1)
the auspices of the Catholic Theatrical Union.

The pickets had mobilized before the meeting opened. Among the signs carried were: "Down with Franco," "The working class will destroy fascism," and "Fascist meetings today symbolize concentration camps tomorrow."

Police Aid Fascists
The pickets were peacefully parading before the entrance to the theater when the "students" came out and attempted to halt the picketing. When they failed, the police ordered the pickets to leave the street. Apparently some one attempted to lead the pickets away.

But the pickets soon returned, accompanied by "a multitude that protested against the police action." The tear-gas attack followed, when the reserves arrived at the call of the chief of police.

The Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party had issued a call for the anti-Franco demonstration several days before.

Daily Worker Mum
The Daily Worker, central organ of the Communist party, carried no story on the Los Angeles events in its Thursday issue, nor any previous story on preparations for picketing.

Likewise the Daily Worker has carried nothing on the fight against a Nazi meeting in San Francisco on Feb. 24, although the San Francisco Chronicle reported that, in addition to the Socialist Workers Party, the Maritime Federation and the local veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade had

Face Starvation
Unable to meet any of the strict residence requirements these migratory workers are forced into the most degrading forms of relief and charity. Huddled in filthy camps up and down the agricultural valleys many are facing slow starvation. At the committee's hearing a Workers' Alliance official charged that in one Tulare camp babies are dying at the rate of two a week from undernourishment.

The hypocritical agricultural and business leaders try to throw a smoke screen around this condition by shouting loudly of the "permanently unemployed" and "homeless migrants." But these interests deliberately encourage migration to the agricultural regions in order to ensure a large supply of lowly paid harvest labor.

To reduce wages to the barest subsistence level the overlords of the huge corporation farms attempt to force the state to bear most of the expense of keeping these thousands of workers barely alive. Thus their appeals for "federal aid" are nothing more than an attempt to shift this burden a little more upon the government and to open the way for further wage cuts.

Political Crisis
But such conditions have existed now for several years and they will continue to exist until drastic action by the workers change them. The fact is that the present crisis is a political rather than an economic or financial one. The Olson state government, coming into office after 44 years of G.O.P. domination, is finding itself completely surrounded by the Republican machines. The State Senate, most of the State Bureaus (Attorney General, Treasury, Secretary of State, etc.) and the State Personnel Board are completely dominated by the old machine and Olson is unable to carry through the simplest proposal without the consent of these ultra-reactionaries. In the meantime members of the loosely organized "Democratic Front" that elected Olson have begun to get restless (with the exception of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats, of course); and Democratic henchmen who have thus far failed to get jobs have started to criticize.

Ghost of Epic Plan
The Republicans intend to discredit Olson further by putting pressure upon his government to cut relief standards. The Democrats, powerless to fight this maneuver politically, have started a campaign to rally both capital-

announced their intention to picket. The Nazis cancelled the meeting in the face of the picketing preparations. Several hundred workers turned out that evening to make sure the meeting was not held.

In view of the Communist party's boycott of the picketing of the Nazi meeting at Madison Square Garden Feb. 20 the subsequent articles in the Stalinist press justifying its policy of boycott, and its failure to report the West Coast picketing demonstrations, it is not clear just what took place when the capitalist press reported that Stalinist-controlled organizations like the American League and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade supported the picketing in San Francisco and Los Angeles while the Communist party itself boycotted.

Whether the local units of the organizations involved actually joined the picketing in spite of the Communist party edict, or whether the Communist party was compelled to yield ground to the insistence of the non-party organizations on picketing, is not as yet determined.

ANDREWS AND BIRCH TRIAL SET SATURDAY

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK, Mar. 9.—The case of Chris Andrews and Arthur Birch who are charged with "disorderly conduct" will be heard Saturday, March 11 at 9:30 A.M. in Magistrate's Court at 314 West 54th St.

Birch and Andrews were arrested during a distribution of leaflets by the Socialist Workers Party at the Communist Party rally in Madison Square Garden, February 27.

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has provided legal assistance for the defendants.

FLINT S. W. P.'ers PICKET MEETING OF LABOR HATER

"Stay Away" Is C.P. Counsel to Anti-Fascists
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
FLINT, Mich., March 5.—Socialist Workers Party members of Flint braved a bitter blizzard today to picket the meeting of labor-hating Gerald L. K. Smith, self-appointed candidate for the stellar role of Fascist dictator of America, and the spokesman for the so-called "Committee of One Million."

The cowardly leaders of the Communist Party did not utter a word of protest to the brazen challenge of the would-be Hitler's meeting. Neither Lovestones nor the defunct Socialist Party offered the workers of Flint any leadership in the fight against the Fascist meeting.

Call Workers to Picket
Only the Socialist Workers Party, determined to reply to the provocative call for a "Monster Meeting," by the labor-hating Smith, called upon workers to picket, and carried banners which read, "Smash Fascism," "Build Workers Defense Guards," "Smith and General Motors, the Committee of Millionaires!"

The Stalinist-dominated C.I.O. issued a leaflet which correctly blasted Smith as a would-be Fascist, but which urged workers to "demonstrate against Smith by staying away."

Treachorous Policy
This leaflet demonstrated how treacherous the policy of burying your head in the sand at the first sight of danger can be. To auto workers with a background of militant action this plea for passive resistance was incomprehensible.

Some union leaders, sensing the unpopularity of their admonition to stay away from the meeting, told workers to attend in order to jeer and boo.
Build Workers Defense Guards
These tactics proved utterly hopeless. Smith delivered a vicious anti-labor speech filled with pious references to God and country, and the disorganized efforts of scattered union men could not and did not succeed in stopping him.

'LA VOZ' BREAKS WITH STALINITE OVER SPAIN WAR

"La Voz," Spanish-language Popular Frontist daily of New York, so closely associated with the Communist party since its founding after the outbreak of the civil war in Spain that it has been considered Stalinist-controlled, has broken with the Stalinists since the news arrived that the Spanish Popular Front had expelled the Communist party.

"La Voz" has avoided editorial comment on the latest events, but is giving prominence to the United Press dispatches reporting the repression against the Communists.

Face-Saving Gesture
Asked why "La Voz" was not commenting editorially, staff members said the issue was "dynamic." "We're all sorry for the poor Communists, but we don't dare say so because they're bitterly hated in the Spanish colony here. Most of the Spanish-speaking workers here are pro-C.N.T., and hate the Communists so that they don't care who represents them just so long as they're suppressed."

"Also General Miaja is a very popular figure, praised up to yesterday by the Communists themselves, and that adds to the confusion."

The consensus of opinion in the anti-fascist Spanish colony here is that the Stalinists were expelled from the Popular Front not because of any real differences, since Negrin was also seeking peace, but to provide Franco with a face-saving device to justify his making a "soldierly peace" with Miaja and Casado.

SING AND SWING! Community Sing and Dance, Lower East Side headquarters, 163 Norfolk Street, Saturday, March 11, at 8:30 P.M. Entertainment, Dancing, Refreshments. Subscription—20c. For the New International.

PATE DE FOIE GRAS? IT'S FREE! at UN SOIREE D'ANT featuring recordings by swing artists. Skits by our own Wash. Hight's Fellow Travelers. Games, Refreshments, Sat.—March 18—at 916 9th Ave. near, 59th St. Admission, 15c.

"Stay Away" Is C.P. Counsel to Anti-Fascists

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
FLINT, Mich., March 5.—Socialist Workers Party members of Flint braved a bitter blizzard today to picket the meeting of labor-hating Gerald L. K. Smith, self-appointed candidate for the stellar role of Fascist dictator of America, and the spokesman for the so-called "Committee of One Million."

The cowardly leaders of the Communist Party did not utter a word of protest to the brazen challenge of the would-be Hitler's meeting. Neither Lovestones nor the defunct Socialist Party offered the workers of Flint any leadership in the fight against the Fascist meeting.

Call Workers to Picket
Only the Socialist Workers Party, determined to reply to the provocative call for a "Monster Meeting," by the labor-hating Smith, called upon workers to picket, and carried banners which read, "Smash Fascism," "Build Workers Defense Guards," "Smith and General Motors, the Committee of Millionaires!"

The Stalinist-dominated C.I.O. issued a leaflet which correctly blasted Smith as a would-be Fascist, but which urged workers to "demonstrate against Smith by staying away."

Treachorous Policy
This leaflet demonstrated how treacherous the policy of burying your head in the sand at the first sight of danger can be. To auto workers with a background of militant action this plea for passive resistance was incomprehensible.

Some union leaders, sensing the unpopularity of their admonition to stay away from the meeting, told workers to attend in order to jeer and boo.

Build Workers Defense Guards
These tactics proved utterly hopeless. Smith delivered a vicious anti-labor speech filled with pious references to God and country, and the disorganized efforts of scattered union men could not and did not succeed in stopping him.

Unless the workers learn how to fight such a movement by their own organized power and by conducting an aggressive, intelligent campaign to smash the Smith gang, Michigan will witness the devastation of its labor movement. This is no time to "demonstrate by staying away." Militant unionists must organize now to crush fascism by building Workers Defense Guards.

C.C.N.Y. STUDENTS HEAR MORGAN ATTACK FASCISTS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK.—The Philosophy Club of City College held a well-attended forum on Monday, March 9 with Bill Morgan of the S.W.P. as speaker. The subject was: "Shall Fascists Have the Right to Free Speech?" and following the lecture the floor was opened for questions and discussion.

Comparing the fascists to scabs who cross union picket lines and take jobs away from striking workers, Comrade Morgan urged the students to unite with the working class and to join with the S.W.P. in building Workers Defense Guards before it is too late.

Describing the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy and Spain, Comrade Morgan pointed out that the workers must act quickly before the home-grown varieties of Hitler and Franco destroy the trade unions and the student movement here in America.

Many Y.C.L.ers attended the meeting and asked questions concerning the failure of their party to take action with the S.W.P. at the Madison Square Garden meeting of the Nazis on Feb. 20. Many of these Y.C.L.ers were present on the picket line with the Trotskyists at this meeting and were anxious to hear about the S.W.P. program.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOCIAL—ALL INVITED. 231 W. 16th St., Apt. 5W.—Saturday night, March 11 at 8 P.M. Funds to White Collar Locals Committee Fighting Against WPA Lay-offs.

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APPEAL ARMY

DOCTOR'S BULLETIN:

Ruth Querio of Allentown, Pa., is back on her feet again and completely recovered. And the Appeal can breathe a sigh of relief now! Our star saleslady is still with us!

YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH AT WORK:
For special mention we have selected the Youngstown branch. We do this not only because of the fine work this branch is doing, but also because we have neglected—and for this we apologize—in the past to give the Youngstown comrades full credit for their work.

First, they have already gone over their quota in the sub-drive. 12 subs obtained so far, which is 2 over their assigned quota. This puts them directly in line for one of the two branch prizes.

Secondly, because they have increased their bundle order from 35 to 100 copies per issue 50 copies of this bundle are placed on newstands. Youngstown has become another of the Appeal pace-setters and deserves full recognition!

Here's the list of new subs for this week: Not bad, but we need many more to complete our campaign:

THE BRANCHES AT WORK:
"We have begun to sell Appeals to a number of union meetings. We have an Appeal Brigade that is concentrating on several of the large unions. We plan to broaden this selling to include other unions." Eric H. Lund, literature agent of St. Paul, Minn.
"Through concentrated canvassing we were able to sell more than 100 copies of the Appeal containing the report of the anti-Nazi demonstration." Paul Fielding, Akron, O.
"The setting up of our Central Branch in Chicago means a whole lot to literature work. First of all, the comrades will take a collection every time it is necessary to keep payments on current bills. So you need not worry about Chicago's bill. That will be paid."

—Karl Shier, retiring literature director of Chicago. Incidentally, we welcome to the ranks of Appeal agents a new comrade—Sam Richter of Chicago.

"The fine appearance, militant style and improved contents of the twice-a-week Appeal make it possible for us to sell more copies. The national publicity given our anti-fascist demonstration in New York has helped, too. You keep up the good work at your end and we will do our best at our end in the selling of the Appeal."—Herbert Martin of E. Chicago, Indiana.

"Comrades have been selling Appeals on streets downtown. Besides sales and distribution almost every night there is regular mobilization for sales on Sunday mornings in specially selected neighborhoods."

REMINER:
Only four weeks left on the Campaign for 1,000 new readers!

LAST CHANCE! Special Combination Offer!

SOCIALIST APPEAL
America's leading socialist and revolutionary paper
PARTISAN REVIEW
"I think Partisan Review is the best literary magazine in America and is keeping up its standards damn well."—John Dos Passos
All Three Together for a full year—\$4.00.

Or else the following combinations:
(1) Socialist Appeal and The New International together for one year—\$3.00.
(2) Socialist Appeal and Partisan Review together for one year—\$2.50.

(3) The New International and Partisan Review together for one year—\$2.50.

Act now! This generous offer expires on March 15th.

Send all payments on the above to the Socialist Appeal.

ADMISSION—TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER LECTURE

ALL LECTURES HELD AT IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th St., NYC

1860

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borhoods. . . . We have divided the branch into two teams for the sub-drive and we have a good chance of making our quota from present indications." George Clarke of Detroit, Mich.

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Here's the list of new subs for this week: Not bad, but we need many more to complete our campaign:

New York City 15
Ohio 10
California 8
Detroit 6
Minneapolis 6
Philadelphia 5
Newark, N.J. 4
Youngstown 4
Chicago 3
St. Paul 3
Foreign 2
<

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

Calling in an Expert

The Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration is not to be confused with the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration. The former—better known as the Harvard Business School—was founded years ago and has expanded into a long series of handsome Georgian buildings along the bank of the Charles River. The latter is comparatively recent, and by no means as large and resplendent. The Business School is by now one of the key institutions of American capitalism. The Government School has yet to win its spurs. But business men are rapidly learning that politics, and not economics, is the master art in the world of today. They are more and more coming to face the problem of how best to manage the rather awkward transition from democratic capitalism to fascist capitalism. Last week the Harvard Government School stole a big march on its older rival when it hired the greatest living expert on this delicate process. It announced the appointment of a permanent Professor of Government: Dr. Heinrich Bruening, Chancellor of the German Republic from 1930 to 1932.

Footnote on the Late Dr. Coster

I present for what it is worth an odd item in last week's financial pages, an item whose precise social significance I confess I am unable to determine. It seems that the sales of McKesson & Robbins, Inc., for January, 1939, were \$12,070,000, as against \$12,132,000 for the same month of 1938. This seems to indicate that "public opinion" disapproved of the late J. Donald Coster-Musica by just \$62,000 worth out of a \$12,000,000 gross. It is also confusing to learn that, although one element of the scandal was that McKesson & Robbins had gotten into repeated trouble with Federal agencies because its drugs were impure or adulterated, yet its drug sales this January were actually a little bigger than they had been a year ago. Is the old saw actually true—that any publicity is good publicity?

The Customer is Never Right

Sheets are as scarce in the Third Reich as everything else except guns. The story is told of a housewife who managed to persuade a shopkeeper to sell her a single sheet. When she got home, she found a tag on it stating that boiling would have a disastrous effect. She took it back to the shop and asked to exchange it for one that could be laundered. "Certainly," said the shopkeeper, "but you must first sign this." And he gave her a paper bearing the words: I AM AN ENEMY OF THE FOUR YEAR PLAN. The lady changed, not her sheet, but her mind.

Non-Sectarian Stalinism

Last week I received in the mail a moving appeal for funds from a Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer, who is treasurer of the Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees. "Dear Friend," it began, "We are asking you to help save a life—a life that is in imminent danger at the hands of

Hitler's executioner. The extradition of 1500 men and women, German and Austrian refugees, who before Munich had found asylum in Czechoslovakia, is being demanded daily by Gestapo agents in Prague. The enclosed folder will explain their plight, proven by the fate of Peter Foerster, whose head fell in Weimar on December 21, 1938." The folder detailed some heart-rending facts about these anti-fascists, caught in the steadily contracting net of a Czechoslovakia going fascist. Foerster's case was especially tragic; he had escaped to Prague from a German concentration camp. After Munich, the Nazis demanded his extradition, and executed him the day after he was put back across the border. Not one of the democracies would give him a visa. Nor would the Soviet Union, which has, as every one knows, refused to allow a single refugee to cross her heavily policed borders. Even members of the Czech Communist Party, according to all reports, have been refused Soviet visas. Russia's attitude on these 1500 anti-fascist refugees trapped in Czechoslovakia, in fact, is so scandalous that even the New Republic ventured a mild editorial reproof in its February 1 issue: "Russia has done nothing and promised nothing (though Foerster's life could have been saved by a Russian or any other visa)."

All this is familiar enough. What gives Mrs. Guggenheimer's letter a certain new value is that her "Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees" has for its chairman the Hon. Vito Marcantonio, and bears as its subtitle, in smaller letters: "International Labor Defense." Thus the Stalinists appeal for funds to save refugees whom the Kremlin is delivering over to Hitler's executioners. I have written a naive and worried note to Mrs. Guggenheimer asking for an explanation of this paradox, but so far she has maintained a discreet silence on the subject.

The Penalties of Wealth

These are uneasy, dangerous times, when anything may happen. The unemployed worry about how they will feed themselves if W.P.A. is cut again. The employed worry about the rising tide of anti-unionism and the dubious political future of the Wagner Act. All of us hold our breath as the explosion of a second world war is averted from week to week. Even the debutantes, it seems, have their worries. "This season, there are a dozen uncertainties!" exclaims a current ad for VOGUE magazine, and proceeds to list them: "Will you wear a starched, flirtatious petticoat? Or will you turn gypsy in plaids and stripes and jingling jewelry? Will you do your hair in a chignon and tie an 1880 bonnet under your chin? Or will you crop your curls in a 'baby' cut and tuck them under a crisp white sailor?" I am not up to some of the technical terms—"chignon" suggests nothing at all to me, and "crisp white sailor" suggests perhaps too much. But I gather that even VOGUE's clientele finds modern life terrifying and confusing. We should never forget that the rich have their troubles, just like all the rest of us.

THE ONLY WAY TO FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM IS TO ORGANIZE WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

The Daily Worker's Cries About "Provocation" and "Trotskyite-Fascists" Will Not Go Over With Those Members of the C. P. Who Joined in the Demonstration and Realized How Fascism Must Be Fought

ARTICLE TWO By FELIX MORROW

In our first article dealing with the Communist party's explanation, in the Daily Worker, March 3, of why it boycotted the anti-Nazi demonstration of Feb. 20, we dealt with two important points: 1. That the Popular or Democratic Front policy of the Stalinists always gives the "progressive" capitalist-democrat the final say in what the workers do or do not do, and 2. That the "progressive" capitalists have always, everywhere, and continue now in America, to oppose the use of militant methods of fighting fascism. A number of other points are equally important:

EVIDENCE PUNCTURES ALIBI FOR COPS

3. The workers who demonstrated on Feb. 20 had it proved on their heads and backs that the "progressive" capitalists are opposed to anti-fascist demonstrations. LaGuardia's police, not losing their heads but coolly and deliberately attacked the demonstration. Why? The Stalinists, ready to defend their "Democratic front" alliance with LaGuardia and his cops, foolishly accuse the workers of "provocations." The workers, we are told to believe, insisted on running their heads into the cops' clubs, and on rolling themselves under the horses' hooves. The Trotskyists, presumably, hypnotized fifty thousand workers to a point where they enjoyed being beaten and kicked.

The Stalinist alibi for the cops, however, is punctured by authoritative testimony from many quarters that the cops assaulted the picket lines. Even the Jewish Morning Journal and the Jewish Daily Forward were constrained to report the police's unprovoked assaults on the demonstrators.

Even the New Republic felt impelled to publish James T. Farrell's letter to LaGuardia, testifying as an eyewitness to the police brutality. The Nation, consistently hostile to the Trotskyist movement, nevertheless declared editorially:

"But the sinister aspect of the Bund affair is that the city police not only protected the Nazis in their right of free speech; they interfered with the rights of the demonstrators outside and inside to voice their opposition to the Nazi doctrine."

"We are all too familiar with the actions of the police bent on 'law and order'; the alarming thing in this case is that the city administration, for all its anti-fascist convictions, gave sanction to the police in what has become their occupational antagonism to all picket lines."

Newbold Morris, acting mayor, issued a statement asking the public to show their support of democratic institutions by shunning the assemblage as 'one would a pestilence.' A pestilence is not overcome by shunning it; the only effective popular answer to such meetings as that of the Bund is counter-demonstration. The two left groups, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League, who insisted on exercising their right to picket, discovered that they and not the Nazis were the 'enemy.' They were dispersed by force—and the police become the heroes of the newspapers, of Mayor LaGuardia, and unquestionably of the German-American Bund." (The Nation, Mar. 4, 1939)

As a matter of fact, Jerome unconsciously reveals that he takes for granted such behavior of the police, when he says that a Communist party demonstration—

which would presumably not be led by provocateurs—"would have incited a direct collision not only with the Bund, but with the city administration and the police who were present to enforce the decision of the city administration."

THE POLICE ALWAYS AGAINST THE WORKERS

Jerome and the Communist party leadership know that everywhere—in Italy, Germany, Spain, France—the police, no matter who is at the head of the capitalist government, always concentrate their fight on the workers instead of the fascists. The police's "occupational antagonism to all picket lines," and the fundamental loyalty of "progressives" to capitalism lead them inevitably to side in action—no matter what they say—with the fascists against the workers.

4. "Every result since the meeting confirms the wisdom of the Communist position," says Jerome. "The Bund is far more exposed now after the meeting than before it; even notorious reactionaries and pro-fascists are trying for the moment to disassociate themselves from its activity. This will make it more difficult for the Bund to organize such meetings in the future. Exactly the opposite would have been the result had the Communist party ignored the welfare of the whole democratic camp and mobilized its tens of thousands of members and friends around the Garden on Monday night."

By this Stalinist logic, therefore, the way to end the fascist movement is for the fascists to hold more meetings at which they "expose themselves" and for the workers not to mobilize against the fascists. The same conclusion was drawn by the yellow Social-Democratic Jewish Forward and

the Jewish bourgeois press.

STALINIST ROAD LEADS TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS

But this is a lie! The whole development of fascism in Europe warns us that the road pointed out by the Stalinists ends up in the concentration camps.

The only way to fight the fascists is by mass struggle, by bringing the workers out into the streets and the neighborhoods where the fascists rally, by thus organizing the power of the working class in direct conflict with the fascists. Once this is understood, the best of the workers must be organized into Workers' Defense Guards, prepared and trained to smash the fascist gangs. There is no other way. The fascist gangs do not believe in abiding by the results of the ballot-box, or by any other peaceful procedure. On the contrary, the fascists plan to come to power by physical violence against the labor movement and anti-fascists generally. To appeal to "democracy" against the fascists is like trying to stop bullets with the biblical edict that "Thou Shalt Not Kill."

But the road of struggle is barred to the members and sympathizers of the Communist party by their leaders. Tied hand and foot to the LaGuardias and Roosevelts, they prefer unity with these fake "progressives" to uniting the workers against the fascists.

DARE NOT BARE THEIR FULL LINE

The Stalinist leaders do not, however, dare to bare their full line, for it is so alien to the militant instincts of the workers that the Communist party would be stripped of every real anti-fascist if the meaning of this "Democratic front" became fully clear. Hence the Stalinists seek to confuse the issue by impugning the

motives of those who called the anti-Nazi demonstration. "It is a literal fact," says Jerome—and that use of "literal" reveals that what he is going to say is so preposterous that he cannot just say, "It is a fact," but must add "literal" as underpinning—"that the Trotskyite 'pickets' were part and parcel of the Bund plan for provocation; the Trotskyite 'pickets' were the outside auxiliary of the Bund within the Garden." Who believes such vile nonsense? Certainly not the cynical hireling, Jerome, who writes it.

LET THE C.P. MEMBERS DISCUSS THE DEMONSTRATION!

The cry of "Trotskyite-fascists" will certainly not go far with the thousands of Communist party members and sympathizers who, defying their party's orders, joined us in the Feb. 20 demonstration, and side by side with us stood up against the cops and the Nazis. But they must also learn to understand why the Stalinist leadership uses name-calling: to cover up its inability to answer our indictment of the cowardly and anti-working class course of the Communist party. We were driven out of the Communist party because the lackeys of Stalin could not debate the issues with us, and they will drive out of the Communist party every sincere worker who raises these vital questions.

We do not ask the Communist party members to take our word for it. Let them open a discussion of the Feb. 20 demonstration in their party units, let them fight for a militant policy in the struggle against fascism, let them demand an end to the policy of servile obedience to the LaGuardias—and they will learn in the course of the discussion that they belong with us in the Socialist Workers Party.

Madrid Workers Fight Repression

(Continued from Page 1)

viously the Junta had claimed suppression of uprisings in Albacete, Valencia, Cuenca, Guadalajara, Alcala Henares, Jaen and Murcia.

One can only conclude from the extent and the scope of the "uprising" that it has deep roots in the situation, far deeper than those available to be tapped by the Communist party leadership after, contrary to all its expectations, it was suddenly expelled from the Popular Front on Sunday night.

Bolt out of Blue

That expulsion was a bolt out of the blue to the Communist party. It was riding higher than ever. Negrin had just abolished the existing army and navy commands and was turning them over to generals adhering to the Communist party. Never was a party caught off guard more than that night when the Stalinist leadership learned that the non-Stalinist generals with the support of every other party and group of the Popular Front, had decreed the expulsion of the Communist party.

In terms of its own objectives, the Communist party leadership had no alternative except to flee the country the next day, when it became clear that the whole Popular Front leadership, itself excepted, was backing the Junta. The final blow was Mija's agreeing to head the Junta, for so far as it lay within its power the Communist party had taught the masses not only to put all faith and trust in the Popular Front, but equally had preached unquestioning obedience to General Mija, whom the Communist party had christened, "the savior of Madrid."

Peace Was Sought

Apparently the Communist party, between Sunday night and Monday afternoon when its leadership fled, had attempted to make its peace with the new Junta. An early Monday United Press dispatch actually listed the Communist party as among the organizations tendering their allegiance to the Junta!

Monday's Daily Worker and Freiheit, appearing on the streets long after the tabloids had screamingly reported the coup, had not a word to say on the subject; attempts were still being made to secure toleration for the Communist party.

The Communist party press during the last few weeks has sought to picture Negrin as determined on a last-ditch fight, in the face of the daily reports, never denied by Negrin, authoritatively describing his readiness to make peace, if only Franco would guarantee the hides of the Popular Front's leading elements. But these fairy tales in the Stalinist press were designed to let the faithful down easy; certainly the Communist party leadership has un-

derstood where Negrin is going. Mija's Main Purpose

If further proof of this were needed, the Stalinist press treatment of Azana's maneuvers in Paris gives the show away. The Stalinists covered Azana up until the day of his formal resignation. Hence the capitulatory policy of the Popular Front Junta, identical in essence with that of Negrin, could scarcely have repelled the Stalinist leaders.

Nevertheless, they were expelled from the Popular Front. They were expelled, not because they would not come to terms, but because the Popular Front would not keep them on any terms at all. On the contrary, the primary function of the assumption of power by the Junta, backed by the Popular Front, was for the purpose of expelling and outlawing the Communist party.

"Greater Good"

Why? In language discreet enough to get past the censorship, the N.Y. Times reporter at Valencia, George Axelsson, provides the clue:

"People outside Spain may say the Communists were thrown to the lions or offered up as a sacrifice to the gods, and even assuming this is true—which is by no means sure—editorials hereabouts are unanimous in asserting that the sacrifice has been for the greater good of the greater part of the Spanish people."

The second clue is provided by the British Tory press, which warmly praises the establishing of the Junta and Mija's "statesmanship," and predicts that now the forthcoming peace negotiations will be an "officers' club affair."

Putting these two clues together the answer is obvious: the Stalinists, despite all their servility to the "democratic" capitalists, their strangling of the Spanish revolution, their yoking of the French workers to Daladier's war machine, etc., are still considered "Reds"—i.e., the agents of Moscow. The Popular Front therefore served these Reds up as a sacrificial offering to Franco, hoping thereby to mollify him sufficiently to secure amnesty for the non-Communist Popular Front leaders.

Franco's Move Next

With the Communist party not only eliminated from the government, but also condemned in the most violent terms by every sector of the Popular Front, Franco can now, if he so desires, conclude an "officers' club" peace without loss of face. The true Spaniards having repented of their liaison with the Communists, he can say, he is justified in being generous to them.

Whether Franco will actually do so, however, is another matter. If Franco now smashed the Loyalist army by force, it will not be the first time that would-be-capi-

tulators ended up before firing squads.

This cynical and treacherous maneuver of the Popular Front Junta found the Communist party defenseless.

Not actually, physically defenseless, for the ensuing resistance of the troops to the Junta indicates that a boldy-led and well-organized fight against the Junta might have won overnight.

C.P. Could Not Fight

But the Communist party could not possibly make that fight. It was politically defenseless against its expulsion from the Popular Front. For to actively resist this expulsion would mean to present the world with a picture of the Communist party alone (alone among the organizations, that is, though undoubtedly backed by a great section of the masses, in spite of all its previous crimes; fighting a combination of all its allies of yesterday).

Precisely this picture of the Communist party fighting alone against the enemy—even when the enemy is not the "democratic Popular Front" of Spain, but the vilest fascist group, like the Nazi Bund at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 20—is what the Stalinist leadership the world over is determined shall not appear anywhere. "Unity of the democratic forces"—never to appear as an independent camp—is the most fundamental goal of the Stalinist leadership.

With roughly a third of Spain's population and land still unconquered by Franco, the masses know that resistance could be continued, for Franco's hold on the rest of Spain is purely military and vulnerable to revolts from within.

This mass opposition had been developing against the Negrin-Stalinist regime; the Junta merely inherited it. But the flight of the Communist party leadership provided the Junta with the best possible propaganda against the opposition.

Identifying all opposition with the Communist party, the Popular Front Junta skillfully appealed to the opposing masses.

"The members of the Negrin government are in France," said a Junta broadcast. "The government betrayed the people and the directors of the Communist party have betrayed their own party."

"Under these conditions who has the right to speak to the soldiers, not alone in the name of a government which does not exist, but even in the name of a party whose principal chiefs have taken flight?"

"Communist comrades, you still love Spain. Comrades, there are no planes at your disposal to take you to France! Communist comrades, there is no place reserved for you in a distant country where you can take

up a secure life!"

Casado referred to "Communists trying to stage a daring coup," "while their despicable leaders, with La Pasionaria and Jesus Hernandez are in shameful flight to Oran (Algiers)."

Borrow from Stalinists

Declaring that revolting troops had been misled into believing that the air fleet was under Communist control, the Junta issued a communique asserting that the only planes in the hands of Communists were the planes which Communist leaders had used to flee the country.

In its violent language against the Stalinist scapegoats, the Popular Front Junta, having observed Stalinist methods at close range for 32 months, borrowed from them: identify your rival with the hated enemy: "Franco never had a better ally than the Communists," the Junta declared in a Thursday noon broadcast, reminiscent of the Communist party's campaigns against "Trotskyist" militants.

Having created the necessary hateful atmosphere, the Popular Front Junta could be ruthless. Nineteen "Communists" were shot on Thursday in Valencia in cold blood, not to speak of the hundreds already killed in the fighting. More than 2500 "Communists" have been arrested at Cartagena and Valencia, and great numbers of others are being held at Madrid, Alicante, Murcia and other points. Mija, the "savior of Madrid," is saving Franco some of his work.

No Alibi Now

Among the butchers are all the heroes of the Popular Front, whom the Stalinists taught the masses to revere: some of them, safely out of Spain, applaud the butchery and sanction it from afar: Azana, head of the Left Republican party; Martinez Barrio, head of the Republican Union party; Ambassador to United States Fernando de los Rios, sage of the right wing of the Socialist party, who on Wednesday cabled his support to the Junta. On the spot, directly leading the butchery, are other saints haloed in the Stalinist press until yesterday, above all of course, General Mija.

When the Barcelona workers—the same who had smashed the fascists on July 19, 1936—were being shot down by the police and troops on May 3-7, 1937; when scores and hundreds of the flower of the working class were assassinated or formally executed, and tens of thousands of others were being imprisoned during the last two years—the U.G.T., C.N.T. and Socialist leadership whined: "It is not our fault. It's the work of the Communists and their G.P.U."

But now the Stalinists are gone. What alibi now for the corrupt labor bureaucrats who are sanctioning Mija's slaughtering of the workers? It is now clear that the "Socialist" and "anarchist" leaders were not passive partners in crime of the Stalinists!

One would think that the counter-revolutionary course of the C.N.T., U.G.T. and S.P. leadership would now be the object of bitter denunciation by the Communist party. On the contrary, however, the Stalinists have set themselves the fantastic task of denying that these organizations are supporting the Popular Front Junta!

The line is set in a dispatch from Moscow in the Daily Worker, March 9. Calling the Junta the "Fifth Column," it proceeds to belittle the composition of the Junta. "All honest Socialists have long since repudiated Besteiro, a schemer and old friend of the British secret service."

True enough, but when did the Stalinists discover it? Not when they were voting, in the cabinet, to send Besteiro as the Spanish government's representative to King George VI's coronation!

"Who are the other members of the committee of traitors: Wenceslao Carrillo, a friend of Largo Caballero, a friend of the POUMites. How could the traitors do without their Trotskyist agent?" The description, of course, is invented for the occasion; the Stalinists worked with Carrillo until yesterday cheek by jowl in the U.G.T.—which has now officially designated A.P. Garcia as its representative in the Junta.

"Also two petty anarchists and one Left Republican of secondary importance joined the committee." Not a word about the fact that the left republican parties—headed by Barrio, Azana, and Aguirre of the Basque Nationalists—support the Junta.

The "petty anarchists," it now appears, are to be joined by Mariano R. Vasquez, General Secretary of the C.N.T., who on Wednesday wired his support to the Junta, adding that he was returning from Paris.

The Stalinists are driven to this fantastic move of covering up the crimes of their allies of yesterday, because above all in America they propose to repeat the experience of the Popular Front. They dare not, therefore, admit that it is the Popular Front as a whole—i.e., all the corrupt leaders who worked with them yesterday—which is butchering the workers in Spain.

Honor Their Memory!

And while the Stalinists play this insane and impotent politics, the best militants of the civil war against fascism are falling under the artillery, warplanes, tanks and machine guns of the Popular Front. Honor their memory! Above all, the only kind of honor that counts: to learn from their defeats, to avenge them, against Franco, against the Popular Front, against the Stalinists who led them to the slaughter.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

By EMANUEL GARRET

THE COMMUNARDS

(March 18, 1871—May 28, 1871)

They "stormed heaven." They charged the gates of boss-class security. They proved the strength and the solidarity of the oppressed. They lived for ten weeks as conquering, self-disciplined proletarians, organizers of their own society. And they died, thousands upon thousands of never-to-be-forgotten martyrs in freedom's cause.

Who were they? Bakers, cobblers, teachers—radical intellectuals, and proletarians of all trades. A few of them are known by name: the clerk Jourde who carefully guarded the finances of the Commune; the German Marxist Leo Frankel who as head of the Commission of Labor and Exchange was responsible for the propagation of socialist ideas; Delescluze, who was Civil Delegate for War; Louise Michel who organized and led the revolutionary women. These and some others are known. But the great, great majority are known only as anonymous fighters for liberty who struck the first staggering blow at capitalism, who sought to build a society of equality and freedom, and whose blood spattered the barricaded streets of Paris.

Raise the Red Flag of the Commune

For months they had withstood the Prussian siege of Paris. (The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was drawing to a close.) Lacking faith in the capitalist ministers who were preparing capitulation to Bismarck, they had placed the defense of Paris in their own citizens' army, the National Guard.

Food was short; want was great. They had begun to demand that government power be transferred to them; revolutionary committees sprang up in all sections.

All they hated was epitomized in the head of the capitalist republic that had been proclaimed some few months before: Thiers, "that monstrous gnome . . . the most consummate intellectual expression of their (the bourgeoisie's) class corruption" (in the words of Karl Marx). And when Thiers, who had not dared enter Paris for weeks, organized a raid in the early morning hours of March 18 to seize the arms held by the National Guard, all Paris rushed to the defense. Barricades were thrown up quickly. Soldiers sent to attack the barricaded workers, fraternized instead. The red flag of the Commune was that day raised.

Begin the Work of Socialism

The Communards were improperly organized. They had no group of leaders with a clear program of what to do, no party. They committed mistake after mistake: they allowed the Bank of France to continue unmolested; they did not expropriate the property of the financiers and industrialists; they failed above all to make a clean sweep of the state machinery.

But they did prove the ability of the working class to take the reins of society, an ability which was again to be proved by the Russian workers, and which will some day soon be again tested in France. Crime, murder virtually disappeared; the motives of inequality and injustice gone, crime ceased. Provisions and food were parcelled out to all.

Night-work in bakeries stopped; illegal traffic in bread was punished. A moratorium on rent was declared. Shops abandoned by their owners were to be taken over "by the cooperative association of the workers employed in them." Reorganization of the disorganized and undemocratic school system was begun. An eight-hour day for all workers was the goal. In the arms factory, the workers had a ten-hour day, but the director, foreman, and other officials were all elected by the workers; a factory council met every evening to discuss the conditions and work in the shop. And much else—some actually put into effect, others aimed at.

Towards the end of May, the Versailles, the army of the capitalist state officials, began a concerted attack on Paris. For seven days, from May 21 to May 28, the fiercest fighting raged. The resistance of the Commune finally cracked. The Versailles swooped down on Paris and massacred the defeated Communards. Some thirty thousand were shot down in cold blood. Those who were allowed to live were exiled to fever-ridden penal colonies, or locked for years in dungeon cells.

Throughout the Commune, the capitalist agents and press had howled about the "terror" of the Commune. Actually, the Commune had sinned in the reverse respect. The Commune was over-tolerant to its enemies, only in its last few days did it try seriously to root out the traitors in its midst. Far from being cruel to private property owners inside Paris, it erred mortally by being over-considerate of the parasites. Yet, no sooner had the Communards been vanquished than the atrocity-story-tellers unleashed an unrestrained ferocity and bestiality against the Communards.

Harbinger of a New Society

In their mistakes and failures as well as in their victories the great teachers of socialism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, saw lessons to be learned—how the working class must organize in a revolutionary party, how the proletariat can only succeed if guided by a consistent socialist program, how the workers must completely destroy the state machinery of the bosses, and substitute their own.

"Working-men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them." (Karl Marx.)

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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.

For Labor Unity

President Roosevelt wants labor unity because he believes that, with the help of the labor bureaucrats, he will be better able to line up the labor movement solidly for his war if there is a single national trade union federation.

Lewis and Green are governed in their considerations by purely bureaucratic struggles for posts, privileges and power.

The workers of the country need a unified labor movement in order to achieve a firm, united front of struggle against the bosses. The fundamental interests of the workers have nothing in common with the interests of either Roosevelt or Messrs. Lewis and Green.

Lewis' proposal for a joint convention of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods to establish a united American Congress of Labor was, doubtless, from his point of view a slick publicity stunt to give him an advantage in factional maneuvers.

But Lewis' motives are unimportant.

The dramatic idea is absolutely sound. If Lewis himself doesn't take it seriously, then it is up to the rank and file of all three organizations to hold him to his words and to demand action from the three officialdoms.

While demanding action, the rank and file will also do well to make a few amendments to Lewis' "six point plan." Somehow Lewis forgot to include any proposal for democratic representation at the convention or a democratic structure for the new Congress of Labor, or the need for the unified organization to adopt a militant policy of struggle for labor's rights and interests. A unified federation will serve labor only if founded on internal democracy and dedicated to militant struggle.

A second set of amendments should cut off from the start the Lewis provisions which would tie the unity convention and the new federation to the administration machine.

The proposal has been made. It is now public property.

Let the workers themselves take it out of the hands of the President and the bureaucrats, and go forward under their own steam to a unified American Congress of Labor.

'Let Them Eat Cake'

Government officials have cooked up a new experiment in regimenting that guinea-pig, the hapless worker on relief, according to press dispatches last week from Washington.

On April Fool's Day, after the first big slash in relief rolls has been instituted, the remaining guinea-pigs will have their allowances divided into two portions if the plan is put into effect. One half will be paid in cash. The other half will be paid in orange-colored scrip which can be exchanged only at grocery stores and only for food products.

An extra allowance of blue-colored scrip will be issued at the same time. This scrip will be exchangeable only for products declared "surplus" by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation. The "surplus" product during any particular week might be anything from sausage casings to baled straw.

Neither the blue-colored nor the orange-colored scrip can be used for clothing, for rent, fuel, shoes, transportation, for books, magazines, or newspapers, or for the grave emergency situations that occur at times in every family—sudden illness or death.

"Many relief families," said the officials, "now spend too little for food. Under the new program they would be forced to increase their food expenditures to the point required for minimum health standards."

If this theory holds true, the next step will be to cut the cash allowance to one-fourth. This would

force relief families to banquet three times a day—instead of arbitrarily starving themselves as they now do.

Cutting the cash allowance to one-eighth would place these families on yachts and allow them to winter at Bermuda—just like the rich. Let us divide five vacuums and two zeros and fatten the multitude!

Ballyhooed as a method of elevating the living standards of those on relief, the plan is actually an insidious device to lower still further the present starvation levels.

"You complain that you are starving on your relief check?" says the plan. "Then it is only because you are too mentally incompetent to buy food. The government will arbitrarily force food down your gullet."

In brief, too much relief is being given the unemployed. If they are under-nourished it is their own fault. They are wasting it in riotous living. Give them a cut to sober them up.

According to the plan, the scrip must be exchanged at ordinary grocery stores at "current prices." That means placing the unemployed at the mercy of the corner grocer. Colored scrip exchangeable only for designated products means automatic jacking up of prices. It means discrimination at every food market in the country. "Colored scrip? You'll take what's good for you at the price asked. . . . It's government orders isn't it?"

Only militant mass demonstrations can fittingly answer such an insidious attack and such colossal contempt for the unemployed!

Many tribes of savages do not know that the sun is the source of daylight, reads an item in the *Minneapolis Star*. And many civilized savages do not know that labor is the source of all wealth.

We Mean Action Too

"Life is too short to make speeches unless you are going to do something about it." Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, is reported to have made this statement at a press conference in which he amplified what he meant concretely when he made his notorious Des Moines speech on March 3rd dedicating the Roosevelt administration to going down the line for big business.

The "something" which Hopkins pledges the administration to doing in order to increase profits for the economic royalists consists of outlawing strikes, slashing relief appropriations, revising taxes for the benefit of the rich, engaging in secret alliances, and plunging the country into war.

It is high time that the American people stopped listening to speech-making by vultures like Hopkins and began answering in the language of the working class. And we don't mean just speeches. We mean the only language the bosses can understand, the language of action.

Hopkins assures the capitalist class that he means action when he says he is out to raise their profits at the expense of the American public. Let the working class, employed and unemployed, answer him with action. "Life is too short to make speeches unless you are going to do something about it."

Chief Justice Hughes in a speech to Congress noted especially the necessity for protecting the rights of minorities in order that democratic government might not destroy itself "by the excesses of power." He added that "we are all partners; one member of our body politic cannot say to another—I have no need of thee." Workers could say this to the bosses. As yet they haven't got around to doing it, but they will! Incidentally, Mr. Justice, how about the rights of the majority, the workers, who have only wrongs?

300,000 Men

Only a short twelve months ago, Leslie Hore-Belisha, War Secretary of the British Government, appeared in the British Parliament with his estimate for funds needed in his war plans, and, in order to reassure the general public of England, told them that Britain's slaughter of her citizens in 1914 need not be repeated in the next war.

"History sometimes repeats itself, but rarely in the same context," he told the assembled members of Parliament. "The assumptions of an unforgettable past are not always the surest guide to an unpredictable future."

That was a year ago. Last Wednesday Leslie Hore-Belisha appeared again in Parliament. This time he told the assembled members that the British Government is planning to send 300,000 men to France as soon as the approaching slaughter bursts over the world.

300,000 men! That is four times the size of the expeditionary army which Britain sent to die in France in 1914.

The crosses in Flanders field will quadruple their rows in the new war. That is what capitalist democracy means! The "unforgettable past" will avenge itself with four times its fury on those who did forget.

Why did Hore-Belisha assure the people of Great Britain last year that his war plans did not contemplate sending them to die in France? Any capitalist diplomat can provide the answer to that question. Public opinion was not yet drugged enough. The war machine was not yet ready to be launched at the throats of the opposing capitalist camp.

Now a year later the time draws swift at hand when the ordinary people, the workers, the farmers, must lift rifles for their masters. England is almost ready. She has divided the country into twelve districts each with its totalitarian dictator. She is putting the finishing touches on the greatest assembly of death dealing machines in the history of the British Empire.

Now the people must be informed that they are to die.

"History sometimes repeats itself, but rarely in the same context." Yes, Mr. Hore-Belisha, history does repeat itself . . . on more violent and bloody levels. And the blood bath you are preparing will end in drowning you and all your kind in the coming workers revolution in Great Britain!

Why I Decided to Quit the
Communist Party

Carl Hichin, Former Prominent Member of the
Canadian Communist Party, Tells the Full Story of
Doubts Which Brought Him to 4th International

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TORONTO, Ont.—Publicly repudiating the Communist Party for its social patriotism, Carl Hichin, former prominent member of the Canadian section of the Third International has joined the Fourth International as announced in the last issue of the *Socialist Appeal*.

His complete statement calling upon all militant workers to join in building the true party of revolutionary Marxism—the 4th International—is as follows:

"May this serve as the public announcement to the labor movement of my complete organizational and political severance from the Communist Party of Canada (Third International) and its now irrevocable reformism, and may it also serve as a declaration of my accord, politically and organizationally, with the Socialist Workers' League of Canada (Fourth International)—the one Canadian party and International adhering to revolutionary Marxism."

20 YEARS IN
LABOR MOVEMENT

"As one who had been publicly associated with the Communist party of Canada and its organ for several years, and one who had been active in the labor movement for more than 20 years, I gave long and serious consideration to the question of transferring my party allegiance, before actually taking the step. As early as 1935, I told the Communist party District Bureau through Jock McN, that the party was 'prostituting the name of Communism' in relation to its 'fight against fascism.'"

"Even after being removed from the *Clarion* by a decision of the Political Bureau in May 1938, I hesitated for more than six months before making a public announcement of my break with the party. During those six months, let it be said, to keep the record straight, I declined several invitations to renew my party activity, resigned from the party in July and as late as January 1, 1939, declined an invitation to rejoin the party, extended through two of the party's prominent members, C.M. and A.C."

BEGAN SERIOUS
INVESTIGATION

"Particularly during those six months did I give myself over to a serious investigation and study which had previously been restricted by pressure of party work. I considered it necessary, before making any public announcement, that I satisfy myself, beyond any possible doubt, that the Communist International had abandoned revolutionary Marxism, as I had frequently suggested, and that thorough bureaucratization of the Third International had made it impossible to accomplish rectification by inner party work. Then, of course, arose the necessity of satisfying myself that the party of my new allegiance was a revolutionary party. The statement given above,

explains C.P. deviations

"That, in fact, is the miserable role of the Third International today. Browder has put it quite bluntly—open support for Roosevelt's 'billions for armaments' and promise of Communist party support for the United States government should it become involved in a war with Japan—and presumably Germany."

"This is the 'fight against fascism' now substituted by the Communist International for its old stand that the 'only alternative to fascism is the proletarian dictatorship.' It follows of course that

announces my firm convictions.

C.P. STRENGTHENS FASCISM

"My decision to make a public break with the Communist party of Canada was made early in December last. However, I found it impossible to get any publication to make public my decision in the terms I desired and not wishing to join in the red-baiting then prevalent, I withheld all public announcement until after the Toronto municipal elections. Even then, as we shall see, I failed to find a satisfactory medium."

"Here, space requires that I touch upon only one central point, illustrative of the Communist International's abandonment of revolutionary Marxism, its embrace of reformism and the consequent victories of Franco and the strengthening of fascist and war forces in almost every country, and particularly in France."

"It has been obvious, particularly since the 1935 Communist International Congress, that Stalin's 'socialism in one country' had led him and the Communist International into satisfaction with the international status quo, complete abandonment of the international revolution, and the changing of the Communist International sections into reformist parties whose main task was to act as Soviet border guards. 'We do not seek an inch of foreign soil, neither will we surrender an inch of our own.'—Stalin."

DEFENSES SOVIET UNION

"Defense of the Soviet Union from the blows of capitalist enemies is, of course, the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization. But it must also be borne in mind that the fate of the Soviet Union will be decided in the long run not on the maps of army staffs but on the map of the class struggle, and that the task of the proletariat is not the perpetuation of existing imperialist boundaries and states—including those that beset the Soviet Union—but their revolutionary abolition."

"Similarly, in order to utilize the imperialist contradictions of the day, there is not the slightest need for idealizing as champions of peace and liberty, say, France and England, both of which are far from being 'democratic' in their colonial exploitation. Instead, if this is done, then the sections of the Communist International are transformed into political agencies of imperialism in relation to the masses."

EXPLAINS C.P. DEVIATIONS

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to follow this new line in time of war, it must be started in time of peace. Indeed, this calling upon the workers to support their own bourgeoisie has begun. We find it in the 'unions sacrees' and coalition cabinets known as the 'Popular Front governments,' in the fawning at the feet of Roosevelt and Kind, in the complete embracing of reformism and the abandonment of revolutionary class struggle."

HITLER FEARS
WORKERS REVOLT

"Surely Mr. Buck knows that what Hitler fears most is not the verbose declarations of 'democratic' bourgeoisies but the sounding of the tocsin on the barricades of France, and then perhaps Germany. But Buck blithely goes along creating a Canadian 'union sacree' and blessing others. As late as February 2, in the *Daily Clarion*, he quoted a Roosevelt dictum that the 'first duty of our statesmanship today is to bring capital and man power together,' and hopefully added: 'Can this be done in Canada? I say: Yes.'"

"I mentioned above the difficulty I experienced in gaining suitable publicity for the announcement to my revolutionary colleagues of my break with the Communist party of Canada. Finally, after the Toronto elections, I felt constrained to resort to Maclean's and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and to a treatment that was far from satisfactory. For that sharp criticism is due. Liberties taken by the editor with my article made matters even worse. I therefore specifically repudiate the impression left in the article that the Communist party of Canada still secretly pursues revolutionary policies."

JOIN THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

"I think I have made it clear that the Communist party of Canada has in fact embraced reformism and that any duplicity that exists is directed towards maintaining control and leadership of those honest workers and party members whose greatest desire is to help in achieving the revolutionary emancipation of the world proletariat. To the latter, I have already addressed my appeal, that they too, publicly repudiate the Communist International and join in building the true party of revolutionary Marxism—the Socialist Workers' League of Canada (Fourth International)."

—Carl Hichin."

SP's Rev. Sec'y Burt Joins Anti-Labor
Pastorate to Bring "Heaven on Earth"

MINNEAPOLIS—Rev. Roy E. Burt, elected National Secretary of the Socialist Party at its last convention and still, therefore, officially the chief executive officer of Norman Thomas' party, has become assistant pastor to Dr. George Mecklenburg, pastor of the prosperous Wesley Temple Methodist church of this city.

News of his appointment was published by the local press on March 4. The biographical information provided by Rev. Burt to the press, as published by the *Journal and the Star*, was:

"He has held pastorates in Illinois and Wyoming, served as young people's secretary of the board of education in the Methodist church and worked for the board of home missions. He will have charge of the youth program at the church and will assist Dr. George Mecklenburg, pastor, in pastoral work."

In his first appearance before the church congregation, which was broadcast over the radio, the Rev. Burt ended his prayer with: "Bring thy Kingdom on earth in our time."

Pastor Anti-Labor

Burt's superior, Rev. Mecklenburg, is a notorious enemy of the trade union movement. In June he devoted his Sunday afternoon radio broadcast to a denunciation of Minneapolis unions as racketeering organizations. On June 23, he opposed Vincent R. Dunne, organizer for General Drivers Union Local 544, in a debate: "Min-

neapolis Labor Racketeering: Fact or Fancy?"

"Labor is gouging capital," declared Mecklenburg in the debate. "It is piracy, buccaneering." He claimed that Minneapolis workers had come to him with information about union racketeering, and that legitimate business was paying tribute to the unions.

But the demand of Vincent Dunne and questioners in the audience, that Mecklenburg cite specific instances of racketeering, was evaded by the reverend with the assertion that the information was given him "in the confidence of the confessional," and therefore he could not divulge it.

Two nights later, Dr. Mecklenburg made an appeal over the radio to all persons who might have information against the General Drivers Union to get in touch with him.

In 1932 Mecklenburg incurred the enmity of organized labor by attempting to channelize the unemployed into a "self-help" organization under his control at the church. He paid the unemployed for their work in scrip exchangeable for food and clothing at fancy prices. The labor movement finally drove Mecklenburg out of this scam enterprise.

Strikebreaker Preceded Burt

Burt's predecessor as assistant pastor, Rev. Brown, tried to block the famous July-August, 1934 general strike of truckdrivers by calling a rump meeting of drivers. The Drivers Union marched in and took over the meeting.

The Wesley Temple congregation is one of the wealthiest in this part of the country.

Rev. Burt, as the National Secretary, was Norman Thomas' chief aide in expelling the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1937. The expulsion was designed to prevent the left wing from taking over the party at the next convention. Those expelled constituted the Socialist Workers Party.

Horror Item: "Chief of the organization of Nazi propaganda" is cultured Dr. Goebbels, probably the best educated and most talented member of the Nazi upper circle."

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Horror Item: "Chief of the organization of Nazi propaganda" is cultured Dr. Goebbels, probably the best educated and most talented member of the Nazi upper circle."

neapolis Labor Racketeering: Fact or Fancy?"

"Labor is gouging capital," declared Mecklenburg in the debate. "It is piracy, buccaneering." He claimed that Minneapolis workers had come to him with information about union racketeering, and that legitimate business was paying tribute to the unions.

But the demand of Vincent Dunne and questioners in the audience, that Mecklenburg cite specific instances of racketeering, was evaded by the reverend with the assertion that the information was given him "in the confidence of the confessional," and therefore he could not divulge it.

Two nights later, Dr. Mecklenburg made an appeal over the radio to all persons who might have information against the General Drivers Union to get in touch with him.

In 1932 Mecklenburg incurred the enmity of organized labor by attempting to channelize the unemployed into a "self-help" organization under his control at the church. He paid the unemployed for their work in scrip exchangeable for food and clothing at fancy prices. The labor movement finally drove Mecklenburg out of this scam enterprise.

Strikebreaker Preceded Burt

Burt's predecessor as assistant pastor, Rev. Brown, tried to block the famous July-August, 1934 general strike of truckdrivers by calling a rump meeting of drivers. The Drivers Union marched in and took over the meeting.

IN THIS
CORNER

By Max Shachtman

In a letter to the editor, Mrs. Mary D. Brite of New York takes us to task for a reference to the American Civil Liberties Union occurring in the *Socialist Appeal* article (March 3) on "Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?"

We said in the article that the "A.C.L.U. rushed into print to insist that the right of free speech be extended to the Hitlerites." But the capitalist press did not mention, says Mrs. Brite, that "the Union requested the same protection for the demonstrators as for those holding and attending the meeting. . . . I think a correction in the columns of the *Socialist Appeal* is in order."

Our correspondent also encloses the Press Service Bulletin of the Union which quotes from its letter to Police Commissioner Valentine as follows: "In conformity with our firm belief that the only way to preserve Americanism is to protect the rights of assembly and free speech of all groups, no matter how unpopular or undesirable their doctrines may be, we wish to request you to give full police protection to both those holding and attending the meeting, and to all persons and groups who may wish to protest the same by picketing or other lawful means."

The C.L.U. Blew the Police Whistle

The full statement of the Civil Liberties Union does not seriously change the situation, especially when it is considered in the light of what actually happened around Madison Square Garden on the night of the Nazi mobilization.

The accompanying news release of the Union, which is dated Feb. 25, that is, after the meeting had taken place, notes with apparent satisfaction that "in line with a request by the New York Civil Liberties Committee for adequate police protection both to the Nazis and those picketing in protest, 1,700 members of the police force were assigned to the meeting."

The Union, however, ignores completely what actually happened—not in the realm of its liberal wishful thinking, but at the Garden itself. In spite of almost two decades of activity in the field of civil liberties, it has not yet penetrated the liberal mind that the police are not an above-the-battle institution impartially conferring the benefits of democratic rights upon all and sundry. We have held, and still do, that the police are an institution, like all the armed forces of capitalism, for the suppression of the working class and the protection of its enemies.

Hence, whoever blows the whistle for the cops in a dispute between labor and its opponents, is willy-nilly calling upon the police to do the dirty job for which it is organized and maintained. That is precisely what the A.C.L.U.—oh, with the very best of intentions!—did with its statement; that is why we attacked its action.

How can there be any doubt of this when the realities are kept in mind?

Cops Did Not Protect Workers' Rights

The unprecedented police guard made it possible for the fascists to organize their first large public mobilization of anti-labor thugs. Without that guard, the Nazis could no more have carried through their impudent provocation of the workers than thugs at a company gate can, generally speaking, carry through a strike-breaking job without the benevolent protection of the police. Swinging their fists and clubs and trampling upon the pickets with their horses, the police did indeed give the Nazis all the protection they wanted and . . . needed.

On the other hand, the same police, who came to the Garden on their mission with the blessing of the Union liberals, were not at all concerned with the rights of free speech and assembly of the workers who came to protest against the Nazi gangsters. Quite the contrary. It was the workers who were deprived of their rights. It was the workers who were slugged and wounded. It was the workers who were arrested.

That sums up the entire affair. The police made possible the reactionary Nazi mobilization against labor. The police brutally dispersed the labor mobilization against the Nazis. If the police did not act in accordance with the request of the Civil Liberties Union, it did act in accordance with its natural and "proper" function in capitalist society. If the liberals are shocked at the results of their request, it is only because they refuse to understand what this function really is, and to act accordingly.

Where Was the C.L.U.'s Protest Delegation?

But come to think of it, we haven't noticed anywhere that the Civil Liberties Union was shocked by the Garden affair. Is it possible that it considered its aim achieved when the Nazi meeting was peacefully concluded? For it has not come to our attention that