

Workers
of the World
Unite!

Socialist Appeal

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International — Issued Twice Weekly

Build
Workers Defense
Guards!

VOL. III—No. 22

FRIDAY, APRIL 7, 1939

3c a Copy

BRITAIN TRYING TO MEND FENCES WITH NEW BLOC

But Leaves Itself
An Out In Case
Of Need

USSR STRADDLING

In a somewhat tardy effort to repair some of the fences so badly smashed by Hitler's recent drives, British diplomacy was trying this week to bring Poland and Rumania into a bloc against Germany.

This took the form of a British pledge to come to the aid of Poland in case the Poles resisted any attack on their "independence." A similar pledge, supplemented by an offer of a loan of hard cash, was being offered to Rumania, to prevent the sweeping German-Rumanian trade pact of two weeks ago from becoming operative. France has already signed a pact of its own with Rumania for the same purpose and also announced that it would share Britain's pledges of aid.

British "Promises"

The press hummed with reports of a "sharp departure" in British foreign policy, conveniently forgetting the solemn "pledges" Britain made to Austria and Czechoslovakia and which proved to be without substance when the showdown came. That this promise is worded more explicitly will not make it any harder to break.

The day after Chamberlain made his promise in Commons, the London Times—the real mouthpiece of the British policy-makers—explained that the pledge did not cover "every inch of the present frontiers of Poland," meaning that Britain would not fight for Danzig or the Polish Corridor.

It was indignantly denied the next day that this represented any official British view—but the same kind of denials were made last Fall when the Times editorially advocated the cession of the Sudetenland to Hitler, accurately forecasting the actual policy that was later carried out by Chamberlain. On Monday Chamberlain "re-affirmed" his pledge to Poland and then plunged into talks with Jozef Beck, the wily Polish foreign minister, to see whether Poland would take the bait.

Both Poland and Rumania, gasping under powerful German pressure against their midriffs, were not wholly prepared to accept the proffered deal so long as they could not be sure that they too would be thrown to the Hitlerite wolves if it suited the convenience of perfidious Albion at some future date.

Moscow's Position

The major unknown quantity remained the position of the Stalin government in Moscow. Formally, Moscow was left entirely out of these negotiations for a new bloc. Unofficially the British said they felt certain they could "count on Soviet cooperation." Whether they could count on such cooperation was still very much of an open question. Walter Duranty's dispatches to the New York Times continued to speak of "an increasingly contemptuous tone toward France and Britain" in high Soviet circles.

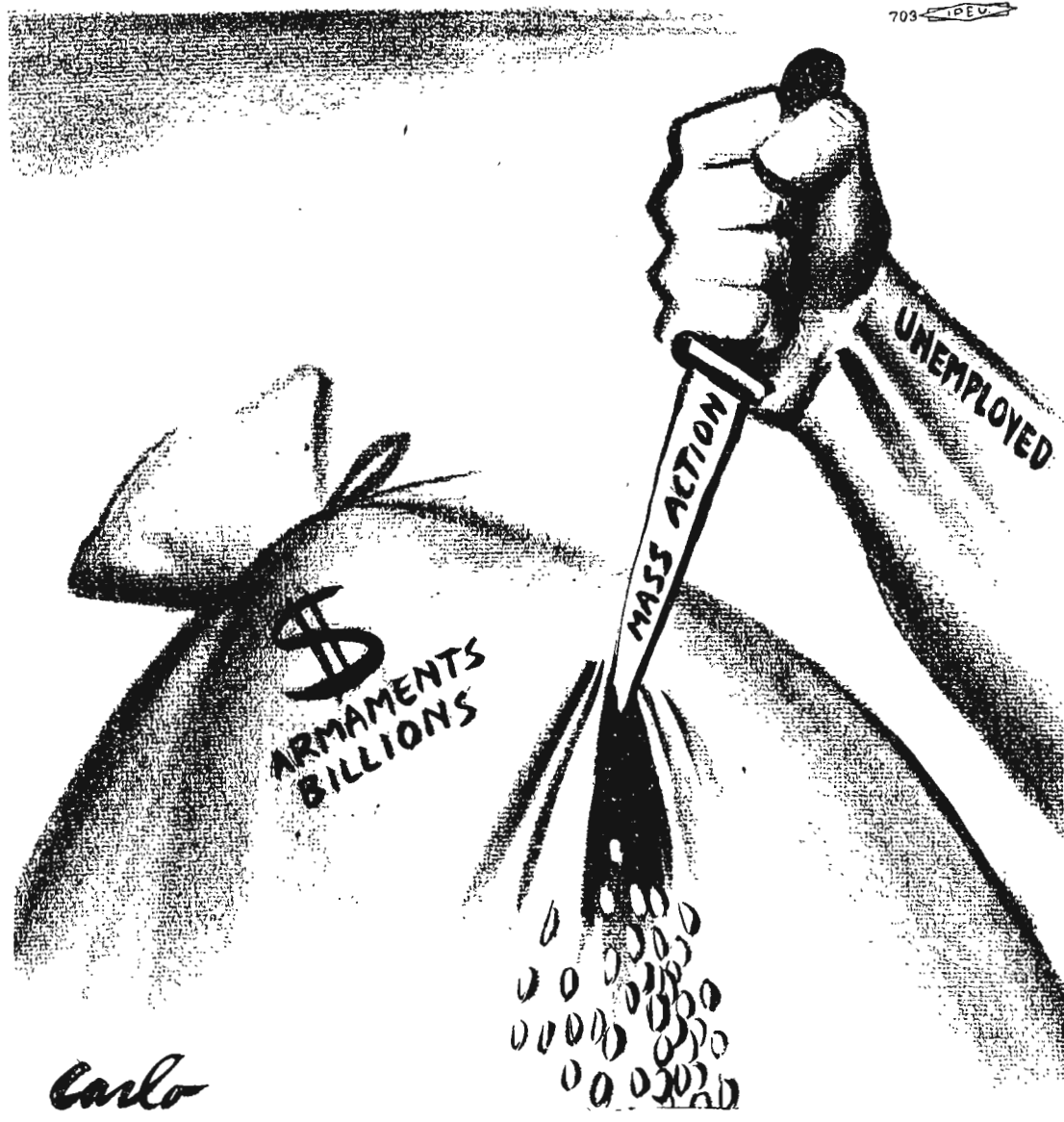
"Curiously enough," wrote Duranty, "there is no editorial mention in the Soviet press of Hitler's speech"—referring to the Fuehrer's latest bellicose utterance at Wilhelmshaven on the occasion of the launching of a new 35,000-ton battleship.

An "Unlikely" Event

"It seems," he added, "that the Russians do not expect Herr Hitler to make any violent drive for Danzig or for the (Polish) Corridor. If he does, and if the Poles resist by arms, and if Britain considers that a cause for war—there are a lot of hypotheses here—in that event Russia will support France, Britain and Poland with every means in her power. That event seems unlikely."

In other words, Duranty is saying that it is much more likely that Hitler's advance will continue and that Stalin will find some basis of agreement with him. At the same time, taking no more chances than he has to, Stalin holds out the possibility of his participation in the British bloc, either as a real thing, or as a bargaining point with the Fuehrer. Stalin himself probably does not know yet which it will be.

Our Turn to Do Some Slashing!



FRANCO FORCES VICTIMS INTO SLAVE GANGS

Pope and Roosevelt Hasten to Accept Conquest

The Spanish civil war has not ended. Loyalist resistance has ended, but not Franco's civil war against the workers and peasants. That continues. Among other measures taken by Franco against the masses since peace was declared are:

1. Over 100,000 prisoners were rounded up in Madrid during the first two days of Franco's occupation, swelling the number of prisoners in Franco's concentration camps to nearly 700,000. These are to be held indefinitely at hard labor, as chain-gangs for Franco's "reconstruction" of Spain.

2. To these prisoners will be added hundreds of thousands of others. Already all Loyalist army divisions in central Spain have been ordered to report to concentration camps, under pain of trial for treason for all those who fail to report.

Strikes Outlawed

3. General Espinosa de los Monteros, military governor of Madrid, on March 30 issued a list of offenses punishable by death. They include possession of unauthorized radio receiving sets, robbery and sabotage. Military courts—there appear to be no civil courts for such offenses—are to try anyone interrupting the normal functioning of labor through strikes or otherwise; those "insulting the armed forces"; spreading subversive propaganda; publishing, possessing or distributing propaganda.

All rights of organized labor are thus wiped out, in typical fascist fashion. Franco's extermination of the right to strike or organize will come as a rude shock to the many Catholic workers in America and elsewhere, loyal trade unionists, who were led to believe that Franco's war was merely one against "reds" and for the preservation of Catholic worship. The prison gangs will be used for road and construction work, and will work under military guard.

Slave Labor

4. This vast army of slave labor will be available not only to the fascist state, provincial and municipal administrations, but will also be turned over to private bosses at the same "wage"—four and a half pesetas—44 cents a day—with two-thirds of the wage being held by the fascists for the prisoner's dependents.

With slave labor available at such a cheap rate, workers outside the jails will be helpless in seeking a decent wage, and the bosses will have an enormous incentive for encouraging end-less arrests and imprisonments.

These murderous moves of the Franco regime against the (Continued on Page 4)

Auto Convention Drops Posts of Vice-Presidents

Marked By Democracy; Stalinists Avoid
Open Fight With C.I.O. Leadership

CLEVELAND, April 2—Sidney Hillman cracked the whip behind U.A.W. convention doors here yesterday. The Stalinists spent a sleepless night of caucusing and soulsearching, swallowed hard and acquiesced.

The major struggle of the convention was to have occurred over the question of the number of vice-presidents on the Executive Board.

The Stalinists wanted five—and wanted to re-elect the present incumbents, their office boys, Frankenstein, Mortimer, Hall, and the harmless Wells.

The Reuther-Mazey caucus wanted only one and was pressing for Walter Reuther to fill the job. By and large this reflected the desires of the rank and file in the plants and the locals to clean house of the incompetents and wreckers now infesting the high offices.

Hillman, after consultation with Murray and Lewis, decided the best settlement was to eliminate all vice-presidents.

The proposal was brought before the convention as a recommendation of the C.I.O. top committee. The convention hall shook with cheers and applause. The rank and file rightfully felt they had won a victory over the Communist Party clique. But the scene was not complete without an orgy of self-denial and a flood of servile Stalinist praise for the "great beneficent wisdom of the C.I.O. leaders."

In succession, Frankenstein, Hall, Mortimer and the others followed each other on the floor to renounce their rights as vice-president and to accept (Continued on Page 2)

STRIKE VICTORY GAINS DEMANDS FOR PLUMBERS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK, April 4—The complete tie-up of all construction work in Manhattan, Bronx and the World's Fair ended today with a smashing victory for the strikers when the employers agreed to maintenance of the 6 hour day and \$2 wage scale, in defense of which the plumbers struck.

With the strike entering its third week, Mayor La Guardia intervened in the situation, and after conferring with the Strike Committee and the employers, proposed a compromise—that pending negotiations the plumbers return to work on the basis of the old agreement which was to have expired this month and which the employers had violated by imposing a 7 hour day, and ten per cent wage cut.

The plumbers of Local 463 who had met the violation of the contract with militant action agreed to accept the may- (Continued on Page 2)

By Leon Trotsky

STALIN'S CAPITULATION

First reports on Stalin's speech at the current Moscow congress of the so-called Communist Party of the Soviet Union show that Stalin has hastened to draw conclusions from the Spanish events, as far as he is concerned, in the direction of a new turn toward reaction.

In Spain Stalin suffered a defeat less direct, but no less profound, than that of Azana and Negrin. It is a question, moreover, of something infinitely greater than a purely military defeat or even of a lost war. The whole policy of the "republicans" was determined by Moscow. The relations that the republican government established with the workers and peasants were nothing but the translation into war-time language of the relations existing between the Kremlin oligarchy and the peoples of the Soviet Union. The methods of the Azana-Negrin government were nothing but a concentrate of the methods of the Moscow G.P.U. The fundamental tendency of this policy consisted in substituting the bureaucracy for the people, and the political police for the bureaucracy.

FROM ONE SET OF BOOTS TO ANOTHER. Thanks to the war conditions, the tendencies of Moscow Bonapartism not only assumed in Spain their supreme expression, but also found themselves rapidly put to the test. Hence the

importance of the Spanish events from the international, and especially the Soviet, point of view. Stalin is incapable of struggle, and when he is forced to struggle, he is incapable of producing anything but defeats.

In his speech to the congress, Stalin openly shattered the idea of the "alliance of the democracies to resist the Fascist aggressors." The instigators of an international war are now neither Mussolini nor Hitler but the two principal democracies of Europe, Great Britain and France who, according to the speaker, want to draw Germany and the U.S.S.R. into conflict under the guise of a German attack on the Ukraine. Fascism? That has nothing to do with it. There can be no question, according to Stalin's words, of an attack by Hitler on the Ukraine and there is not the slightest basis for a military conflict with Hitler.

The abandonment of the policy of "alliance of the democracies" is supplemented at once with a humiliating cringing before Hitler and a hurried polishing of his boots. Such is Stalin!

In Czechoslovakia the capitulation of the "democracies" before fascism found expression in a change of government. In the U.S.S.R., (Continued on Page 4)

NEW W.P.A. CUTS DECREED; JOBLESS PROTEST SLASHES

Spirited Picket Line Put Around N. Y. Offices

Unemployed Worker
Falls Dead While
Marching

HUNDREDS PICKET

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—Shouting "All War Funds to the Unemployed!" and "Jobs for All at Trade Union Wages!" and carrying banners which proclaimed their determination to fight against any and all curtailment of work-relief in New York City, hundreds of members of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union picketed the administrative offices of Colonel Somervell, New York W.P.A. head, on Saturday, April 1.

During the picketing a graphic and tragic exposure of the miserable and overbearing tactics of the administration was provided by the sudden death of one of the marchers, Frank Cleary, 47 years old, a painter, collapsed after an hour of picketing. A heart attack caused his death a few minutes after an ambulance had carried him to Roosevelt Hospital. Cleary had been employed on a W.P.A. painters project and left a wife and three children; all are without work and the family is destitute. A collection taken by union members brought \$12.50 to buy a wreath. The marchers observed a minute's silence for this victim of the current slashes in the relief budget.

W.A. Trick Falls

In the line of march were many workers not affiliated with the U.P.W.U.—workers who had expected the Workers Alliance to take up the fight against the layoffs. These workers realized at a late hour that the W.A.'s plan to picket the home of Bruce Barton, congressman from New York City, was not only a farce but a trick to draw attention from the U.P.W.U.'s demonstration. They came and were glad to see a renewal of the old fighting tactics which in the past won many demands from the Government. And they reported that the W.A. had called off its picket line at Barton's home when few workers responded.

Handicapped March

One of the most militant and inspiring sections in the line was the United Handicapped Workers of America led by Harry Friedman. These workers have suffered untold discrimination and are resolved to fight to the bitter end against the cuts. They shouted and marched along with the pickets and gave encouragement to every member of the union.

After two hours of picketing a meeting was held on the cor- (Continued on Page 2)

Fighting Union Leads New York Demonstration



Toledo C.I.O. Members Plan W.P.A. Showdown

Militants Override Stalinist Attempts
To Call Off Picket Line

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TOLEDO, Ohio, April—Despite rainy weather, 200 C.I.O. members today put on a disciplined, fighting picket line in front of the local W.P.A. headquarters and City Hall (Safety Building). The picket line not only marched in front of the W.P.A. headquarters for about an hour but, just before leaving, marched into the Summit and Cherry Building, up the three flights of stairs and into the lobby of the W.P.A. offices where the relief officials could see them in person and get a taste of what is in store for them if the layoff slips which they are preparing are given out next week.

The pickets shouted, "Stop The Layoffs," "Jobs Not Battleships," "\$30-30 Hours," "Lay off the 200 Men Not the 60 Men," "We Want Work Not Bullets" and similar militant slogans. While William B. Schmul, W.P.A. Administrator, was telling the C.I.O. spokesman that he had received no instructions for layoffs, the local paper was carrying the news that Col. F. C. Harrington had ordered 19,500 workers removed from the Ohio W.P.A. rolls before April 1. The C.I.O. committee told the Administrator that the C.I.O. would consider calling a 15 minute stoppage in all Toledo factories if the W.P.A. went through with the slashes.

Local Relief Collapses

The picket line then marched through the downtown area to the Safety Building and visited City Manager Edy, since in addition to the national layoffs, the Toledo W.P.A. workers face a complete breakdown of the city's W.P.A. projects as a result of the failure of the municipality to provide sponsor funds for the various projects now in operation.

City Manager Edy didn't like the picket line and complained that the City is unable to raise the necessary money with which to take care of the unemployed. The C.I.O. Committee replied that the City regularly pays out hundreds of thousands of dollars in interest to bond holders and that it believed it was of far more importance to provide jobs and relief to hungry Toledo citizens than to guarantee dividends to coupon clippers.

Committee Reports

The picket line finally marched back to Local 12's headquarters and heard the reports of the Committeemen. Everyone was in agreement that this action was merely the beginning of a showdown fight with the municipal, county, state and federal agencies and authorized the Committee to prepare further action next week.

The C.I.O. Committee was headed by Louis Digdisse, W.P.A. Organizational Director. Others on the Committee were Edwin Mayberry, President of the W.P.A. Auxiliary, John Shires, Auxiliary Organizer, Ed McKeown, Secretary of the W.P.A. Auxiliary, Tim McCormick, Business Agent of the Owner Truckdrivers, Nelson Meagley and Ted Sclander, of Local 29, U.O.P.W.A., W.P.A. Division.

Stalinists Ignored. This demonstration had been previously endorsed at an en-

thusiastic mass meeting held March 3 in U.A.W. Local 12's headquarters, with Franz Daniels, of the A.C.W.A., as the principal speaker. Tim McCormick, member of the Toledo C.I.O. Executive Committee, received a tremendous ovation when he pledged his influence as a board member toward swinging the C.I.O. into mass action, if, despite the demonstrations, the W.P.A. Administration goes through with the layoffs.

The local Stalinists moved heaven and earth in order to prevent the calling of the demonstration. The Stalinists had proposed another of its protest meetings in an out-of-the-way indoor hall. For the first time in over a year, ever since the C.I.O. organized the W.P.A. workers, the Workers Alliance failed officially to participate in a W.P.A. action. However, many militant W.A. rank and file workers joined the picket line.

Socialist Appeals sold like hot cakes throughout the line of march.

Sit-Down Part of Newark Protest

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEWARK.—The highlight of the April 1 demonstration at the New Jersey State Headquarters of W.P.A. by the Workers Relief and W.P.A. Union was a sit-down by laid-off W.P.A. workers, after a committee of the union had been told that they could not meet with anyone that day.

The pickets carried signs attacking all proposed layoffs on W.P.A., calling for jobs for every worker and the diversion of all war funds to W.P.A. "We look for work, we ask for work, we fight for work" was one reply to the Tory argument that the jobless don't want jobs.

A committee of the workers was told that they could see no one that day, although they had written for an appointment earlier in the week. The reply of the jobless was to transfer the picket-line, a little at a time to the state office upstairs, until the whole picket line, men, women and children, had packed the offices.

Action Brings Results

This action brought forth the results required. In less than an hour State Labor Relations Adviser McCormack was ready to, and did, meet with the workers committee. He promised to adjust the handling of the cases of several score workers already dismissed from the projects, to transmit to Washington the protests of the workers against all lay-offs and to arrange another meeting for next Wednesday to discuss the pending layoffs.

The night before, the union executive board had voted favorably on a motion to send a "pink-slip" delegation to Washington within a month to protest the layoffs in person, and to demonstrate that they held Congress and the President responsible for the layoffs.

Investigation of WPA Planned by 'Economy Group'

Pour Funds Lopped
From W.P.A. Into
War Machine

PERIL ALL RELIEF

The House of Representatives has decided that it can safely sacrifice 100,000 people now on W.P.A. in its drive to divert all possible funds into the war machine. Following the lead of the "economy-minded" group in the House Appropriations Committee, the Representatives whacked \$50,000,000 from the President's request for enough funds to bring appropriations up to his estimate of the "safe" minimum.

For those left on W.P.A. the same "economy-minded" group are now demanding a rigorous "investigation" under the leadership of Woodrum and Taber, bitter opponents to appropriating funds that would give food and work to those who are starving because of industry's inability to provide jobs.

Congress Maneuvers

The maneuvers of the "economy" group began shortly after they chiselled the President's request for \$875,000,000 down to \$725,000,000. When the President requested more than \$150,000,000 be restored, the group countered with charges that W.P.A. was grossly wasting funds, that no hardships would be created by reducing the rolls, and that an "investigation" into W.P.A. expenditures should be immediately launched under the leadership of those most bitterly opposed to W.P.A.

The group then "restored" \$100,000,000 of its slash stating at the same time, that this was a "liberal" gesture and that the facts would probably show that it was not needed. President Roosevelt, who is himself very anxious to cut down on appropriations for relief in order to divert the funds into the war machine, stated categorically that less than \$875,000,000 would mean reducing the W.P.A. rolls by 1,000,000 persons within sixty days, with further reductions in June. His own estimate, moreover, did not take into consideration the 875,000 people already certified as eligible for relief who would be denied any further consideration.

Vast Lay-offs

Immediate repercussions of the tremendous slash were layoffs throughout the nation. In New York City alone 10,800 are scheduled to go this week to be followed by 20,000 more the week of May 1 and a further 10,000 in June. That means a total of more than 40,000 people in New York City will be denied food, clothing, and lodging during the next ninety days.

The drive to economize by taking funds from the relief set-up will be directed primarily to those who are sympathetic to labor. According to the schedule among the first to be fired will be those who, regardless of relief status, that is, their real need, have been rated by W.P.A. officials as "unsatisfactory."

"The whole set-up is due for a drastic and fundamental overhauling," stated Representative Woodrum, Democrat, who had the fight against appropriations for relief and W.P.A. "We have never sought . . . to provide for all who are eligible for W.P.A. If the full amount were appropriated there would still be approximately a million who would have to rely upon their own resources or upon the care of States and localities."

Woodrum thus takes it for granted that it is possible to allow 1,000,000 human beings to suffer under the President's program, adding another couple of hundreds of thousands to their ranks is perfectly justifiable.

All these senators and representatives who economize by cutting relief are exactly the same men who vote billions for war.

Left Jabs

Baloney

In his response to King George's greetings on his recent visit to London, President Lebrun said France and Britain were always motivated "By the same conceptions of honor, justice, human dignity, respect for treaties and the pledged word, the same attachment to liberty of thought, speech and the written word—in a word, to liberty of existence; the same anxiety not to intervene in the internal affairs of other States and the same love of peace." After reading the hypocritical and slimy utterances of democratic "statesmen" even Mussolini's bombastic speeches sound refreshing.

Congress Scores Victory

Rahway, March 27: Despondent over his discharge from W.P.A. in the current purge of aliens, Joseph Villor, 63, of Clark Township, killed himself last night in a field behind his home by cutting his throat.

Villor was the father of eight children. He had his first citizenship papers, but was discharged from a W.P.A. sewer project two weeks ago under the rule governing aliens.

Welfare Dinner Fatal

The drive for economy in relief hit Seattle with a bang. Result: one man is dead, six others dying from eating rotten food provided by a welfare agency. John McKay, 34, died in the iron lung at the Children's Orthopedic Hospital. Harold Etchoe, 25, became so badly paralyzed that he also was placed in the apparatus. Three others are in oxygen tents—Congress is to be congratulated on its victories in restricting relief and purging the W.P.A. rolls.

Buzzards Scent Carrion

"Four of America's most powerful financial men—J. P. Morgan, George Whitney, a Morgan partner, Albert L. Schomp, president of the American Bank Note Co., and Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank—sailed on the Queen Mary yesterday."—N. Y. Daily News.

Law and Order

Judge Manton, recently resigned as Senior Judge of the Second U. S. Court of Appeals, was released under \$10,000 bail on charges of accepting bribes.

Magistrate Martin Rudich, was removed from the Brooklyn bench following charges of bribe taking preferred by Special Assistant Attorney General Amen.

Supreme Court Judge Algeron I. Nova and County Judge George Martin, both of Brooklyn, are the center of an investigation by Special Prosecutor Amen.

Three detectives, William Riley, 31 years on the force with six merit commendations, Victor J. O'Hara—fifteen years a cop, twice cited for "excellent police work"—and Gustav H. Hubner, thirteen years in "New York's Finest" with one "commendation" were suspended from the force, following their arrest on charges of extorting \$500 from a small grocery keeper. The three were absent from the Policemen's Holy Name Communion Breakfast at the Astor Hotel Sunday.

Sturdy Survivors

The Stalinist Party of the Soviet Union elected its new central committee of 71 members last week. This is the first election since 1934 and amazement was excited on all sides that 16 members of the old central committee had survived the purges of the intervening years and still had the nerve to accept nominations in 1939.

Rank and File Makes Itself Heard at Auto Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

The proposal "only because it came from the C.I.O."—which they described in terms that would make the Holy Trinity green with envy. Even Walter Reuther fell over himself congratulating the C.I.O., disavowing that anyone "had a victory" by the decision. It remained for a rank and file worker here and there to break through this mushy molasses of obsequiousness to the great men and point out that these were the wishes of the workers; the C.I.O. was merely acting under this pressure.

Nevertheless the constitutional clause eliminating vice-presidents is a victory for the auto workers. And by the same token it is a defeat for the Stalinist clique.

Avoid Open Fight

That the Stalinists acquiesced in the decision of the C.I.O. leader on this question is a point of considerable significance. Although no roll-call vote has been taken yet, it appears very likely that the Communist Party machine commands a majority of votes at this convention. Had they so desired they might have posed, fought and probably defeated the C.I.O. recommendation. But such a struggle would have meant an open battle between "Communism" and the C.I.O. leaders. There is nothing in this world they desire less.

Because in fact they are not communists, they are New Dealers. They are not opponents of John L. Lewis, they are his most supine flunkies. Time and again they rage at the press in the convention for labelling their bloc "communist dominated."

They had the majority, but their whole past present policy prevented them from using it. Even so, this kind of humble crew was a pretty

tough bird to swallow. The machine had promised Frankenstein Mortimer and Halt their jobs—and their salaries. Now they cannot deliver. If they plan to run these gentlemen for the Executive Board they must discriminate against other followers whom they promised to take care of with positions on the Board. Somebody must get the axe—it is a safe prediction that a lot of soreheads will go out of the city of Cleveland.

Undecided Questions

Two other controversial questions remain undecided at this writing: 1. the size and composition of the Executive Board and 2. the President.

Roland J. Thomas is the selection of Hillman and Murray for the Presidency. Thomas is a former Martin man with no political past and considered a "safe and sane" unionist. The Communist Party choice is George F. Addes. Thus far Addes had not thrown his hat in the ring. But at the close of every session, when Addes, as Secretary-Treasurer rises to read communications and make announcements, the C.P. machine whips up a big demonstration for him. Despite the patent artificiality of these noisy demonstrations, Addes is the more popular of the two and if the C.I.O. stands aside he will win the presidency without too much difficulty. If he refuses to run, his re-election to Secretary-Treasurer is assured as there is no rival in sight.

Rank-and-File Speaks

The first real sign of rank and file resentment against this obvious dictation of union policy by Hillman and Co. came this evening. Frankenstein announced that he had just come from a conference with Sidney Hillman that the latter had requested a night session to settle the question of the size of the Executive Board. Chester

Mullens, delegate from the West Side Local then rose to make the bravest and most honest speech of the convention:

"Who in the hell is running this convention? Hillman and Murray or the rank and file? Let the delegates get it in their heads that the rank and file is running this convention and not Hillman and Murray from behind the hotel doors!"

Thomas immediately struck back saying that he for one disapproved of any such statement regarding the C.I.O. Mullens rose again and continued his protest as follows: "I am not against the C.I.O. but I don't like politicians who go behind scenes, cut up everything dry and then dish it to the convention. This time Mullens' remarks brought down the house with cheers and applause."

No Steam-Roller

Yet despite this intervention of the C.I.O. and the strong C. P. machine, this convention of the U.A.W. is a great progressive achievement in the American labor movement. Its decisions are by far the most progressive of any organization in recent times. Its deliberations are carried out in a democratic manner that should be a model for all other unions to follow.

There is not the slightest sign of a steam-roller on the convention floor. Provisions in the constitution, some of them of little importance, are debated until almost every delegate desirous of talking has his say on the question. The floor can be obtained by anyone without any difficulty. The rulings of the chairman, Thomas, have been in most cases highly fair and impartial. If it is possible to say that a rank and file is running a convention, then certainly it is master of this one.

The new constitution is stripping the President of his power in almost every instance and placing it in the hands of the Executive Board. And the Executive Board too, insofar as possible, is made responsible to the membership. The strike authorization procedure is being greatly liberalized. Many checks are being placed on the President and the Board in hiring and dismissing officers. The delegates are so jealous of their autonomy, after their bitter experience with Martin, that one delegate was led to comment: "After this constitution is adopted, the President will be a wooden Indian."

Organization Plans

As reported in a previous issue, the infamous disciplinary letter granted General Motors was condemned and the Executive Board instructed to act accordingly in future negotiations with the corporation.

A militant resolution was passed that the organization of the Ford Motor Co.

A detailed plan is being laid before the convention for the organization of the competitive parts plants. A resolution has already been adopted sanctioning local union action in refusing to work on tools, dies, or parts manufactured in plants where there is no collective bargaining.

W.P.A. Auxiliary

The C.I.O. was petitioned to set up an independent industrial union of W.P.A. workers affiliated to the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Today the Constitutional provision passed the convention giving the U.A.W. the right to organize a W.P.A. auxiliary until such time as the C.I.O. sets up this organization.

The Stalinists made a feeble effort to fight this motion, in the interests of the company union Workers Alliance. But after a few wretched speeches they gave up. Obviously they plan to sabotage the new organization after the convention, either through the Executive Board or through their local union influence.

In an elaborate plan for union educational work, a clause was included and adopted re-establishing the right of local unions and shops to issue their own periodicals.

Militant Spirit

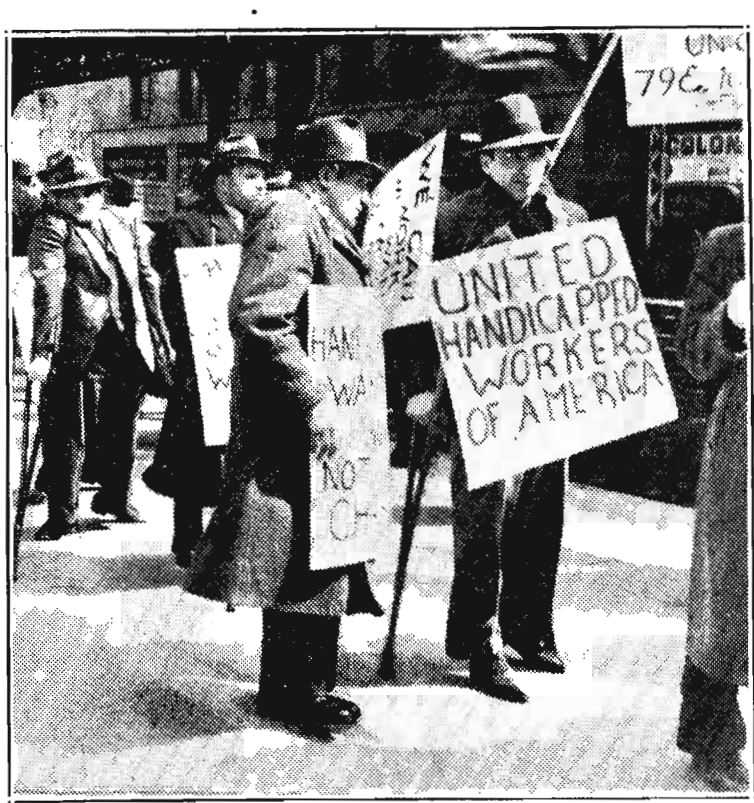
A regular meeting of delegates from General Motors plants will be convened on the basis of district quarterly, and once a year nationally. These shall be the highest legislative bodies for General Motors workers, according to a recommendation made by a conference of C. M. delegates to the convention. These proposals will undoubtedly be adopted by the body. The entire character of spirit of these delegates was militant and determined. They have set their jaws for a struggle for the elimination of the infinite abuses of the corporation against the workers.

The convention of the U.A.W. shall hereafter be held annually, according to another constitutional provision adopted.

Most of these proposals were embodied in the platform of the Third Group previously reported in the columns of the Socialist Appeal.

It is safe to say, that the Stalinists or the Lewis machine or anybody else will have the greatest difficulty in saddling a bureaucracy over this union or in dampening its progressive spirit.

HANDICAPPED MARCH IN N. Y. PROTEST



Spirited Line Thrown Around WPA Offices

(Continued from Page 1)

ner where speakers denounced the layoffs and the discrimination against foreign born workers. Representatives of each section of the union spoke; the Mechanics and Chauffeurs, Laborers and Helpers, Unemployed workers and White Collar section.

Rourke's Patriotism

Unfortunately, Henry V. Rourke, a member of the Socialist Party, in speaking as a representative of the Mechanics and Chauffeurs, distorted the program of the U.P.W.U. when he said that the union was fighting for jobs for all American citizens. This by itself is not an untruth but the U.P.W.U. does not discriminate against foreign born workers or any workers when it comes to a question of jobs.

By repeating the remark and emphasizing the word "American," Rourke merely confirms the opinion held by many workers that he is continuing his

red-baiting which was exposed only a few weeks ago in Philadelphia where delegates to a conference on an unemployed worker discovered that Rourke had issued one of the most reactionary red-baiting statements ever seen in what was called an attempt to win favor with certain Congressmen. This document was sent out in the name of the U.P.W.U. although no member of the Executive Board of the U.P.W.U. until it was exposed in Philadelphia.

Spirit Good

Other speakers, however, corrected this misstatement, and the meeting did much to revive the militancy and spirits of the workers who expressed their approval of real action rather than the phoney Stalinist line of the Workers Alliance.

Free copies of the Socialist Appeal were distributed to all the demonstrators and in addition many were sold.

STRIKE VICTORY GAINS DEMANDS FOR PLUMBERS

Bosses Yield After Threat to Cancel Contracts

(Continued from Page 1)

or's proposal at a membership meeting last night. The bosses reserved their decision.

Faced however with a threat that their contracts with the World's Fair and the government construction jobs would be cancelled, and given over to employers willing to settle with the union, the bosses accepted the proposal.

The victory is a testimony to the splendid militancy and alertness of the plumbers. Despite strike-breaking activities on the part of the international union officials and locals the ranks of the strikers remained firm throughout. Funds from sympathetic labor organizations helped maintain the high morale of the picket lines.

Last week all the efforts of the State Mediation Board to arrange a meeting between the Strike Committee and the employers failed when the employers refused to negotiate unless the strikers included on their committee Mr. Masterson, Assistant General President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters. Masterson had demanded that the strikers withdraw all picket lines from Brooklyn and Queens, including the World's Fair, under the pretext that this territory came outside the jurisdiction of the striking local.

plumbers and pointed out in a militant speech that only the independent action of the working class can win any real improvements and that most of the defeats labor has suffered can be laid at the door of the traitors in its own ranks holding high office and positions of power.

The Electricians' local bought 8,000 tickets at \$1 each for the plumbers' strike benefit affair scheduled to be held April 21, Friday night, at Royal Windsor Palace, 69 West 66th Street.

Though the primary issue in the strike has been won, it has yet to be consolidated. Negotiations will be held to discuss a regular agreement. In order for the strikers to make their victory permanent they must display the same militancy in negotiations and conferences that they showed in the last two weeks of strike.

FUNDS RAISED FOR REFUGEES

The Help-A-Refugee Campaign, inaugurated recently by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees to raise funds for refugees abroad, is proceeding successfully. Each local committee of the American Fund has taken for "adoption" one refugee, and is attempting to raise money for him.

Youngstown, whose quota for Paul E. Case No. 3 was \$60, has already sent in \$45 of this amount, and expects to have \$15 to \$20 more next week. The Youngstown Committee was assisted in raising this money by the Peretz Reading Club, a Jewish women's organization. The rest of the \$60 will be obtained by another reading club, the Sholem Aleichem.

The Los Angeles Committee, which has taken for "adoption" Case No. 12, that of Bergdorf, a young student, with a quota of \$80 has already sent in \$60.70 of that amount. This money was raised through a luncheon, theatre party, and other means by the Los Angeles Committee.

The Sacramento Committee, which is handicapped by its small membership, has sent in \$5.50 on its quota of \$25 for Annette L. Case No. 11, a young worker who has been imprisoned in her fascist country for her activities.

Several of the other committees have written that they expect to have their quotas filled within a week or two.

Breaks Picket Line

Masterson succeeded in obtaining an official order from the International headquarters demanding that his instructions be complied with, and he brought pressure on Local 1 of Brooklyn and Queens to pass through the picket lines.

The Stalinist-dominated Auxiliary Local 463 of jobbing and alteration plumbers, whose interests are immediately connected with the successful termination of the strike, refused to lift a finger in support of the strike. In order not to offend Mr. Masterson, they took a position of neutrality, and even went so far as to postpone membership meetings in order to avoid the progressive demand of Local 463 that the two locals amalgamate.

Independent Action Wins

Harry Vanarsdale, Business Manager of the Electricians Union, Local 3, addressed the

APPEAL ARMY

8-PAGE MAY DAY APPEAL PLANNED:

The Appeal staff is already at work on an extra, 8-page edition of the Socialist Appeal for this year's May Day.

This edition will be out on Tuesday, April 25 so that it will be in the hands of all branches no later than Saturday, April 29—a good two days before May Day.

The 8-page May Day issue will contain a host of special features running all the way from a history of May Day to descriptions of famous May Day demonstrations in American history. In addition, there will be the usual news of trade union struggles and the anti-war activities of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International.

WHAT BRANCHES CAN DO:

- (1) Arrange right now for sales and distribution of your May Day extras.
 - (2) Place your extra orders of Appeals immediately. No extra orders will be accepted after April 22.
 - (3) Send in branch greetings no later than April 22. So far only one branch has done this—the Allentown branch of Pennsylvania.
 - (4) Get busy on the collection lists of greetings for the Appeal.
 - (5) Have your branch send in payment for its extra May Day bundle. This is our only means of financing it.
- NOTE:**
- The special 8-page May Day issue will sell at the same price of 3c and will cost the branches the usual price of 2c each.
- On to a militant, anti-war May Day under the leadership of the Socialist Appeal and the Fourth International!**

New York Legislators Begin To Slash Wages

Government Employees Are Victims of New "Economy-minded" Program

A policy of business appeasement to parallel the new New Deal is the aim of the New York State legislators. There must be no new taxes, no additional expenses incurred by social legislation and above all government economies.

again in order. Today in Albany, it is proposed to cut all salaries, and to repeal the provisions of the recently passed annual, mandatory salary increase law.

This act provided for an increase for all "deserving" employees of two dollars a week each year, until the maximum of the grade was approached. The purpose of this legislation was to raise state employees above the present low salary level, exemplified by the \$17 a week entrance salary.

In private industry, whenever profits shrink or are not high enough according to the calculations of the employers, they automatically resort to slashing wages. This is A.B.C. to any worker.

City and state administrations perform their economies in exactly the same manner as the sweat shop kings.

To thwart effective activity by the aroused government workers, who have gradually become conscious of the necessity of unionization, chiefs of the Republican and Democratic parties have put forward anti-union suggestions. "God save America," McNaboe has again passed his "Anti-Red Bill" in the Senate. Its vicious provisions are aimed actually against trade union militants. Another jewel of reaction is the Bewley bill which would prohibit state employees from joining a union.

these cuts, temporarily, of course, and in a modified form? To expose their stand might reveal the true identity of some of the heroes of the incipient American "Democratic Front."

Won't Make Fight

Shall the Union assemble thousands of trade unionists in New York for a mass demonstration as a stirring protest against a slashed budget? Never! That might embarrass His Honor, the Mayor, and only Trotskyists will stoop to such time-honored tactics. For you see, the first advice for cutting even low salaries came not from the Chamber of Commerce, or the avaricious bankers, or even the reactionary Republicans, but directly from the exalted hero of the American Labor Party, the Popular Frontist, Fiorello H. LaGuardia.

Any encounter of a trade union of government employees against state legislators and administrators is inevitably a political struggle. The Stalinist leaders of the union, however, cannot strenuously oppose their "liberal" allies in office. Who is so presumptuous as to expect a Stalinist conflict with "Comrades" LaGuardia, Lehman, Miler, Kern, Hodson, Dayton, Sayre, etc.?

In the State Insurance Fund, section of the Labor Department, Local 45 is attacked by a "pure red money" Major Nicholas W. Muller, who utilizes many of the common anti-labor tactics of the open-shop citadel: labor spies, intimidation, discrimination against union representatives, etc. But at no time has the Major's superior, "liberal" Federal S. Miller, Industrial Commissioner of New York uttered a word of remonstrance against Muller's antics; nor has her superior, "liberal" Governor Lehman, candidate of the American Labor Party, evinced the least interest in the labor troubles existing within his Labor Department.

If the State, County and Municipal Workers is to lead any successful fight for government employees against wage cuts, firings and discriminations, a new, clean, militant, trade union line must be advanced by the progressive elements among the membership. And then it will be necessary not only to embarrass Messrs. LaGuardia and Lehman, but even to fight them.

NEWARK SCHOOL OPENS APRIL 25

The Progressive Workers School announced the opening of its spring term with two classes beginning April 25, at 252 Market St., Newark.

Jack Weber will give a course on "1919-1939, A World in Motion," dealing with post-war history in Italy, Germany, Central Europe, Spain, France and the Soviet Union, every Tuesday night for 6 weeks, at 8 p.m.

Ernest Erber, national propaganda director of the YPSL, will lecture on "Capitalism To Socialism," a popular explanation of Marxism and the transitional program of the Socialist Workers Party, every Tuesday night for 6 weeks, at 9:30 p.m.

The cost of each class will be 25c for the series, 5c a class, bringing it within the reach of every worker.

Those who are interested, should write for further details to M. Davis, Director of the school, 252 Market St., Newark.

TRUCK BOSSES THREATEN SUIT AGAINST STRIKERS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

HARTFORD, Conn., April 2.—Connecticut labor may soon have another Danbury Hatters Case on its hands.

The Connecticut Motor Truck Association has announced its intention to file suit for damages against the state's teamsters' union, now involved in a tri-state strike for a regional contract. According to the announcement, the damages claimed by the truck owners may soar to a lofty astronomical figure anywhere between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000!

Owners are pleading that under the Sherman and Clayton Acts, the union is guilty of conspiracy to destroy certain concerns because the strike in its conception was directed only against the three major firms in the state.

Actually, almost all of the state's drivers are now idle, since many of the smaller trucking outfits were ordered by the Association to retaliate against the restricted walkout by withdrawing their trucks from duty, thus instituting what amounts to a lockout.

SWOC In Mass. Drive For Union Contracts

Union Prefers Blackeye For Labor Board To Knockout For Meriden Workers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MERIDEN, Conn., April 2.—This sleepy, poverty-stricken city, grown accustomed to its many years of industrial calm, was stirred out of its lethargy last week by the appearance of a militant and determined mass picket line outside the gates of the Bradley & Hubbard Manufacturing Company, with placards announcing that the local lodge of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is on strike at that plant for union recognition. Picketers chanted: "We Want a Contract!"

The union, having been nosed out in an election which the N.L.R.B. ran in the plant last February by the narrow vote of 116 to 111, has been pressing steadily for its modest minimum demand: recognition of the C.I.O. as bargaining agent for its own members in grievances involving wages, hours and working conditions.

Mediation Fails

The company has refused to grant such recognition, offering as an alternative its "readiness" to adjust grievances with each employee on an individual basis. The union held out for its minimum demand, and, after the breakdown of negotiations last month, began preparations for a walk-out.

At this point Mayor Danaher and the State Labor Department stepped hurriedly in, pleading with the union for a postponement of strike action so that mediation might be attempted. Out of the ensuing conferences came an agreement by both sides to have the Mayor and the Labor Department representative draw up a minimum statement of recognition which might be acceptable to both parties. The union accepted the draft agreement which provided for recognition. The company refused.

Militant Leadership

At the last minute the regional Labor Board made a desperate plea to have the strike averted, arguing frantically in long distance telephone conversations with union organizers that a strike would be a terrible "black eye" for the board. Said Frank Traimor, field representative for the S.W.O.C. in Connecticut: "If it is a choice between a black eye for the Labor Board and a knockout for the workers up here, I guess you'll have to begin looking for a hunk of red meat."

The strike is being conducted by the alert leadership with militancy and efficiency. During the first two days of picketing, Mr. Omstrom, worried big-shot plant official, made several attempts to pull "loyal" workers through the gates, but the scabs somehow never managed to crash the lines, and had only bruises, and welts accidentally acquired, to show for their loyalty.

Thus far, even the police, of whom there are only a handful covering the picket lines, have not made any serious efforts to herd scabs into the plant, because the Mayor is soon to come up for re-election

and will need the support of these Polish workers.

Showdown Expected

In all likelihood there will be a showdown early this week. Omstrom is indignantly demanding police "protection" from scabs and rumors are circulating here that he may try to have the state police brought in to maintain "law and order." But the 100 odd strikers are determined that production shall not start up again before the company has signed on the dotted line. Their morale has been bolstered by the addition of several new members, indicating that their lodge genuinely represents the bulk of the workers in the plant, even though some of them were too timid and browbeaten by Omstrom to sign up before this.

Potentially the picket line will have adequate reinforcements to deal with any emergency. At the New Departure ball-bearing plant here, where there is a United Automobile Workers local of nearly 1,000 members, there was an 80 per cent lay-off on the eve of the Bradley & Hubbard strike. Since most of their members are temporarily idle, the auto workers are preparing to send a sizeable contingent down to the S.W.O.C. picket line to guard against any untoward occurrences. There is an excellent spirit of solidarity with the strikers. "Hell," an officer of the U.A.W. local told this correspondent, "if these guys lose out, we're sunk!"

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WORCESTER, Mass.,—The Steel Workers Organizing Committee has prepared for strike action against the Worcester Pressed Steel Company of Worcester and the Bradley & Hubbard Manufacturing Company of Meriden, Conn., for their refusal to sign agreements with the S.W.O.C. guaranteeing the rights of collective bargaining.

The Worcester company flatly refuses to restore a recent wage cut, recognize seniority rights, settle grievances or submit to the union's demand that it bargain in good faith. Jay Clark, Jr., a notorious anti-labor attorney, in a transparent effort to make the union a tool of the company, proposed a contract by which seniority would be based on American citizenship, wages subject to revision at any time by the company, while all grievances arising between the union and the company would be subject to arbitration in the Massachusetts courts.

Clark's phoney proposal has met with a stern notice from the union that unless the management begins immediate negotiations, its plants will be struck. Both its refusal to negotiate and its union smashing proposal through Clark have already stirred the workers to noon-hour demonstrations on the picket line. So deep is the resentment against the company that not a single production worker failed to participate in the picketing.

NEW COURSES IN YIPSEL SCHOOL

The New York Division of the Y.P.S.L. is running a Marxist education youth school, the Karl Liebknecht School.

This school aims at educating youth militants in the Marxist principles of class struggle. It recruits especially the younger high school youth, many of whom are joining the ranks of the Y.P.S.L. and turn out young fighting Bolsheviks.

At present there are two classes running in the school: one in "Living Marxism," a study of basic principles. A second course deals with "Organizational Principles and Problems."

Two new courses are being added in "Sex Problems of Youth" and "Three Revolutions—Russia, Germany and China."

These new courses will open on Sunday, April 16. The school is conducted on Sunday mornings from 12 to 2 at the new headquarters of the Leon Sedov unit of the Y.P.S.L., 51 East Seventh St.

Get Your APPEAL At the Newsstand

Bound Volumes of the Appeal, 1938

Neatly Bound in Black and Red Covering

PRICE (incl. postage) \$3.00

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

I.F.T.U. Postpones Meeting In the Midst of Crisis

The increasingly sharpened character of political events appear to have paralyzed completely the bureaucrats of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

A regular meeting of the Executive of the I.F.T.U. was due in March. Hitler was taking Czechoslovakia and Memel, Franco was entering Madrid and Valencia. With such heat on the Citrines and Schevenels decided . . . to postpone their meeting!

It was not by accident that the only international working class organization meeting in the midst of the crisis last September and issuing its call to action was the Fourth International. While the social reformists and Stalinists become petrified by the impact of the crisis, the revolutionists of the Fourth International loom as the only hope of action for the world's workers.

How They Worked To "Save Spain"

A pamphlet written by Jean Rous, French Fourth Internationalist who spent many months in Spain between July 1936 and the conclusion of the civil war, has just been published in France under the title "Spain 1936-1939: The Revolution Assassinated." It covers the whole period with an amazing mass of detail.

The Rous pamphlet should be of particular value in making clear the criminally mistaken line of the P.O.U.M. The impotence of its centrist policies is clarified throughout by the mere recital of events and the P.O.U.M.'s reaction to them. The victimization of this party by the Stalinists and their Peoples Front allies should not, despite our sympathy and solidarity with the victims, close anyone's eyes to its false policies.

Rous cites a letter of May 25, 1937 written by

the socialist War Minister of the Loyalist government, Prieto, to his party comrade, the Loyalist ambassador to the United States, Fernando de los Rios. This letter shows with what zeal these "socialists" went about saving Spain . . . by crushing the Spanish working class organizations.

"Finally," says Prieto in one of the passages, "the most important part of our mopping-up process in the rear has been concluded. At Barcelona, as well as in the rest of the province, the wheels of the F.A.I. and the C.N.T. (the anarchist mass organizations) . . . have been completely stopped, their most dangerous elements are either dead or imprisoned. What's even more important, is the fact that those who have come to their senses are today either convinced or at the very least more moderate. . . . We haven't yet finished mopping up completely. We have decided, among other things, to transfer these elements to the most dangerous fronts. In this manner the disrupters will aid us in perfecting our mopping-up process, for which we should be very thankful to them. . . . In following this line of conduct, we shall, as you know, please the three countries who have aided us most and who, quite recently, have demanded such a course from us."

We learn from the press that de los Rios has formally resigned his post as ambassador and that he is joining the teaching staff of the New School for Social Research, where he will no doubt lecture on how to fight fascism. This is no more than fitting. For, as Bernard Shaw once remarked, "He who can, does; he who can't, teaches."

Labour Party Branches Flock to "Anti-Register" Opposition

Thirty-nine branches of the British Labour Party have officially flocked to the growing rank and file opposition against the National Register conscription scheme, the development of which has been recorded regularly in this column.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

The case of Egbert Q. Rubberbone is not unusual. Almost everyday his little story appears somewhere in some newspaper—generally on page thirty-six. . . . It goes something like this:

"After thirty years of faithful, devoted service to the Snarl & Sweat Department Store, Mr. Egbert Q. Rubberbone, known to hundreds of local citizens as the assistant manager of the piano department, was awarded a gold watch at a testimonial dinner in his honor last night. The watch was presented by Mr. Snarl who said, 'We need more men like Rubberbone.'"

Millions of people have read this little story but how many give it a second thought? Not many. Most folks merely glance at the headline and then pass on to the crossword puzzle. But behind that headline is a story. Men like Rubberbone are not born everyday and their kind are rapidly passing into the pages of history. Soon they will be extinct like the Dodo.

And Mr. Snarl knew what he was talking about—without men like Rubberbone the system of heads-I-win-tails-you-lose would not last very long.

All For a Watch

For thirty years of faithful, devoted service. . . . For thirty long, dreary years of leaping out of bed like a hunted criminal every morning at seven a.m.—bolting down a cruller and a cup of muddy coffee—rushing down into a dark, dirty subway where he was jammed and shoved into a crowded stinking subway car—out and up and into the office to shove his time card into the clock ten minutes early and then to put in eight or more solid hours on his feet and no time or place to rest. Home at night—to a stuffy flat in the suburbs where he falls asleep over the dinner table. Thirty years of this—for a watch. A watch worth twenty-five bucks in any hock-shop.

And Egbert is satisfied. If you ask him why he never becomes fed up with the life of a plough horse he is surprised. He says, "It's a people like you who make all the trouble in this world. You always want to upset everything."

Egbert Doesn't Think

Egbert just doesn't stop to think why anyone should want to upset things. He never stops to ask questions and he never has any doubts about things. He accepts his boss's answers to everything. He even feels sorry for his boss. He says the boss couldn't get along without him and he couldn't get along without the boss. And Egbert is right again. Only Egbert just doesn't know how right he is. . . . For thirty years he kept his place and never spoke out of turn. Whenever he felt ill he forced himself to the store and didn't mention it to a soul. His stomach suffered as a result of eating half rotten food in clutter-bang one arm lunch rooms.

When debts mounted and his wife couldn't pay the grocer or the electric bills, Egbert hesitated. After weeks of mental torture he crawled to the boss's office. Hat in hand and heart in mouth, he spoke softly and fearfully.

A SALUTE TO DAVID REY

By DOUGLAS CONLEY and MARY WILLS

A dispatch from Barcelona published in the French press reports that David Rey has been arrested by Franco's military police. This is the same Catalan worker who was held for one and a half years by the Stalinist police of the Loyalist government and who was charged, with other leaders of the P.O.U.M., of conniving with the fascists. His new arrest stands as definite proof, if such is still needed, of the absurdity of these charges.

We recall David Rey (his real name is Daniel Rebull) as one of the finest class-conscious worker-militants whom we have ever had the privilege of knowing. An old war horse of the revolutionary movement, he was always ready to serve his comrades and his party but, unlike the bulk of the younger FOUM leaders with whom he was associated, he was never too old to learn. In the revolutionary enthusiasm of 1936, he still saw the necessity of deep self-criticism.

He supported the Left Wing of the P.O.U.M., led by his younger brother, Jose Rebull. This opposition, organized around its counter-theses of April, 1937, attacked Nin's policy of entry into the Catalan Generalitat and the centrist zig-zags of the P.O.U.M.'s Executive Committee.

This was not the first time David Rey had learned the lessons of the workers' movement from his own experiences. As a syndicalist in the Spanish trade union movement, he had years ago learned the need of political action, and had turned to the Communist Party. The ineptitude of the Third International eventually led him to join with Maurin in the split which created the Workers and Peasants' Bloc—which later fused with the Nin-Andrade group to form the P.O.U.M. David Rey sat on the Central Committee of the P.O.U.M. After July, 1936, he was sent as manager of a workers' football team on an educational and money-raising tour to Mexico. It was during his absence that the P.O.U.M. abandoned

its revolutionary slogans to enter the government ministry. Soon after his return to Catalonia, his keen understanding and long experience with problems of the working class convinced him of his party's mistakes. He joined his brother, the able young business manager of La Batalla, who, with the April theses, had taken the lead in self-criticism of the party line. We feel confident that had this Bolshevik self-criticism only arisen within the P.O.U.M. more promptly, the history of Spain would be different today, and such a courageous old militant as David Rey would not be in Franco's hands.

This Catalan worker stands as a symbol of the tens of thousands who have not given up the struggle, and who never shall, until the victory of the Spanish workers. His political courage, his firm stand against the opportunist stream, should serve as an example to American workers. Salud to David Rey, symbol of the revolutionary workers of Barcelona!

Investigation Uncovers Shocking Medical Conditions In Mine Areas

(Concluded from Mar. 31 issue)

Despite the high cost of medical services in the mining camps almost no provisions exist for preventive medicine. Very rarely does a woman have any pre-natal care; there are almost no visiting nurses; few children are vaccinated until they reach school age; no dental care is provided; not a single class in health or hygiene was found in the whole territory.

Yet for camp medical services, including extra charges, the average cost to 100 men each year is \$2,980, not including hospital fees. The Bureau of Cooperative Medicine which conducted the investigation under the aegis of the United Mine Workers believes that this sum is more than sufficient for an excellent service with first rate doctors, nurses, and medicines if the money were handled in an effective and responsible manner. At present a large proportion of the funds are diverted directly into the company treasuries.

HOSPITAL CONDITIONS EVEN MORE SHOCKING

The picture of hospitalization for the miners shows a thing, even more shocking conditions. The companies deduct the funds from the worker's pay check, generally taking \$1.25 a month from each man, and making absolutely no accounting of how it is expended. In cases where they turn it over to contracting hospitals, the hospitals have no means of ascertaining whether the sum actually represents the whole amount collected.

In almost every case investigated, the company retained not less than 40 per cent, calling it "nominal charge for collecting the money." The Bureau estimates that for every 100 workers, about \$1500 is collected for the hospital after the men have already contributed \$2,980 for the camp doctor. This amount is increased by \$500 through extra charges.

HOSPITALS LACK BEDS

United States Government figures indicate that the minimum adequate standard is 2.5 general hospital beds for 1,000 population. In the area investigated there are only about 2.5 beds for 1,000, and the men are paying exorbitant rates for their support. According to an investigation made by the West

Virginia Legislature in 1931, the miners often pay \$5,000 for a service that at most should cost \$1,000.

Sharp competition exists between different hospitals. This condition is fostered by the operators. Not only is there cutthroat bidding between the hospitals but bribing is frequently resorted to and rebates are given to the coal operators.

COMPANIES CONTROL THROUGH CHECK-OFF

Control of the check-off gives the companies control of the hospitals. In one instance the investigators were told that the construction of a new hospital building was financed through an increase in the men's wage deductions but the operators kept the deed and later turned it over to a group of doctors.

As a result of the check-off and the fact that the fewer the patients the higher the profits, most hospitals are reluctant to admit patients. Furthermore, patients are discharged as quickly as possible, sometimes with very serious results.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST COLORED MINERS

The quality of service is very poor. In the whole area there are exactly four beds for contagious diseases—no matter how serious such cases may be, they must therefore be taken care of at home. There are no children's wards whatever. Colored miners and their families who pay just as much as the white are usually cared for in very inferior wards. Although the equipment is fairly good for emergency surgery, in other respects it is wretched. There is little or no equipment for physiotherapy or X-Ray treatment. There is not a single artificial fever machine or "iron lung" in the entire territory.

Each "list" patient's treatment is made as cheap as possible. The mine doctor is discouraged from sending in patients, and is regarded as a "buck-passer" and the chief enemy of the hospital if he does so. The Bureau's investigators did not find a single instance where there was real general adequate nursing care. Wards are crowded to extremes to increase the profits, even when there are other empty wards in the same building. In the words of one miner, "the hospital calls us

'charity patients' and treats us worse than that, and yet it is our money that keeps it going."

EXTRA CHARGES FORCED ON PATIENTS

On top of this, every excuse is used to force extra charges upon the patients. Maternity cases and contagious diseases are never included in the contract. For special medicines, serums, drugs, special surgery—even of the most ordinary kind, there is always an extra charge, usually an exorbitant rate. The Bureau estimates that extra charges bring the total yearly hospital expenditures to about \$2,000 for each 100 men. With competition between hospitals eliminated and with costly equipment utilized to its fullest extent in large, well-planned units of two or three hundred beds, this sum could furnish ward hospitalization, laboratory and X-Ray service, and, in addition, contribute toward much-needed specialists and post-graduate training for many camp physicians.

ESPECIALLY VICIOUS IN COMPENSATION CASES

In preventing injured workers from obtaining compensation legally due them, the hospitals and mine doctors are used as especially vicious weapons of the coal operators. Rates for compensation insurance, the premium of which must be paid by the companies, varies according to the seriousness of the accidents and their frequency. It is company policy as a result to minimize every accident, no matter how serious the consequences to the injured worker.

Doctors are entitled to remuneration from the state compensation fund for services rendered in any accident case, but a doctor can send a bill to the fund only on peril of his job, because if bills are sent the company's insurance premiums increase. As a result the miners must pay for this service out of the check-off from their wages. In the same way the men pay for hospital care that should be paid for by the compensation fund.

DOCTORS COMPELLED TO FALSIFY REPORTS

The service rendered to injured men is gauged entirely by company interests. Since the hospitals derive little extra income from compensation work, they treat accident cases as cheaply and as briefly as possible. Men are sent home before they are able to walk. Sometimes a leg is amputated because it is easier and cheaper than trying to save it. The extreme was reached when the Bureau was told, in one instance, that men are sometimes allowed to die because death benefits are only \$4,000 while total permanent disability is \$6,000.

It is for this reason that mine doctors are compelled to falsify death certificates and accident reports to conform with company desires. One mine doctor in West Virginia recently lost his job because he certified that a man's death was due to carbon monoxide poisoning instead of "heart failure" or "stomach trouble," as the company insisted. Often, too, the foremen try to show that the injury did not occur on the job, or was the result of breaking a safety rule.

WORKERS' CONTROL THE ONLY WAY OUT

It is doubtful that John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, who is now negotiating contracts with the employers, will of his own accord see fit to disturb coal company profits by insisting that all funds collected for medical services be placed strictly in control of the union. For the miners there is no other possible solution. Strict union control alone can eliminate the evils. So long as the employers can make their profit with the wage deductions, disease, accidents, and death will continue to be a lucrative source of profits for the stockholders of the mining companies.

SOCIETY NOTES

Roughing It In The Caribbean

HAMILTON, Bermuda—Visitors, enjoying a Spring holiday on the Bermuda Isles, are turning to the sports calendar for their activity by day, and feasting visiting sports celebrities in the evening hours.

Many of the tennis stars of the United States are gathering here now to compete in the nineteenth annual Bermuda championship. Luncheons, teas, cocktail parties and dinner dancing will honor the players.

The Junior Service League members will serve tea for the players each day, before the guests go later on to cocktail parties at the various hotels and homes.

—New York Times

Virginia attorney, who said, "By this method the employer, in effect, says to his employees, 'I will pay you compensation for your injury, but you shall submit yourself to treatment and examination by doctors of my choosing and employment who are, of course, paid by you, and if the doctors so selected by me and paid for by you find any disability, I will pay in accordance with such finding.'"

This arrangement makes it extremely difficult for workmen to draw sickness insurance, accident compensation, or death benefits.

Public health in the whole district suffers from the mine operators' control of medical service. In West Virginia, for example, there is but one state hospital for tuberculosis in the southern coal mining area. This has 148 beds, all full, and 275 people on its waiting list.

When patients are finally admitted, they have to pay \$30 a month for their board and room in this state institution. In Kentucky there are but 18 beds that may be occupied free of charge by tuberculosis patients other than those from the city of Louisville. In Tennessee there is no state tuberculosis hospital, however in one county of Virginia alone there are 300 known active cases of pulmonary tuberculosis with infectious sputum. One of these is a mother with fourteen children.

There is little doubt that the pressure of a well-organized health service for the miners would force many improvements in this situation.

BUREAU SUGGESTS POSSIBLE REMEDIES

A good deal of the report of the Bureau is concerned with possible remedies. The investigators recognize that the miners are fully aware of the deficiencies in medical service and are anxious to end them. The Bureau feels that this can be done only by integration of medical services, responsibility on the part of the doctors and hospitalists, and the industry treating instead of the mine companies, and control by the men of the deductions made from their wages for these services.

On page twelve of the report the investigators formulate the only real way to institute a reform: "The fact is that several camp physicians told us in confidence that an independent health service backed by the United Mine Workers of America offers the one possibility of an effective solution to both their problems and those of the miners."

WORKERS' CONTROL THE ONLY WAY OUT

It is doubtful that John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, who is now negotiating contracts with the employers, will of his own accord see fit to disturb coal company profits by insisting that all funds collected for medical services be placed strictly in control of the union.

For the miners there is no other possible solution. Strict union control alone can eliminate the evils. So long as the employers can make their profit with the wage deductions, disease, accidents, and death will continue to be a lucrative source of profits for the stockholders of the mining companies.

MASS PRESSURE STALLS CANADA CONSCRIPT PLAN

Canadian capitalist spokesmen, under the rising anger and pressure of the anti-war sentiment of the Canadian workers and farmers, last week declared themselves against conscription.

First Dr. Robert Manion, head of a staunch imperialist and long of the Conservative Party, declared, "Canadian youth should not be conscripted to fight outside the borders of Canada."

Next, Mackenzie King, present Prime Minister and head of the Liberal Party, rose in the Dominion Parliament, and attempted to lull the suspicions of the Canadian masses, with a promise that his government would never conscript Canadians for service overseas.

The pledges of these politicians against conscription are no more real than Chamberlain's; furthermore, since Roosevelt's Kingston, Ontario speech last August, and its cordial reception by both the Liberal and Conservative parties, it has been absolutely clear that Canada's foreign policy will be determined from Washington, not London, and will be geared to Roosevelt's war program.

In his Parliament speech, Mackenzie King gratefully recalled Roosevelt's pledge to preserve Canada's territorial integrity, and emphasized that Canada's independence is more important to the United States than 20 years ago.

Behind all this rests Canada's dependence on the White House. When Roosevelt gives the word, promises made to the Canadian masses against conscription will be junked.

For the time being, however, both political parties have made statements calculated to quiet the resentment of the masses against the horror of another war, and to prevent the organization of that resentment by working class leaders whom they could not control.

HOLLYWOOD MERRY-GO-ROUND

Pooh Bah Number One of the movies, Mr. Will Hays, recently made public his annual report to the industry. Mr. Hays, whose function it is, among other things, to control trade practices in the industry, waxed cheerily patriotic over the future. Said the Grand Sachem: "We are entering into an Americanism cycle under the impact of public opinion."

In other words all the flag-waving on the screen that has been seen of late is merely a stumbling preliminary. Now that Mr. Hays has given his official blessing, there'll be more Yankee bellywash spilled in the Hollywood grottoes than even a two-fisted glutton can thrive on.

And now that Mr. Hays has had the gracious good mind to forewarn us, we, for our part, can look into the future of the Americanism cycle. Most preponderant of the lot will be the Historical film, which will show Dollar Imperialism building its democratic empire. It is almost safe to assume that at least ten films will be released by the major studios during the first six months after the adoption of the new policy. Where historical facts are hostile or non-existent, Hollywood will invent them. The legend should read: It Might Have Happened.

Since the Hollywood savants have for some time now been producing historical films, ("Marie Antoinette," and "Gunga Din," etc.) we have come to know their time-tested formula. For example, in the case of India, that rebellious colonial who lifts a rifle against His Majesty's Bengal Lancers is a downright bloody devil. In the case of the French Revolution, every Jacobin is a sloppy knave whose ultimate purpose is to ravish a Bourbon princess before she is guillotined.

The Americanism films will follow the same pattern. Hollywood will be having a merry time of it these next months. Now that it is destined for higher things, it needs no longer confine itself to courageous attacks against the nation's mothers-in-law.

NAT LEVINE

'Tsar to Lenin' Shown at Forum

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) SOCHI, RUSSIA.—Close to 100 workers from South Bend, Mishawaka and Goshen, Ind., and Niles, Mich., attended the first showing in northern Indiana of the film "Tsar to Lenin" and the lecture given by Arne Swabeck on "The Lessons of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union Today." Many questions were asked of the speaker. Considerable literature was sold, and a number of new contacts gained. The meeting was the first of a series of forums that will be held every other Sunday afternoon by the Socialist Forum organized by the Saint Joseph County Branch of the S.W.P.

REFUGEES NEED CLOTHING SAYS AMERICAN FUND

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has made an appeal for clothing for refugees. The need of the refugees is urgent; they cannot wait for clothes! If you have clothing of any kind which you can spare, you should bring it at once to the office of the American Fund, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, or inform the office, which will send someone to pick it up. All contributions will be welcome.

DUNNE SPEAKS AT ANTI-WAR STRIKE

MADISON, Wisconsin—V. R. Dunne, state organizer of the Minnesota section of the Socialist Workers Party, was the guest speaker at the anti-war strike held on the campus of the University of Wisconsin at Madison on Thursday, April 6. Dunne received the invitation to speak from the Student Anti-War Strike Committee, which asked him "to give the labor point of view on the present war situation."

The Wisconsin student strike committee, according to its chairman, Robert Rumsey, "is composed of all progressive anti-war elements on the campus who wish to militantly assert their stand against war and war preparations."

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, 22 April 7, 1939

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

Subscriptions: 2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: 3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.

Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: 1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year. Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

On Labor Unity

President Roosevelt was instrumental in initiating the negotiations for unity between the A.F.L. and C.I.O. For Roosevelt unity means avoiding the necessity of taking sides; it means a greater chance of getting a united labor vote for his party; it means fewer jurisdictional squabbles and consequently a more effective prosecution of any war that he may drag us into.

To these reasons the intelligent worker is utterly indifferent. He has more important reasons of his own for desiring and demanding unity—unity based on the acceptance of industrial unionism in the mass production industries.

The achievement of unity in the ranks of labor would, at the present time, constitute a tremendous stride forward. It would increase the defensive power of the working class, something that is absolutely necessary now when reactionary forces are mobilizing to take back every concession labor has gained in the last several years; it would, perhaps, stimulate an organizing campaign such as the separation of the C.I.O. from the A.F.L. was responsible for.

To some it may seem curious that both the breach and the healing of the breach in the ranks of organized labor can bring about similar results. That is nevertheless the case. The organization of the workers in the mass production industries on an industrial basis was so vital that the separation of the C.I.O. from the A.F.L. to achieve that objective was more than justified. That split set the workers into motion with progressive results that are well known to everybody.

And now that industrial unionism has succeeded in organizing some of the mass production industries, the unification of the forces of labor—always on condition that industrial unionism in the mass production industries is to be taken for granted—would arouse great enthusiasm among the workers and might well lead to another great influx of workers into the ranks of organized labor.

The only ones who will really benefit henceforward from disunity are the bosses. From now on the two organizations will attempt to organize the same workers and the bitter disputes and rivalries that will inevitably result can be beneficial only to the employers.

No one doubts the keen desire of the rank and file of both the A.F.L. and C.I.O. for unity. The main obstacle to achieving that goal is the fear of the A.F.L. reactionaries that unity with the C.I.O. might threaten their position of leadership. Nor are the ambitions, influence and grand-stand playing of John L. Lewis favorable factors for achieving unity.

Progressive workers of both organizations must give the leaders to understand that once industrial unionism in the mass production industries is accepted, all other questions can and should be compromised and no considerations of personal prestige and ambition should interfere with accomplishing that unity which will mean so much to the working class.

Battleships Before Relief

The "economy-minded" Congressmen slashed \$50,000,000 from W.P.A. funds. These same Congressmen didn't make a squawk about the two battleships of 45,000 tons each that the President ordered built at an expense of approximately \$200,000,000. Nor did the President suggest that perhaps the money spent for the battleships could very well go for relief. There may be a slight disagreement between Roosevelt and some Congressmen as to how much should be cut from W.P.A. but there is no disagreement on the proposition that battleships come before relief.

What Do They Fear?

The House of Representatives has just passed a bill sponsored by Representative Dempsey which provides for the deportation of an alien advocating any change whatsoever, whether by legal means or by force and violence, in the present form of government of the United States.

The bill is so broad that if an alien happens to belong to any American organization, whether religious or fraternal, which advocates an amendment to the Con-

stitution, he will be liable to deportation as "undesirable."

If he applies for citizenship and participates in any movement of a political nature, even if it is so mild that it does no more than invoke the right of petition, he will imperil his chances of becoming a citizen and might be deported at any time up until his final papers are issued.

During no previous period of war in the nation's history has any bill as drastic as this ever succeeded in worming its way through Congress—not in 1776, not in 1812, when the U. S. was at war with England, not in 1848 when the U. S. fought Mexico, not in 1860 when the U. S. plunged into civil strife and turmoil, not in 1898 when the U. S. engaged in war with Spain, nor again in 1917 when the U. S. followed the rest of the imperialist nations into the vortex of the World War.

The bill constitutes a violent break with the official American tradition which at times has welcomed aliens to our shores and has always prided itself as furnishing the world's sole haven for the persecuted and oppressed.

Can it be that the structure of American capitalism has become so flimsy and shaky, has approached so close to the brink of collapse that even the mildest shadow of criticism endangers its existence?

Casado's Last Chore

After surrendering Madrid last Tuesday, General Casado went to Valencia and issued a bogus proclamation, in the name of the Communist Party, summoning its local leadership to party headquarters. When they arrived, they were surrounded and taken prisoner by Casado's forces, taken to prison in trucks—and turned over for punishment to Franco when he occupied Valencia a few hours later. After this final task, Casado and his staff boarded a British warship at Gandia and fled to France.

What an utterly vicious act of vengeance against those with whom Casado collaborated so closely until March 5! He had learned these methods in the Stalinist school which produced Miaja. How many such monsters, trained to cynicism and corruption in the school of Stalin, have been let loose to destroy the labor movement everywhere—including, as in the case of Valencia, the local leaders of the Communist parties?

The New Leader, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, and the Socialist Call, Norman Thomas' organ, have justified the Casado coup against the Communists on March 5. These people are beneath contempt: calling themselves socialists, they have not the slightest instinct of class-solidarity. They are blood-brothers to the Socialist, Besteiro, who joined Casado in the March 5 coup.

They Rewarded Him

In Aliquippa, Pa. a worker who was too old to do any work and who couldn't find a job even if he tried, was given \$3.60 a week for relief. Overwhelmed with gratitude at this generosity the worker volunteered to clean the streets for six hours a day and six days a week.

He died and was buried in Potter's field. As a reward for his loyalty to the masters, a collection was made to remove his body to a regular cemetery.

The poor worker! He didn't understand that he had earned his relief allotment a thousand times over. He had slaved away for his bosses during his lifetime and had produced tens of thousands of dollars of profit for them. He was by right entitled to a decent pension and some comforts during his old age. He didn't understand all this and his reward for his failure to understand was a collection after his death.

There may be other workers with that same slave psychology. We must help educate them before they receive a similar "reward."

"Poor Little Poland"?

Now the tangle of imperialist rivalries in Europe is trying to straighten itself out in the form of a bloc pledged to defend Poland, and possibly Rumania, from Nazi attack.

Should this arrangement work out—and that is still far from certain—we would begin to hear, no doubt about "poor little Poland" under the Nazi heel.

"Poor little Poland"! Will the bosses of Britain, France, and this country call upon the workers to defend "democracy" in Poland? Will the Stalinist patriots here and in those other countries echo this cry? We may be sure they will, if the bosses want it that way.

But they will forget that in Poland the Ukrainian minority has been crushed, the Jews vilely persecuted, the Germans, Czechs, and other minorities kept in virtual bondage. They will conveniently forget that Poland has been and is a military, semi-Fascist dictatorship.

This is the "democracy" they are talking about defending!

Spring Sale—20 per cent Off! Thousands of Revolutionary Titles Ends April 15th A Few Samples

Table with 2 columns: Title and Price. Includes 'History of the Russian Revolution' for \$2.98, 'The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution' for 6.00, 'Revolution Betrayed—Leon Trotsky' for 2.50, 'My Life—Leon Trotsky' for 5.00, 'The 3rd International After Lenin' for 2.50, 'The Stalin School of Falsification' for 2.50, 'Russia, Twenty Years After—Victor Serge' for 2.50.

Visit the Labor Book Shop now—28 EAST 12th STREET, N. Y. C. Add 3c per book for postage

By Leon Trotsky

STALIN'S CAPITULATION

(Continued from Page 1) thanks to the manifold advantages of the totalitarian regime, Stalin is his own Benes and his own General Syrov. He replaces the "principles" of his policy precisely in order not to find himself replaced. The Bonapartist clique wants to live and govern. Everything else is for it a question of "technique."

In reality, the political methods of Stalin are in no way distinguished from the methods of Hitler. But in the sphere of international politics, the difference in results is obvious. In a brief space of time Hitler has recovered the Saar territory, overthrown the Treaty of Versailles, placed his grasp on Austria and the Sudetenland, subjected Czechoslovakia to his domination and a number of other second-rate and third-rate powers to his influence.

During the same years, Stalin met only defeats and humiliations on the international arena (China, Czechoslovakia, Spain). To look for the explanation of this difference in the personal qualities of Hitler and Stalin would be much too superficial. Hitler is indubitably cleverer and more audacious than Stalin. However, that is not decisive. The decisive things are the general social conditions of the two countries.

REAL DIFFERENCES EXIST

It is now the fashion in superficial radical circles to lump the regimes of Germany and the U.S.S.R. together. This is meaningless. In Germany, despite all the state "regulations" there exists a regime of private property in the means of production. In the Soviet Union industry is nationalized and agriculture collectivized. We know all the social deformities which the bureaucracy has brought forth in the land of the October Revolution. But there remains the fact of a planned economy on the basis of the nationalization and collectivization of the means of production. This staffed economy has its own laws which accommodate themselves less and less to the despotism, the ignorance, and the thievery of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Monopoly capitalism throughout the entire world, and particularly in Germany, finds itself in a crisis that has no way out. Fascism itself is an expression of this crisis. But within the framework of monopoly capitalism, the regime of Hitler is the only possible one for Germany. The enigma of Hitler's success is explained by the fact that through his police regime he gives highest expression to the tendencies of imperialism. On the contrary the regime of Stalin has entered into irreducible contradiction with the tendencies of dying bourgeois society.

SPEECH IS A TRIAL BALLOON

Hitler will soon reach his apogee, if he has not already done so, only to plunge thereafter into the abyss. But this moment has not yet arrived. Hitler continues to exploit the dynamic strength of an imperialism struggling for its existence. On the other hand, the contradictions between the Bonapartist regime of Stalin and the needs of economy and culture have reached an intolerably acute stage. The struggle of the Kremlin for its self-preservation only deepens and aggravates the contradictions.

WORKERS' FORUM

GANDHI IS WORSE THAN WE SAID

Editor of the Socialist Appeal Dear Friend:

In a recent issue of your paper one of your writers remarked that Mahatma Gandhi had furnished the British with 1 1/2 million Indian soldiers during the World War.

This is not true. Gandhi did a much better job for the British! He organized almost 3 million soldiers for them—1 1/2 million of whom were killed in fighting for British imperialism. They fought in Mesopotamia, Turkey, Arabia, the Gallipoli campaigns (where alone close to a million died), other Near Eastern sections and France. Close to a billion dollars was raised by Gandhi for the British war chest.

These 3 million workers and peasants of India were misled by the false promises of freedom given to them by the British imperialists and their friend Gandhi. But since then they have learned differently! Gandhi is again preparing to do the same thing, as your writer remarks. But I believe it correct to say now that never again will an Indian fight willingly in the army of the British. For example, the workers and peasants refuse to follow false leaders like Gandhi, the British will never be able to recruit a single soldier to do their dirty work. Indians who really believe in the independence of their country will fight only in their own army—that of the workers and peasants—against Britain and its slave "democracy."

I will be pleased if you publish this correction and thank you for your interest in the struggles of India for its freedom.

Fraternally yours, K. A. Khan—an Indian worker April 2, 1939

ON ATTACKING PRES. ROOSEVELT

Editor:

Many of the militants in my W.P.A. union object to your broadside attacks against President Roosevelt. I feel that your paper ought more adequately to answer the arguments of these workers. For example, the workers ask: "Didn't Roosevelt do more for labor than any other President?" "Didn't Roosevelt give us the W.P.A. and the Wagner Act?" "Didn't Roosevelt give us work relief for the first time?" "So why knock the hell out of the only guy that's ever tried to do something for labor—we don't see the Appeal knocking the Republicans like

leading to an incessant civil war at home and on the international arena, defeats which are the consequences of that civil war.

What is Stalin's speech? Is it a link in the chain of a new policy in process of formation, basing itself on preliminary agreements already concluded with Hitler? Or is it only a trial balloon, a unilateral offer of heart and hand? Most likely the reality is closer to the second variant than to the first. As a victor, Hitler is in no hurry to determine his friendships and enmities once and for all. On the contrary, it is to his utmost interest that the Soviet Union and the western democracies accuse each other of "provoking war." By his offensive Hitler has, in any case, already gained this much: Stalin who only yesterday was almost the Alexander Nevsky of the western democracies is today turning his eyes toward Berlin and humbly confesses the mistakes made.

TOUGH JOB FOR COMINTERN LIARS

What is the lesson? During the last three years Stalin called all the companions of Lenin agents of Hitler. He exterminated the flower of the General Staff. He shot, discharged and deported about 30,000 officers—all under the same charge of being agents of Hitler or his allies. After having dismembered the party and decapitated the army, now Stalin is openly posing his own candidacy for the role of . . . principal agent of Hitler. Let the hacks of the Comintern lie and get out of this how they can. The facts are so clear, so convincing that no one will succeed any longer in deceiving the public opinion of the international working class with charlatan phrases. Before Stalin falls, the Comintern will be in pieces. It will not be necessary to wait for years before both these things come to pass.

Coyoacan, March 11, 1939.

P. S.—After Hitler's entry into Prague rumors spread of a return by Stalin into the circle of the democracies. It is impossible to consider this excluded. But neither is it excluded that Hitler entered Prague in the "democracies" in his hands. Hitler's abandonment to Hungary of the Carpatho-Ukraine, which did not belong to him, is a fairly demonstrative renunciation of plans for a Greater Ukraine. Whether this will be for any length of time is another question.

In any case, one must consider it likely that Stalin knew in advance the fate of the Carpatho-Ukraine and that is why he denied with such assurance the existence of any danger from Hitler to the Soviet Ukraine. The creation of a common frontier between Poland and Hungary can also be interpreted as a manifestation of Hitler's "good-will" toward the U.S.S.R. Whether this will be for long is still another question.

At the present pace of development of world antagonisms, the situation can change radically. But today it would seem that Stalin is preparing to play with Hitler.

L. T. Coyoacan, March 24, 1939.

FRANCO FORCES VICTIMS INTO SLAVE GANGS

(Continued from Page 1)

toiling masses lent a grim overtone to the telegram sent to Franco on April 1 by Pope Pius, expressing sincere thanks for Spain's "decided Catholic victory" and conferring his Apostolic blessing on the Spanish Butcher.

F. D. Recognizes Franco

President Roosevelt accorded diplomatic recognition to the Franco fascist regime and simultaneously lifted the arms embargo on Spain on April 1. The haste with which Roosevelt moved to establish friendly relations with Franco was in grim contrast with his moves against Loyalist Spain during the civil war. Under his direction, Congress on January 8, 1937 declared an arms embargo which completely cut off Loyalist Spain from every type of war materials, while the fascists were in no way affected, since they received all their supplies from Italy and Germany, including much material imported from America ostensibly for Hitler and Mussolini but actually for Franco.

In Wilson's Foot-Steps

On May 1, 1937, when the general neutrality law was adopted by Congress, legal experts stated that it did not specifically apply to civil wars and that, since it superseded all previous legislation relating to embargoes, Loyalist Spain was eligible to purchase arms here. Whereupon, on the same day, Roosevelt issued a proclamation specifically applying an embargo against Spain. Roosevelt's speedy recognition of Franco's government is certainly not the pattern which would have been followed had the workers and peasants won in Spain. Like his predecessor, the "New Freedom" Wilson, who refused to recognize the Soviet government, Roosevelt would have refused to establish relations with a successful anti-fascist government in Spain. This is sufficiently evidenced by his cutting the Loyalists off from arms throughout the civil war.

tempt to save it from collapse at the expense of the great masses of toilers. There's not enough of this material in the Appeal. A simple analysis of the breakdown of American capitalism is, I feel, what the workers need. Toledo, O. T. S.

Their Government By Jamse Burnham

During the past two months both Houses of Congress have passed, and Roosevelt has signed, a regular Naval appropriations bill totalling over \$600,000,000. There has also been passed and signed a \$350,000,000 bill for the increase of the Army air force.

At the present time, joint committees of the two Houses are ironing out certain minor conflicts in two other bills, both of which are assured of passage within the next week or two: the regular Army appropriation, reaching more than \$500,000,000; and a bill making available approximately \$50,000,000 for the expansion and construction of naval bases.

Two further bills are also being prepared in committees: one allotting about \$50,000,000 in "educational orders" for war supplies; another for from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 to buy up and store essential military supplies which must be brought in from abroad.

These that I have listed add up to \$1,600,000,000.

The Good Provider

But this is by no means the total to be spent on armaments during the next year. A number of military and naval items—for example, construction of military posts and encampments, airplane landing fields, Coast Guard, military roads, etc.—are carried in the budget under a variety of non-military headings: Treasury Department, C.C.C., W.P.A., and others. Such expenditures would add another several hundred millions.

Then there must be taken into account the sums appropriated during previous sessions of Congress which are now being used for the construction of hundreds of warships and airplanes. The present session will undoubtedly make a number of "deficiency appropriations" before it adjourns.

The grand total for armaments, directly for armaments, to be spent during the next fiscal year will be far more than \$2,000,000,000. Indeed, since it is certain that a later session of Congress will add vastly to this sum before the next fiscal year is over, it is hard to place any limit on what will be spent. Three, four billions, even more, are entirely probable.

They are generous fellows, these Congressmen and this President. No one can charge that when they really take something seriously they stint on pennies. The instruments of death must be of the best quality. No battleship but the fastest and strongest will do; no machine gun but the most rapidly death-dealing; no gas but the most horrible in its effects.

And what a happy family they are when they get together to vote armaments! Nearly everyone of the armament bills has carried unanimously: Democrats and Republicans, New Dealers and Old Dealers, President and Congress, Marcantonio and Ham Fish and Carter Glass, all joining hands. Nor has their innocent pleasure been marred by any jarring notes from "business." Every section of business, every one of its newspapers and magazines, have remained discreetly silent or loudly praising while these billions have been voted.

The Picture's Other Side

During these same last two months, 88,000 men have been dropped from the W.P.A. rolls. That means about 400,000 persons who have been left with no means to get adequate food or warmth or housing or medical care.

The order has gone out to drop several hundred thousand more this week, twice as many next month, about the same number in June.

Congress is debating whether to advance \$100,000,000 or \$150,000,000 more to W.P.A. The \$100,000,000 difference can be translated into terms of food or hunger for a million or so persons. In the House of Representatives, where the lower figure carried, no one even dreamed of suggesting anything higher than \$150,000,000. But \$150,000,000 means dropping an average of at least 150,000 a month from the rolls.

Many members of Congress have explained that they consider it an outrage to vote a single additional dollar to W.P.A. In this opinion, "business" finds itself largely in agreement.

Appeasement for Whom and for What?

A naive observer from Mars or a South Sea Islander might be a little puzzled if he should study this record of the last two months of Congress.

He might ask himself: Why is it that so many billions can be so unanimously voted for one purpose, and then such haggling voted for another, a measly fifty or a hundred million for another? He would discover, to his surprise, that the fifty million which divided the House on the W.P.A. deficiency bill is just half the price of a single battleship.

But he would soon be enlightened. Any Congressman or any businessman could easily explain this confusion.

Don't you realize, he would be told, that the government debt is so high and the yearly deficits are so large that we are headed straight for bankruptcy? Don't you understand that business is getting nowhere because it is strangled with so many taxes? Don't you see, then, that the only way in which the country can be saved from destruction is through a rigorous program of economy and more economy? W.P.A. has got to be cut to the bone or we'll go to pieces in no time.

And if our visitor replied: So that's how it is? I didn't understand about economy. Now I would suggest that if you need some real savings you could get even further by lopping a billion or two from these armament bills. . . .

But, naturally, our Congressman or businessman would not be going to carry this type of conversation further. He would turn away, muttering: So, on Mars or the South Seas they don't even know the difference between economy and patriotism! He's an alien, by his own admission, and I'll see that he is deported, as he ought to be, for spreading subversive doctrines.

A Young Anti-Fascist Contributes To the Fund for Political Refugees

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees recently received a donation of \$5.00 for the German refugees from a seven-year-old contributor. Shortly afterward, the following letter arrived from this young anti-fascist:

Dear Sir:

My mother said you would like to know how I got the money for the German refugees. First I thought I would get it from other people, but then I have found they all had tickets for it so I decided to get some money myself. I did the household jobs and used me allowance. I did the dishes, set the table and made beds, and that was all. I just gave \$2.40 though, and the rest was given by my mother, and my father, and my uncle. It took me a month.

I gave it because I liked the poor pretty well and I was reading about Hitler in the newspapers at that time. And I still think Hitler is a bum.

Yours sincerely, Richard