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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

Hitler Answers Stalin

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To struggle against every imperialism, above all their own imperialist states, this is the task of the workers of the world in defense of the Soviet Union. And to carry through this task they must cast from Friday drove one more nail deep into the coffin which tion for war. Just lop off a few million unemployed and Kai-Shek, aided by Stalin's government, has crushed all revopurchases of household goods, the "Overseer of the Poor."

They Must Eat!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Supreme Court Aftermath

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Economy' in the Senate

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

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

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

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

by out of his \$10,000 a year. Besides it can easily be financed. It won't even

On the Causes for the Defeat Of the Spanish Revolution

THE INVENTORS OF THE

UMBRELLA by the pedestrian, holding some revolution was able to triumph in These gentlemen picture history la of reformism: "The People's lution unconquerable. Front" (coalition with the bourgeoisie), the duty of the proletariat to defend the democratic fatherland (social patriotism), and so on. And they do it with all the vigor of ignorance!

ANOTHER NEWLY INVENTED UMBRELLA

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

Mensheviks and "Social Revolu- revolution proves this. onaries" (the party of Kerenthat the Bolsheviks did all this for some secret reason. . . .

THE CLASS CHARACTER

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

THE EXAMPLE OF CHINA AND RUSSIA

But, objects Mr. Leon, the immediate goal is the struggle against Fascism. All our forces must be centered on this immediate goal, etc., etc. Of course, of course! But tell us, pray, why during a struggle against Fascism must the land belong to the landlords and the factories and mills tive they seized lands and facto- \$1,475,184.77 and the other providries. Reactionaries, who call themership of the Stalinists were able to smash this powerful movement

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

the workers of Barcelona and As- THE PROLETARIAT turia, and the peasants of Seville WAS STRONG ENOUGH who were fighting for mills and The leaders of the C.N.T. and "People's Front."

THE EMPTY ABSTRACTION OF "ANTI-FASCISM"

On the other hand, the slogan:

the expropriation of the means of and with Azana there have been and assuring Franco's victory. production was to give aid to -military dictatorship, censorship It is simply ridiculous to justify Hohenzollern. And inasmuch as forced mobilization, hunger, blood the defeat by references to the there were not a few scoundrels and death. The abstract slogan: military intervention of Italian among them, they also asserted "For Democracy!" suffices for lib- Fascists and German Nazis, and eral journalists but not for the to the perfidious conduct of the oppressed workers and peasants. French and British "democracies." They have nothing to defend ex- Enemies will always remain enecept slavery and poverty. They mies. Reaction will always interwill direct all their forces to vene whenever it can. Imperialist smashing Fascism only if at the "democracy" will always betray. same time they are able to realize This means that the victory of new and better conditions of ex- the proletariat is impossible in istence. In consequence, the strug- general! But what about the vicgle of the proletarist and the tory of Fascism in Italy and Gerpoorest peasants against Fascism many itself? No intervention there. cannot in the social sense be de- Instead we had there a powerful fensive but only offensive. That proletariat and a very large sois why Leon goes 'way wide of cialist party and, in the case of the mark when, following the Germany, a large communist parmore "authoritative" philistines, ty as well. Why then was there no he lectures us that Marxism re- victory gained over Fascism? Prejects Utopias, and the idea of a cisely because the leading parties socialist revolution during a tried to reduce the question in struggle against Fascism is utop- both these countries to a struggle ian. In point of fact, the worst "against Fascism" when only a and most reactionary form of socialist revolution can defeat Utoplanism is the idea that it is Fascism. possible to struggle against Fascism without overthrowing capi-VICTORY WAS POSSIBLE

Sub-human Relief Standards Is Aim Of Newark Head

interest of bourgeois proprietors. children to 1/2 pint daily, (3) ark Municipal Assistance Board, Let us take another example, eliminate all store clothing pur- which Board, incidentally, was ap-At present China is engaged in chases except shoes, (4) stop pay- pointed by a "liberal" mayor. The a war against Japan, a just, de- ment for electric and gas "except unemployed are also seriously confensive war against plunderers in cases of illness or where there sidering Malady's proposals and and oppressors. With this war as are no other facilities for cook- extensive plans are being made

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

factories, for land, for a better F.A.I. themselves declared after future and not at all for the old the uprising of May, 1937: "Had parliamentary umbrella of the we wished we could have seized power at any time, because all the forces were on our side, but we did not want any dictatorship, The very concepts of "anti-Fas- etc., etc." What the anarchist sercism" and "anti-Fascist" are a vitors of the bourgeoisie did or fiction and a lie. Marxism ap- did not want is in the long run a proaches all phenomena from a secondary issue. They did, howclass standpoint. Azana is "anti- ever, admit that the insurrection-Fascist" only to the extent that any proletariat was strong enough Fascism are capable of proposing Fascism hinders bourgeois intel- to have conquered power. Had it lectuals from carving out parlia- possessed a revolutionary and not mentary or other careers. Con- a freacherous leadership, it would fronted with the necessity of have purged the state apparatus choosing between Fascism and the of all the Azanas, instituted the proletarian revolution, Azana power of the Soviets, given land Mr. Leon is unaware that the will always prove to be on the to the peasants, the mills and self-same umbrella was used in side of the Fascists. His entire factories to the workers-and the their operations by the Russian policy during the seven years of Spanish revolution would have be-

come Socialist and unconquerable. sky). They never tired of repeat- "Against Fascism, For Democ- lutionary party in Spain and being that the Russian revolution racy!" cannot attract millions cause there was instead a multiwas "democratic" and not social- and tens of millions of the popu- tude of reactionaries imagining ist; that in a war with Germany, lace if only because during war- themselves as socialists and anarwhich was menacing the young time there was not and is not chists they succeeded under the democratic republic, any attempt any democracy in the camp of the label of the "People's Front" in to engage in such adventures as Republicans. Both with France strangling the socialist revolution

The Spanish revolution was the supreme school. It is impermissible to allow the slightest friv-Truly astonishing is the total clousness towards its dearly ignorance of these people. They bought lessons. Down with charhave no inkling of the fact that latanism, phrasemongering, smug there is, beginning with Marx and ignorance and intellectual parawhich the very concept of the and honestly and prepare for the

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

Under Plan B, Malady would (Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEWARK, N.J.—Continuing his include all the above items and vicious attacks upon the already would also eliminate supplement miserable low living standards of ary relief to all private incomes relief clients and W.P.A. workers eimintae relief to all able-bodied Owen A. Malady, Overseer of the single persons, eliminate relief to to the capitalists all of whom Poor, recommended to the New- all families of two, where both are are in Franco's camp? Is it per- ark Municipal Assistance Board able-bodied. In addition Malady haps because the peasants and that direct relief in Newark be re- would remove from the relief rolls workers "have not matured" for duced. Two plans for retrench- all unemployables, on the assumpthe seizure of land and factories? ment were submitted to the Assis- tion that care of unemployables But they proved their maturity tance Board for consideration, one is a state function and perhaps by this, that on their own initia- calling for reductions totaling the state would take care of them Malady's proposals for a more ing a cut of \$2,901,052.95, both than 60% cut in relief made in selves Republicans, under the lead- plans to be effective as of April 1 accordance to his promise to State Senate President Hendrickson to to December 31. Under Plan A (\$1,475,184.77) Ma- help relieve the tax situation by allegedly in the name of "anti- lady would (1) eliminate special relief retrenchments, are being fascism," but in reality in the diets, (2) reduce milk allowance to seriously considered by the New-

CORNER

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

·By Max Shachtman

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

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

Just what makes it "legitimate"? Is it, perhaps, the legal product of the democratic suffrage of the Spanish masses? Was it voted into office in an electionany kind of election? Was it designated as the successor by a previously existing government? Obviously, none of these is the case.

Where the Difference Lies

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

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

We know that although more than two decades have elapsed, the social democrats have continued to be unrelenting in their condemnation of the Bolsheviks for dispersing the Constituent Assembly in Russia. With undiluted bitterness they tax the Bolsheviks with having overthrown by force of arms the "legitimate Spanish government"-although the Negrin regime of March 1939 was more representative, alas! of the masses than was the vastly discredited Constituent Assembly of January 1918.

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

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

When Violence Is Permissible

Which brings to mind another couple of socialdemocratic peculiarities.

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

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

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

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

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

Not Like the Bolsheviks!

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

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

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

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

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

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

A bill is introduced in the Minnesota senate providing \$1000 for the visit to this state in June of Crown Prince Olav and Crown Princess Martha of Norway. their backs the hangman of the Kremlin who last be necessary to touch the \$2,000,000,000 appropriation and oppressors. With this war as are no other facilities and oppressors. With this war as are no other facilities and oppressors. With this war as are no other facilities and oppressors, with this war as are no other facilities and oppressors. With this war as are no other facilities and oppressors, with this war as are no other facilities and oppressors. With this war as are no other facilities and oppressors, with this war as are no other facilities and oppressors. With this war as are no other facilities and oppressors, with this war as are no other facilities.