

Workers
of the World
Unite!

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Build
Workers Defense
Guards!

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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 midrifts, were not wholly prepared to accept the proffered deal so long as they could not be sure that they too would not 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.

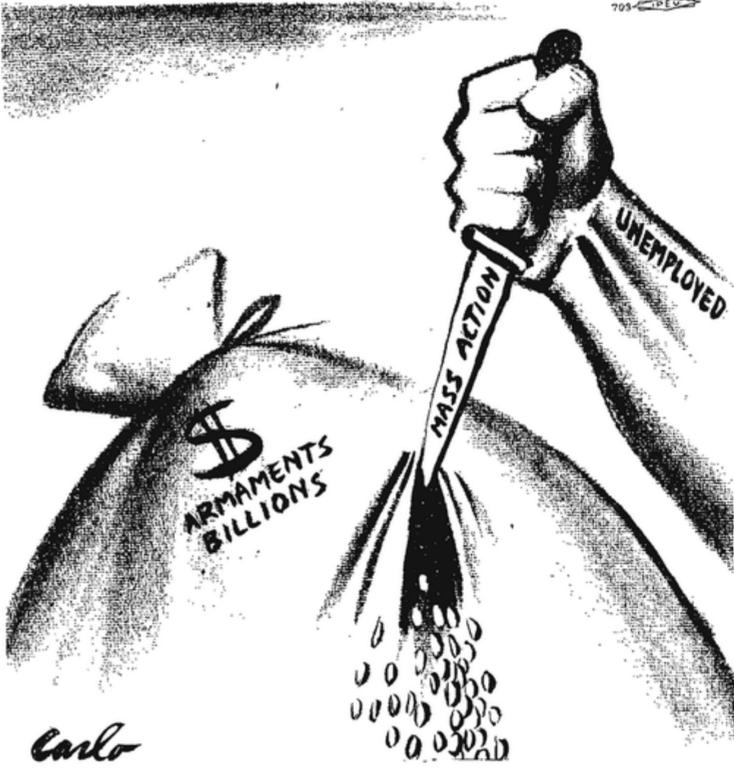
"Curiously enough," wrote Duranty, "there is no editorial mention in the Soviet press of Hitler's speech"—referring to the Fuehrer's latest bellicose utterance at Wilhelmshaven on the occasion of the launching of a new 35,000-ton battleship.

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—54 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 endless 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 in 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-presidents 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)

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 Sommerwell, 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 Buildings). 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 layoffs slip 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. Schmuhl, 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 19,580 workers removed from the Ohio W.P.A. rolls before April 8. 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 Didasse, 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 Selander, of Local 29, U.O.P.W.A., W.P.A. Division.

Stalinists Ignored

This demonstration had been previously endorsed at an en- (Continued on Page 2)

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, 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.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 layoffs 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 hold 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 that the \$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 funds 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 at 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 retooling," stated Representative Woodrum. Democrat who had led 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 certified as eligible for W.P.A. 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.

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 wartime 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 (Continued on Page 4)

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)