In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Over the week end we were talking to a former coal miner from Harlan County, Ky., now working in a gum shop in Akron, O. He has had much experience in the union drives down there. One story he told illustrates in particular the feelings of the workers and gives a clue to an understanding of their militancy now against the National Guard terror.

In one of the earlier coal strikes in Kentucky, the miners had done an extremely effective job of keeping scabs out. So the operators called for and the governor sent in National Guardsmen.

This didn't please the strikers one bit. They planned a little reception for the National Guard when it detrained.

No sooner did the train stop at the county seat than hundreds of coal miners, well-equipped to defend themselves, took positions about 100 yards away from the railroad station.

Guard Moves on

The captain of the Guardsmen stepped off the train and looked around with great anxiety. About this time, an old veteran of many strike struggles sauntered up from the strikers' ranks.

He looked the captain over, and deliberately. The silence was oppressive and the atmosphere tense. Finally the miner drawled out, "You figuring on getting off the train here?"

"Why, yes," the captain replied.

"Well, the boys told me to tell you in that case to be sure to be shooting when you get off because we sure as hell are going to be," the veteran declared, and walked away.

The National Guard did not detrain. They went to a nearby town instead.

Similar in many respects is the attitude of the miners in the current strike. Anyone familiar with Harlan County will find nothing strange in the union statement on the shootings that took place last week.

Readers will recall that various skirmishes have been reported between the Guardsmen and alleged strikers. The union leaders denied that their men had participated in the battles for a very simple reason.

"Our boys could hit a mosquito at fifty yards and nobody can tell me that they fired fifty shots (as the Guard claimed) without someone being hit," the union leaders said.

This is absolutely true. Using rifles since boyhood, the folks in Harlan County are noted for their accuracy. We are convinced that the shooting scrapes last week were put-up jobs by the coal operators and the National Guardsmen to seek to justify the strike-breaking terror of the Guardsmen.

Bloody Record

There has never been a more stirring chapter in labor history than the story of the Harlan miners' attempts to organize unions. Fourteen operators are now under indictment for charges ranging from conspiracy to murder, to sluggings of union men, so bad have been the conditions there.

Bloody Harlan has a record of killings of union organizers and men unequalled anywhere in the country.

Despite all this terror, the United Mine Workers gained strength. It is powerful there now—unbeatable if the union leaders stick to their guns.

Last week the miners showed their contempt for the National Guard terror by trying to picket at the mines even though bayonets were thrust at their stomachs. And when a machine gun was mounted, unarmed pickets tried to get around it. Only the arrival of additional forces kept the miners back.

When one remembers that in Ohio strikes were called off in Norwood, etc., because of the mere threat of the National Guard, the splendid courage of the Harlan miners stands out even more strongly.

The Harlan strike is a great embarrassment to the apologists of democratic capitalism. The Daily Worker played it down last week. Here, union men can see capitalism stark naked, a rule by force.

Fortunately, the boys in Harlan County come from a grand school where they learned matchless militancy, dependence on one's own strength, and dauntless courage. Watch them whip the operators.

The New Leader Tops Its Own Jingo Record

Thomas Socialists Chastise Members of Youth Group Who Booed War Mongers

Not content with having monopolized the "joint" May Day meeting of the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party, and using it as a forum for pro-war propaganda, the Old Guard finished off the incident by a news report, in the New Leader, May 6, which gleefully crowed to high heaven.

"Lee, Waldman Urge Aid to Democracies," was the New Leader's headline.

"Full support of the democracies in any struggle with the nations aligned with the Rome-Berlin Axis was urged by Algernon Lee and Louis Waldman at the first joint May Day demonstration of the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist Party and the Workmen's Circle," the news report began.

"Waldman called on all American progressive forces to unite behind the foreign policy of President Roosevelt,"—thus the New Leader summarized its keynoter's speech. "Algernon Lee, city chairman of the S. D. F., asked for unqualified support of the democracies," it continued.

Serious Politics

Being serious politicians, determined to have their pro-Roosevelt, pro-war line prevail come what may, the Old Guard thus squeezed the last ounce out of the situation. Like the "amoral" Bolsheviks whom they constantly denounce, the Old Guard understands that in joint meetings as well as their own meetings, their task is to advance fundamental political policies.

Their attacks on the "factionalism" of the Bolsheviks on this score are rank hypocrisy. They take up the cry of factionalism merely for what it is worth in befuddling the Norman Thomas following and fat-headed intellectuals. In practice, the Old Guard can give cards and spades to a lot of people in pushing a political line. We can learn from them: political line is the fundamental dividing force, political line determines everything.

Not being serious politicians, the Norman Thomases understand this as little as they understand anything else. That's why the Old Guard was able to dominate the "joint" May Day meeting, as they will dominate the "united" party for which negotiations are now being carried on.

Norman Thomas' "Answer"

The sole reaction of the Thomas Socialists to the monopolization of the "joint" meeting was to publicly chastise the members of the Thomas youth group who, goaded by Waldman's war-mongering, booed him.

The May 13 New Leader carried this report, sent them by the City Central Committee of the Socialist Party:

"The Socialist Party in New York City, through its highest representative body formally, and officially disavows, disapproves and condemns the un-Socialist behavior of a few people at the Hippodrome United May Day Meeting who expressed their disapproval of the remarks of speakers by booing during the speech."

Two kinds of politics are here revealed: the serious politics of the S. D. F.—but thoroughly reactionary; and the un-serious, impotent, capitulatory politics of the Norman Thomases.

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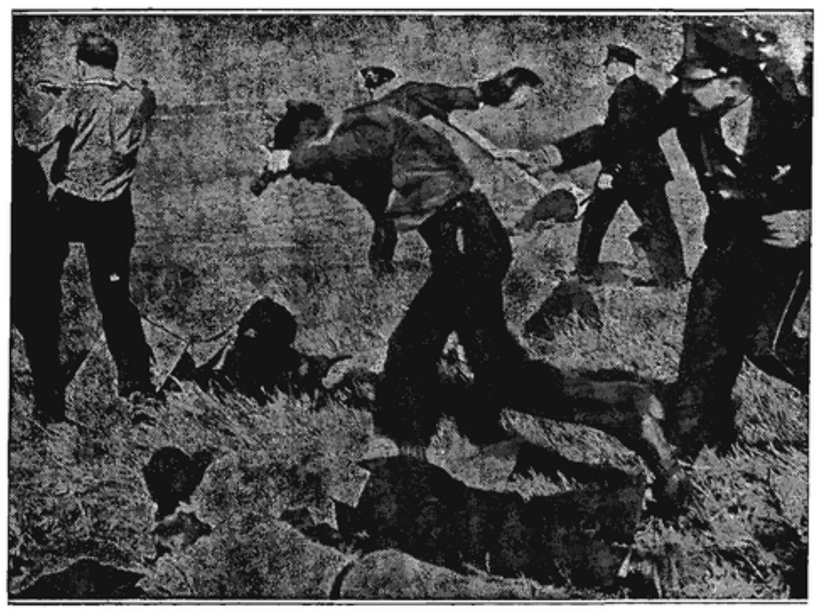

MILITARY RULE TIGHTENS IN HARLAN COUNTY

(Continued from Page 1)

Speeding combat trucks armed with light artillery patrolled the streets, arresting 44 citizens whose "crime" consisted of walking on the public highways.

The armed guard continued sending squads with bayonets fixed through residential sections, invading homes and shoving unprotected citizens about at gun point.

When General Carter set a censorship on speeches at a proposed mass union meeting last Sunday and threatened wholesale arrests, union officials cancelled the meeting and sent a bitter protest to the general, copies of which were given to the press.

Although under the protection of machine guns and bayonets twenty-five of Harlan's coal mines have been operating for a week with scarcely any coal moving. The men sent underground by the operators are scabs or white collar employees who know nothing about mining and whose lives are in constant danger from the usual mine hazards with which they do not know how to cope.

Contracts Signed

Three contracts have been signed with the union, but the die-hard Harlan County Coal Operators Association is still desperately risking their sales outlets in the hope that the miners can be forced back to dig coal at the point of Roosevelt's bayonets.

Two representatives of the United States Department of Justice have been sent into the district, but although civil liberties have been flouted flagrantly for the last turbulent week, they announced that they were not aiming their inquiry into possible violations of civil rights at "any one faction."

New York Housing Bill Doesn't Answer Need

The compromise housing bill passed by the New York State Legislature last week, reveals the fact that the legislators care not one whit about clearing away the shameful slums of New York City and elsewhere in the state, and providing decent, healthful living quarters for slum dwellers.

In view of last fall's referendum authorizing $300,000,000 for housing, they dared not totally ignore the problem. So they resorted to every kind of political trick to prevent its being handled effectively. They stalled off all action until the final week of the session, when they finally brought in a measure making only $50,000,000 available for housing during the coming fiscal year.

So shameful was the bill as presented that its sponsors were forced to accept certain liberalizing amendments—50-year amortization instead of 40-year amortization, prevailing wage rate for construction workers instead of an annual wage rate for construction workers which would have meant a considerably reduced wage rate, and permitting full tax exemption on housing projects thus easing the financial burden placed upon cities.

Bill Still Fake

But none of the amendments attack the fundamental weakness of the bill—its failure to make available sufficient money to permit inception of the badly-needed comprehensive building program. Housing experts are agreed that housing needs are so vast that use of the entire $300,000,000 would not have solved them. But use of such a sum in slum clearance and erection of low-rental projects would have constituted a beginning.

By refusing to authorize this sum and authorizing instead the niggardly $50,000,000, plus another $100,000,000 allocated but not now available, the legislators have clearly show that they have no intention of taking the housing question seriously.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN PACT NEARER

(Continued from Page 1)

between "free" nations and "totalitarian" nations. The New York Times, which in its quiet, authoritative way leads the whole pack of war hounds, pointed out on Sunday that the "peace front" was not a compound of "pure" democracies. (See editorial on page 4.) Next day Anne O'Hare McCormick, foreign affairs commentator for the Times, was also bold enough to write:

"As a test of ideologies, events in the past two months have proved that the barriers between systems are easily jumped when fundamental national interests are imperilled. National Socialism merely uses deadlier weapons to push forward the old German 'drang' (drive). At the scratch, Hitler is no more racist than the Kaiser. All nations are primarily concerned, as they always were, either to save what they have or to acquire what they haven't."

In other words, it is admitted here that the war in preparation is not a war over "human rights" or "civilization" or "democracy" or any of the rest of that meaningless bunk, but a cold-blooded war over dollars and goods, markets and profits, machines and the labor power of colonial slaves.

But this sudden rash of frankness is designed not as an argument against war but to provide hack propagandists of the war machine with new formulas for covering over the total absence on either side of what the Times so coyly calls "pure democracy."

Marxist Maulers, Studs Lonigan A.C. In Grudge Game

By BILL CLAM

The Studs Lonigan Athletic Club made frantic haste to collect its forces when James P. Cannon, captain of the Marxist Maulers, announced that he had challenged the Loniganites to a return baseball match to be held Saturday evening, June 10, at Heckscher Foundation, 104th Street and Fifth Avenue.

James T. Farrell, captain of the Studs Lonigan outfit, accepted the challenge with a defiant snarl.

Asked to comment on his club's defeat of last season, Cannon replied, "It was a moral victory for the Marxist Maulers. We lost due to a combination of unforeseen circumstances. We plan to whip the stuffings out of that Lonigan bunch this trip."

Masked Marvel Exposed

Although Captain Farrell seemed skittish about releasing his name, the Marxist Maulers have learned that Farrell has a find who is a frequenter of Newport receptions, a bon vivant, a plugger of nickels, a bathtub soprano and a whittler; in fact, he is none other than Schmelka Gainsborough.

The line-up announced by the Studs Lonigan A. C. is as follows:

James T. Farrell First base
Max Eastman . Right field
William Phillips . Center field
Sidney Hook ..... Third base
Arthur Pincus .. Second base
David Glusker ... Left field
John MacDonald .... Catcher
Albert Margolies ... Shortstop
Schmelka Gainsborough, pitcher

The Marxist Maulers, drawing on their out-of-state farm clubs, have augmented their pitching batteries with a number of promising young hopefuls. Their names will not be disclosed until contract difficulties are settled. Meanwhile, the Marxist Maulers announced their line-up to include:

James P. Cannon . First base
George Novack ... Shortstop
James Burnham ... Left field
Felix Morrow ..... Third base
Nat Levine ..... Center field
Marty Abern ..... Right field
Dwight Macdonald . 2nd base
Sherman Stanley..... Catcher
Max Shachtman ... Pitcher

In addition to the baseball match, there will be swimming in the Heckscher pool, an evening of dancing and a host of other diversions. Tickets are eighty-five cents each and can be secured by mail from the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees at 100 Fifth Avenue, Room 1609.

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Araquistain Confirms Krivitsky Testimony

Authoritative confirmation of Walter Krivitsky's charge that Stalin sabotaged the Loyalist fight against Franco came this week from Luis Araquistain, the outstanding theoretician of the left wing of the Spanish Socialist Party, associate of Caballero and Loyalist ambassador to France until June, 1937.

Loyalist Spain was for Stalin merely a bargaining point in coming to terms with Hitler, declared Araquistain, in articles written from exile in Paris and published here by the New York Times on May 19 and 21.

"Joseph Stalin did not want us to win the war because that would have exasperated Chancellor Hitler—otherwise his help would have been more copious and efficient. Nor did he want us to lose it too soon, because, once the Spanish conflict was liquidated, Herr Hitler would have greater freedom of action to carry out his policy of aggression in Eastern Europe and even against the Soviet Union itself. Mr. Stalin simply wanted to prolong our war sine die, to keep Premier Mussolini and Hitler busy and force the latter, in the end, to come to an understanding with the U.S.S.R. In the Spanish war Stalin only saw a strategic diversion."

Stalin's Tools

To carry out this anti-Loyalist policy, Stalin needed obedient tools and he found them. Araquistain points out, in the right wing of the Socialist Party, especially Juan Negrin and Alvarez del Vayo. These two were chosen because of their pliancy and in spite of the fact that they were almost unknown figures:

"From my vantage point of the Paris Embassy I could notice with surprise that already at the beginning of 1937 some liberal newspapers of London, which let themselves be inspired more or less consciously by Communists or Communist sympathizers, began to print pictures and eulogies of Dr. Juan Negrin, then Minister of the Treasury, without any visible reason. The hidden motive was that in Moscow he had been selected as successor to Spanish Premier Francisco Largo Caballero.

Making Nobody Somebody

"Dr. Negrin held the chair of physiology at the Madrid School of Medicine and belonged to the Socialist Party. But, as he was neither politically nor scientifically known outside of Spain—and in Spain only within a very limited university circle—they had to prepare international opinion and manufacture quickly a statesman's reputation for him. The Communists are masters in the art of artifically creating representative men."

Negrin became premier when the Stalinists ousted Caballero on May 15, 1937, after having—as Krivitsky, then head of the Soviet Military Intelligence has since revealed—deliberately provoked bloody street warfare in Barcelona to justify the formation of a more repressive government than that of Caballero.

Stalinist Blackmail

Stalin used "Russian-help blackmail" to remove those who would not do his bidding. "So that the Soviet Union would continue sending us war material, it was necessary to eliminate the men on whom the Communists placed their veto. In fact, in the last months of the Largo Caballero Government, supplies arrived scantily and in bad condition.

"The Soviet war material was never sufficient," Araquistain says, and advances as the hypothesis which "confirms the suspicions that some of us Spaniards had as early as 1937," that Stalin was merely using Spain as a bargaining point with Hitler.

Why did not Caballero and the Left Socialists seek to rally the masses against the criminal Stalinist policy? Araquistain explains that this could not be done because of Stalinist repressions. When Caballero sought to make a series of speeches after his removal, he was forbidden by the Negrin government to continue after the first, and then was arrested and confined to his residence in Valencia. In addition, the whole press was controlled by the Stalinists, directly or through the censorship which they manned, as they did the under-secretaryships of War, Navy and Air, the under-secretariat of Propaganda, etc.

Caballero's Complicity

But Araquistain's explanation is disingenuous. The one speech Caballero did make after his removal showed that he had no program. For in actuality he had preceded Negrin as the darling of the Stalinists who had, as Araquistain now admits, provided him with the pompous title of "the Spanish Lenin." Caballero, in fact, had done the bidding of the Stalinists until rank and file pressure from his own ranks against the mounting reaction drove him to some resistance to Stalinist demands.

It was under Caballero that the first big steps were taken against workers' control of the factories and peasants' collectives; under Caballero came the first decrees dissolving the workers' militias and replacing them with a regular bourgeois-officered army. When the Stalinists turned Caballero out, therefore, he was already so linked with their policies, that he could not extricate himself.

Araquistain's revelations came too late to help the Loyalist struggle against Franco. Nor will they serve to absolve Caballero and his associates from their responsibility for the Spanish defeat. But they do provide an authoritative addition to the mountain of evidence which damns Stalin and his agents as the destroyers of the Spanish revolution.

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Total	40

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The only bundle order increase of the week came from George Whiteside of Kansas who increased his order to 5 per issue.

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We've had to cut off the Philadelphia and San Francisco branches completely from its **Appeal** supply because of their failure to make any payments for months. Sorry, but you'll have to get down to business on the **Appeal** before we can resume!

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