

Workers Of The World Unite!

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WILL STALIN BOW TO HITLER?

ROOSEVELT SEEKS NATIONAL UNITY IN JOINT APPEALS

Wants to Put House In Order Before War Comes

With his timing obviously dictated by the war crisis, Roosevelt released on the same day last week two closely connected statements. One was the record of an interview in which the President asked for an end of "economic saber-rattling" by business and its place a partnership of business with government as essential to "the nation's progress."

The second was a communication addressed to the A.F. of L. Convention and calling for "peace between the various opinions and factions" of labor, that is, for reunification of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.

Smile on Both Houses Roosevelt has always, of course, been careful to picture himself to the public as superior to the claims of either business or labor.

This is necessary in order to hide the real function of the government he leads as the political representative of business against labor. In this sense, this recent double pronouncement is only another variation of the "plague on both your houses" theme which Roosevelt employed a year and a half ago. This time it is a smile for both houses instead of a pretended threat.

Nevertheless, the very language which Roosevelt used last week shows that he has now specifically in mind the war crisis, and the needs of American imperialism as it makes ready for the war.

Roosevelt is preparing, in his own way, for the "national unity" which is absolutely essential to the successful conduct of the war from the point of view of the interests of imperialism. He invites business to a partnership; that is, he asks that all secondary differences be put aside so that the nation may get ready untidily for the war which soon will have to be fought.

Industrial Survey Made The War Department is even now completing its survey covering the terms of this cooperation, has been listing and classifying every industrial establishment in the country, and arranging the method for their coordination into the structure of the war-time economy.

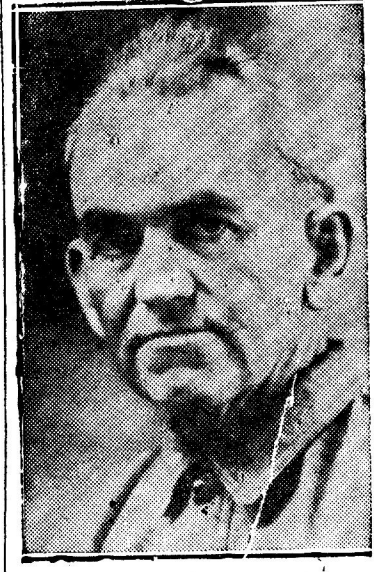
Business naturally expects and will get, in its own terms in the "partnership," Charles R. Hook, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, made this clear in his speedy reply to the President's suggestion. Denying any "saber-rattling" by business, Hook insisted that the partnership would have to be based on "industrial peace" (i. e., no strikes). "Business men," he wrote, "and investors have been worried by fears of excessive regulation and taxation" (i. e., reduce these if you want us to be quiet). Some of the "emergency legislation of the past few years" must be submitted to "careful revision" (i. e., repeal or amend to death all progressive features of laws now on the books).

In conclusion, he charmingly observes that "business men are by nature optimists." Well they might be on the problem of government: they know that in the last analysis their government, whether run ostensibly by Old Deals or New Deals, will always do their bidding.

Unity For War The crucial problem in achieving national unity, however, is the integration of the labor movement into the war machine. Roosevelt believes that this is seriously handicapped by the division in labor's ranks. He is afraid that one or the other part of the dual labor movement will break away from subjection to the war, and will become the vehicle for the expression of the actual anti-war sentiments of the workers. Relying, and with good reason, on the devoted social-patriotism of the officialdom of both sections of the labor movement, he be-

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LABOR MUST FREE HIM



TOM MOONEY

SUPREME COURT DENIES REVIEW OF MOONEY CASE

Fight for Freedom Goes On After New Setback

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The refusal of the Supreme Court to review a decision to free Tom Mooney, class-war prisoner since 1914, is a telling blow to attempts to secure a pardon for this veteran of organized labor by depending upon "liberals" and "progressive" politicians. This cynical refusal will come as no surprise to the militant workers who long ago realized that only the united and determined pressure of the labor movement will force Mooney's release from San Quentin prison.

Even though two justices dissented in the opinion, no new hearing will be held. This is an unprecedented action which clearly indicates the attitude of the Court towards the worker who was framed-up by the California bosses twenty years ago.

Dependence upon the Court or even upon the so-called liberal justices on the Court has continually met with defeat. In 1917 a review was refused. In 1917, 1935, the Court told Mooney he had not exhausted his remedies in the California court. He went back to the State tribunals, but the California Supreme Court decided against him 5 to 1.

Now John F. Finerty, his attorney, has moved for permission to renew a three-year old application for an original writ of habeas corpus.

The Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee has announced that a pardon would be sought from the Governor of California.

NEW JERSEY C.I.O. CALLS FOR UNITY

Convention Draws Plans for Anti-Hague Fight

By B. J. WIDICK Labor Secretary S.W.P.

NEWARK, N. J.—A strong desire for unity with the A.F. of L. was the outstanding sentiment at the two-day convention of C.I.O. unions here that set up a state-committee.

A spirited demonstration followed the unanimous approval of a resolution calling for unity, and the delegates instructed the newly-formed state executive committee to attempt to coordinate the activities of the C.I.O., the A.F. of L., and the railroad brotherhoods in the state.

Plan Fight on Hague The fight against Mayor Hague was another main theme of the convention. The Steel lodges introduced a very good resolution on how to struggle properly against the Hague machine. It emphasized the need for more independent action and self-reliance by the labor movement. The struggle against Hague was a major topic in Carney's report

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Tobin Move Aid To Union Unity

Proposal Puts AFL Bureaucrats On Hot Spots

HOUSTON, Texas.—Over-shadowing in importance any other development at the American Federation of Labor 58th annual convention here was the powerful plea of Dan Tobin, teamsters international union president, for resumption of negotiations with the C.I.O. to bring labor unity.

His first plea caused William Green, A. F. of L. president, to adjourn the convention while the "diehard" clique on the executive council planned further strategy.

Despite all efforts of the reactionaries on the council to win Tobin to supporting a fight against the C.I.O., Tobin again blasted away at a recommendation of the council which precluded negotiations with the C.I.O. and declared there could never be peace until John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, was removed.

Lewis Offers to Resign

No sooner had the A. F. of L. convention adopted the council report with many abstentions and objections, than Lewis announced he would resign as C.I.O. chairman on the very day Green resigned from the A. F. of L. Coming right after Tobin's declaration that the teamsters union would pull out of the A. F. of L. if necessary to obtain unity, the Lewis move caused consternation in top A. F. of L. circles. Prospects for labor unity soared this week in view of these swift developments.

The stand Tobin took in behalf of the 350,000 organized truck drivers carries tremendous weight not only because the teamsters are the largest international union affiliated to the A. F. of L., but also because the truck drivers occupy a strategic position in industrial life. Any serious "warfare" against the C.I.O. is impossible without support the fight be-

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FIGHT FOR PRESTIGE, NOT FOR UNITY



JOHN L. LEWIS (above)



WILLIAM GREEN (right)

Sailors Slated To Get National AFL Charter

Observers at the A.F. of L. convention in Houston reported this week that delegates there are sympathetic to the request of the Sailors Union of the Pacific for a national charter covering all American seamen in all Pacific coast, Gulf and Atlantic waters. Harry Lundeberg left the convention, apparently confident that the charter would be granted.

This announcement comes on the heels of a series of defeats suffered by East coast seamen at the hands of their leaders in the N.M.U. here. It heralds the possibility of a vigorous organizational drive on the east coast by the A.F. of L.

Last July, Federation President William Green, announced that the entire A.F. of L. was prepared to support the fight be-

ing lead by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific against government regimentation of Seamen. A charter was expected at that time. And S.U.P. secretary Lundeberg announced to the press that West Coast seamen were prepared to throw organizers into the marine industry if the A.F. of L. issued a charter and supplied funds to carry on the drive. However, action was deferred by a meeting of the A.F. of L. executive committee until the convention.

Background of Conflict

At present the majority of Atlantic and Gulf seamen are organized in the National Maritime Union. This organization was formed in 1937, after the old International Seamen's Union lost the support of the seamen by

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MILITANTS FACE 'TREASON' TRIAL, IN SPAIN COURT

Frame-up Hearings Finally Open in Barcelona

The long-delayed trial of the leaders of the P.O.U.M. and the Bolshevik-Leninists in Spain began on Oct. 11 in Barcelona.

Dispatches on the opening of the hearings were extremely vague. They did not give the names of the defendants nor even the exact number of militants on trial. The precise charges were likewise not specified in detail.

According to the United Press one of the principal accusations was "that by their activities the defendants gave the world the impression that the Loyalist Government was extremist, thus giving support to the interventionist arguments of Italy and Germany."

Varied Charges

Other indications were that the charges ranged from responsibility for the May, 1937, events in Barcelona to collusion with the Fascists and the illegal export of gold and art treasures.

The prosecution was apparently also planning to bring into court a "document" allegedly found in the home of a P.O.U.M. leader "proving" his relations with Gen. Franco.

Whether or not the three Bolshevik-Leninist leaders imprisoned for more than a year and accused along with the P.O.U.M. leaders were actually among the defendants in Barcelona was not indicated. Previous reports said that the Loyalist government was asking the death sentence for these three alone.

Protests Multiplied

Protests against this frame-up of revolutionary militants in Spain have been multiplying here and in Europe. A delegation of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees protested to Gonzales Pena, Loyalist minister of justice, when he was here last month. A resolution of protest was adopted by 1,000 workers at the Socialist Work-

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LINDBERGH'S THE CULPRIT!

There is always a scapegoat when the Kremlin's policies collapse around Joseph Stalin's ears. New and sensational trials involving Maxim Litvinov and a new phalanx of red generals may soon be upon us. But for a starter Moscow has introduced to us the real culprit of the Munich agreement—Charles A. Lindbergh!

Lindbergh went to Moscow, was feted, pawed and adored, and returned to London, reportedly, to tell a distinguished gathering that Germany's air force could out-fly and outfight the French, British, and Russian put together. Worst of all, he was quoted as saying that the Russian air force was in "chaos."

Lindbergh's word was apparently quite enough. To believe Pravda, it turned the wheels of history and decided the issue of war or peace in Europe two weeks ago. Who said Lindbergh was over-rated?

BEGIN FULL DRESS 'SPY SCARE' TO AID WAR PLANS

Roosevelt Prepares For Anti-Labor Legislation

The Roosevelt administration is wasting no time in taking advantage of the European situation to hasten this country's preparations for war.

First on the program is a full-dress spy scare, pointed up by the opening of a German spy trial this week in New York City.

Second is the preparation of new "counter-espionage" legislation which is only a thin cover for the virtual militarization of the workers.

Roosevelt himself announced at Hyde Park that his administration would launch an intensified drive against the "spy menace."

The Real Menace

A few days later the New York Post offered a hint of what this will actually mean. The legislative program now in preparation includes, the Post said, the following vital point:

"Complete government control of the operation and personnel of all factories manufacturing military equipment."

Practically every major department of American industry is engaged in one way or another in building up the American war machine. Mines, steel mills, rubber plants, railroads, shipbuilders, and so on down the line. Where does the list end? This legislation means that the government intends to place the workers of the country under the iron heel of military rules and regulations.

Any worker who protests, we may be sure, will promptly be labelled as "spy" and will receive the full weight of the penalties attaching to that charge.

All the Trimmings

That is what is in prospect. In the meantime the country is in for a good old-time spy scare, with all the trimmings, villainous agents with guttural accents, beautiful red-haired sirens, and handsome, square-jawed sleuths doing and dying for Uncle Sam to prevent the agents of the Kaiser—pardon me, of Hitler—from getting the latest details on the cootie-resistant underwear designed for the special use of U. S. army staff officers.

Let no one be fooled by this eyewash. Spying is a regular part of international relations among the capitalist powers. They have even accorded it polite and respectable recognition in the form of exchanging military and naval attaches who are nothing but spies in uniform.

New Arms Program

The real reason for the trial became public a few days ago when it was announced in Washington that the Bureau of the

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DURANTY ARTICLE LAYS DOWN NEW LINE OF KREMLIN

Sees 'No Obstacle' In Path of Such a Move

Joseph Stalin is heading toward a pact with Adolf Hitler, if he can get it.

Britain and France formed a compact with Germany directed against the Soviet Union.

Stalin's answer is apparently going to be an attempt to form a compact with Germany directed against Britain and France.

To out-woo Chamberlain and Daladier, Stalin will offer Hitler a more enticing marriage portion—the produce and the markets of the Soviet Union.

This is the new turn in Soviet diplomacy that has now come clearly into view.

Trotsky's Prediction

Predicted in these columns last week by Leon Trotsky, it was confirmed in the New York Times on Oct. 11 by Walter Duranty, apologist extraordinary and special-pleader-in-chief for the Kremlin and the G.P.U.

Trotsky wrote: "We may now expect with certainty Soviet diplomacy to attempt rapprochement with Hitler at the cost of new retreats and capitulations which in their turn can only bring nearer the collapse of the Stalinist oligarchy."

Duranty's confirmation, coming three days later, was presented with his characteristic cynicism:

"There remains a possibility—I do not say probability—which makes the present leaders of France and Britain sleep uneasily at night; namely, a Russo-German rapprochement—cooperation instead of war. When you come down to brass tacks, there is no obstacle now to Russo-German friendship—which Bismarck advocated so strongly—save Hitler's fanatic fury against what he calls 'Jewish-Bolshevism.' But Herr Hitler is not immortal and dictators can change their minds."

"Suppose Hitler declines to imitate Napoleon by washing his armies against winter, typhus, and mud, backed by tanks and guns and airplanes of a self-supporting industry. Suppose Herr Hitler prefers the iron and coal of Alsace Lorraine to the distant riches of Russia's Donetz Basin. There is no reason to believe that Russia would refuse collaboration with Germany or shed tears over the ultimate fate of France and the British Empire."

New Mass Murders Declaring that Russia "must retire upon itself," Duranty added the following menace-laden forecast: "Which will probably mean an intensification of anti-foreign sentiment and of the cruel campaign against all who do not accept the Kremlin's voice as the voice of God."

In other words the next turn Stalin takes will be accompanied by new mass persecutions, new frame-up trials, new executions.

That is the tentative picture Duranty gives of the current calculations of the Soviet Bureaucracy. Duranty's article in itself represents a feeler from the Kremlin in Hitler's direction.

How far it will go, what Stalin will offer, what Hitler will demand—are all questions that the coming weeks may answer.

Stalin's Stakes

The major stake Stalin can lay on the table—and we may be sure Hitler will demand no less—is the abrogation of the foreign trade monopoly and the opening of Russia to capitalist exploitation; in other words, the final act in the liquidation of the conquests of the October revolution.

This is what Hitler would seek to achieve by the war he is now planning against the Soviet Union and for which he is making his spectacular expansionist drive into eastern and southeastern Europe. This is what Stalin would offer him without a war if in the deal the privileges of the Stalinist

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In the Coming Elections

For Independent Labor Politics!

In the tenth year of the economic depression, the American working class finds itself organized economically as never before in its history. During this decade the American workers have been learning that they must band themselves together as workers, in their own trade unions, controlled by themselves, in order to prevent the bosses from slashing wages and living conditions down below the level of human endurance.

The workers have learned that the interests of the bosses in the matter of wages and hours are diametrically opposed to the interests of the workers; that the bosses are not giving away anything for nothing; that only militant struggle against the bosses gets any results.

On the basis of this knowledge, the workers have built up the C.I.O., the A.F. of L., and the Railway Brotherhoods to a total of around 10,000,000 membership.

But during the past two or three years the workers have begun to learn an even harder lesson: the lesson that organization on the economic field, no matter how wide or how strong or how successful, is not, by and of itself, enough. The tremendous and unprecedented sweep of trade unionism during this past decade has not been able to stop wage-cuts, layoffs, unemployment and insecurity, nor to remove the threat of fascism and war.

Therefore, the workers are beginning to draw the appropriate conclusion: that workers must organize politically, as well as economically, that they must add to their economic instruments—the trade unions—the weapon of political power, if they are to be able to defend and advance their interests.

A hundred symptoms—Labor's Non-Partisan League, the A. L. P., labor intervention in Primaries and local and State elections—show the beginnings of this new knowledge.

However, misled by those both outside of and within their ranks who fear the growth of labor's political power, workers are forgetting or overlooking the necessary rules that have been taught, at great cost, by labor's experience on the economic field.

The chief of these rules is simply this: labor succeeds only by its own independent efforts, only by its own militant and independent struggle.

You can't build a successful trade union by relying on the good will of the bosses; that gives you, in the end, only a company union.

In exactly the same way, you can't build a successful political party for labor by relying on the good will of boss politicians; that gives you, in the end, only a new name for a boss party.

Just as it has its own trade unions, so does labor have to have its own party, run by and for labor, and answerable to labor. Just as trade unions have got to fight against the bosses on the economic field, so does labor's political party have to fight the parties of the bosses on the political field.

For workers to be organized to support the candidates of the Democratic or Republican party is not labor politics, but just a labor cloak for boss politics. For a trade union leader to run on the Republican or Democratic ticket does not make him a labor candidate, but shows him as a sell-out boss candidate.

With fascism advancing everywhere in the world, and with war hanging like a storm-cloud on the near horizon, labor does not have much time left in which to build a fighting party of its own.

The great task for every militant worker in the present election campaign period is to agitate in every meeting, forum and demonstration for independent labor politics, for a clean break with boss politics and boss candidates, and for a bold, fighting program around which labor politics can be built.

It is a tragedy and a crime that in this tenth year of depression, in November, 1938, there is not a single genuinely independent mass party of labor adhering to such a fighting workers' program.

In several States, however, there are party organizations, partially or wholly independent of the boss parties and supported by decisive sections of the organized labor movement, which are putting independent candidates forward in next month's election. In particular this is the case with: the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota; Jaspas McLevy's Socialist Party in Connecticut; the Old Guard Socialist Party in the Reading, Pa. local elections; and the American Labor Party in New York.

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# Wrecking Crew Regime Tottering In Painters Union

## Clique Admits Bankruptcy; Asks For Opposition's Aid

### At End of Their Rope, Weinstock & Co. Try to Trick Opponents Into Okay of New Tax

NEW YORK.—In complete disarray as a result of the severeouncing they received in the recent referendum on the "\$5 Work Tax," the Stalinist administration of the New York Painters Union, District Council No. 9, is grasping at straws to save its hold upon the union. According to spokesmen of the Progressives in the union, nothing can save them, however. The membership, they say, is thoroughly fed up with the misrule of Chief Stooze Louis Weinstock and his crowd.

The Weinstock strategy, if it may be dignified as such, of saving control of the union for the G.P.U. was revealed at what purported to be a caucus of administration supporters but really was a plain and simple "fraction" meeting of Communist Party members in Painters District Council No. 9. The meeting was held on Wednesday Sept. 14, at Irving Plaza.

#### Administration Bankrupt

At this "fraction" meeting, the Thirteenth Street boys openly admitted that the union was in a state of bankruptcy. An accounting of their squandering of painters' monies disclosed that they could not, even by illegal methods, divert \$5,000 from the treasury of the Council to pay the "legal" expenses for their deal with the General Executive Board of the union, by means of which the expulsion of Weinstock was repealed.

Weinstock had been expelled by the G.E.B. two days before the last general elections in New York. At that time, we reported that this "expulsion" in actuality served to bring about the narrowly squeezed-out election victory of the Stalinists by giving the latter a chance to appeal to the membership on the slogan that they were being martyred. Rumors, still persistent, have maintained that the original "expulsion" was a cooked-up affair between the G.E.B. and the Weinstock gang.

#### Want Payment For Deal

In any case, \$5,000 is now being demanded of the District Council in payment for Weinstock's reinstatement, an unheard-of arrangement for such a procedure. Naturally, the whole thing smells to high heaven and the members are not in a mood to pay even a plug nickel for the reinstatement of the Stalinist worthy, as evidenced by their reaction to the latest referendum.

Having maneuvered themselves into such a tight spot by draining the treasury of the union for all kinds of phoney "party" rackets and for the upkeep of scores of appointed stooges on the payroll, the Thirteenth Street boys now find that they are not in a position to run the union even if they should get the most optimistic yield in dues, initiation fees, etc. during the coming year.

Defeated in the referendum for a work tax which was to rook the membership for the sum the administration needs, the Stalinists at the "fraction" meeting decided to call upon the progressive opposition to "join" with them in a conference to save the union. Naturally, this appeal for "unity" was to be carried out in the usual Thirteenth Street manner—as a cheap maneuver.

#### How Deal Was "Planned"

The "unity" maneuver was to consist in a deal with the opposition leaders for the putting over of a new tax under the camouflage of another of the administration's famous "organizing drives." In return for okaying the tax, opposition leaders were to be given half of the 24 organizers' jobs at \$40 per week. At the "fraction" meeting referred to it was claimed that some of the opposition leaders were ready to accept such a "deal." Of course, as we shall show later, they were only deceiving themselves. By this means, they hoped to divide the opposition forces and break up the progressives. They prepared to do so at a joint meeting of administration and opposition forces held a week ago last Tuesday.

At that Tuesday meeting they threatened and cajoled and in general used every conceivable method in an attempt to browbeat the opposition into accepting their trick. The opposition, firmly organized, had selected Lewis J. Stevens, progressive candidate for Secretary-Treasurer in the last general elections, as their spokesman. The Weinstock crowd heaped abuse on Stevens and appealed to other leaders of the opposition. Not one of the latter, however, failed to make it clear that they would reject any kind of a phoney deal.

#### Exposes C.P. Hand

At one point, a Weinstock henchman by the name of Jacobs, after a lot of froth and fury wound up: "Let's let by-gones be by-gones and get together to put over the tax." A big heehaw arose

from the opposition members of the conference. "So that's what you want unity for?" many of them shouted at the Stalinists in derision. The latter had given their hand away entirely.

While rejecting any proposal for an additional drain of the membership, the opposition leaders nevertheless declared their readiness to aid in bolstering up the union. For this purpose, they demanded an account of the budget and an opportunity to study it and bring in concrete proposals to a joint meeting that was scheduled for two weeks from that night. After a good deal of fuss, the Weinstock crowd finally agreed.

#### Begin Double-Cross

No sooner were they out of the conference, however, than they proceeded with the usual double-crossing tactics that characterize all their "united fronts." They proceeded to initiate an "organization drive" without consulting the opposition in the least and instructed the locals affiliated with the District Council to nominate and elect "organizers." At the meetings of the locals the progressives and all the other opposition members boycotted these elections to a man. It was pointed out that with the methods employed by the Stalinist administration, it was no use organizing shops, because the union could not hold them. On the floor of Local 51, Business Agent Passini, a Weinstock henchman elected on the administration's ticket last June, himself admitted that out of some 60 shops he has organized in recent months, only 15 remain union shops today.

The opposition, organized into an Inter-Local Conference for Progressive Clubs, is preparing a plan of action to really save the union, concrete in every detail, which they will soon present to the membership. The Stalinists, in the meantime, furious at their inability to bribe or browbeat the opposition and desperate because of the constant rebuffs from the membership, is resorting to impotent slander and calumny. Here is an example of what these "rank and filers" (they call their caucus the "Rank and File Painters Social Clubs") heap on the heads of the real rank and file membership of the union because they refuse to be fooled by them any longer:

#### Roll at Membership

"Those members who voted against the tax (that is, the overwhelming majority in the last referendum; see the Socialist Appeal of Sept. 24 —Ed.) were deliberately or innocently playing into the hands of the employers."

It is all very plain. Whoever is opposed to the Communist Party "line" of wrecking the union is a boss' man. And if it is the overwhelming majority of the membership, so much the worse for them!

But the members of the Painters Union know who has really played into the hands of the bosses, they have read Weinstock's yellow dog contract and they know of every dirty little deal with the bosses. And they are just about ready to do something about it.

## Jamaica Militant Hits C.P. Lies

JAMAICA, L. I.—Hurling the lies of the Daily Worker back into the teeth of the Stalinists, Otto Popovich, leader of the Jamaica Unemployed and Relief Workers League, stated that the local had retained almost its complete membership after the split with the Workers Alliance and that its meetings were better attended than ever.

In reply to a news story printed in the Daily Worker, Popovich stated: "There were 84 and not 18 members at the last meeting of our local. We do not have time to fight with the leaders of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party. All I have to say to them is that if they really have a membership of 400,000 in the Workers Alliance as Lesser claims there must be something vitally wrong if they cannot harness that power to get clothes and more relief for the unemployed. Lesser says that the Workers Alliance is in politics with both feet. We of the new and militant organization of the unemployed are marching, as Lenin said, with both feet for bread."

## SUBWAY UNION HITS WAGE CUT

### Demand Increase In Counter Proposal

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Transport Workers Union, representing 55,000 workers on every major subway, elevated, trolley and bus line in the city except the Independent Subway—where Mayor LaGuardia refuses to allow civil service workers the right to organize—announced yesterday that it would not only resist any attempt to reduce wages for transit employees, but would insist upon an "appreciable" increase for 1939.

This statement was issued in reply to the announcement by Thomas E. Murray Jr., Federal receiver for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, that the wages of its 14,000 workers would be reduced to the May 1937 level. At that time the company signed an agreement, with the union granting a 10 percent wage increase and many improved working conditions.

This contract expires December 31, 1938, along with similar contracts with other New York transit lines. Now the transit bosses are preparing to "gang-up" on the union. The first attack comes in the form of this announcement which is made public a full two months before negotiations are scheduled.

The stockholders of the I.R.T. have bled the company dry. They invested a little over \$21,000,000 and in fifteen years have received from the treasury more than \$65,000,000 in dividends. This generosity on the part of the officials was not extended to the workers of the company. On the contrary, wages were kept at the lowest possible levels, even in the most prosperous years. Conditions for workers were notoriously bad and the whole transit system in constant need of repair. The present wages, hours and conditions for employees are still far below what they should be.

The Transport Workers Union will have a real fight on its hands in the coming struggle and if the union officials live up to their promises New York should see at last, a genuine step toward decent transportation for the millions of workers who daily ride the subways, busses and trolleys.

## For Independent Labor Politics in Elections

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We have, ourselves, the sharpest disagreements with the present programs, leaders and methods of these organizations. With the aim of supporting and furthering every actual step toward independent labor politics, we nevertheless believe that the genuinely independent candidates of these organizations should be supported on Election Day.

But such support on the part of militant workers would be nothing less than sabotage of the movement for independent labor political action if it were not accompanied by the sternest criticism of the errors of the leaders of these organizations, the demand for an end to all deals with boss parties and boss candidates, and the call for a fighting program instead of the liberal and New Deal muddle of their present platforms.

Such support cannot extend to the candidates of boss parties which have been endorsed by these organizations. On the contrary, workers must show their protest against the deals with the boss parties by refusing to go along with the endorsements of Democrats and Republicans, and by writing-in the names of genuine worker-candidates.

In particular the workers must register their protest against the shameful deal whereby the A. L. P. has endorsed the leading Democratic candidates for State-wide office. Since no independent candidates for Governor and Senator supported by the organized labor movement will appear on the New York ballot, we propose to accomplish this by writing-in the names of James P. Cannon for Governor and of Ernest R. McKinney for the regular-term Senator. No self-respecting and class-conscious worker should permit himself to vote for Lehman and Wagner, the nominees of the party of Boss Crump, Cotton Ed Smith, and Mayor Frank Hague.

The problems of the workers are not solved by what happens on this or any other Election Day. But if this campaign period sees a real advance in the extent and clarity with which the need for genuine, fighting, independent working-class political activity is understood by the workers themselves, it will be a victory, and a lasting one.

## Sailors Slated To Get National AFL Charter

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default. After formal establishment of the N.M.U. and the affiliation of that organization to the C.I.O., the A.F. of L. began a new set-up under a federal charter. For the past year discredited representatives of the former I.S.U. have been attempting to garner seamen into the A.F. of L. Seamen's Union. They have had a limited success, organized about 7,500 men in the deck, engine-room and stewards departments. The N.M.U. boasts 30,000 members in these three divisions.

#### The Fink Book Issue

Since the Government began a concerted drive against all unions in the maritime field when the Copeland Act of 1936 was adopted, spokesmen for west coast seamen have attempted to reach a common understanding with east coast representatives to fight against regimentation. Under the guise of "national union" Stalinist leadership in the N.M.U. has shied away from the main issue facing all American seamen today.

Immediately after the 1936-37 strike which was fought on both coasts, and out of which grew the N.M.U., shipping commissioners in every American port demanded that seamen signing articles produce a continuous discharge book. More than one hundred thousand seamen had signed pledge cards, stating they would never under any circumstances carry the discharge (Fink) book. Under pressure from the Government, Joseph Curran—then C.P.-appointed leader of East Coast seamen—told his followers: "Take the Fink book! We'll burn it on May day!"

But not on the west coast. Union men there gave a different answer to the Shipping Commissioners. Every vessel under west coast agreement was tied up until cleared and permitted to sail with full crews who had remained true to their pledge and refused to carry Discharge Books. Subsequently the newly-created Maritime Commission made the Continuous Discharge Book optional, but only after the united resistance of west coast seamen.

#### Training Ships

Part of the Copeland Act was a provision for the establishment of training ships for seamen. All seamen have condemned these training ships. They see no reason why men who have been following the sea for ten and twelve years and more, must be trained. And they see no reason for training more men for the sea when there is at present a serious unemployment problem in the industry. And even if there were no unemployment, seamen contend that the best place for a man to learn seamanship is on the job—not in a "school." But while answering these superficial excuses offered by the Maritime Commission for its training ship program, organized seamen have demonstrated that they are well aware of the real reason for the Training ships.

#### The Hiring Hall

As if afraid there would be some mistake about its true pur-

## NEW JERSEY C.I.O. CALLS FOR UNITY

(Continued from page 1)

to the convention. These ideas were embodied in a recommendation to the incoming executive board.

The confidence of the workers in the battle to organize Jersey City, Hague's strong-hold, was strikingly revealed in the action to hold the next convention in that city.

W. J. Carney, New Jersey C.I.O. director, was unanimously elected president of the state organization.

Using the provision that all international unions at the convention be represented on the executive board, the Stalinists were able to pack a majority on that body through inclusion of men from unions like the architects, office workers etc. However, the executive officers are nearly all non-Stalinist.

Real power in the new set-up is the Hillman group from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the national C.I.O. through W. J. Carney.

The main line of division in the convention came over the question of either appointing or electing an executive secretary who will naturally head the work of the state organization.

A bloc between the progressive steel workers and the delegates from the Dyers Federation ably led by Joseph Knapiak, their president, fought for election of that officer. The Stalinists wanted to squeeze in Len Goldsmith, of the Newspaper Guild, who had acted as convention secretary. The Amalgamated delegates wanted appointment because they knew that Hillman has a candidate in mind.

#### Force Apology

After a stupid and provocative speech by Al Barkin, Stalinist from the textile workers, that turned the convention into an uproar when he hinted that the steel-dyers bloc was using "Hague arguments about democracy," quiet was restored and a good discussion followed with a majority voting for appointment. The Stalinist was forced to apologize. It remains to be seen if a qualified unionist will obtain the post or if the Stalinists will put in a stooge.

Although two unions presented resolutions calling for the transformation of Labor's Non-Partisan League into a Labor party now, parliamentary rules were used to break off serious discussion and a resolution endorsing the present League policy passed by a large majority.

#### Discuss War Question

Lengthiest discussion came on the war question. The resolutions committee recommended a Stalinist "Endorse the Kellogg-Peace pact" resolution. Two unions introduced an anti-imperialist war resolution that also called for a popular referendum on war.

Attempts of the Stalinists to heckle and boo the opposition were quickly stopped by Carney who insisted on democratic discussion, and debate followed. The Stalinists had a large majority in the vote.

Soon after the convention opened and a progressive delegate fought against a Stalinist measure, the credentials committee, under their guidance, voted to unseat him. The bloc of steel and dyers delegates along with all other non-Stalinists got ready to expose this maneuver if the credentials committee went through with its plan, so Carney and other top C.I.O. officials squelched the C.P. move.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### NEW YORK

HERE'S A CHANCE to demonstrate your ingenuity. City-wide Masquerade Ball at Irving Plaza on November 5th. Prizes for the most original and beautiful costumes. Start planning your costume now—those without costume will pay more admission. Watch the paper for further details. Meanwhile hold the date open . . . The dance of the year . . . Swing band, entertainment, competition and prizes. Note: October 15th dance called off.

OTTO POPOVICH invites you to social at new headquarters. This Sat., Oct. 15, 8 P.M. Admission free. Beer, sandwiches 5c. 106-17 Waltham St., Jamaica Line to Sutphin Blvd.

icy pursued by the officialdom of the union against the threat of government legislation as well as against constance encroachments on living and working conditions by the shipowners, many east coast seamen are reported to favor a new organization here. A.F. of L. representatives believe that Harry Lundberg, because of his aggressive attitude toward the boss and government interference, has the answer east coast seamen have been seeking. With the 7,500 A.F. of L. seamen here he will have a good start.

## Appeal Army

### World Congress Issue Appears Next Week!

The long-awaited special issue of the Socialist Appeal devoted to the founding Congress of the Fourth International and the 10th anniversary of the American Trotskyist movement will be of the press next week. We have decided to increase the size of this issue from the original 8 pages to 12 pages. There will be feature articles by comrades describing the history of the Trotskyist movement in America, in addition to the most important resolutions adopted at the recently held World Congress. No comrade, sympathizer or friend will want to miss this extraordinary issue of the Appeal—not only the largest, but the most significant ever published by us.

There are still some branches that have failed to send in their extra orders to us. They must act now because our press-run will be based solely on extra orders received prior to publication. We have already received orders for thousands of extra copies, but the following branches are still silent: Oakland, San Francisco, Hartford, Louisville, Baltimore, Lynn, Minneapolis, Rochester, Akron, Youngstown, Allentown, Philadelphia and Reading. These branches must be heard from immediately! If they wait until after publication of the World Congress issue, they will be too late.

### Results of Special Anti-War Issues:

The following are typical remarks we've been receiving every day for the past week. Everything indicates an overwhelming success for our Appeal campaign:

"The APPEAL is certainly an excellent paper in revolutionary content, typographically and in every respect. It is doing a wonderfully good and indispensable work in behalf of the working class and all other suppressed people . . ." Wakefield, Kansas.

"We received the first special two page issue of the APPEAL. If it is possible, send us 500 copies of all the anti-war issues for distribution . . ."—Detroit, Michigan.

"The St. Paul branch greets with loud acclaim the announcement that the APPEAL will come out three times weekly. But since greeting with loud acclaim doesn't solve the important financial problem, we are sending the enclosed ten bucks . . ."—St. Paul, Minn.

"I don't know how to start, things are so good! Your art-

## Gaston Medina Dies

After a stay of almost two years in a sanatorium, comrade Gaston Medina, former general secretary of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, died, a victim of tuberculosis contracted in the prisons of the Cuban reactionaries.

Of peasant origin, he early left the farm to become an industrial worker, entering immediately into the proletarian struggles to which he later devoted his whole life. A militant member of the Communist Party, he filled many high posts and was designated National Secretary of the International Workers Defense in 1931.

At the time of the formation of the Left Opposition in the ranks of the C.P. in 1932, comrade Medina immediately became a member of its Central Committee. And when the Opposition became the Bolshevik-Leninist Party he was one of its leaders. At the National Conference of February, 1935, he was elected General Secretary, a post he filled until he entered the sanatorium.

With the death of comrade Medina the proletarian movement of Cuba and the ranks of the Fourth International lose one of its bravest and most heroic fighters.

icle on the New York sales will surely let me get the needed enthusiasm from the comrades . . . Everyone is wild about our success! We have unlimited possibilities . . . We are having a big social Saturday (to raise money for the APPEAL)." —Karl. Marx. Shier, Chicago, Ill.

### New York City Shows the Way!

We want to take this opportunity to offer our special thanks and congratulations to the New York section of the Party. Not only did they do a splendid job of distributing and selling the anti-war Appeals, but they provided the entire financial backing to our undertaking! The N. Y. party and Y.P.S.L. turned in \$200 in cold cash and made it possible for us to carry on. For special mention we select Abe Miller who directed distribution work; Ted Bekos who was the super-star salesman for Appeals; Comrade (Mac) McKinney who was instrumental in raising the money; Comrade R. who made a set of splendid posters which greatly aided in selling papers and each and every comrade of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. who contributed towards our success.

But now that the special drive is over, New York City is not letting up in its activity. Abe Miller, New York's literature director, is launching a subscription drive whose aim is to obtain 100 new subscribers during the next few weeks. Prizes are being offered to those comrades getting the most new subs. This is a direct follow-up on the campaign just concluded and we urge all other branches to follow suit. Watch this column for announcements on the successes of this sub-drive.

The following list contains new subscription for the past two weeks. Bundle orders are also picking up nicely:

NEW YORK CITY	28
Chicago, Ill.	9
California	6
Minnesota	4
Massachusetts	3
New Jersey	3
Michigan	2
Indiana	1
Washington, D. C.	1
New Mexico	1
Connecticut	1
New York State	1
Wisconsin	1
Iowa	1
Foreign	1
Total	64

In addition, the following increases in bundle-orders came in: (1) Allentown, Pa.—An increase of 35; thanks to the fine work of Ruth Quiero.

(2) Ithaca, N. Y.—The Y.P.S.L. circle has resumed its bundle-order, starting with 5 and promising to shoot up soon.

(3) Los Angeles, Calif.—John Murphy has increased his order by 60 per week since he assumed charge.

(4) Washington, D. C.—The new literature agent for the branch is starting with a modest 5 per week.

(5) Henry Schnautz of Evansville, Indiana, has increased his bundle by 35 copies.

Send all contributions and subs to:

SOCIALIST APPEAL  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y.

Last Reminder:  
Send in your extra orders for the World Congress issue of the Socialist Appeal, out next week!

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## Grand Celebration Mass Meeting

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Just arrived—Eight page issue of "UNSER WORT," organ of the German section of Fourth International. Articles by Trotsky, Walter Held, Johr, etc. — 5c each.  
ALSO: La Lutte Ouvriere (French section) 5c.  
De Enige Weg (Dutch section) 5c  
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# Duranty Sees Stalin Turning Toward Deal With Hitler

## DURANTY ARTICLE LAYS DOWN NEW LINE OF KREMLIN

(Continued from page 1) bureaucracy could somehow be preserved.

Thus the broad lines of post-Munich diplomacy begin to take shape. Britain and France met Hitler's terms in Central Europe to avert, or at least postpone, an inter-imperialist war. By this they hoped to turn the sharp edge of the Nazi sword toward the east, against the Soviet Union.

**After Munich**  
This obvious fact is admitted now by Augur, semi-official spokesman for the British Foreign Office, who wrote in the New York Times on Tuesday that Germany's eastward drive would bring the Nazi Reich "face to face with Russia" and added: "While the Russian-German conflict is in the period of preparation, the powers of Western Europe may hope to remain uninvolved, provided they remain neutral."

His policy of the last five years shattered by a single blow at Munich, stripped of the Western alliances with France and Czechoslovakia, for which he sacrificed the workers' revolutionary movement, for which he helped crush the Spanish and French revolutions, Stalin is confronted with the choice of fighting Hitler unaided by any other powers, or coming to terms with Hitler. If Duranty is still a reliable barometer of the Kremlin climate, it is the latter idea which is now making headway.

**Parties Mark Time**  
While the initial maneuvers begin, the Communist Parties, converted by Stalin into flaccid instruments of his policies, are marking time. At Paris the little Stalins of 11 countries, headed by Browder and Thorez, met to consider their dilemma and issued a "Manifesto to World Labor" in which they succeeded in nearly 3,000 words in leaving all doors open under a veritable cloud of meaningless phrases about "unity" and the necessity for preventing Chamberlain (how? how?) from handing Spain over to the same fate meted out to Czechoslovakia.

In this country Foster and Hathaway, deputizing for Browder, attempted in speeches at Pittsburgh to assert "the greater need now than ever before to cement and develop further the policy of collective security." But the Fosters and Hathaways are a little behind Duranty, whose ear is closer to the Kremlin's inside doors: "Russia," he wrote, "must recognize the failure of its League of Nations and collective security policy."

## TOBIN MOVE AID TO UNION UNITY

(Continued from page 1) sible without the truck drivers support, and they are flatly on record against such a disastrous policy.

**Tobin Gets Big Backing**  
The truck drivers' stand was emphasized in the plain language Tobin used to refute the arguments of Green, speaking for the council's report. He pointed out that over 2,000 telegrams came congratulating him for his first plea and that unless the convention really left the door open to negotiations with the C.I.O., the "teamsters would build their own house."

Already in many important labor centers, Akron, Cleveland, Minneapolis, San Francisco and Seattle, and others, the truck drivers are the predominant force in the central labor unions, and this means that Tobin's peace policy will carry great weight to the advantage of the entire labor movement.

**Strong Peace Sentiment in C.I.O.**  
The Lewis gesture and the fact that most C.I.O. unions have continually gone on record for unity with the A. F. of L. indicate how strong sentiment is for labor unity. Reports in high C.I.O. circles persist that the A. F. of L. is going to find a more flexible attitude from Lewis on peace negotiations. Recognition of industrial unionism in mass production industries—a decisive issue—will be the main demand of the C.I.O.

A formula for unity negotiations was advanced by Tobin that the A. F. of L. executive council found impossible to refute. He suggested that if there were any points on which the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. committees could not agree, "to leave those points to some unselfish, unprejudiced body or board to decide."

Read the **SOCIALIST APPEAL**

## FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Following is a partial text of the speech delivered by Comrade James P. Cannon at the Hotel Center, New York, last Sunday, on "The war crisis in Europe and the meaning of the Munich pact."

We've always known and we've always said that the capitalist system, sinking ever deeper in decline and decay, is moving steadily by its own inner logic to a new world war. During the recent crisis of European diplomacy we saw this conception come perilously close to concrete realization. During those days the world stood in the very shadow of catastrophe. If the masses of the world recoiled in horror and grasped at a postponement at any price, if the hands of the imperialists at the last moment trembled—nevertheless, everybody knows the Munich pact was not a solution; everybody realizes now that it was not salvation, but only reprieve.

The diplomatic crisis around the war that was for the moment averted was only a rehearsal—and so the world understands it—of another crisis soon to come which will herald the inevitable outbreak of war. The horrifying experience of the past days is fraught with menace and warning for all the people of our planet. The spectacle of the doomed millions, waiting in agonizing fear for the decision of four diplomats at Munich—waiting to hear their fate—is symbolic of their helplessness in the face of unprecedented deception and betrayal.

### A LESSON IN REALISM

The capitalist statesmen met in a closed room. They, the realists of imperialist politics, were not in the least concerned with senseless abstractions about peace, honor, justice, democracy, etc. They discussed the redivision of the world from a point of view that was exclusively materialistic. They weighed and measured the prospect of spilling oceans of blood with as much concern for the victims as four matter-of-fact butchers in a slaughter-house. The only friend of the masses in that room, the only warning voice that spoke for peace, was that of an uninvited and invisible guest—the specter of revolution which could not be exorcised. That is the only real force for peace, for delay, for postponement of war that is left in this mad capitalist world.

The inevitable war that may be postponed but not avoided is the price humanity must pay for the failure of the workers, the progressive class in society, to fulfill their historic mission, for their failure to overthrow the decayed and outworn social system and replace it by socialism. If the coming war is, by all signs, to begin as a new senseless imperialist slaughter, with reactionary fascism on the offensive, it is the result in the first place—and let us never forget it—it is the result of the betrayal of the proletariat by the Social Democracy in the last war and in the revolutionary struggles which followed it. In the second place it is the result of the capitulation and betrayal of the German proletariat by the two partners in historic crime, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists.

### MASSES ARE AGAINST WAR

It is important for us, I think, to take note of the main features of the war-shaking crisis which culminated in the Munich pact. The main outlines are clear enough. The most positive feature of the whole experience was the indubitable opposition of the masses to a new war. This sentiment, as all observers testify, was virtually universal. It manifested itself everywhere in every way that was open to the bewildered masses to express themselves. Even in Germany, where we have been falsely told so often that the fascist war lord rules with the enthusiastic consent of the masses, the newspaper correspondents testify to the profound dread of war which seized the people and their unrestrained joy when it seemed to have been averted.

The spontaneous rejoicing of the masses in all countries was only superficially expressed in homage to the statesmen who had condescended to postpone the conflict. At bottom it was an expression of the profound opposition of the masses of all countries to another war. The terrible experience of the holocaust of 1914-18 with its more than ten million dead and more than twenty million wounded and crippled and maimed, with its hunger and starvation, its innumerable infant victims of malnutrition, its epidemics—the whole horrifying mess of bloody death and destruction—all this still lives in the memory of the present generation of humans. How many lives will a new war cost, now

that the instruments of death have been tremendously increased with multiplied efficiency?—that is the fearful question which was uppermost in the minds of all the inhabitants of our planet as they swayed on the brink of another war. No! It is impossible to arouse any popular enthusiasm for another military adventure. And in the face of this universal sentiment the imperialist masters dread the social consequences of a plunge into the dark unknown.

### THE REAL FACE OF DEMOCRACY

The second feature of the crisis which came to a point at Munich, which ought to enlighten millions who have been duped and doped by false prophets, was the attitude displayed throughout the entire affair, consistently, up to the very end, by the authentic spokesmen of the capitalist democracies. With their own hands they stripped away the veil of illusion and deceit and showed their real class face at Munich. They demonstrated clearly and with brutal cynicism the fact that there is no fundamental difference between democratic and fascist capitalism. The agreements they signed at Munich, and especially the amiable protocol of amity and good will signed by Chamberlain and Hitler gave a crushing refutation to the liars and deceivers who have taught the masses to stake their heads on British democracy in their struggle against fascism.

The two imperialist camps represented at Munich—the democratic and the fascist—showed a common antagonism to the Soviet Union, antagonism to the state that was raised up by the October Revolution; with a gesture of contempt they thrust aside the Stalinist traitors who have served them so well. Years long now, Stalin has courted the favor of the imperialist masters assembled at Munich, but this could not win for him at the decisive moment a nod of recognition or an invitation to the conference. The miserable propaganda of Stalin and his prostituted hirelings in those days amounted to nothing but a whining protest at this ingratitude.

### NOT ENOUGH YET!

"Look,"—they said in effect—"Look, what we've done for you. We killed a whole generation of revolutionists in Russia; we destroyed the Comintern; we butchered the red generals and demoralized the Red Army."

And the cold-blooded imperialist masters answered by their actions: "you haven't done enough yet. You haven't restored the system of private property. That is our real objective. You, by killing the Bolsheviks, by assassinating the red generals, by disorganizing Soviet economy and demoralizing the Red Army—by all this you have only made it easier for us to attack the Soviet Union together with Hitler."

The third feature of the diplomatic crisis was the diplomats' fear of the masses, that unknown quantity, that algebraic "X" which cast its menacing shadow over their conference.

The profound anti-war sentiment was known to them. They also have memories of the past war and its unforeseen consequences. They recall that it began with England as the dominant world power, buttressed on the east by the empire of the Czar, that historic "mainstay of European reaction." Within two and a half years after the war began, the whole structure of Czarism was in the dust and the mighty upsurge of the Russian Revolution had upset the world balance. In the west the United States, profiting by the dislocation and exhaustion of the European nations, emerged from the war as the first power of the world, relegating England to second place and starting the world-wide empire on the road to dissolution.

What will be the consequences of the next war?—that is the question which paralyzed the hands of the diplomats and disturbed their dreams. Will we lose the war if we win it as before? Will the multiplied efficiency of the war weapons bring crisis and revolution in six months instead of two and a half years? Will the American colossus extend and strengthen its hegemony all more? The ineluctable contradictions of still the capitalist nations and of the world-system as a whole push them relentlessly to war and yet the statesmen falter and tremble in fear of the unknown.

"But Chamberlain and Daladier are betrayers," whine the Stalinists, who taught the masses to trust the capitalist democracies and their authentic leaders. What a puerile explanation of the collapse of their own policy! Chamberlain and Daladier never promised to defend anything except the imperialist interest of their class. It is the snivel-

ling Stalinists, the Social-Democrats, and labor fakery of all stripes, who betrayed their class by chloroforming it with the illusion of the Peoples' Front—that is the partnership of labor with its mortal class enemy.

### STALIN'S NEXT STEP

What, in the post-Munich world situation, can be the next steps of Stalin? Some naive people—including some superficial newspaper correspondents and columnists—predict a new turn to revolutionary policy on the world arena. Some Stalinist workers, I have no doubt some of them are sitting in this hall tonight, cherish this hope of a return to revolutionary activity. They see what they want to see. Many of them are so sick of waving the American flag, and are so hoarse from singing the Star Spangled Banner, that they want to believe it was all a super-clever revolutionary maneuver to deceive the capitalists. Now that the policy has failed so miserably, so catastrophically, they want to believe that there will be a return to revolutionary activity on the part of Stalin and his clique.

Illusion! These people have long since passed over to the other side of the barricades, their hands are red with the blood of innumerable revolutionists. In Russia, in Spain, in France, in Switzerland, in China, in the United States—on a world-wide scale, they have established themselves irrevocably as the hangmen of the revolution.

Stalin's next move will be a diplomatic approach to Hitler, and Hitler, in turn, will talk business. But not on the basis of abstractions, shibboleths, or "principles"—Hitler's principles are as false and phoney as Stalin's. Hitler will demand, and Stalin will offer, concessions, concrete and tangible. A breach in the foreign trade monopoly, which will immediately undermine Russian industry and prepare its collapse? A slice of the Ukraine, as a beginning of the dismemberment of the Soviet Union? To show good faith on the part of Stalin, a new trial, perhaps, new killings? Litvinov's head, as the scapegoat for the discredited policy of alliances with the capitalist democracies? Another purge of the Red Army on which the "disappearance" of Marshal Bluecher will be recorded as an advance payment? Or, proceeding to a drastic solution of the real conflict between the Soviet Union and all the imperialist countries, will Stalin move to a direct attempt to restore private property and open up the Russian market to foreign exploitation?

### STALIN WILL FALL

These are the questions which can constitute the only possible basis for rapprochement between Hitler and Stalin. Phantastic, you say. No, the whole course of Stalin has been leading straight to this end. If you read, in the near future, some radical blustering in the Stalinist press, some hints and threats of a new appeal to the working masses of the world, you can understand it as the signal for the preparation of a new drastic turn to the right. Stalin and his clique, long ago, turned their backs on every hope and prospect of world revolution. The bureaucratic caste is concerned only with self-preservation, at any cost.

Stalin, like dictators of the imperialist countries, both democratic and fascist, fears one thing above all—the masses. And well he may. A deal with Hitler involving a breach of the foreign trade monopoly, a cession of Soviet territory, or an attempt to restore the system of private property, may very well be the spark that will set off the revolutionary explosion in Russia, and bring Stalin to his downfall.

If Hitler, now fully armed and backed by Britain and France, is ready to train the great guns against the Soviet Union, that is the fruit of the betrayal of the German proletariat and the shameful capitulation to Hitler in 1933. In 1932—before Hitler came to power—Trotsky sounded a prophetic warning. He said that Hitler, once he crushed the German labor movement, and consolidated his internal position on the blood and bones of the workers, would reach an agreement with France and England and become the spearhead of a new imperialist attack against the Soviet Union. This warning, ignored and derided, like all of the wise words of Trotsky, is now approaching a horrible realization. The responsibility rests exclusively with the betrayers and capitalists, the Stalinists and the leaders of the German Social-Democracy, those swine who even went to the length of presenting themselves in Hitler's Reichstag and offering to collaborate as a loyal opposition.

### WHOSE THE RESPONSIBILITY?

It is the fashion now to blame the German masses for the consolidation of fascism in Ger-

many and the monstrous military aggression of Hitler. Every scribbler, these days, writes about the war spirit of the German masses, their love of obedience, their stupidity, etc. Base calumny! The German proletariat was the most advanced, the strongest, and best organized in Europe. They did not embrace fascism. They were not defeated by it in battle. They were abandoned and betrayed. The jingo nationalist policy of Stalinism in France, in England and the other countries of democratic capitalism, left the German workers speechless and helpless to combat the nationalist spirit propagated by Hitler.

### ONLY INTERNATIONALIST VOICE

The only voice raised for a proletarian policy in the European war crisis was the voice of the Fourth International and its sections. Our comrades in Czechoslovakia—including the Sûvosten areas—with unexampled courage, raised the one slogan of reason in the mad welter of capitalist nationalism. In the midst of the crisis, confronted on one side by the Nazi offensive, and on the other by the brutal persecution of the Czechoslovakian police state, they raised the slogan: "Neither German nor Czech capitalist nationalism, but the Soviet United States of Europe."

The French section of the Fourth International, the Internationalist Workers Party, reacted to the crisis with terrific energy under the same slogan.

In England, the paper of the Revolutionary Socialist League—the British section of the Fourth International—came out during the week of the acute crisis with the inspiring slogan of Liebknecht, blazoned across the first page: "The Main Enemy Is In Your Own Country."

On the very eve of the war crisis, with the prospect of a military explosion at any hour, delegates from all the most important countries, gathered in Switzerland and held the Foundation Congress of the Fourth International. This event, the historic significance of which is beyond exaggeration, testifies to the boundless revolutionary vitality of the world-wide movement of resurgent Bolshevism.

Here, at home, we saw the same thing. The Stalinists showed themselves, once again, more glaringly shameful than ever, as nothing but the disappointed office boys of the democratic capitalist masters. The "Keep America Out of War Committee," that preposterous fraud, with paper-mache fences around nothing at all—the "Keep America Out of War Committee" couldn't think of anything to do during the war crisis but to keep as mum as oysters, and to show about the same intellectual expression. Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, crawling back on its hands and knees, to fusion with the social-patriots of the old guard, saluted the war crisis by missing three consecutive issues of their paper, the Socialist Call.

### HOW OUR PARTY REACTED

The Socialist Workers Party, the American Section of the Fourth International, alone reacted to the crisis in a manner worthy of revolutionists. It gave a correct line, it gave information, and Marxist interpretation of the events. Its membership mobilized for action and sacrifice, and in spite of all difficulties, brought out the Socialist Appeal three times a week. The thrice-a-week Appeal is the symbol of a party that is geared for crisis. That is the real test of the quality and morale of revolutionary organization, for revolution, itself, is the greatest crisis.

In a preliminary test our party responded worthily—that gives us a certain confidence for its future. It also gives us the right to address a brief message to those militants outside its ranks, who are sincerely seeking to work and struggle in an organized manner for socialism. Especially to Stalinist workers, we say: You must study and reflect on the experience, you must regain your proletarian health and sanity. Rid your system of the poison that has been pumped into your veins. And most important of all, get out of that pest-house of deceit and treachery. Leave the traitor party of Stalinism and join with us in building an honest party of revolution.

Everything comes back to the problem of the party, that is the great and outstanding lesson of the past twenty years. Without the revolutionary party, there can be no victory, but if the proletarian vanguard is organized, if it is armed with a correct program, disciplined and trained for struggle and sacrifice, all things are possible. Once the small wheel of such a party is geared into the great wheel of the historic process, the victory of the workers and the regeneration of humanity is assured.

## MILITANTS FACE 'TREASON' TRIAL; IN SPAIN COURT

(Continued from page 1) ers Party meeting in New York last Sunday night.

In this trial the Loyalists—who are headed for an "arrangement" with the Fascists under the tutelage of the Munich powers—are apparently going to try to prove to the Fascists that they are just as resolutely opposed to the revolutionary movement of the workers and just as determined as the Fascists to stamp it out.

### G.P.U. Stage-Managers

This trial was prepared and stage-managed for the bourgeois government of Barcelona by Stalin's G.P.U., which has been used by Negrin & Co. to crush the workers' movement. The G.P.U. will continue to play this role until it is deemed that blows of sufficient severity have been struck at the workers to permit the free conclusion of a deal with the Fascists. Then will come the turn of the Stalinists. That is the supreme irony that lies back of this monstrous frame-up!

Protest the trial of worker-militants in Barcelona! Their only crime was their effort to espouse the cause of the working class in the struggle against Fascism! Flood the Spanish Embassy in Washington and the Loyalist Government at Barcelona with telegrams of protest! They must not be permitted to hand these revolutionary militants, first in the ranks against Fascism, over to the hangmen of Stalin-Negrin!

### 1,000 Protest

Resolutions protesting the persecution of revolutionary militants by the Loyalist Government in Spain, demanding an open trial for the imprisoned leaders of the Bolshevik Leninists and of the P.O.U.M., and the immediate release of Russell Blackwell, American militant imprisoned in Barcelona, were adopted at the Socialist Workers Party mass meeting at the Hotel Center on Sunday night.

The resolutions were presented by George Novack, secretary of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees and were unanimously adopted by the meeting.

The resolution on the Barcelona repressions was as follows: "We, 1,000 workers assembled at Hotel Center, protest against the continued persecution of revolutionary militants by the Loyalist government in Spain and its employment of the frameup methods of the G.P.U., resulting in false arrests, imprisonments and assassinations.

"We demand that the leaders of P.O.U.M., the Bolshevik-Leninists and other anti-fascist groups imprisoned for many months be granted open trial with counsel of their own choice and all the necessary guarantees for their defense; and that an international labor jury be permitted to be present at the proceedings."

On Blackwell  
The resolution on Blackwell was as follows:

"We, 1,000 workers and friends of labor assembled at Hotel Center, having been informed of the detention of R. Negrin Blackwell by the Loyalist government, protest against the imprisonment of this militant known for his devotion to the cause of labor.

"We demand that the Loyalist Government accord him an immediate and unconditional release from jail.

"We call upon the State Department to provide whatever guarantees are necessary for his safe conduct to the United States."

Copies of this resolution were sent to the Spanish Ambassador and the State Department at Washington and to the labor press.

long-term naval construction plan which will now certainly be expanded. It was already indicated that the limit of 2,050 naval planes would be expanded to 3,000—and this may be taken as only a formal figure which will in reality be far exceeded.

Charles Edison, assistant secretary of the navy, said at Schenectady that "he believed the European crisis had lessened opposition to naval expansion and awakened the nation to the need of such a program." That is the immediate use to which the Czechoslovakian events are being put in this country.

Witch Hunts Tomorrow  
"Spy scares" will turn tomorrow into witch hunts against all militant opponents of the armaments program and the war. It is to prepare precisely this psychology that the Roosevelt administration is now staging its spy trial and announcing at the same time that the country can expect an enormous increase in the towering burden of armaments which the workers are already carrying on their backs.

## ROOSEVELT SEEKS Soviet Economy In Fresh Crisis; NATIONAL UNITY New, Sweeping Purges Threatened

By J. G. WRIGHT

(Continued from page 1) lies that the ranks can be better controlled through being brought together into a single organization, and tied closely to the government.

The urgent desire of all militant workers for re-unification of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. should not blind them to this thoroughly reactionary motivation for Roosevelt's intervention. He seeks to achieve through unification a necessary part of the preparation for the war: a means for guaranteeing the strict control over labor by government and through government by the bosses whose government it is.

Unity of the labor movement is an immediate and imperative necessity. From the point of view of the interests of the workers, thus, this serves to show that the so much needed re-unification of labor's ranks will prove of last value only if the drive for it by progressive unionists themselves is joined to the struggle for full intra-union democracy, for a militant union policy, and above all against the war and the war-makers, whether these are found in Washington or in labor's own house.

The long suppressed news of the catastrophic collapse of Soviet economy under Stalin's regime is beginning to crop up in the world press. The crisis has extended even to agriculture, the one sphere in which the regime had felt itself most secure. Only a short while ago the Stalinists were broadcasting to the world the myth of a record harvest.

These boasts were used to cover up the breakdown in the basic industries, in the production of steel, iron and coal and the acute shortage of consumers' goods. The Soviet population we were told was at least assured of an ample stock of foodstuffs. Never again would the kulak raise his head to threaten the regime by a grain strike, by failure to deliver grain to the government. Such were the boasts. And what is the reality?

The New Emergency  
The harvest has fallen far below expectations. The yield is so poor that Harold Denny, reporting this disaster, comments as follows: "This year's reduction in yield, it should be said, while unfortunate, is by no means catastrophic. No one here believes there will be an actual bread shortage. But the government is generally understood to be storing large food

supplies against any possible emergency and is unceasingly pressing for big harvests." (N. Y. TIMES, Oct. 8.)  
Nobody "believes" in a possibility of bread shortage, but the government is "understood" to be taking steps against such an emergency!  
A sub-normal crop is of itself a calamity—common enough in Czarist Russia, but a thing of the past in the Soviet Union, liquidated forever by Stalin's policy of collectivization, the world was told. It is explained away, of course, by "natural causes," the summer's drought, etc. But conditions last year were far worse, and yet the yield was far greater. Some other causes must have operated to reduce the crops. Prior to Stalin's forced collectivization, it was no secret that poor crops were due to the fact that peasants refused to plant more than would suffice for their own needs. Soviet industry at that

time could not supply the village with goods and the peasant in return sabotaged his production.

Are the collectivists today, in which the kulaks of yesterday have entrenched themselves, pursuing the same policy, for the self-same reasons? Upon this point, Denny's dispatch provides us with a categorical answer. Yes! Not only have the collectivists failed to plant as much as they did last year, but they are neglecting the harvests wherever they have been abundant.

Denny reports: "In much of the best grain country millions of acres of grain have been cut, but this is still standing in the fields unthreshed and suffering daily loss and deterioration. Until the crops are actually harvested the government cannot get its share."

Recurrences of Grain Strikes  
In every respect we have here a recurrence of the grave situation created by the "grain strike" of the original kulak years ago. The collectivists are sabotaging government grain deliveries!  
If years ago the Stalin clique was able to meet the crisis by a sharp shift in its economic policy, by adopting and distorting the

industrialization program of the Left Opposition, and by its savage policy of forced collectivization, today it is able to cope with the situation only by police measures and by extending the blood purge to the collectivists.

Denny reports a "series" of five trials in the last few weeks in distant Siberia alone. The defendants are charged with "disrupting harvesting and the program of grain deliveries—namely, grain requisitioned at nominal prices, by which method the authorities obtain much of the grain for feeding the industrial population." In the trials the defendants are, of course, presented as the familiar scapegoats of all Moscow frame-ups, to wit, "Trotskyist Bukharinist counter-revolutionary wreckers."

### Campaign Against "Kulaks"

But what is most significant is the resumption in the press of the campaign against the kulak. In the trials themselves the defendants are especially denounced as "former kulaks and former White Guards." The men who are being shot and jailed are none other than the administrative staff of the collectivists: collective farm chairmen, granary managers, timekeepers, blacksmiths, tractor station managers and so on.

The demands in the press that the purge continue "until the last enemies have been exposed" sig-

nifies that from one end of the country to the other the administrative personnel of the collectivists will be decimated thus producing the same havoc as in industry. Far from alleviating the situation it can only speed the disintegration of the collectivists.

This newest purge has been carefully hidden thus far. But we can estimate its scope from the single fact that out of 28 commissars nominated by Molotov and unanimously elected by the Supreme Soviet Council last January only 17 still retain their posts. Eleven members of the government have already been purged, and at least six others have their heads on the chopping block. The Stalin regime is tottering, nothing can save it.

## BEGIN FULL DRESS 'SPY SCARE' TO AID WAR PLANS

(Continued from page 1)

Budget was already studying plans for asking the largest peacetime naval appropriation in history, far exceeding the stupendous sum of \$550,947,694 provided for in the Naval Appropriation Bill last year apart from the \$1,000,000,000 appropriated for a



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**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
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Associate Editors  
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**Free Tom Mooney!**

Tom Mooney has eight new turnkeys. They don't live in the shadow of San Quentin but they banged the prison gates like any jailer would have done.

After twenty years, during which time mountains of evidence have been accumulated to prove Mooney's innocence, to prove that the trial was a frame-up, to prove that the gamblers, pimps and prostitutes who testified were paid perjurers; after twenty years there is not a solitary sane person who dares to contend that Mooney is guilty of the charges on which he was convicted—the Supreme Court could not find a technicality on which to release labor's celebrated prisoner.

The Supreme Court could not find a technicality because it was not rendering a decision on the Mooney Case. It was taking its stand in the class war. It was proving that capitalist democracy must have prison walls and iron bars to preserve its tyranny over the working class. Mooney is a symbol of the cause of working class liberation. The eight old men hate this cause with every fiber of their doddering being. That's why they are keeping Mooney in prison.

The eight old men, the Supreme Court of California, the Governor of California and all the rest of the watchdogs of capital will never release Mooney of their own accord.

The keys to Mooney's cell must be wrested from the hands of his jailers by the might of the organized labor movement.

Until that time Tom Mooney's continued imprisonment remains a black stain on the working class.

There can be no freedom for America's toilers while Mooney is still in jail.

**Tobin's Bombshell**

Dan Tobin's dramatic appeal for the re-unification of the labor movement brought the intricate struggle between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. a long way on the road to solution.

Tobin was indubitably speaking the thoughts of the strongest and most militant union in the A. F. of L. and voicing the hopes of millions of organized workers in both camps of the trade union movement. Tobin's speech was a bombshell because it tore a hole in the fabric of lies used to explain the split. The masses want peace in the labor movement, and now they know that self-seeking leaders alone have been the obstacle.

There are no longer any fundamental reasons that justify the separation of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. The original differences over the question of industrial unionism is no longer at issue. The march of developments compelled craft union after craft union in the A. F. of L. to organize on a vertical basis. The speech of Tobin, as representative of the teamsters union, is the most convincing proof of this fact. The organized masses know this to be true, and they are refusing to allow personal ambitions to stand as an impediment to peace. The leaders of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are on the spot; now they must act.

Tobin's speech to the Houston convention came on the heels of a special plea by Roosevelt for unity. If and when unity is established, there will be those who will rush forward to bestow praise and blessing upon the President. But it will soon become clear that Roosevelt's reasons

for unity are directly contrary to those of the workers.

Roosevelt is priming the war machine and directing U. S. foreign politics towards an early participation in imperialist war. If Roosevelt can dictate the terms of labor's peace, then Roosevelt will hope to dictate the terms of labor's regimentation during the war.

The workers on the contrary want peace in their own house in order to organize the remaining unorganized millions, in order to counter-act the bosses' offensive, in order to withstand the blows of depression. The interests and aims of Roosevelt and of the workers are diametrically opposed. But the kind of unity and the type of organization that emerges from the peace fortunately rests first of all with the workers and not with Mr. Roosevelt. The leadership of the new organization may become partners to Roosevelt's labor-throttling war plans. But a powerful militant and progressive movement among the rank and file can sweep this conspiracy aside.

A united labor movement, however it comes into being, will provide a broad arena for progressives to go to work for a program of class action and conflict with the misrulers of America's industry and wealth. Unity will brush aside the secondary issues and the squabbles that arise from rival unions; it will put the real issues on the order of the day.

Moreover, we have every reason to believe that unity will have another salutary effect. It will deliver a smashing blow to that disruptive gang that passes by the name of the Communist Party. The Stalinists through their compact with John Lewis have been able to run riot in the unions; the C.I.O. was a free field for their operations. In the united unions, the Stalinist power will be seriously curbed. Their paper unions will be thrown into the waste-basket, where they properly belong. The compact with Lewis, who practically handed the wreckers the United Automobile Workers, will come to an end, or failing that, its influence will be seriously undermined.

It is too early to predict whether the move of Tobin, Lewis and Roosevelt will result in unity. But certain it is that the pressure from below, from the rank and file, has grown to irresistible proportions. That is the great lesson of the recent history of the labor movement. The workers forced the drive to industrial unionism. The workers forced the A. F. of L. off its craft basis. Now they are moving for unity. The pressure must continue until it becomes a fact. And then it must be resumed for a resurgent development of the American trade unions along militant and progressive lines.

**Sliding Scale of Hours**

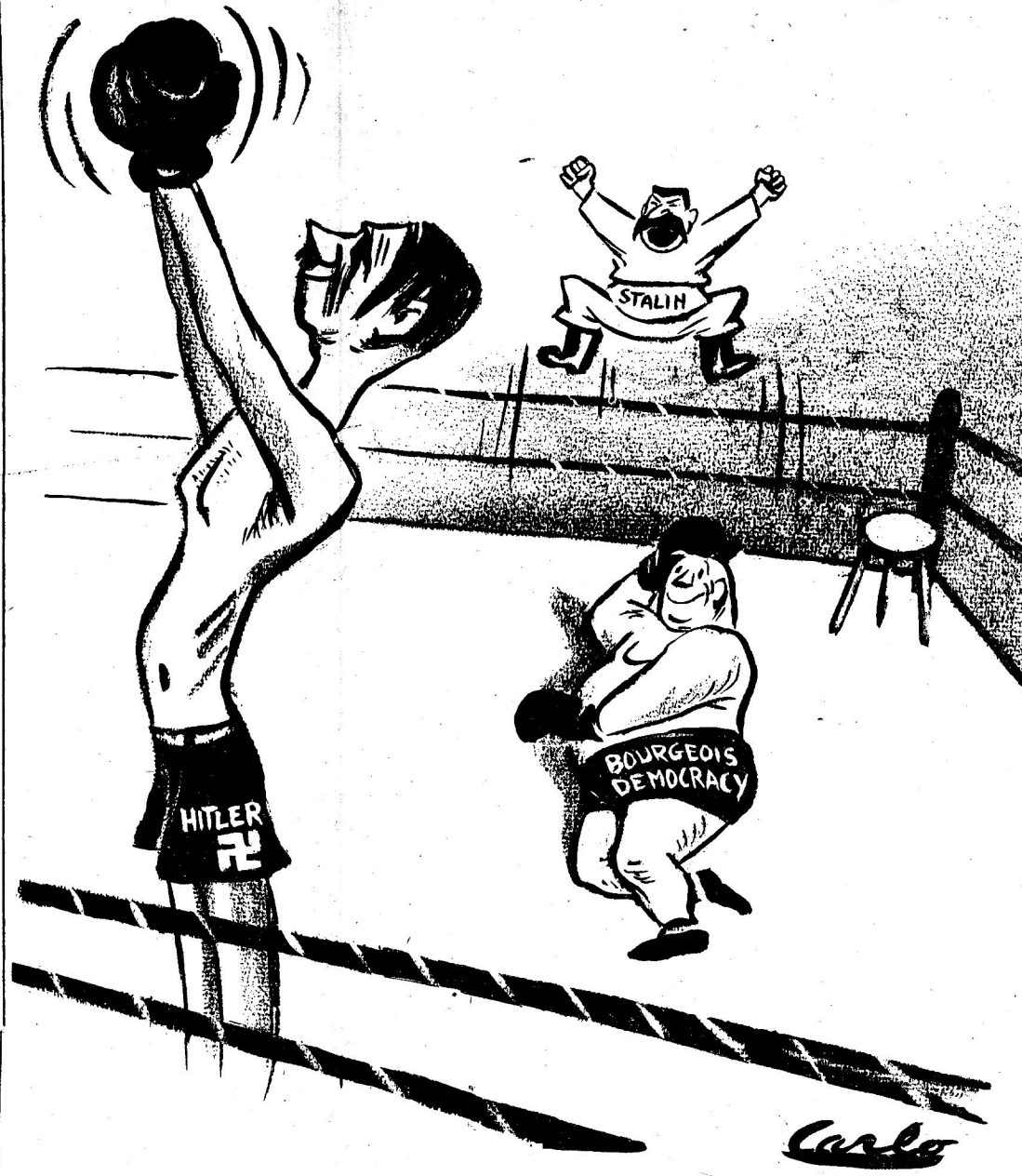
The moderate resumption of production in Michigan's automobile plants has brought with it the first storm signals of what promises to be a veritable whirlwind of strikes. The season had hardly begun when strike fireworks flared up at the Briggs, McCord Radiator, Champion Spark Plug and Plymouth plants—involving a possible total of 40,000 workers. And now there is strike talk in the entire General Motors Corporation with its hundreds of thousands of workers.

What is the principal issue of these actions? It is the issue that stands uppermost in the mind of every worker: how shall work be found for the thousands of unemployed when the parasitic masters of industry begin their layoffs?

The Plymouth walkout was designed to cope with this problem and now negotiations with G. M. are moving in the same direction. The Plymouth workers demanded a reduction of hours from 40 to 32 hours a week before any layoffs took place. They wanted to spread the work to as large a group of men as possible before any workers were forced on the relief rolls. The demand for the thirty-two hour week in the automobile industry marks a tremendous forward step for the labor movement. The Plymouth workers made a beginning by demanding a thirty-two-hour week. The next step, pointed by the logic of the unemployed problem, is for a thirty-two hour week at forty hours of pay. In short, make the bosses pay for the depression.

The Socialist Workers Party greets the action of the automobile workers and calls on the labor movement to raise the slogan of the sliding scale of hours at the same weekly wage!

**"We Wuz Robbed"!**



**Czech Labor Movement Now Faces Fight Against Fascism**

(Below is the concluding article of the series on Czechoslovakia.—Ed)

By W. KELLER

The drive against the labor movement has already started. The new Slovak government has outlawed the Communist Party which was at one time the dominant revolutionary force in Slovakia. Among Hitler's conditions for a truce with the Czechs figures the demand for the proscription of the Communist Party in all Czech territory as well. No doubt Prague will agree to meet this demand with great pleasure. Only the proper moment remains to be chosen.

These blows, however, are only preparatory steps for a general offensive against Czech labor. The question now arises: Is the situation of the workers in Czechoslovakia hopeless? Are there any chances of bringing the steamroller of Fascism to a stop?

A Grave Moment

It is impossible to answer this question with a simple yes or no. One thing is certain: it would be criminal light-mindedness to deny the gravity of the present situation. The Czechoslovak workers have suffered their first great defeat since the world war—a defeat without a struggle. Through the proclamation of the military dictatorship by the Benes-Stalin front and the subsequent Munich deal, they have been brought, overnight, to the same point where the German proletariat stood on January 30, 1933, when Field Marshal Hindenburg, who had been elected President with the support of the trusting Social Democrats, called Hitler to the helm of the Weimar republic.

Now the question is: Will the Czech labor movement steer just as fatally toward a helpless collapse like its German counterpart which, in March, 1933, after Hitler's landslide in the elections, looked on passively while its organizations were destroyed?

It is impossible to deny that the distribution of the figures on the chess board of the class struggle is extremely unfavorable for the workers. Guided by the criminal hand of the social patriots, they have abandoned to Fascism their defensive outposts: the Sudeten German, Polish and Hungarian workers and peasants. They have lost the Slovak and Ruthenian peasants—eternal rebels, because they live in eternal misery—to clerical Fascism. They have repelled Czech peasants who were seeking liberation from the economic pressure of the big landowners. They have voluntarily surrendered their democratic rights to the "Friend of the Soviets," General Syrovky. They are now encircled on all sides by Fascism. They are divided among themselves by privileges hitherto granted to a labor aristocracy by Czech imperialism, by increasing unemployment, by national prejudices and anti-semitism.

Traditions of Struggle

But there are also positive features in the picture. This working class knows how to fight. Its history is rich in courageous battles. Up to the fateful turn toward the "People's Front" not a single year elapsed in which the streets of industrial Czechoslovakia remained unstained by the blood of

proletarian combatants. But will its forces suffice for victory? Will it rid itself in ample time of its bankrupt leadership? Nobody can foretell. It may be said without unwarranted optimism, however, that the Czech working class will not be clamped passively into the straight-jacket of Fascism.

Already the Czech workers are making a mighty effort to coordinate their resistance against the class enemy. The long-restrained differentiation within the social democracy is coming out into the open. The demand for unity of action, for the fusion of the trade union movement, which is numerically strong but divided into several national federations, is more powerful than ever before. The desire for a unified workers party is also widespread, nourished in part by Stalinist propaganda.

An Important Distinction

Once again the counter-revolutionary leadership, above all the Stalinists, bars the road to these confused but progressive tendencies. Proving that they have leaned nothing and forgotten nothing, the Stalinists are trying to patch up, on a new and narrower basis, that same "Democratic Front" which has only just collapsed. The special conditions that exist are such that any such move may well succeed in once more confusing the already-confused workers.

For, in contradistinction to France, there has never been a formal "People's Front" in Czechoslovakia. The Stalinists acted in the democratic orchestra as noisy and stubborn intruders. Only in the short-lived interim between Godesberg and Munich, when all seemed set for war, were they permitted to appear on the platform of the official patriots. If the French workers are now about to draw the balance sheet of "organic unity" under the banner of class collaboration, for the Czech workers this unknown kind of unity must still appear as somewhat of a panacea. All the more so, because the Social Democratic and Czech National Socialist (Benes) party leaders have up to now, in the interests of their governmental posts, refused any kind of united action with the Stalinists.

A Choice To Be Made

Even now these leaders will resist to the utmost the attempts to bring them together with the Stalinists around one table. While the workers are interested in a genuine fighting front against the Fascist threat, the Stalinist and reformist misleaders are anxious to rig up a subtle system of "pressure" and "persuasion" directed at the government and intended to prove again their value to the bourgeois regime.

But this community of aims precisely makes a real understanding between these bureaucrats even less possible than in France. On their march toward an authoritarian regime, the Czech capitalists will have to do away with labor's militancy. They can achieve this by various means. In Germany Hitler cleaned house of Communists first and Socialists next in a few weeks, in the Saar and Austria in a few days. Mussolini tolerated the castrated Socialists and their trade unions for almost five years.

In Poland and in Hungary they are even now permitted to eke out a shadowy existence. But everywhere, whatever the fate of the Socialist leaders, the Communists were invariably crushed. Which tactic the Czech capitalists will choose depends in the first instance on the degree of tension reached in the coming class struggles.

The emergency laws inherited from the Masaryk-Benes democracy, the Law for the Protection of the Republic, the Law for the Dissolution of Parties and Trade Unions, the Law for the Defense of the State in Case of War and National Emergency, will enable them to wipe out any labor organization legally and "democratically" and to send its members into prisons and concentration camps as provided by the statutes.

Stalinists Will Be First

Needless to say, their first target will be the Stalinists. The Social Democrats and the Czech National Socialists will no doubt help the capitalists in such an action, hoping to save their own skins. The capitalists will use their services in order to destroy or sterilize the whole labor movement step by step. They may also take advantage of the antagonism between the bureaucracy of the political labor movement and the "non-political" trade union movement, especially since the trade unions are completely dependent financially upon the state, because of the peculiar system of unemployment relief.

Thus it is entirely possible that the Czech bourgeoisie will crush one section of the labor movement and its bureaucracy and take the rest along, under muzzle and leash, on the road toward Fascism. The fear of furnishing Hitler with a pretext for military intervention will also play its part in the choice of this gradual method. Whatever the actual course of events will be, all these considerations are milling around in the heads of the Czech labor bureaucrats. A great rush for mutual self-outs is at hand. Even if the unlikely happens and an actual "People's Front" is set up, it will be exploded immediately by the bureaucratic antagonisms ranging within it.

A Quick Showdown

On the other hand, it is possible that, as in Spain, the fighting spirit of the workers will succeed in establishing, over the heads of the Stalinists and the reformists, a wide net of local action committees. But in contradistinction to Spain, this would lead to a quick showdown. Hitler now offers a protecting hand to the Czech Fascists. War has been postponed, but a new outbreak is close. The class struggle in France and to a lesser extent in Great Britain, will now develop at a speedy rate. The capitalists of both countries are desperately determined to continue the armament race. They have before their eyes the example of the successful military regimentation of the working class by their Fascist rivals. On the other hand, the workers of France and Great Britain have just received a lesson in democracy which greatly reduces their spirit of sacrifice for the Fatherland.

Events in France and Great Britain will in the end determine

**Pinning 'em Down**

By JAMES CASEY

**LOVE FEAST WITH ECONOMIC ROYALISTS**

Big Business and the New Deal administration have just dedicated themselves to a new and vigorous offensive against Labor.

The latest love-feast between the money-lords and their governing board in Washington was distinctive for a theme that had been scrupulously avoided, so far as the public was concerned, during all the six years of the Roosevelt regime. For the first time since moving into the White House, the Great Liberal, in issuing a long public statement several days ago, omitted any demagogic jibes against the economic royalists coupled with burning expressions of affections for the "forgotten man."

Instead, the President offered up a prayer for industrial peace—for harmony, tranquility, serenity on the whole industrial front. With a display of beautiful precision, his supplications were touchingly endorsed and re-echoed by Big Business, through the voice of Charles R. Hook, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. And with equal promptness, Acting Administrator Aubrey Williams served an injunction to WPA workers against any strikes on Federal projects.

At last Mr. Roosevelt discarded his repertoire of platitudes and spoke out what was on his mind. Roosevelt's call for peace on all home fronts (by government, capital and labor, as he puts it) is precisely what American capitalism desires. As a substitute to demands for better working conditions, increases in pay and the constant vigilance on the part of Labor against speed-up, the capitalists want "harmony and tranquility" and a predominance of the Rotarian spirit, with all its verbal baloney designed to preserve the interests of Finance Capital.

In place of strikes, the capitalists favor arbitration boards with their habitual sellouts of the workers. The less industrial strife, the bigger the profits for the bosses. Thus Roosevelt sang his little piece and the Wall Streeters at once chorused their approbation. The public performance, however, can hold only one meaning for America's workers and farmers.

Price-boosting, a drive to cut wages and a nation-wide movement for production speed-up can now be expected by industrialists and manufacturers. On its own part, the government will drop thousands more from WPA projects, as well as prune down relief expenditures.

Astute politician that he is Mr. Roosevelt bided his time to choose the opportune moment for insistence against hostilities on the industrial front. Suppored on by the counsel of Bernard M. Baruch and other Wall Street wizards, he has rallied around him the American Labor Party, the Workers Alliance and "progressive" grouplets in many sections of the land.

Then, too, one cannot overlook the exuberant enthusiasm, the pious love and the fanatical loyalty of the Stalinists for everything that smacks of Rooseveltolatry.

That the "progressives" have encouraged Roosevelt and capital in their new offensive is beyond dispute. But they have done more; they have sown the seeds for creation of "welfare" committees or councils that act against Labor and, especially, against the jobless millions.

**THE "BETTERMENT" DIET**

A typical example of the progressive offspring is the New York City Budget Council, made up of "civic" leaders pledged to the betterment of the community. What the council means by "betterment" is amply illustrated in a report just published "on the needs of a working class family."

After a long and supposedly thorough survey, the council has found that \$8.37 is a sum sufficient to supply a family of four with food for a week. Such a report, issued by "civic" leaders about the time of Roosevelt's call can only be calculated to set a new minimum for home relief, provide an alibi for pay-slashing and lowering of the workers' living standard.

In view of its patent intent, the council's findings deserve an examination, even if a brief one.

The council would have a working-class family of four spend \$1.10 for their daily food. Since the New York Board of Education holds it is necessary for a pupil to consume a quart of milk daily, it should be assumed that two children in the family of four must spend twenty cents for that vital nourishment. A platter for the family of four sitting down to dinner must involve the cost of at least fifty cents for meat, twenty cents for vegetables and ten cents for a loaf of bread. Thus, the milk and the one-course meal would bring the expenses up to a dollar.

This would leave a balance of exactly nineteen cents to purchase breakfast and luncheon for the family of four, or less than three cents per member.

Just what kind of meal a person can buy for three cents the budget council, of course, failed to state. It should be abundantly clear, however, even to the welfare experts that any prescribed \$8.37 weekly diet would increase cases of pellagra, tuberculosis and kindred diseases prevalent among the impoverished working masses.

To fight off the program of the budget council and the entire offensive of the Roosevelt administration, a strong, solid organization of jobless is one of the vital needs of the hour. In this connection, the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, bound inextricably to the administration, is today far more of a liability than an asset to the nation's unemployed.

Following the People's Frontist line of the Stalinists, the Workers Alliance frowns upon and seeks to prevent militant action by WPA workers and destitute families for more jobs and adequate relief. It has become an obstreperous apologist for Mr. Roosevelt, a supporter of capitalist party candidates for public office and a menace to militant working class activity.

**A HEALTHY PROGRAM**

In the circumstances, New York's toilers must welcome the organization of the New York Unemployed and WPA Workers Union.

From a study of its program, it is manifest that the new union stands flatly opposed to class-collaboration and has as its main interest the city's and nation's unemployed.

It will be hailed for its rejection of the Alliance policy to campaign for Republican and Democratic politicians. Particularly must it be congratulated on its decision to demand that the government reopen all idle factories and provide jobs for all. With this demand, the union gives a smashing answer to Roosevelt's drive against Labor.

By intensification of its activity, the union should soon branch out into a powerful national organization. Needless to say the union's militant program, with its unconditional repudiation of People's Frontism, has the heartiest support of every member of the Socialist Workers Party.

the destiny of the Czech working class. Only a swift and radical turn toward a revolutionary upsurge in these countries could bring it relief, reviving and stimulating the opposition forces in Fascist countries as was the case in Italy during the Abyssinian war.

In either case, the Czech working class will scarcely disappear from the scene without fighting. Remembering the words of Engels that defeat in a hard struggle is worth more than an easy victory, the Fourth International

alists will stand in the front ranks of the battle, just as they stood first in the struggle against imperialist war. It will be a defensive struggle, in a desperate situation. The victims will be numerous. But, paradoxical as it might seem, the stronger the resistance of the proletariat to an overpowering counter-revolution, the fewer are in the end its victims. For the survivors of fallen revolutionary soldiers will never be tamed as easily as the survivors of those who were passively clapped into concentration camps.

I am interested in the activities of the Socialist Workers Party and in the Socialist Appeal. Please send more information to:

Name .....

Address .....

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**New International Offers November Highlights**

The editors of the NEW INTERNATIONAL announce an excellent array of articles for the November number of the magazine. Variety of contents is indicated by comprehensive reviews on the American and world scene.

1. "The C.I.O. and A.F. of L. Struggle: A New Stage" is the subject of a thorough analysis by E. J. Widick on the trade union situation in the United States.
2. Felix Morrow contributes an article "Spain—The Final Betrayal," a lively article on latter-day developments in Spain.
3. An important review on the "Four Power Pact—Whither Europe?" will be an outstanding feature. All aspects of the recent developments in Czechoslovakia and Europe leading to the Munich agreement will be reviewed.
4. A complete article giving the accomplishment of the first congress of the Fourth International is also contained in this issue. The article will specifically concern itself with "Prospects of the Fourth International."
5. L. Rock, the writer from Jerusalem who contributed an article

on the situation in Palestine to the October issue, will have a special article in the November number entitled, "Arab Nationalism in Palestine."

6. Greece and the Dictatorship on Metaxas.
7. "Stalinism and Fascism in Italy" by "Z" represents a thorough-going expose of the Stalinist's United Front proposals to the Italian Fascists; their role in the Ethiopian War and the link to Italian Imperialism.

Among the book reviews are John Strachey's "What is to be Done?"; Thomas Mann's "The Coming Victory of Democracy"; and Benjamin Stolberg's "Story of the C.I.O."; to be reviewed respectively by Maurice Spector, Arthur Pincus and E. J. Widick.

The October number, now on sale, has been extremely well received. The management announces that the entire edition of 4,300 copies is exhausted at the NEW INTERNATIONAL office. It is still on sale at the newsstands and by agents, however. We offer the suggestion to all who want to be sure of obtaining

a copy of the November issue to place their order or subscription immediately. Address:

**Alliance 'Friend' Denounces Strikes**

Aubrey Williams, deputy administrator of the W.P.A., and Roosevelt's chief liaison man with the Stalinist Workers Alliance, ripped off his hypocritical mask this week, when he gave notice to Ohio W.P.A. striking truck-drivers, warning them that "there can't and will not be any strike on W.P.A."

One month ago, a delegation from the New York Workers Alliance, went down to Washington, D. C., to see what could be done about the W.P.A. white collar wage-cut that had just been instituted. The delegation cheered strike-breaker Williams, when he asked them to see that "their friends" are returned to office in the coming November elections.

Put to the test, this "great liberal," "friend of the unemployed" flaunts his true colors and goes the way of all "liberals" into the camp of reaction.