

# The Appeal Will Be Issued Three Times Weekly Beginning Saturday!

The SOCIALIST APPEAL will appear three times a week for the duration of the world war crisis. Every Monday, Thursday and Saturday, the only revolutionary newspaper in the United States will broadcast the anti-war message of Marxism and Internationalism to the workers of this country.

As we go to press with the current issue, the outbreak of the new slaughter may be a matter of days or even hours. But long before, a pestilence of patriotism has been invading the labor movement. Pacifists, liberals, labor skates, Stalinists are shouting for the war—impatient to put the workers in the trenches for Morgan, Rockefeller and du Pont.

Only the revolutionary Marxists of the Socialist Workers Party are taking the lead in the fight against imperialism and against war. We are swimming against the stream as Liebknecht and Lenin and Luxemburg and Trotsky did in the face of universal treachery and patriotism in 1914-1918.

We have no apologies to make. We are proud of our role. But there is no time to be lost on self-praise. Action is on the order of the day now; it will be only a matter of months before America too is sucked into the death trap. Then comes M-Day dictatorship, censorship, the war hysteria and the lynch mobs. Then it will no

longer be possible for the revolutionists to publish legal organs.

The SOCIALIST APPEAL proposes to utilize every available minute in this "respite" before Mr. Roosevelt clamps down his war-time dictatorship. We may not be able to stop the war, nor to prevent American entrance into it, but we can—we must—spread our message to the working class, so that when the sober truth is brought home to them, they will remember who told them the truth, who warned them in time, who pointed the way to real peace and freedom. That awakening will be the crack of doom for American imperialism.

Let us prepare for it now. That is the clear duty of every revolutionist. Every party member a soldier in our own mobilization! Every sympathizer a pillar of support!

Party members: Respond to the call of your branches for sale and distribution of the APPEAL!

Branches of the party: Place your orders at once for large increases in your bundle orders.

Sympathizers, members and branches: Raise funds—every last dollar and penny to keep the tri-weekly ANTI-WAR APPEAL going.

Remember! This is our own M-Day. Let's put it over while the putting is good!

Workers Of The  
World Unite!

## Socialist Appeal

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For The Fourth  
International!

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# FIGHT IMPERIALIST WAR!

## Drivers Accept Terms While Strike Goes On

Boss Front Cracking After Ass'n Rejects Compromise; Strikers Keep Unsigned Firms Tied Up

### NEW PACT REDUCES HOURS

#### BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Sept. 28.—While the effectiveness of the great truck drivers' strike remained entirely unimpaired with the city's commerce still in a state of paralysis, hundreds of individual trucking operators waited in a line a block and half long before the headquarters of Local 807, 74 Varick Street, to sign the Mayor's compromise agreement with union officials. Most of them were members of the Merchant Truckmen's Bureau and the Highway Transport Association, the two bosses' outfits which yesterday flatly rejected the compromise.

Mayor LaGuardia's compromise agreement, which calls for a 44-hour work week at the present rate of weekly pay and specifies that no driver is to work more than 44 hours in any week including overtime, was accepted by the strike committee yesterday. A strike meeting called at Mecca Temple yesterday morning and afternoon tumultuously discussed acceptance of the compromise. The men angrily insisted that the 40-hour demand remain intact, in spite of pleading by many of the leaders, including those formerly members of the "rank-and-file" committee. The Mayor, after a hot reception, called for a rising "aye" vote. After he got it, he said: "That's enough for me!" and left the hall. No "nay" vote was taken. Heated discussions continued in groups.

#### City Trucks Roll

The strike committee is proceeding with the signing of contracts on the basis of the compromise agreement. The Mayor has declared a "Public Emergency" and mobilized Sanitation Department trucks for the shipment of foodstuffs and other "vital necessities." Union men are manning the trucks at regular pay. A "Citizens Committee" headed by Richard Lawrence, chairman of the New York State Chamber of Commerce, is in charge of emergency trucking. While the strikers are suspicious of every move in this "emergency trucking" venture of the Mayor's, they nevertheless regard some such arrangement as inevitable.

The strikers regard as their main job now, the rapid bringing to terms of the two bosses' associations. Picketing is going on with the usual vigor characteristic of truck drivers.

NEW YORK, Sept. 26.—More than 30,000 truck drivers in Greater New York and New Jersey are engaged in one of the greatest strikes to hit this area in years. The truck operators are not even attempting to move their trucks. Even newspaper has been halted.

Complaints are pouring in to police headquarters that "materials for the stricken New England and Long Island communities (suffering from the floods) also were being halted." But strikers claim that they have stopped only scab trucks trying to carry non-exempt goods under false "flood signs."

Late tonight a movement was started among the strikers to tie up food trucks or "perishables" along with the rest. The latter, as well as newspaper, had originally been on the exempt list. Only trucks carrying hospital supplies and home relief goods are now entirely free from the strikers' ban.

#### Strike Now Sanctioned

Starting out originally as a so-called "outlaw" strike early last week, the truck drivers' action was sanctioned by an official ballot of the membership of Locals

(Continued on page 3)

## PRIMARY DEALS REVEAL DANGER IN ALP POLICY

Independent Action Alone Will Rally Workers

Last week's primaries were a first test for the "practicability" of the class collaboration policy of the American Labor Party leaders especially as expressed in their current alliance with the Republicans. This policy was notably put forward as a party-building step which would give the A.L.P. a balance of power in the state legislature as well as put leading party figures into public office "where they will be able to work more effectively to advance the party."

Taking the leaders' premise on its own merits, and leaving aside our principled objections to class collaboration politics for the moment, the results of the primaries deal a decisive blow to that kind of politics nevertheless.

The main A.L.P. figure in the Republican primaries, Louis

(Continued on page 2)

## STRIKELIGHTS on the TRUCK FRONT

By BILL MORGAN

"Where did you fink before you got on the public payroll?" was one of the first greetings to reach the Mayor's ear as he walked out on the stage at the Mecca Temple meeting this morning. The boys were a bit uneasy and the applause was a little thinner than had been expected.

As the Police filed down the aisles one enthusiastic brother was puzzled. "They must think this is a bloomin' Flower Show," he said. The cops were slightly embarrassed, and the 5,000 strikers felt kind of sorry for the poor little blue coats.

Brother Cashal's middle somehow or other connected with a loose shoe (size 14½ according to the grunt) during the question period. When the clod-hopper was held up for identification one near-sighted brother in the second balcony sighed sadly and said, "The Naval Limitations Conference won't mean a thing unless they check up on that guy..."

The first and second balcony gangs were right on time with the chorus when Mike Cashal began to sing that well known ditty, "I've been in the labor movement for more than—" "FORTY-FIVE YEARS," sang the boys on the shelf.

The Fire Commissioner was there too. He looked over the packed auditorium, the jammed aisles, the crowded platform and the mob in the lobby. "The hall is overcrowded," he announced, "we'll have to clear some out before the meeting starts." The answer was not delayed a second. "Why don't YOU go home," rang out from the first row.

When the vote was taken on the Employers proposition to arbitrate on the old wage and hour scale, the boss almost blew the roof. And that, in a manner of speaking, was THAT.

Abe Klein had a tough time trying to push the compromise over and began to sweat after

two short sentences. When he offered to fight the guy who heckled, one thousand contenders for the honor made themselves available by trying to climb over the Press Table, Orchestra Pit and the Baby Grand Piano.

Some guys were doubtful of the "Little Flower's" honesty on the unemployment problem. "Didn't he say more than once that he wanted to solve this question? Well, how does he explain his refusal to accept the forty hour week?"

While Abe Klein was trying to "explain" the situation, the wage committee members and the officials tried to take a powder but the drivers loudly demanded that each one come out from behind the wings and face the membership. And after each one got through pleading the cat-calls and boos grew not only in tone but also in volume.

It took more than twenty speakers to calm down the meeting and then when all seemed quiet, Bob Dillon took the "micro" to say that he thought the plan "stunk out loud" and that he, for one, was still for the forty-hour week. This was what many men had been sitting for four hours to hear and they just about tore down the house. But many discouraged and bewildered drivers had already left the hall under the barrage of words from the Mayor, from Mike Cashal and from the twenty members of the wage committee.

His Honor, the Mayor, tried to take a walk after he announced his plan to move goods in garbage trucks, but it was no go. "Where do you think you're going?" "Come back here and talk, mister," made the famous "friend of Labor" change his mind in a hurry. He came back and talked for half an hour.

As the men filed out of the hall, Mike Cashal held on to the "micro" and begged them not to stop any trucks, not to continue the strike, to obey their elected officials and please, please, don't continue the strike, boys PLEASE!

## New War Flows from Versailles Banditry

Trotsky Urges Firm Revolutionary Defeatist Policy As Only Way to Fight Hitlerism

By LEON TROTSKY

(Sept. 19, 1938)

These lines are written in the very midst of an ominous diplomatic muddle around the question of the Sudeten Germans. Chamberlain has flown over the skies in vain hope of finding



politics, their militarism—all faces war.

Today's cables inform us that in all churches of the so-called "civilized" world public prayers are being offered up for peace. They come in time to crown a whole series of pacifist meetings, banquets, and congresses. Which of these two methods is the more efficacious, pious prayer or pacifist bleating is not easy to decide. At any rate, only these two resources are left to the old world.

When an ignorant peasant prays, he really wants peace. When a simple worker or citizen of an oppressed country comes out against war, we can believe him—he really wants peace though only rarely does he know how to get it. But the bourgeois pray in their churches not for peace but for the maintenance and increase of their markets and colonies: if possible peacefully (it is cheaper); if impossible—by means of arms. Similarly imperialist "pacifists" (Jouhaux, Lewis and Co.) trouble themselves not at all about peace but about gaining sympathy and support for their national imperialism.

There are three and one half million Sudeten Germans. If war breaks out, the number of dead will probably be four or five times, possibly even ten times as much with a corresponding number of wounded, cripples and insane; and a long wake of epidemics and other tragedies. This consideration, however, is incapable of influencing in the least any of the enemy camps. For the robbers in the final analysis it is not at all a question of three and a half million Germans but of their role over Europe and

(Continued on page 3)

## Teachers Fight G.P.U. Slander Against Trotsky

MEXICO, D.F.—Aroused by the launching of a new campaign of slander against Leon Trotsky, a group of revolutionary teachers have issued a sharp protest against the charges made by the Mexican Communist Party that Trotsky has been carrying on political propaganda hostile to the Mexican Workers' Federation.

The teachers also protested to President Lazaro Cardenas against the Stalinist stranglehold on the Ministry of Education. They charged that the Stalinists have brought the methods of gunmen and racketeers into the teachers' organizations, using guns to silence all opposition or criticism.

Rivera Challenges Laborde In a statement issued at San Angel on September 14 Diego Rivera, the noted revolutionist and artist, challenged Hernan Laborde, leader of the Mexican Communist Party, to prove that he had been, as stated, in the Soviet Union on a visit in recent weeks.

Rivera quoted the statement issued in New York City by Albert Goldman, Chicago labor attorney,

who charged that Laborde had actually remained in the United States and that his principal mission here was to complete arrangements with the New York center of the G.P.U. for launching a new anti-Trotsky campaign in Mexico which was to culminate either in Trotsky's expulsion from Mexico or in direct attempts to assassinate the exiled Bolshevik leader.

"At the same time Goldman made these revelations," Rivera said, "Laborde suddenly appeared in Mexico. I say 'suddenly' since the press did not carry a single word about his return."

#### A Mysterious Return

"Where did Laborde come from? Had he really been in the U.S.S.R.? This is not difficult to prove by passport visas. Or did Laborde, as Goldman's source states, remain secretly in the United States? What did he do there? And why did he return with the utmost secrecy at the very moment of the opening of

(Continued on page 3)

## MILLIONS IN ARMS AWAIT ZERO HOUR ON ALL BORDERS

Pacifists Leap On Bandwagon to Support War

#### BULLETIN

Adolph Hitler has postponed his ultimatum to Czechoslovakia for twenty-four hours in order to allow for a four-power conference, according to dispatches received just before going to press. Mussolini, Chamberlain, Daladier are to meet the "Fuehrer" in Munich in an effort to strike a hard bargain on the war crisis. The object of the alignment undoubtedly is a coalition of powers against the Soviet Union. No stone will be left unturned by the imperialist diplomats to prevent a war between themselves and to turn the war-machines against the Workers State. This is clearly indicated by the omission of the Soviet Union—an ally of Czechoslovakia—from the conference.

Every country in Europe stood mobilized this week awaiting the fateful zero hour of the new world imperialist war.

Events seemed to have run far beyond the puny efforts of the diplomats. Any last-minute settlement that does intervene can only postpone the death struggle of European capitalism for the briefest period to come.

Last week the principal "democracies," Britain and France, gave a clear demonstration of just how much the abstract notion of "democracy" is worth to them when they offer Fascist Germany a deal that involved the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, their own Versailles off-spring, Prague was forced to accept the bargain.

#### Chamberlain's Dream

Chamberlain flew back to Germany to close the deal and with it open the way to his most cherished dream—a united bloc of the fascist and "democratic" powers—of Italy, Germany, France, and Britain—for a red-division of power and pelf in Europe at the expense of the Soviet Union.

As he explained Tuesday in his broadcast, Chamberlain was shocked to find that meanwhile Hitler's demands had multiplied, that his stand had stiffened. He demanded more territory and scoffed at the Anglo-French idea of a "guarantee" for the borders of what would remain of Czechoslovakia. And he set a deadline for action—Oct. 1. By this Hitler made it plain to Chamberlain that Germany intended to dominate any new bloc that came into being and would in the process become strong enough to challenge his imperialist rivals in the "democratic" camp in circumstances even more favorable to him.

#### Why Hitler Roars

For Fascist Germany the drive toward war flows from the enormous pressure of imprisoned German capitalism seeking the expansion it needs to preserve itself. That it has in this past period erected for itself the instrument of a Fascist regime is the twin product of its imprisonment at Versailles and the failure of the working-class parties to lead the workers out the revolutionary way.

For the "democratic" Versailles victors the war that now approaches is something like the

## Fight Hitlerism By Revolution

An Editorial

Every militant worker, every anti-fascist throughout the world stands solidly behind the Czech workers and peasants in their burning, noble desire to resist and smash Hitler.

The events of the past weeks have proved a thousand times over the reality and strength of that desire. The great, stern crowds in Prague and throughout the cities of Czechoslovakia, covered with shame at the contemptible capitulation of the Czech government and pleading for the chance to defend themselves with arms in hand against the mighty death-machine of the Swastika, bore witness to that desire.

But how, how? That is the crucial question. How can the Czech workers and peasants defend themselves against Hitler and Hitlerism?

The spokesmen for the "democratic" bourgeoisie in all countries, the reformists and liberals and Stalinists and pacifists and preachers, all the swarm of flag-wavers who led the people into the war of 1914-18—that "war to end wars," that "war to make the world safe for democracy"—give in unison one answer.

They tell the workers and peasants of Czechoslovakia that they can defend themselves against Hitler and Hitlerism by fighting for the Czech government—that is, for the Czech bourgeoisie whose government it is, and by calling on the governments of France and Great Britain—that is, on the French and English bourgeoisie, to come to their rescue.

This answer is a lie and a betrayal.

### THE REAL INTERESTS OF THE CZECH GOVERNMENT

The interests of the Czech government, the government of Benes, is to uphold the property and the profits of the Czech capitalists and bankers, to enable them to continue their rosy twenty-year exploitation of all the peoples of the Czechoslovak nation, Czechs, Slovenes, Germans, Hungarians and Poles.

The interest of the French and British governments is to protect the world-wide plunder of the French and British capitalists and bankers, to protect their rights to grind down their workers at home and to exact hundreds of millions in tribute from Africa, Asia Minor, India, Indo-China, to shoot down Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Morocco, to bomb the villages of India, to sweat the Negroes in the gold mines of South Africa, to whip into line the natives who man the vast plantations of Central Africa, to imprison the determined revolutionists of Indo-China.

These interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the Czech workers and peasants, and to the interests of workers and peasants everywhere.

The only quarrel which the Czech and French and British governments have with Hitler is the quarrel over the privileges of exploitation, over the division of spoils.

### THE OBJECTIVE FOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS

The object of the workers and peasants must be to wipe out the whole system of exploitation, whether carried on under the banner of Hitler or Benes or Mussolini or Chamberlain or Daladier or Roosevelt.

This object cannot be accomplished by supporting one gang of bandits against another.

They tell us: "Poor little Czechoslovakia," "Stand by Czechoslovakia," "... Save Czechoslovakia" ...

We heard that one before.

Only it was "Poor little Belgium" the last time.

But it was the same lie and the same betrayal. For the sake of poor little Belgium, the workers were induced to do the dirty work of British and French and American imperialism.

The results are now with us: Mussolini, Hitler, insecurity, unemployment, tyranny, and now the new war crisis.

### THE LIE OF "DEMOCRACY"

But "democracy" is now at stake?

What a monstrous lie! And exactly the same lie that Lloyd George and Clemenceau and Wilson told us the last time. Did they not promise that the war was to "save democracy"?

What has happened to the democratic parliaments while the fate of the world is being decided? Not even called into session. What has happened to democracy under the martial law of Benes? Where has the French 40-hour week gone, that great victory of the French workers in their magnificent general strike. And where will the shred of democracy remain if the mobilization plans are put into full force in the "democratic" nations?

The iron dictatorship of the totalitarian war regime will be clamped down on all countries alike, not merely for the duration of the war, but for the never-ending "reconstruction period"

(Continued on page 3)

# Omaha Trucks Tied Up Throughout North Central Area

## MOVE ONLY WITH UNION PERMITS

New Area Contract Is Issue; 35 Companies Sign

OMAHA, Neb.—Far-flung picket-lines held the strike of drivers in Omaha solid with nothing moving on trucks except by permission of General Drivers Local 554.

Determined to force all over-the-road trucking to be done under the new North Central Area agreement and the signing of contracts by city operators with Local 554, the strike is backed by the strength and machinery of the entire drivers movement of the 11-state area.

Already 35 companies have broken away from the Nebraska Commercial Truckers Association, employers group refusing to sign the contract, and have signed appropriate agreements.

When the employers "tempted to incite farmers of the outlying districts against the striking teamsters, quick and effective publicity by the union counteracted the lies of the bosses. Through the press and radio Local 554 informed the farmers that from the first of the strike the union had agreed to permit farmers to bring their produce into the city. On the main highway used by the farmers the union erected a huge sign reading, "Welcome, Fruit Growers of Nebraska, from General Drivers Local 554."

This information made the farmers friendly to the strikers and turned them against the employers, who would use the farmers to break the strike. When the spoken lies failed, the bosses hired hoodlums to stone trucks of the farmers in a futile attempt to wreck the cooperation of farmers and workers.

With over-the-road trucks from Omaha tied at a dozen terminals since the day the strike began, direct aid from other locals came to Local 554. From Chicago and St. Louis drivers locals sent financial contributions and from Local 710 in Chicago came an admonition to the Swift Packing Co. which put an end to anti-union activities of the Omaha branch of the company. The local branch had refused to ship by those trucking lines which signed with the union.

Pickets are operating on 12-hour shifts, with three reliefs for meals. An efficient commissary provides six cooked meals in every 24 hours and strikers and their families are welcome there.

## DRIVERS ACCEPT STRIKE GOES ON

(Continued from page 1)

807, 282 and 816 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at a meeting in Mecca Temple, Sunday afternoon, called by the regular union officers. The strike committee of 50 which includes the "rank-and-file" leaders of last week's strike is headed by Michael J. Cashal, international vice-president. The strike had been interrupted on Thursday by a "truce" which led to no results insofar as negotiations with the bosses were concerned. A vote of 4,071 for the strike with only 365 against ended the truce.

Teamsters' Joint Council No. 18 of New Jersey, which comprises Locals 560 of Hoboken, 641 and 617 of Jersey City, 136 and 478 of Newark and 469 of Trenton and Perth Amboy, joined the strike today. The latter not only went out in sympathy with the New York drivers but are demanding the same kind of an agreement. Francis M. Sheridan, general organizer of the Motor and Bus Terminal Checker Platform and Office Workers Local 21, 512 of the A. F. of L. announced that his union would join during the day. Allan Hayward, regional director of the C.I.O., offered the unions the "fullest cooperation" of his organization in a telegram today.

The Longshoremen's Association, A. F. of L., whose contracts have only four days to go, have announced that they would also demand a reduction in the work week, from 44 to 40, and they would not handle any "hot cargo," that is, trucks carrying goods banned by the strike committee.

From the looks of things, the strike, which has the official backing of the Central Labor Council and the State Federation of Labor, is spreading rapidly. The attempt of the truck drivers to get a radical solution of the problem of unemployment by a reduction of the work week on the same basic rate of pay seems to have caught the imagination of large layers of the laboring population of this area. The support given by organized labor is complete. From the point of view of the strike's effectiveness there is no reason why the bosses should not be brought to terms rapidly.

## Rubber Workers Urge Labor Unity

Ask C.I.O.-A. F. of L. Peace; Refuse C. P. Whitewash of Bridges Wrecking Tactics On West Coast

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

TRENTON, N. J. — The third annual convention of the United Rubber Workers of America held here last week was marked by considerable achievements on many important trade union questions and a solidarity and union democracy that sets an example for other C.I.O. unions.

Unity of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. on the basis of recognition of industrial unionism for mass production industries and inclusion of the railroad brotherhoods in the united labor movement was called for in a resolution adopted unanimously at the convention.

Pledge of a strong fight against any modification of the Wagner Labor Act and against adoption of a British Labor Disputes act was made by the U.R.W.A.

Support Railroad Unions  
Support of the United Rubber Workers to the railroad brotherhoods in their battle against an impending wage cut was also pledged.

Among the most important achievements of the past year recorded in the officers' reports was the smashing of a wage cut drive in Akron at the Goodrich plant which prevented a nationwide slash. Likewise the U.R.W.A. reported signed contracts with U.S. Rubber, Goodrich and Firestone, three of the largest concerns in America.

Membership of the U.R.W.A. had remained high despite layoffs of 25,000 union men in the past year who are still considered in the union, due to special provisions made in the constitution.

Refuse Endorsement to Bridges  
The convention refused to approve a Stalinist resolution calling for endorsement of Harry Bridges' West Coast union-wrecking policies and for repudiation of the progressive Los Angeles Trade Union Conference which includes U.R.W.A. locals.

The delegates unanimously turned down a proposal to hold conventions biennially instead of yearly. "We want to check our officials yearly. We don't want any auto workers situation," they explained in debate.

The convention rebuked a Stalinist delegate from Akron who was a delegate from another local by voting not to permit the delegate to be elected from his own local. "Who paid her way here," a Goodrich worker asked.

Three attempts inspired by the Stalinists to enlarge the executive board so that election of a Stalinist would be assured were defeated by the progressives in the convention.

Still Follow F.D.R.  
Everything looked rosy for the Stalinist clique when the convention first began. The great majority of delegates were Roosevelt followers and the Stalinists hopped on the band-wagon, cheering as over 75 resolutions were passed in less than two hours in support of the "New Deal."

Only argument was on the question of praising Roosevelt in the resolution calling for him to run on a third term. Some delegates said he was the greatest president, others argued he was no greater than Lincoln or Jefferson and should only be called one of the greatest. With debate proceeding along that fashion, a few progressives didn't take the floor to speak against Roosevelt's policies.

The national C.I.O. policy of playing around with Democrats and Republicans and the C.I.O. position on labor unity was outlined in speeches by Allan S. Hayward, New York C.I.O. director, John Brophy, national C.I.O. director, Eli P. Oliver, executive vice-president of Labor's Non-Partisan League, and other speakers.

Knowing the militant and democratic traditions of the rubber workers, Brophy in his speech did not dare to use the language he used on the West Coast recently in seeking to cover up Bridges' stacked C.I.O. state convention, although the West Coast rubber workers were staring him in the face and had passed out a well-documented booklet exposing Bridges and Brophy to the U.R.W.A. delegates.

Blast Mayor Hague  
Other resolutions called for support of Labor's Non-Partisan League, blasting of Mayor Frank Hague and fascist tendencies in U.S.A., criticism of the Dies committee, etc., etc.

Of special importance was the

lengthy discussion on organizing in the South, in particular at Gadsden, Ala., where Goodyear's two-year reign of terror has resulted in vigilante attacks against unionists. Gadsden is the Achilles heel of Goodyear Local in Akron, and a special five-point organizing campaign was recommended to the executive board for action.

The constitution was amended to provide for even more union democracy, and a special provision was included that at no time should organizers comprise a majority of the executive board. This provision was a compromise over a Goodrich Local proposal that no organizer should serve on the board. "We don't want to allow anyone to build a machine in the union through posts," the delegates declared. It was in this way that the delegates time and again showed they are determined to keep the U.R.W.A. as a democratically run union, and certainly the convention was an excellent illustration of that democracy.

The Stalinists interrupted the proceedings here to introduce their factional resolution in support of Bridges, and for condemning the West Coast delegates who had passed out the booklet exposing the Stalinist "rule or ruin" policy. A brilliant answer to this proposal was made by George Burden, West Coast delegate, who outlined the Bridges' maneuvers and their disastrous consequences.

Praise Western Organizer  
Then S. H. Dalrymple, international president, took the floor, and contrary to reports published in the *Daily Worker*, criticized the Stalinist-introduced resolution as one "which breaks the unity and harmony of this convention," and he told the delegates that the executive committee had agreed not to bring the subject up at the convention. So the resolution was squelched by a motion to table indefinitely which passed by a huge majority.

Later in the convention, the West Coast delegates introduced a motion praising the work and policies of George B. Roberts, U.R.W.A. western organizer, who had previously been criticized for blasting Bridges, and this motion passed unanimously, as the C. P. crawled into a hole to hide.

Frightened by the turn of events, the Stalinists rushed to get Michael Quill, Transport Workers' Union president and "party line" follower, down as speaker but his clever speech proved of no avail.

The legislative committee report included recommendations for extension of the Social Security Law to provide for benefits to W.P.A. workers, endorsement of the Civil Liberties Committee work, favored a low-rent housing program, condemnation of use of the National Guard in strikes, and opposition to laws conspiring capital in war-time since "this would lead to drafting of labor to which we are unalterably opposed." These were passed.

Officers Re-Elected  
The present officers, Dalrymple, vice-president Thomas F. Burns, and secretary-treasurer Frank Grillo, were unanimously re-elected.

In the elections for executive board two surprises came when N. H. Eagle and Salvatore Camello, organizers and founders of the union, were defeated for re-election. Part of this was because of the feeling delegates had against having organizers on the board and part of it was their reputation for playing too close to the Stalinists. John Marchiano, another board member and organizer, also suffered defeat.

In their place were elected Scott Friess, a progressive from the U. S. Rubber plant in Indiana, G. T. Palmer, of Barborton, who also has a progressive reputation, and C. V. Wheeler, of Goodyear Local, who is not very well known but follows the Stalinist party line.

L. S. Buckmaster, president of Firestone Local, and outstanding for his work at the convention, got the highest vote for re-election; L. L. Callahan, president of Goodrich Local and a well-known Akron labor leader was re-elected, and Walter J. Welsch, representing the small locals, was returned to the executive board.

In all localities the U.R.W.A. had fought for adequate W.P.A. projects and higher wages, and is doing its best to keep the burden of the crisis from falling on the workers. Although the financial condition was not very good, the International Union could obtain \$100,000 from the C.I.O., if needed, Grillo said.

## YPSL Conference Plans Activity

NEW YORK.—In preparation for its Tenth National Convention the New York District of the Y.P.S.L. will hold a conference of all circle organizers, educational and industrial directors, and all leading comrades, at 159 Rivington St. Comrade Nathan Gould, National Organizer, will bring the greetings of the recently formed Fourth International of Youth. The main points on the agenda are a discussion of a campaign against the American Student Union in the schools, plans for the organization of unemployed youth in the neighborhoods and the schools, and a plan of action for the next three months.

## SLUG MILITANTS IN FOOD UNION

Appeal Is Made Against Gangster-C. P. Clique

NEW YORK. — Growing desperate as the election of officers in Local 302 of the Cafeteria Workers approaches, the Stalinist officials are going into action against the progressives in a campaign already featured by a frameup and a physical attack against a leading progressive.

On Thursday, September 22, Charles Mitchell, a member of the executive board and a leading progressive, was met at his place of work by Harry Lieben, Stalinist business agent, and his bodyguard. Without warning Lieben struck Mitchell a terrific blow in the face, almost breaking his nose. Mitchell preferred criminal charges against Lieben, who appeared in court defended by the attorney for the union. The progressives have issued an appeal to the membership of the union demanding the removal of Lieben and calling on the members to be prepared for similar attacks in the future. Gangsterism will not be allowed in Local 302.

Lieben Frames Militant  
Behind the physical attack was the charge hurled against this same business agent, Harry Lieben, of framing a militant worker in cooperation with an employer and removing him from his job. Henry Feller, who had organized his shop into the union and had worked there several years, was assistant shop-chairman and a vigorous fighter in defense of union conditions and against discrimination. For this reason he had incurred the hostility of his boss. Because he is a progressive he became a target for Lieben, the business agent in charge of his territory, and of the Stalinist frame-up machine.

One day Feller was accused of complicity in the theft of some cartons of cigarettes by his employer, who immediately called Lieben. Lieben told Feller that there was a warrant for his arrest, and threatened him with the "third degree." But if Feller would leave his job "voluntarily," Lieben promised to "fix everything." Feller refused and Lieben removed him from his job. When Feller appealed to the executive board, that body bore out the statement of Lieben that "I am the executive board" by refusing to reinstate him.

The corrupt practices of the Stalinist machine, and its failure to maintain wages and conditions in the shops has brought a rift in the union leadership. The "Unity" group, under the leadership of President Mesevich, gives signs of the beginning of a break with the Stalinist clique. On September 21, Mesevich for the first time openly attacked the Stalinists. The occasion was a membership meeting to hear reports of the recently concluded international convention, at which Mesevich was slated to run for an International vice-presidency, but was double-crossed by his Stalinist allies.

Program Outlined  
The progressives have appealed to all sections of the union membership, appealing for a united struggle against the corrupt Stalinists in control of the union, on the basis of the following program:

1. Full democracy in the union.
2. For the election of all officials from top to bottom.
3. For the full enforcement of the union contract.
4. For the abolition of the Adjustment Board (folded on the membership last spring by the Stalinists).
5. For the merger of all branches into one unified union (The local is divided into three branches. Chain store workers, skilled workers in independent stores, and unskilled in independent stores).

## SAILORS TIE UP SHEPARD AGAIN

Breaking of Pact Gets Quick Strike Action

SAN FRANCISCO. — The Sailors' Union of the Pacific again struck hard at the chiseling Shepard Line, tying up their ships on the West Coast when the company refused to renew an agreement that expires on Sept. 30.

In sharp contrast to the dispute against the same line a few months ago the picket lines were respected by all crafts. The teamsters refused to handle cargo from the ships, the firemen shut off the steam and left the ships, and longshoremen made no attempt to enter the docks. With the strike 100 per cent effective on three ships tied up, and similar action due for the other two Shepard ships as soon as they hit a Pacific port, the company will be hard put to evade signing the agreement.

Use Election Ruse  
The Shepard Line, as in the previous dispute, is using the result of a National Labor Board election to get out of the agreement with the West Coast unions, won by militant strike action and enforced by alert patrolmen. The election, held without notification to the S.U.P. or with that union appearing on the ballot, was won by the National Maritime Union.

The West Coast union refused to give up the ships, pointing out that the existing contract, legally binding, had been won by men on picket lines struggling to preserve uniform conditions for all ships. Against this policy Harry Bridges spoke for the sanctity of N.L.R.B. elections and fought to have S.U.P. men replaced by N.M.U. men. In this fight he went so far as to lead longshoremen and "goon squads" against the S.U.P. pickets.

Bridges Backs Down  
Repercussions from this union busting attack were so great, even among longshoremen, that in the present dispute, which is in all essentials the same as the other, Bridges and the whole Communist Party machine are keeping hands off. They limit themselves to giving "advice" as to "caution" and "cool-headedness."

On the other hand, the S.U.P. and the unions supporting them see the attempt to end the agreement as another move in the persistent open-shop drive of the Shepard Line and declare their determination to maintain the closed shop on the five ships.

S.U.P. Gives Position  
"We took no wage cuts this Fall!" the official bulletin of the union states. "We have lost no agreements—and the Shepard Steamship Line will be no exception. This is final, and do not be misled by Mr. Shepard's attempts to hide behind the skirts of a government bureau. The agreement which the S.U.P. intends to enforce with the Shepard Line was won through strikes, misery and sacrifices on the part of our members in attempting to clean up these lousy scows and get decent working conditions on them. We intend to keep what we have gained."

## Unemployed Militant Faces C.P. Expulsion

NEW YORK.—When the strong Local 21 of Jamaica withdrew from the Workers Alliance, declaring that "the politics and tactics of the leadership of the W.A. of Greater New York are not in the best interests of the unemployed and W.P.A. workers," the Communist Party immediately instituted expulsion proceedings against Otto Popovitch, president of the local.

The secession of the Local 21 gave the Stalinists the opportunity they have sought for months, as the militant actions of Popovitch have long been a thorn in the side of the C.P. His popularity with the rank and file had prevented them from taking their usually bureaucratic action against militants.

Popovitch is accused of individualism, of conducting sit-in relief demonstrations without the approval of the Alliance bureaucracy, of sabotaging the work of the Alliance, of being a Trotskyist and an enemy of the working class.

In reply to these slanderous charges Popovitch replied: "I am not a saboteur. I am not a class traitor. When you are a militant the bosses call you a Communist and the Communists call you a Trotskyite."

"We are militant workers. We are economic, not political. And we are not diplomats. When we say yes, we mean yes. When we say no, we don't mean yes. We are not diplomats."

"The others are lousy skunks. Never mind why. They are lousy skunks."

"If the party wants to kick me out, I quit. I protest, but I quit."

## Call the Cops!

NEW YORK.—The following dialogue took place last Sunday between a Stalinist "veteran" of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and a member of the Socialist Workers Party who was distributing anti-war leaflets at a Madison Square "save - Czechoslovakia" meeting:

Vet: (belligerently) Scram! You can't distribute those leaflets around here!

S.W.P.'er: Why not? Who said I can't?

Vet: I did! And if you don't stop, I'll call the cop!

S.W.P.'er: That's just like the Communist Party nowadays—calling the cops!

Vet: Sure it is! We believe in Law and Order now...

## JOBLESS ISSUE CONVENTION CALL

NEW YORK.—With the wholesale expulsion of some 2,000 Alliance militants, and the lifting of about 14 Local charters in the offing, the progressive forces in the W.A.A. here, rallied to the call for a conference to set up a new and bona fide unemployed and W.P.A. union. The conference is set for Saturday morning, October 1st.

The call for the conference, signed by Henry V. Rourke, President of the Mechanics' Union, and speaking for the Continuations Committee elected at the first conference, asked Locals still in the Alliance to send two delegates each to the October 1 conference, "if you believe as we do that the Workers Alliance is no longer carrying out a militant and honest struggle for the needs of its members, and that there is intolerable discrimination against those who refuse to follow the political line of the majority leadership of the W.A."

A Militant Organization  
"We will carry on a consistent and militant struggle for an adequate standard of living for all those on public work projects and on home relief rolls... fight for an increase in jobs for all those able to work; and furthermore we pledge ourselves to carry on a bona fide and militant fight for these just demands without fear of embarrassing any political groups or individuals that may be holding public office."

"...We will build a non-partisan organization, where workers shall be judged according to their honest work and sacrifice in behalf of the above principles and not because of their affiliation to any specific political party," the call continued.

In conclusion the call to the conference said: "We believe in practicing true trade union democracy, which shall give equal rights to all members. No member or groups of members shall be persecuted or discriminated against because of difference of opinion with the majority on questions of policy or program."

ANNOUNCEMENTS  
Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before 6 o'clock Monday evening.

## NEW YORK

GALA THEATRE PARTY! See the great anti-war picture "Grand Illusion." Banned by the French government because of its anti-war message. Of special current interest.

Tickets are for Monday and Tuesday evenings, October 10th and 11th. May be obtained from Lillian Reynolds at National Office, 116 University Place, 65c. Auspices, Downtown Branch of S.W.P.

ANNOUNCING THE PREMIER DANCE of the year. Check your calendars for the City Convention Ball and get into step with a veritable Swing Band. Sat., Oct. 15. Further details forthcoming.

HAPPY EVENTS COLUMN: Bob Brown, ex-Business Manager of the Appeal, became the father of a 7½ lb. bouncing, baby boy Bolshevik-Leninist this week. Congratulations, Bob!

RUSSIAN BULLETIN No. 68-69, featuring several important articles by Leon Trotsky. Single copy 20c; 1 year \$2. Subscriptions and single copies on sale at Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St., N.Y.C.

## MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

TWO STUDY COURSES: "Fundamentals of Socialism"—6 Lessons

W. W. Norris, Instructor  
"History of American Labor Movement"—6 Lessons

Felix Morrow, Instructor  
Classes held every Monday evening beginning Sept. 26, 8 P.M.

SOCIALIST FORUM  
Every Sunday at 3 P.M. beginning Sept. 25. Dealing with current subjects of local, national and international interest. Good Speakers.  
Socialist Workers Party Hall, 919 Marquette Ave.  
Admission Free.

## PRIMARY DEALS REVEAL DANGER IN ALP POLICY

(Continued from page 1)

Waldman, candidate for County Judge in Brooklyn, was beaten by a good majority by his conservative Republican opponent, who ran in defiance of the regular party machine. Among several other such casualties was that of John F. Sullivan, Labor Party candidate for State Senator, who was defeated in the Republican primaries by the conservative opponent of the Simpson machine, John Burke.

The Election Yield  
An authoritative summary of the contests, given by the New York Times, concludes as follows:

"The result of the Republican Labor Party deal, because of the failure of the Republican organization leaders to deliver, has been to give the Republican leaders what they wanted most and to give the Labor Party comparatively little of value." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 22, 1938).

In other words, the Labor Party leaders were "double-crossed." In reality, however, the Republicans only did the natural thing: they remained true to the interests of their class, and consequently, their party, while the Labor Party heads bargained away the real interests of their party and their class, the laboring population of the city.

Such an outcome could have been foreseen. Moreover, it should serve as an indication of far more serious "double-crossing" to come if this disastrous alliance is to be continued in the halls of the state legislature. It is significant to note that while the Republicans defeated the Labor Party allies of Simpson and Crews, the heads of the state and Brooklyn organizations of the G.O.P. respectively, they nevertheless re-elected them to the party leadership.

Lovestone Treachery  
That the Stalinists endorsed this class collaboration policy of the A.L.P. is only natural. It falls in line completely with their whole "Democratic Front" politics and they never miss an opportunity to injure and betray the workers in whose name they speak. What was more surprising was the fact that the Lovestones were the only other political force in the Labor Party to go to bat for this piece of treacherous class collaboration politics. Not even the old line reformists of the Social Democratic Federation could stomach it in the crass form in which it was put forward.

The Lovestone argument, presented by their wisecracking spokesman, Will Herberg, runs as follows: Since the A.L.P. had previously been closely tied to the Democratic Party machine and still was, nationally, the alliance with the Republicans will serve to break down this tie and thus, by the will of gods, bring about an independent Labor Party, which the Lovestones officially advocate. That is, advocate in words.

In reality, the Lovestones are merely serving to give a red coloration to the basest kind of anti-labor betrayal. That is entirely in line with their traditional unprincipledness and opportunism. In order to maintain the posts that they have in the various needle trades unions by the grace of the top bureaucrats, they have to pay the price asked. It is too much to expect them to refuse, for such a refusal would mean the loss of their much vaunted but really very flimsy and tenuous trade union "influence" and consequently, of the main stock-in-trade upon which their whole organization is based.

S.W.P. Position

The task of our party, in line with the Labor Party position adopted by its recent referendum, is to throw its forces into a fruitful participation in the coming elections on the side of the A.L.P. Such participation, to protect the interests of the New York workers as well as to advance their political development, must be based on a policy of uncompromising and intransigent struggle against the class collaboration policies put forward within the party and against all the defenders of the disastrous alliance with the Republicans and Democrats. Such policies can only lead to the destruction of the gains already made by the workers on the political field.

There are no short-cuts towards the building of an independent Labor Party that will fight relentlessly and effectively for the class interests of the workers. To argue, as the Lovestones do, that "independence" can be gained by striking a "bargain" with the Republicans as well as with the Democrats is to argue that submission to repeated rape can result in a condition of virginity.

Against the Stalinists, the bureaucrats, and their Lovestoneite apologists, we shall call upon the New York workers to take a lesson from the class enemy—from the Republicans and their actions in the primaries. We shall call upon them to vote down all the bourgeois partners in the alliance with the Republicans and the Democrats. We shall work for the election of the candidates put forward by the Labor Party.

Against the capitalist party candidates, both those on the Republican, Democratic as well as Labor Party tickets!

For the labor candidates, the candidates of the Labor Party, irrespective of endorsements by the other parties!

Defeat the class collaboration policy of coalitions with the Republican and Democratic machines!

Vote Labor!  
In all cases where the A.L.P. has no independent candidates, but endorses candidates of capitalist parties, the Socialist Workers Party reserves the right to put forward its own candidates. In any case, it will oppose capitalist politicians no matter what label they wear and call upon the workers of the city to do likewise.

Forward to the building of an independent Labor Party!

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Forward to the building of an independent Labor Party!

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

## Appeal Army

### WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS!

The great War Crisis which is leading rapidly towards the Second World War puts the necessity for a greater and greater distribution of the Appeal right on the order of the day. Our voice is the only voice of revolutionary socialism, and it is threatening to be drowned out amid the howling chorus of war-mad Stalinists and other jingoes. The Appeal will carry clear-cut, simple and forceful articles each week henceforth, giving the position of the revolutionary opponents of capitalist war. These articles must reach trade-union workers by the thousands and tens of thousands! It is the most important part of our present struggle against the war machines.

Every branch and unit in the country should immediately take up for consideration the problem of how to double its present bundle-order. Don't forget that the promotion price for extra copies still holds good. It offers an excellent change for mass distribution of America's only genuine anti-war paper! Summer vacations are forgotten; literature agents are the front-line fighters in our anti-war propaganda; let's hear from them with increased orders.

We expect to announce plans shortly for our Fall-Winter campaign drive. But don't wait until then—send in extra orders right now!

Although subs declined this past week, we are glad to report that bundle-orders are definitely on the increase among the branches. Here's the list of new subs:

|               |    |
|---------------|----|
| OHIO          | 6  |
| Chicago       | 5  |
| New York City | 4  |
| Massachusetts | 3  |
| California    | 3  |
| Foreign       | 3  |
| Tennessee     | 2  |
| Maryland      | 1  |
| Wisconsin     | 1  |
| Michigan      | 1  |
| New Jersey    | 2  |
| Total         | 31 |

# Imperialist Powers Prepare Millions For New Slaughter

## MILLIONS IN ARMS AWAIT ZERO HOUR ON ALL BORDERS

(Continued from page 1)

slow advance of the monster on the frightened Frankenstein. That is why they have been so desperately trying to come to terms with Hitler rather than face the fearful prospect of a war and all they know it will bring in its wake.

### Democracy In Discard

But part of the process of coming to terms is a trial of strength. When Hitler raised the ante, France and Britain were forced to play new cards. Both capitalist governments—not bothering with the "democratic" procedure of consulting their respective parliaments—undertook measures of mobilization and tried to impress upon Hitler the need for arriving at some amicable arrangements—undertook measures of meeting in a war that neither side actually wants.

Matters stood at this point when President Roosevelt raised his voice for the first time since the present crisis set in. Roosevelt's intervention took the form of an empty appeal for peace and continued negotiations. But this plea contained at least one passage that explains the real fear that the capitalists suffer from as they face the prospect of war.

### The Real Fear

"The economic system of every country involved (Roosevelt said) is certain to be shattered. The social structure of every country involved may well be completely wrecked."

That is the real threat of which Chamberlain was so emotionally conscious when he made his sobbing speech over the radio. He knows that the end of the British Empire is just around the corner from the outbreak of war. The French bosses know the same thing goes for them. Hitler and Mussolini know it too, but they are in a position where they have to take the chance, because they know they are ruined anyway if they don't.

### No Way Out

That is the supreme irony of the present crisis. Roosevelt's statement shows how conscious the capitalists are of the implications of the war. Yet the system of capitalism makes it impossible to avoid the war. It provides no other way out of the economic impasse that has become so intolerable in the last eight years. And the only way out, it has reason to fear, is going to prove a way out for capitalism altogether.

Therefore from the very first the "democratic" powers are compelled to bring into play all the lies of their propaganda about "democracy" and at the same time prepare for "militarizing" their democratic governments—i.e., of turning them into Fascist governments in order to protect the bosses from the fury of the workers as soon as the workers find out that they have been cruelly deceived once more. Not only war, but world Fascism is on the order of the day!

### The Only Answer

Against this double threat the workers can make only one answer: they have to mobilize themselves to fight capitalism—the breeder of war and fascism. The most fatal thing now is to listen to the lies of the bosses' lackeys—the labor fakers like the Jouxhaux, Greens, Lewises, and C. trines, and the lackeys of imperialism, the Stalinists, who are most loudly of all trying to fasten on the workers the lying belief that this struggle, like the war in 1914, is to be a struggle for "democracy."

Under their auspices the so-called "pacifists" are lining up once more in classic manner. These bladders against war are standing up on platforms in this country to tell us how they have hated war all their lives but now that the time has come for a "holy struggle against Hitlerism," they are prepared to support it to the utmost.

### Novelist Turns War Monger

Most prominent here a few days ago was Th. Mann, the novelist, who gave a perfect demonstration of the pacifist's role at a mass meeting held under Stalinist auspices in Madison Square Garden last week.

"I always loved peace and detested war," Mann said. "I detest it even today. But I feel that it would be a shame and an infamy if Europe and the world would accept without resistance this misdeed against a little country (Poor little Czechoslovakia! Poor little Belgium!—Ed.) which wishes to save civilization and freedom and which would be dismembered and delivered to slavery."

Therefore, Mann, the pacifist, becomes now Mann, the supporter of imperialism war, under the lying labels of "democracy" and "civilization."

### U. S. Soon Involved

In his appeal Roosevelt was

careful to confine himself to humanitarian terms and to assume the air of complete impartiality. But let us have no illusions on this score. If war breaks out in Europe, this country will intervene—and much sooner than it did last time. All the machinery of propaganda is at work toward that end. Roosevelt, the pacifist, speaks of "humanity" and "civilization," but he was bold enough to speak of the threat against capitalism, and it is capitalism that he is interested in defending and for which he will sooner or later summon this country to war.

Roosevelt's appeal showed just how close that day is, for it merely is the first step in "making the record" in this government's struggle to preserve the peace for which it will eventually have to go to war.

Let us not fall for all this humbug! The workers of Europe are being called to the blood bath. They will soon enough come to the realization that they and they alone will have to end it by their own strength. We in this country must be prepared to take our place with them at that time and that we will do by most resolutely resisting the march of American imperialism toward war.

Our war is not the bosses' war. Our war is the war against the bosses, in our own country first, and throughout the world.

Let us keep hammering that home in the critical days and weeks that are coming.

## DEFENSE FORMED FOR UNEMPLOYED

NEW YORK.—The formation of an Unemployed Defense Committee, whose immediate purpose will be the defense of William Lubin and fifteen other unemployed youths, arrested last September 1st at the demonstration at District Relief Office No. 79, Lafayette and Nostrand Avenues Brooklyn, and giving aid to the Matson Defense Fund of the Workers Defense League, was announced here by the publicity director of the committee, Milt Cohen.

Organizations represented on the committee include Locals 4, 17, 19 and other locals of the Workers Alliance, and the New York City branch of the Workers Defense League, Cohen said.

Defense for Jobless "Organization of the committee grew out of the necessity of providing a militant defense of Lubin and those arrested with him in the face of obvious efforts on the part of Miss Shirley Buxbaum, bureau supervisor, Commissioner of Welfare William J. Hodson's department, and the police, to impose heavy sentences on all of the defendants," Cohen declared. "The attempt to railroad Herman L. Matson in Hoboken, N. J., is another example of the policy of persecuting militant unemployed workers, who have the courage to speak out for better relief conditions."

Matson was arrested in Hoboken, September 15, after he had been beaten by thugs at a meeting to protest inadequate relief standards under the McFeely administration.

### 18 Involved in Case

The sixteen defendants in the Brooklyn case were arrested at the September 1st demonstration where some 300 unemployed workers were demanding immediate relief for Lubin, who was about to be evicted from his lodging. All of the sixteen are charged with disorderly conduct, while Lubin and three others face the additional charge of felonious assault. The felonious assault cases come up on October 10 in Felony Court and the disorderly conduct cases on October 13 in the Pennsylvania Avenue Court, Brooklyn.

The committee is making an immediate appeal for funds, both directly and through the circulation of collection lists, those gathered to be divided evenly between the case of the sixteen in Brooklyn and the Matson Defense Fund.

We are appealing to every labor and unemployed organization to send telegrams or delegations to Commissioner Hodson's office, 902 Broadway, and to Miss Buxbaum at D.O. No. 79, to protest against the persecution of these workers," Cohen said. "The committee is also urgently in need of funds, which should be sent to the Unemployed Defense Committee, Room 302, 112 East 19th Street, New York City."

AT YOUR NEWSSTAND ASK FOR THE APPEAL

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Phone ALgonquin 4-7823

## Fight Hitlerism By Revolution

An Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

which will follow it if declining capitalism still remains in the saddle.

Not democracy but the rivalries over spoils and tribute is at stake between Hitler and the "democratic nations."

\* \* \*

### THE ANSWER OF REVOLUTIONISTS

To the Czech workers and peasants the revolutionists give another answer.

Fight Hitler? Yes, yes: with all your power and strength and determination, with your hearts and lives.

But there is only one way to fight Hitler and Hitlerism: by breaking altogether away from your own bourgeoisie oppressors and their state, by uniting firmly and independently your own class ranks, by launching your own firm and independent struggle under your own leaders and toward your own aims.

Benes has betrayed you, and will betray you again; Chamberlain and Daladier can only betray you.

The workers and peasants of Czechoslovakia can defend themselves against Hitler and Hitlerism only through a class war, a revolutionary war, in unalterable opposition to their own bourgeois government and to every bourgeois nation.

### THE REAL ALLIES OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

In the ranks of the workers' army for such a war belong the workers and peasants of every people and race within the Czechoslovakia nation—Germans as well as Czechs, Hungarians and Poles as well as Slovenes.

And the allies for such a war are not the imperialisms of France and Great Britain and the United States. These governments, on the contrary, are the worst enemies in such a war.

The allies are the workers and peasants and farmers of France and Great Britain and the United States, aiding the workers of Czechoslovakia not in union with but in direct and uncompromising opposition to "their own" governments.

The allies are the peoples of the oppressed colonies and mandates of the imperialist powers, the brave peoples of China and Spain—and the workers and peasants of Italy and Germany, who in the end will not fail to hear the summons of their class brothers over the strident voice of Hitler's chauvinism.

The war of the oppressed against their oppressors; the international war against the whole rotten structure of capitalist tyranny: In this war alone lies the hope of mankind and the promise of the future. This, and this alone, is our war. Against every other war we shall resist, to the end. To this war we have pledged our lives.

## Trotskyists Defend Heroic Past of Polish Communists

### Dissolution of Party and Murder of Leaders Is Reward for Loyalty to Stalin and Comintern

Below is printed the proclamation of the Polish Bolshevik-Leninist, issued in connection with the dissolution by the Comintern of the Communist Party in Poland. The complete dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland is an unprecedented event in the history of the labor movement. Before our Polish comrades is posed the responsibility for a tremendous task:

To gather under the banner of the Fourth International the fragments of the Polish Communist Party and to construct a new revolutionary party!

At the command of Stalin, Yezhov and Litvinov, the Comintern dissolved the Communist Party of Poland and Young Communist League of Poland. This formal dissolution was preceded by the destruction of the whole leading staff of the Party, present as well as former. Warski, Koszarska, Waletski, Donski, Sophia Unshilich, Krulkowski, Lenski, Henrikowski, Bronkowski and many other leaders of the Communist Party of Poland were shot or killed in the torture chambers of the G. P. U.; accused of being spies and agent-provocateurs. This infamous charge is now made against the whole C.P.P. according to the verdict of the executioner in the Kremlin the Comintern movement of Poland during all the 20 years of its existence has been nothing but an agency of the secret police and the secret service of the Army General Staff. An infamous lie!

The C. P. P., born out of a fusion of the party of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Tishko (known as Jogiches in Germany—Ed.) and the left wing of the Socialist Party of Poland, was for many years the heroic vanguard of the Polish proletariat. We, Polish Trotskyists who emerged from the C.P.P., protest against this infamous slander of the heroic past of our party. Despite the serious differences which separated us from Warski and Koszarska we will remember with the deepest respect their names and their service to the working class.

The views of Donski and Unshilich in the last years of their life were not known to us. But we do know that they were murdered by the Stalinist executioners for their devotion to the Socialist Revolution. We, who for seven years fought against the base crimes of the Lenskis and the Hangrikowskis, know that these last leaders of the C. P. P. were obedient tools in the hands of Stalin—not the Polish secret police!

It was at the command of Stalin that the Central Committee of the C. P. P. (with Lenski at its head) carried out in 1929 the adventurist ultra-left policy of the "third period," and in 1935 the unprincipled "Peoples Front."

## TEACHERS FIGHT G. P. U. SLANDER AGAINST TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

the congress (the Latin-American trade union congress)?

"Mr. Laborde has full opportunity to refute Albert Goldman's statement," Rivera concluded. "He only needs to answer clearly where he has been in the last months. In Moscow or in New York? No subterfuge will help. Silence will help just as little. Public opinion will force the plotters to give a clear and precise answer to the question: Did Laborde hide in the United States? Yes or no? If yes, then for what purpose?"

### Teachers' Statement

The declaration of the Mexican teachers in reply to the new Stalinist calumny campaign, which has been carried into the ranks of the Teachers Union by the Stalinist Party, was in part as follows:

"Yesterday the so-called Communist Party of Mexico made a declaration in which it accuses the revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky, among other things, of carrying on personal agitation against the C.T.M. and the S.T.E.R.M. (trade union of educational workers) and other revolutionary organizations of Mexico."

"We, the revolutionary teachers, protest energetically against this calumny. The Stalinists of Mexico who slander Trotsky cannot prove, and we challenge them to do so, that Trotsky is interfering in Mexican affairs and is attacking the S.T.E.R.M. The Stalinist and Vilchist camarillas which are trying to rob the teachers by imposing upon them a tax of one and a half percent allegedly for trade union dues, regard the opposition and indignation with which almost the entire body of teachers have met their greedy scheming as the personal work of Trotsky."

### Resolution Against Trotsky

"They want this money for the support of international Stalinist organizations which exist on paper and for their own personal profit, since these dues produce a tidy sum of more than 1,500,000 pesos with which they can contentedly carry on their 'fight against reaction and fascism.'"

"The statement went on to charge that the Stalinists have entrenched themselves in the Ministry of Education from which they carry on their slanderous campaigns. Last week at a national convention they put through a resolution 'to strive with all possible means to obtain the expulsion of Trotsky and the discharge of all Trotskyite teachers.'"

"They call Trotskyites all those teachers who cannot be bossed and robbed," the teachers' statement continued. "To terrify them they use the regular methods of racketeering, bringing thugs into the secretariat of Education to prevent the distribution of leaflets and propaganda material among the teachers. Last Saturday the delegates of the school zones of the Federal Districts presented at the Belles Artes meeting (the convention) some petitions and were met by gunmen who immediately called them 'Trotskyites, splitters...'"

The statement ended with a request that President Cardenas receive a delegation which desired to describe to him conditions in the Ministry of Education and with a denunciation of the plans of the G.P.U. to hound and murder revolutionists, the first of them Leon Trotsky.

the role of a bridge between the

Kremlin and the Inspector General of the Military Forces—and this was not its fault. It therefore became an unnecessary ballast for Stalin and Litvinov. Stalin dissolved the C. P. P. in order once and for all to convince the Polish bourgeoisie that the Soviet bureaucracy really renounced all revolutionary "illusions"; that the Thermidorian U. S. S. R. does not even think of preparing for the World Revolution, that Stalin is not Trotsky and that, therefore, Beck could after all find a common language with Litvinov.

Comrades! The C. P. P., which fell victim to a dastardly crime and a base slander, long ago ceased to be a Communist Party in the Revolutionary sense of the word. But so far only a small section of the workers understands this. For tens of thousands of workers the C. P. P. was, up to the last moment, a representative of October Bolshevism, a symbol of proletarian revolution. The members of the C. P. P. proceeded under the yoke of crassest opportunism, convinced that they were serving the cause of the Revolution. Is it possible that the destruction of the C. P. P. by Stalin did not convince the advanced Communist workers of the counter-revolutionary essence of

## New War Flows from Versailles Banditry

(Continued from page 1)

over the world.

Hitler speaks of the "nation," of "race," of the unity of "blood." In reality his job is to broaden the military base of Germany before opening a struggle for rule over colonies. Here the national banner is only the fig leaf of imperialism.

The principle of "democracy" plays a similar role in the other camp. It serves the imperialists to cover up their seizures, violations, robberies and to prepare for new ones. This is very brilliantly revealed in the question of the Sudeten Germans. Democracy means the right of each nation to self-determination. But the Versailles Treaty concocted by the highest representatives of the most democratic governments one could find: France, Great Britain, parliamentarian Italy of yore, and finally, the United States, basely trampled under foot this democratic right of the Sudeten Germans, the Austrians, as well as many other national groups, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, etc.

### Versailles Brought Fascism

For the strategic heads of the triumphant imperialism of the Entente Messrs. Democrats, with the support of the Second International delivered the Sudeten Germans into the possession of the young imperialists of Czechoslovakia. Meanwhile the German social-democracy waited with dog-like submission for favors from the democracies of the Entente; waited and waited in vain. The results are known: democratic Germany, unable to stand the yoke of the Versailles Treaty threw herself in despair onto the road of fascism. It would seem that the Czechoslovakian democracy which stood under the august protection of Franco-British democracy and of the "socialist" bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R. had every possibility of showing the Sudeten Germans the great advantages in reality of a democratic regime over a fascist one. If this task had been resolved, Hitler would not dare, of course, to make an attempt on Sudeten. His main strength lies now precisely in the fact that the Sudeten Germans themselves want unity with Germany. This desire was inspired in them by the rapacious and police regime of Czechoslovakian "democracy" which "fought" fascism by imitating its worst methods.

Super-democratic Austria found itself until a short time ago under the tireless solicitude of the democratic Entente which seemed to have made it its business not to let Austria live or die. It ended by Austria's throwing herself into the embrace of Hitler. On a smaller scale the same experience was previously made in the Saar region which after having remained in the hands of France for fifteen years and having tried out all the benefits of imperialist democracy, by an overwhelming majority expressed a desire for unity with Germany. These lessons of history are more significant than resolutions of all the pacifist congresses.

### Mockery of "Racial" Unity

Only pitiful babblers or fascist crooks can speak in connection with the fate of the Saar, the Austrian and Sudeten Germans of the irresistible "call of blood." The Swiss Germans, for example, do not want at all to go into slavery under Hitler, because they feel themselves masters in their country, and Hitler would think ten times before attacking

Stalinism? Comrades! The C. P. P. is no longer among the living and no one will be able to resurrect it. Every attempt to resurrect the Stalin C. P. P. would be reactionary. The Socialist Parties will soon present themselves as the inheritors of the C. P. P. There is no more hope in reformism than there is in Stalinism. In order to secure victory, the Polish proletariat must have a Revolutionary Bolshevik Party, a Party of the arising Fourth International.

Comrades! For the past seven years, we the Bolshevik-Leninists have been working to create a revolutionary organization in Poland, to create the cadres of the new proletarian party. We are the inheritors of the great Marxist traditions of the Party of Rosa Luxemburg and Tishko, and the heroic past of the C. P. P. We Trotskyists are in Poland as well as the world over the only grouping which represents Leninist Communism. Our program is the program of Bolshevism. Our banner is the banner of the October Revolution. To this banner we call you comrades! The old C.P.P. is dead—long live the New Communist Party of Poland! Long Live the Fourth International! Bolshevik-Leninists.

Warsaw, July 1938

them. Intolerable social and political conditions must exist for citizens of a "democratic" country to be seized by a desire for fascist power. The Germans of the Saar in France, the Austrian Germans in the Europe of Versailles, the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, felt themselves citizens of third rank. "It will not be worse," they said to themselves. In Germany, at least, they will be oppressed on the same basis as the rest of the population. The masses prefer under these conditions equality in serfdom to humiliation in inequality. The temporary strength of Hitler lies in the bankruptcy of imperialist democracy.

Fascism is a form of despair in the petty bourgeois masses, who carry away with them over the precipice a part of the proletariat as well. Despair, as known, takes hold when all roads of salvation are cut off. The triple bankruptcy of democracy, social-democracy and the Comintern were the prerequisites for the successes of fascism. All three have tied their fate to the fate of imperialism. All three bring nothing to the masses but despair and by this assure the triumph of fascism.

### Moscow Not Mentioned

The chief aim of the Bonapartist clique of Stalin during the last years has consisted in proving to the imperialist "democracies" its wise conservatism and love for order. For the sake of the longed for alliance with imperialist democracies the Bonapartist clique has brought the Comintern to the last stages of political prostitution. Two great "democracies," France and England, try to persuade Prague to make concessions to Hitler who is supported by Mussolini. Apparently nothing is left to Prague but to yield to "friendly" advice. Of Moscow there is no mention. No one is interested in the opinion of Stalin or his Litvinov. As a result of the disgusting crawling and bloody vileness in the service of imperialism, especially in Spain, the Kremlin is more isolated than ever before.

What are the causes? There are two. The first lies in the fact that having definitely become a lackey of "democratic" imperialism, Stalin does not dare, however, to bring his work in the U.S.S.R. to a conclusion, that is, to the restoration of private ownership of the means of production and the abolishing of the monopoly of foreign trade. And without these measures he remains in the eyes of the imperialists just a revolutionary parvenu, an untrustworthy adventurer, a bloody falsifier. The imperialist bourgeoisie does not venture to wager an important stake on Stalin.

Of course, it could utilize him for its partial and temporary aims. But here the second cause for Kremlin's isolation looms up: in its struggle for self-preservation the unbridled Bonapartist clique has crippled the army and the fleet to the last degree, shaken economy, demoralized and humiliated the country. No one believes the patriotic howling of the defeatist clique. The imperialists clearly dare not risk a stake on Stalin even for episodic military aims.

### The "Fight" Against War

In this international situation the agents of the G.P.U. cross the ocean and gather in hospitable Mexico to "fight" against war. The method is simple—to unite all the democracies against fascism. Only against fascism! "I am invited here," speaks the worthy agent of the French Bourse—Jouxhaux, "for the struggle against fascism, and not imperialism at all! Whoever fights against 'democratic' imperialism, that is, for the freedom of the French colonies is an ally of fascism, an agent of Hitler, a Trotskyite. Three hundred and fifty Hindus must reconcile themselves to their slavery in order to support British democracy, the rulers of which at this very time, together with the slaveholders of 'democratic' France, are delivering the Spanish people into Franco's bondage. People of Latin America must tolerate with gratitude the foot of Anglo-Saxon imperialism on their neck only because this foot is dressed in a suede democratic boot. Disgrace, shame, cynicism—without end!"

The democracies of the Versailles Entente helped the victory of Hitler by their vile oppression of defeated Germany. Now the lackeys of democratic imperialism of the Second and Third Internationals are helping with all their might the further strengthening of Hitler's regime. Really, what would a military block of imperialist democracies against Hitler mean? A new edition of the Versailles chains, even more heavy, bloody and intolerable. Naturally, not a single German worker wants this. To throw off Hitler by revolution is one thing,

to strangle Germany by an imperialist war—is quite another. The howling of the "pacifist" lackeys of democratic imperialism is therefore the best accompaniment to Hitler's speeches. "You see," he says to the German people, "even socialists and communists of all enemy countries support their army and their diplomacy; if you will not rally around me, your leader, you are threatened with doom!" Stalin, the lackey of democratic imperialism and all the lackeys of Stalin—Jouxhaux, Toledano and Co.—are the best aides of Hitler in deceiving, lulling, and intimidating the German workers.

### Tools of Imperialism

The Czechoslovakian crisis revealed with remarkable clarity that fascism does not exist as an independent factor. It is only one of the tools of imperialism. "Democracy" is another of its tools. Imperialism rises above them both. It sets them in motion according to need, at times counterpoising them to one another, at times amicably combining them. To fight against fascism in an alliance with imperialism is the same as to fight in an alliance with the devil against his claws or horns.

The struggle against fascism demands above all the expulsion of the agents of "democratic" imperialism from the ranks of the working class. Only the revolutionary proletariat of France, Great Britain, America and U.S.S.R. declaring a life and death struggle against their own imperialism and its agency, the Moscow bureaucracy, is capable of arousing revolutionary hopes in the hearts of the German and Italian workers, and at the same time of rallying around itself hundreds of millions of slaves and semi-slaves of imperialism in the entire world. In order to guarantee peace among the peoples we must overthrow imperialism under all its masks.

Only the proletarian revolution can accomplish this. To prepare it, it is necessary to place the workers and the oppressed peoples irreconcilably against the imperialist bourgeoisie and to rally them into a single international revolutionary army. This great liberating work is now being fulfilled only by the Fourth International. That is why it is hated by fascists, by imperialist "democrats," by social-patriots and by the lackeys of the Kremlin. This is the true sign that under its banner will rally all the oppressed.

Coyocan, D. F.

## R. R. WORKERS VOTE TO STRIKE

WASHINGTON, D.C.—President Roosevelt set the machinery of the Railway Labor Act into action this week with the appointment of a "fact-finding" commission that will effectively delay strike action by railway labor for at least 60 days.

When George M. Harrison, speaking for 18 railway labor unions, announced that a nationwide vote authorized a strike call for midnight of Sept. 30 unless operators rescinded orders for a 15 per cent wage cut, scheduled to become effective Oct. 1, the National Mediation Board was immediately notified. They in turn notified the President, who then appointed the commission, consisting of Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy of North Carolina, Professor Harry A. Mills of Chicago University and Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School.

### 800,000 Votes Cast

The strike vote was cast in a series of meetings held all over the nation, with more than 800,000 ballots cast. The surge of militancy on the part of the rail workers against the proposed wage slash resulted in an overwhelming majority for the strike action.

Negotiations between operators and the heads of the various unions, united into the Railway Labor Executive Association, had resulted in a deadlock. The corporations insisted on a 15 per cent cut; the union officials knew the membership was in no mood for a further lowering of their wages.

The dispute, already on for some months, is now further delayed by the action of President Roosevelt. Under the guise of mediation the railway workers are in fact deprived of their right to strike. Shuttled from one committee to another the vital question of wages for more than a million organized workers will be studied by a judge, a professor and the dean of Harvard's famous Law School.

The commission is allowed 30 days to make a report; another 30 days must elapse before strike action is taken. During that time the wage cut will not go into effect, but all efforts will be made to blunt the fine edge of militancy that brought forth the huge strike vote.

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## Half the Battle Won

The strike of New York's 15,000 teamsters has reached a climax peculiar in labor history, but one which is clearly the result of the power of the organized working class.

Two days after the suspension of the truce, N. Y. truck transportation had come to a standstill. 20,000 New Jersey drivers had joined the walkout. Longshoremen and seamen were awaiting the call for sympathetic action. The entire labor movement, C.I.O. and A.F. of L. had declared its solidarity. A general strike was in the offing.

With New York's billion dollar commerce and industry facing strait-jacket paralysis, with World Fair construction unable to move—the immediate termination of the strike was imposed as an imperative necessity upon the employing class and its representative, Mayor LaGuardia. But how to end it? Only a wild man, thoroughly soaked in the dreams of Ford or Girdler, would advocate a head-on collision to smash the strike. Only a blind bat could fail to see that the strikers were not to be bluffed or tricked out of their strike.

The one road to a settlement for the bosses was a compromise with drastic concessions for the workers. That LaGuardia was impelled onto this road is due to the fact that the strike was invincible. Had there been any other alternative—detrimental to the drivers but promising a solution—we can rest assured that LaGuardia would have taken it.

The drivers wanted the 40-hour week, and they were willing to go through hell and high water to get it. For thousands of teamsters, the 40-hour week meant jobs at union wages for the first time in months. For those already working, assistance to the unemployed in this fashion entailed no sacrifices of wage standards. Remember this: the magnificent courage and the unbearable fighting power of the drivers can be infused into the entire labor movement when it inscribes on its banner the slogan of the drivers—*the sliding scale of hours with the prevailing rates of pay.*

The acceptance of the 44-hour week is a compromise on the original demands. It does not secure all the strikers wanted, but it nevertheless marks a serious step on the road to the 40-hour week. Moreover, it places the union in an advantageous position in the present stage of the battle. With complete victory within their grasp, with the great metropolis at their mercy, the teamsters backed down from their original demand and accepted a compromise. Now the onus of the continuance of the strike rests squarely with the bosses' associations, who have refused to negotiate except on the old terms.

The "Little Flower" placed himself on the spot when he granted the concession to the strikers and considered it as a final settlement. The unique spectacle of the New York City government entering the trucking business was a daring method, but the only one capable of bring-

## ON THE LABOR PARTY

## A RESOLUTION OF THE S.W.P.

*During the past three months the membership of the Socialist Workers Party has been engaged in an intensive discussion on the question of the attitude of the Party toward the labor party movement. This discussion has now been concluded with a referendum vote of the membership.*

*By a decisive majority, the membership has adopted a position on the labor party movement, expanding and altering to a considerable degree the position heretofore held in this country by the Fourth Internationalist movement. The resolution is published herewith.*

The decline of American capitalism and the social crisis ensuing therefrom have already called forth the greatest trade union organizing campaign in American history, which brought with it a wave of strike struggles unprecedented in scope and revolutionary implications (the sit-down strikes). At the same time the experiences and results of these heroic efforts of the American proletariat have demonstrated the inadequacy of the purely economic struggle to solve even the most pressing immediate problems of the workers. The precipitous decline in economy, as a result of the new crisis adds new millions to the ranks of the unemployed, cancels out the gains of the strike victories and even threatens the existence of the newly built trade unions. Instinctively sensing the inadequacy of trade unionism alone under these circumstances, the workers have begun to turn in million-masses toward political action. The further development of the crisis is certain to strengthen this tendency.

The organized participation of the workers in politics under the aegis of Labor's Non-Partisan League represents a profound departure from the old Gompers school of labor politics, although on the surface the two may appear to be identical. In the past the labor bureaucracy confined itself to "endorsing" this or that "friend of labor" on the capitalist party tickets. In the 1936 presidential elections, and in virtually all municipal and state elections since, we have seen for the first time a systematic and increasingly determined effort to organize and mobilize the political strength of the workers as a single unit. This new movement, represented by the L.N.P.L., must be characterized as a stage in the development of the labor movement from complete subservience to the political parties of big capital to an independent party of the workers.

## BUREAUCRATS RESTRICT MOVEMENT

The fact that the movement as yet remains within the formal framework of the Democratic Party is in part due to the conscious restrictions placed upon it by the bureaucracy and in part to the as yet unclear aims of the masses. On the other hand, the increasing aggressiveness of this movement on the political field, and its mounting demands for more concessions and repre-

ing pressure to bear on the bosses. The old ashen trucks of the city cannot haul even a fraction of the traffic but the action itself has succeeded in breaking the employers' front and forcing the smaller trucking companies to sign separate agreements. That LaGuardia and the capitalist class generally was forced into this action by the formidable strike is proved by the acceptance of heads of the state and local Chambers of Commerce as directors of the City's "trucking business."

But the strike is not over. And it will not be over until the bosses' associations or its leading members sign on the dotted line of the new contract. Until that time, a sudden reversal of the present situation cannot be excluded as a likelihood. On the contrary, the bosses will be prone to believe that the confused set-up now prevailing will cause a relaxation of the vigilance of the strikers. And from others, now "friendly" to the drivers, the possibility of a "double-cross" is also not out of the realm of possibility. These things have happened before. Victory has been snatched out of the hands of workers on countless occasions when everything appeared settled.

The New York truck drivers must be vigilant for themselves and for the labor movement of this city and of the nation if their magnificent strike is not to be derailed from its present objectives. The eyes of the nation's workers are on the drivers. They are providing the first answer to the problem of unemployment.

And in this answer it is necessary to show not only *what* is to be done but *how* it can be done!

sentation for labor—an attitude which has already impelled the workers in important local instances to put up independent or semi-independent tickets—testify to the profound impulse of the masses of the workers toward completely independent political action. This impulse is progressive and must consciously and deliberately be aided at every step by the Socialist Workers Party.

Parallel with the developing sentiment for an independent party of the workers, and in large measure interfused with it, there is a powerful trend in the direction of a new bourgeois liberal party designed to include and swallow up the incipient movement of the workers for independent labor political action. Under further pressure of the social crisis this trend can and most likely will also gain strength, the present Democratic Party may be split wide open and a new party of the democratic bourgeois front emerge, with the labor bureaucracy occupying a prominent though politically subordinate place. Against such a development, as against the present attempts of the bureaucracy to subordinate the workers to the Democratic Party, we counterpose the slogan of independent labor political action through a labor party.

## RADICAL CHANGE IN TACTICS

At the time of our national convention, we took insufficient account of the new developments in the labor movement, especially in their political aspects, and fell into the error of repeating abstract formulas on the question of the labor party which, in the light of great new developments, had become obsolete. It is necessary now to reconsider the question and to make a radical change in our tactics in regard to the developing labor party movement. Over a period of years we have discussed and debated this question with the opportunists only in the abstract. That could not be otherwise, because neither a labor party nor a formidable movement for its creation was anywhere to be seen. In these discussions we saw only two aspects of the question—a labor party which did not exist in reality, but which the opportunists sought to suck out of their fingers, or a possible fully developed labor party some time in the future.

We now have to gear our practical activity toward a third and hitherto insufficiently appreciated aspect of the question—namely, a powerful mass movement in the direction of the labor party which has not yet taken a clearly defined shape. We have always said that, confronted with a fully developed labor party, based on the trade unions, we would take a positive attitude toward it and most likely participate in it. We are now confronted with the necessity of concretizing this general point of view and of taking a direct part in the present developing MOVEMENT for a labor party and of working with all our strength to push it on the road of independence.

## PRINCIPLES NOT INVOLVED

The question of the attitude toward an existing labor party has never been a question of principle for revolutionary Marxists. No more should our attitude toward a genuine mass movement for a labor party be so considered. In our tactics we have always taken our point of departure from the concrete political situation and the tendencies of its development. Several years ago, before the crisis of 1929 and even later, until the appearance of the C.I.O., we could have hoped that the revolutionary, that is, the Bolshevik party would develop in the United States parallel to the radicalization of the working class and succeed in becoming the head of it. Under these conditions it would have been

absurd to occupy oneself with abstract propaganda in favor of an unheralded "Labor Party."

The situation since that time, however, has radically changed and it would be inexcusable to close our eyes to it. The powerfully developing trade unions under the conditions of a deepening crisis of capitalism will project themselves all the more irresistibly upon the road of political struggle and upon the road of crystallization into a labor party.

## BUREAUCRACY WILL RESIST

If the official leaders of the trade unions in spite of the imperious voice of the situation and the growing pressure of the masses preserve a reserved position on the question of a labor party, it is precisely because the deep social crisis of bourgeois society now imparts to the question of the labor party a considerably greater sharpness than in all preceding periods.

Nevertheless we can with sufficient assurance predict that the resistance of the bureaucracy will be broken. The movement in favor of a labor party will continue to grow. A revolutionary organization occupying in relation to this progressive movement a negative or neutrally expectant position will doom itself to isolation and sectarian degeneration.

The Socialist Workers Party, section of the Fourth International, clearly realizes the fact that in virtue of unfavorable historical reasons its own development lagged behind the radicalization of wide layers of the American proletariat and precisely because of this the problem of creating a labor party is placed upon the order of the day through the whole course of development.

## WILL SUPPORT LABOR PARTY

Consequently, the Socialist Workers Party gives positive and unambiguous support to the labor party movement in general and to all its local manifestations. It supports the affiliation of trade unions to Labor's Non-Partisan League as well as to local units of the movement having an independent or semi-independent form (Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, American Labor Party, etc.) and, in favorable circumstances, the National Committee authorizes its members to join branches of these bodies based on individual membership.

While the Social-Democrats, Lovestonites, etc., advocate a labor or farmer-labor party with a purely reformist program and more or less confine themselves to unprincipled combinations under cover of this slogan—the Socialist Workers Party advances its program of transitional demands in order to fructify the mass movement in favor of a labor party and lead it in a revolutionary direction.

## PARTY INDEPENDENCE PRESERVED

Preserving its own full organizational and political independence, the Socialist Workers Party carries on systematic and irreconcilable struggle against the trade union bureaucracy which resists the creation of a labor party, or attempts to convert it into an auxiliary weapon of one of the bourgeois parties. Explaining and propagandizing its program of transitional demands in the trade unions, at meetings, and so forth, the Socialist Workers Party indefatigably exposes on the basis of the living experience of the masses the reformist and pacifist illusions of the trade union bureaucracy and its Social-Democratic and Stalinist allies.

When and how the labor party will be formed, what scope and mass base it will acquire in the period ahead and through what stages and splits it will pass, the future will disclose. Defending the labor party from the attack of the bourgeoisies, the Socialist Workers Party does not and will not, however, take upon itself any responsibility for this party. In relation to the labor party in all stages of its development, the Socialist Workers Party occupies a critical position, supports the progressive tendencies against the reactionary, and at the same time irreconcilably criticizes the half-way character of these progressive tendencies. For the Socialist Workers Party the labor party should on the one hand become the arena for recruiting revolutionary elements, on the other a transmissive mechanism for influencing ever wider circles of workers. In its very essence the labor party can preserve progressive significance only during a comparatively short transitional period. The further sharpening of the revolutionary situation will inevitably break the shell of the labor party and permit the S.W.P. to rally around the banner of the Fourth International, the revolutionary vanguard of the American proletariat.

## Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

## VAST FIELD AWAITS S.W.P.

With the fall election campaigns in full swing and for the far more important reason that the world faces its darkest days since 1914, it seems from this corner that recruiting should play a major part in the life of every member of the Socialist Workers Party during the next few weeks.

The S.W.P., young, vibrant, healthy, and today the only political organization in America that stands four-square on a platform of revolutionary socialism, is gaining steadily in membership, but these increases reach out only to the fringes of the fertile fields open for recruitment.

There are now between nine and ten million workers affiliated with the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. and a sizable percentage of this number are ripe for enrolment in a party of militant action. There are between twelve and fifteen million unemployed men and women, most of whom are unorganized and certainly their places are within the ranks of the S.W.P. Then there are millions of working-class housewives to whom the party has to address itself.

Unless the recruiting work is accelerated and pressed to fruition on the widest scale during this critical period, the tasks of the past weeks in drafting, studying and passing theses on the weighty national and international questions will have lost much of their practical reward.

Nor will recruiting have appreciable and lasting results without careful consideration and adoption of the proper approach. In this connection, it may be said without any hesitancy that the unprincipled methods of recruitment fostered by Stalinist leaders will never for a moment be countenanced by the S.W.P.

During the last few years a number of membership drives were conducted by the Communist Party, amid much fanfare and the blare of trumpets. At the conclusion of each such campaign, branches, sections and districts were regaled with reports "on the splendid accomplishments of the leading cadres."

If the C. P. had retained even a small fraction of the men and women "signed up" during these drives, its membership today would be at least a quarter of a million.

## HOW THE C. P. JUGGLES FIGURES

In 1936, Earl Browder told the C. P. rank and file and the capitalist press that the party had 50,000 members. About the same time his report to the C. P. Central Committee placed the membership at 28,000. Now Browder claims 75,000 members for the Stalinists. If the disparity between the accurate figure and Browder's capacity for truth-telling remains the same as in 1936, the C. P. membership today should be somewhere around the 40,000 mark.

In the earlier statement to his Central Committee, Browder reported that only 20 per cent of the members were in the party longer than two years. If one considers that at least one-third of the older members are installed in paid functionary jobs, it is seen that there are really very few veterans left in the party.

There are many bureaucrats in the C. P., who are hopeless renegades from Socialism, and these will remain in the party until Stalin finally scuttles the ship and the whole caboodle.

On the other hand, there are thousands of C. P. members who are very much in the doubtful column. Many of them, who were recruited through the use of spurious catch-phrases such as "fighting for democracy" and "fighting against bureaucracy," will hasten out of the party once they learn it is the very anti-thesis of a democratic body, in any sense of the term, and that its own bureaucratic apparatus smells to high heaven.

These newcomers were enrolled in the C. P. through misrepresentation and downright charlatanism. Hence S.W.P.ers must establish the closest relations with C. P. rank and files, so that they will not be lost to revolutionary activity when completely disillusioned by the Stalinist misleaders, as were thousands before them.

## HOW OUR RECRUITERS SHOULD SPEAK

To the workers on W.P.A. projects and relief rolls, recruiters should speak in hard dollars-and-cents language—in language receptive to the ears of hungry American workers.

At the last session of Congress, the Workers Alliance asked ten billion dollars for relief and W.P.A. jobs. The New Deal administration, to which this Stalinist-controlled group has just renewed its pledge of fealty, responded with an appropriation of a billion and a half. A few days ago the same Stalinist-dominated body, at a convention session, asked the New Deal administration for only \$6,500,000 to be expended "over a period of six years for relief and recovery."

One may pause at this point to inquire whether Roosevelt has kept his relief pledges to the "forgotten man" and, also, whether the Alliance is fulfilling its purported mission as an organization for the unemployed. The answer is so obviously No! in both cases, that I must apologize for formally posing the questions.

The last figures of the U. S. Treasury Department place the gross 1936 income for all American companies at \$132,276,820,000. It is estimated that the 1938 income would be about five to seven billions under that total. If, at the next session, the Great Liberal and his Congress were to place a ten per cent direct tax on gross income for emergency relief, the funds from that source alone would be over twelve billion dollars for one year and the administration might well add a tax on the huge "bonus salaries" of the economic royalists of whom Roosevelt talks so much. Such a move might cause Big Business to suffer a cut in the net profits, but it would alleviate nation-wide distress among workers and farmers and could, in a slight measure, redeem the false promises of the New Deal spokesmen and their stooges.

The afore-mentioned figures reveal that not only has Roosevelt violated his campaign pledges but that the Stalinists' Workers Alliance has shown scandalous leniency in its new requests for funds apparently to save the administration more embarrassment.

Consumers, in general, must be apprised, in the course of organizational work, of the burdens placed upon them by the profit system.

Government figures show that workers earning \$2,500 or less annually pay twenty-two million dollars daily in indirect taxes to city, State and the Federal treasuries. More than 63 per cent of all taxes are of the "hidden" variety. Thus a housewife is taxed one pork chop for every three she purchases, or three eggs for every dozen. There are fifty-three different kinds of hidden taxes in one loaf of bread. These include taxes for the farm tractor, grain elevator, country roads, freight, producers' surplus income, etc. All the workers, professionals and farmers affected by these taxes belong in the ranks of the S.W.P. or its periphery, and they must be rallied to fight the wage cuts that come in the form of the hidden levies.

The S.W.P. may be still too young to elect its own candidates in the fall elections, but a vigorous nation-wide recruiting drive could so strengthen the party as to make it an important factor in coming campaigns and in the daily life of America's masses.

## Open Letter to the Members of the C.P.

## To the Members of the Communist Party:

For four years your leaders have told you to put your faith in the democratic nations. They have said that the system of collective security, support by the great democratic powers, would stop fascism.

Today the democratic nations have shown their true colors, have made clear the real meaning of their "democracy." They have handed Czechoslovakia, and with it control of all central Europe, over to Hitler.

For four years your leaders have made the Franco-Soviet pact the keystone of their world policy. Today that pact is not worth the paper on which it is printed.

For four years your leaders have preached the doctrine of the People's Front, have told you that it would lead to victory over reaction, and have enlisted millions upon millions of workers under its slogan.

Today the People's Front everywhere lies in shambles. It was the Popular Front Government in France, put into office by all organizations making up the French Popular Front, which handed central Europe over to Hitler.

Your leaders, in great part, justified their policy by telling you that the People's Front, and the support of the democracies, would guarantee the defense of the Soviet Union.

Today the Soviet Union stands in more terrible isolation than at any time in its entire history. The Soviet Government had to learn from the press dispatches about the agreement to liquidate Czechoslovakia.

Your leaders promised that their policy would lead to the defeat of fascism and the defense of the Soviet Union. But instead they have lead to fascism everywhere, and to the isolation of the Soviet Union.

The world now trembles on the brink of the most terrible catastrophe in all history. We believe that the majority of you are at one with us in your wish and resolve to wipe fascist tyranny from the face of the earth, to defend the Soviet Union, and to advance the cause of the workers against reaction everywhere, and to achieve the freedom, peace, and security of a socialist society.

In the name of these great ideals, we call upon you to demand an accounting from your leadership. Events, themselves, prove that it has deceived you, that its policies have lead to disaster, that these policies have betrayed the struggle of the workers throughout the world and have made easy the road for the advance of Hitler and international fascism.

By remaining silent you share the responsibility for these disasters, and that betrayal, and guarantee the continuance of defeat.

There is no longer room for doubt. The full meaning of Stalin's road is now made pitilessly clear by history itself. That road leads inescapably to the annihilation of man's hopes, and to the triumph of reaction, tyranny and barbarism.

But there is another road: The road marked out long ago by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is the road for the unity of the working class in the struggle against its enemies, whatever labels these enemies may wear—whether fascist, democratic, liberal, socialist, communist—or however else they may disguise themselves. The enemies of the working class are all those, of whatever breed, who support and behold the system of capitalist exploitation, all those who use or support the state power of the capitalist nations, democratic and fascist. Only on the basis of uncompromising socialist enmity to these enemies, and to every capitalist state, can the unity of the working class be achieved.

Black as Europe looks today, the march of fascism can, and must and will be stopped. But only one force can stop it: the

class strength of the workers. Against this force no power on earth can stand. But the class strength of the workers can be assembled only when the workers themselves take their fight into their own hands, break with all those who wish to tie them in the camp of the enemy, and strike out independently and boldly in their own interests and toward their own aims. The workers must fight their own war, a war of the exploited against the exploiters, a class war of the proletarian revolution for socialism. Only this war will defeat Hitler—Chamberlain, Daladier, and Roosevelt—defeat them by wiping out the whole system which breeds Hitlers and Hitlerism.

There is not much time left.

We call you back to the path of Lenin, of the glorious leaders of the October Revolution, whose names are recorded indelibly in the record of mankind.

FOR THE UNITY OF ALL WORKERS OF EVERY NATION!

AGAINST THE LIES AND DEFEATS AND TREACHERIES OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT!

AGAINST THE FRAME-UPS AND MURDERS OF REVOLUTIONISTS AND MILITANTS OF THE WORKING CLASS!

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

FOR THE DEFEAT OF HITLER BY THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM!

FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE! THE MAIN ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY!

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