Demonstrate Saturday at the German Consulate Against Nazi Terror!

All War **Funds** To the **Unemployed!** Socialist Appeal

LET THE REFUGEES INTO U.S.!

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

Open the Doors To Europe's **Refugees!**

VOL. II-No. 50

0

Saturday, November 19, 1938

Five Cents per Copy

SWP Polls **6700 Votes** In Jersey

Outruns S. P. And **Comes Close to Stalinists**

CREWS LEADS PARTY TICKET

NEWARK, N. J.-In the first electoral campaign conducted by the Socialist Workers Party in New Jersey, the vote for the high man on the S.W.P. ticket, 6,736, marked a stirring beginning in the election activity of the Fourth International in this country.

A vigorous 4-month campaign, reaching out into all the working class districts in Essex County, bringing the workers the revolutionary through numerous mass meetings

See page 3 for full page of analysis of election returns.

and the "Workers' Voice," local S.W.P. organ, hitting hard at Hagueism and the New and Old Deals, was responsible for this great step forward in New Jer-

2

S

•

MEXICO CITY, Nov. 12.-In Negro Candidate High an interview published exclusive-The high vote of the S.W.P. was obtained by Willis Crews, ly in La Prensa this morning, veteran Negro fighter, candidate Lazaro Cardenas, president of for State Assembly. The Stalinist Mexico, administered one of the most stinging blows the Stalinopposing him managed to get a slightly higher vote, 7,409, while ists have yet received in their series of campaigns against the the Socialist Party which had so asylum of Leon Trotsky. haughtily refused a united front "It is not true," responded

ticket early in the campaign, President Cardenas in response showed that it was heading for to a question concerning recent oblivion fast by polling an average of 1,950 votes for its ticket slanders issued by Stalinist-controlled unions, "that Trotsky is for Assembly.



LAZARO CARDENAS

PRES.

their property and its distribution among the Nazi the workers the revolu-transitional program RAPS ATTACKS ON sadists. TROTSKY ASYLUM many by the complete segregation of all Jews into marked-off slums. With this measure, Hitlerism shows Sharply Repudiates **Toledano Charges**

again that it means barbarism, the destruction of all civilized progress, the return to the shame and depravity of the Middle Ages. Against Exile

CARDENAS

Why are the Hitlerites increasing their murderous Special to the Socialist Appeal attacks upon the Jews?

For two reasons:

They hope to take the minds of the German workers and peasants off the misery from which they suffer, to make them think that the Jews-traditional scapegoats for reaction-are responsible for all their ills.

The entire world has been shocked to the depths by

The hideous terror of Hitlerism has never struck

Throughout Germany, bands of Nazi gangsters or-

the outburst of a new campaign of brutal violence

ganized and commanded by their leaders, have wrecked

and looted stores owned by Jews. Jewish churches

-synagogues-have been burned and destroyed by

the instructed Fascist mobs. The workers of Germany,

who hate and despise Hitlerism with all their strength,

were unable to come to the aid of the brutalized Jews

because they are themselves still in the straitjacket of the

conceal their aim: the physical extermination of every

which means in effect the complete confiscation of all

The Brown-shirted monsters do not even bother to

Already a "fine" has been levied against the Jews

The regime of the Ghetto is to be restored in Ger-

against the Jews in Germany.

Nazi terror.

Jew in Great-Germany.

with such cruel and merciless force.

They hope to blackmail the international protest movement against Fascism into cowardly silence.

If they accomplish these dastardly aims, they can continue without the slightest opposition their rule of blood and iron.

If they acomplish their aims, they will encourage the Fascist reaction in every other country of the world to advance more boldly, more insolently, more successfully. have their unions take the initiative in organizing a halfday stoppage of work so that they may parade in a huge demonstration to the largest halls in the city.

375

Let the persecuted, gagged and chained toilers of Germany, the cruelly hounded Jews of Naziland, know that they have not been forgotten or abandoned by the working class throughout the world.

But it is necessary to do more than demonstrate and meet in imposing gatherings.

It is imperative to take action-concrete actionimmediate action!

The Hitlerites are making the Jews a people without a country! They are driving them out of Germany. Poland is hounding and persecuting the Jews, too, and is also preparing to drive them out of the country.

No European country agrees to give refuge to the hounded and harrassed Jewish people.

It is therefore up to us to act so that they may at least find a home to live in.

The United States calls itself a democratic country. The President of the United States frequently speaks about his respect for democratic liberties and his opposition to "dictatorships." The Congress of the United States considers itself the guardian of those democratic liberties.

One of the most serious and important democratic liberties is the right of asylum for all those who are persecuted, for all refugees from terroristic reaction. WE THEREFORE DEMAND:

Throw open the doors of the United States to the victims of the Hitlerite pogrom regime!

We urge all workers, and all labor organizations:

Demand that the American government use its emergency powers to open the doors to the horribly persecuted lews of Germany!

The right of asylum is an old, a traditional, a respected right in this country.

Let us join in demanding that this right be extended now to those who are most urgently in need of it, to those for whom it makes the difference between life and death.

Open the Doors To Victims Labor Unity, Union Of Hitler's Nazi Terror! Democracy Issues **Stir CIO Convention**

Lewis' Miners Machine in Full Control: Attempts Steamrolling of Bureaucratic Constitution

STALINISTS LEWIS' CHEERING SQUAD

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

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Nov. 15 .- The cut-and-dried character of he first session of the C.I.O. convention was broken on Tuesday when the major questions of labor unity and democracy within the C.I.O. came before the delegates for consideration.

After the Stalinist forces headed by Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. director, Mervin Rathborne, of the Communications Union, and Joe Curran, of the National Maritime Union led a fifteen minate demonstration for John L. Lewis, they got a taste of the Lewis "democracy" that kicked them right in the face. Shortly after the tune of "Lewis



verbal reading of it! No copies Labor's Blood to were given to delegates. Finally, pressure from the floor succeeded War-Makers in postponing discussion until

copies were printed. Special to Socialist Appeal Meanwhile, a dangerous clause was adopted in the constitution PITTSBURGH, Pa.-Using the bitter resentment of the American that gives Lewis a legal weapon workers against the Nazi persefor a possible purge of the politicution of Jews in Germany as his point of departure, John L. Lewis spite the weak-hearted opposition whipped up a strong patriotic en- of Bridges and the others. thusiasm at the C.I.O. convention

cal groups within the C.I.O., de-The clause reads, "to bring bout the effective organization

moved," died down, the constitu-

tional committee reported on a

proposed constitution for the

C.I.O. Thomas Kennedy, secre-

tary-treasurer of the miners'

Copies Not Available

to get a constitution passed by a

The C.I.O. top leadership tried

union, acted as spokesman.

In the vote for State Senator mixing in the politics of country. This man, since the time the Stalinist polled 2,243 votes; he came seeking our country as Frank Shapiro of the S.W.P., a an asylum and to whom we WPA laborer, 1,672 votes; the opened our doors in virtue of a S.P.er, 1.061 votes. firm declaration which he made But it was in the two Connot to mix in our politics, is hongressional Districts where the

Stalinists have their chief orable and knows how to keep strength in the state that the his promises. In interviews, books, etc., always he has remost encouraging results were ferred only to the situation in his optained.

own country, or to themes of **Polls More Than Stalinist** world politics; he lives retired in In the 12th Congressional Disvoluntary seclusion, and all that trict, Irving Rosenberg, S.W.P.er, C.I.O. trade unionist, got 2,020 he asks is that Mexico let him work in peace." votes; the Stalinist, 767 votes; the

Toledano's Slanders

S.P.er, 460. President Cardenas' vigorous In the 11th Congressional Disdefense of Trotsky's asylum trict, Reuben Plaskett, militant came as an unexpected counter young unemployed leader, polled blast to the latest campaign of 574 votes to the C.P. candidate's the Stalinists, launched on the 564. This is the district where twenty-first anniversary of the the C.P. has been working for 15 October Revolution by Lombardo years to win some foothold Toledano, Mexico's Stalinist unamong the colored workers! And ion Czar. In a speech to a mass where the S.P. knew enough not meeting broadcast from the Nato run anyone.

tional Palace of Fine Arts, Tole-In the vote for U.S. Senator, where the S.W.P. ran no candano-eloquently echoing the amalgams and calumnies against didate but gave critical support Lenin and Trotsky by the Kerento the S.P.er, Palangio, he resky regime that was overthrown ceived 1,653 votes to the Stalinby the Bolsheviks-attempted to ist Norman's 1,360.

link Trotsky in exile with the In spite of the fact that the Republicans swept the county most reactionary figures and politics of the country. In the senhere as they did generally elsewhere, the vote of the S.W.P. ate a member belonging to the C.T.M. introduced a petition askindicates the willingness of the ing the government to expel workers to listen to and support an independent fighting program Trotsky from Mexico, and began and an independent, aggressive circulating it for signatures. The campaign reached hysterworkers' party. This is the first (Continued on page 4) step!

Puppet UA W Board Hits Union Rights, Democracy sider at once charges placed a-gainst the company months ago Consultate. The Socialist Workers

Bans Auto Workers Paper, Slams Big Tax labor practices. This action by bor League will participate. on Members, Hands Slush Fund to Officers, Hits W.P.A. Auxiliary

By JOHN ADAMSON From the beginning of October, DETROIT. - The International the board members seem to have Executive Board of the United been constantly commuting be-Automobile Workers of America, tween Detroit and Washington, meeting in Washington, D. C., holding sessions day on end. It moved to Pittsburgh this week to will be recalled that the October continue its sessions and to at- 3 session adopted the C.I.O. protend the C.I.O. convention. (Continued on page 2)

They must not be allowed to succeed!

The workers of the United States must take the initiative in a mighty and effective protest against the Hitlerite pogroms.

Our answer must be not the cowardly silence of beaten dogs, but the thunderous protest of courageous and militant fighters for freedom and international solidarity!

To let the Fascist massacres go unanswered, is only to prepare for our own defeat and enslavement at the hands of Fascist reaction in this country.

The first step of solidarity with the German Jews and the German workers must be a vast outpouring of the workers from every shop and factory and office into a mighty protest demonstration at which labor will give voice to its resounding indignation.

The Socialist Workers Party urges the workers, especially of the Needle Trade Unions of New York, to Workers!

Solidarity with those who suffer at the hands of fascism is one of the best ways of establishing, in this country, an unbreakable wall against the advance of American Fascism.

Unite! Join hands!

Show the Hitlerite assassins and pogromists the real position of American labor by your protest meetings!

Show them that the American working class means it seriously when it says that it detests Anti-Semitism and the Anti-Semites like the plague!

Show the victims of the Fascist terror that you mean it seriously, by stretching out to them the hand of fraternal solidarity, by demanding of the American government the free and unrestricted right of asylum for the Jewish scapegoats of Fascist barbarism!

National Committee of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Section of the Fourth International

imperialist war to e anot of the working men and women "make the world safe for democracy.'

tion."

rights."

an.

ures.

of America, regardless of race No sooner did he conclude his creed, color or nationality, and ledge to aid the American capto unite them for common action talist government in a war into labor unions for their mu-

against the "fascist menace to tual aid and protection.' Jeopardizes Political Rights the Western Hemisphere," than Heywood Broun, Stalinist News The clause fails to guarantee Guild president, introduced a spe the right of a C.I.O. unionist to cial resolution calling on all labor belong to a political party of his own choosing. The absence to support this "American posiof this vital safeguard was so obvious that Curran. Bridges After correctly pointing out and Rathborne urged the reconthat workers give their sweat

sideration of this clause priand blood and lives in war while the industrialists make profit vately with the committee. Lewis pleaded that labor be give The Stalinists wanted to make few concessions in the way of deal which would guarantee 'rights" before it was slaught ered in another world war.

them the right to exist within the C.I.O. Naturally, they weren't A Job Through Slaughter concerned about the problem of "If war comes." Lewis deother political minorities within clared, "the United States of he C.I.O. However, Sidney Hillman, presi-America will need the coopera-

dent of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who was acting as chairman, rode rough shod over their opposition.

The adoption of this clause has created the legal basis for wholesale expulsions of any minority political groups. It is in particular a club that John L. Lewis has

over his Stalinist allies.

Left on the Galley **Right to Overthrow Leaders** A second dangerous provision, which has not yet been considneed a larger or more freered, gives the newly-formed quent Appeal was brought C.I.O. executive board the right home to us when we saw all to intervene anytime in any inthe material which had to be ternational union affiliated to the held over to next week. Some C.I.O., when in the judgment of the board such intervention is necessarv!

C. I. O.," reviewed by Max Shachtman. The present drift to reaction in France, as told by our Paris Correspondent, Terence Phel-The Massachusetts Elections

by William Sherman. Sidelights on the C.I.O. Con-

tion of the millions of workers

in the C.I.O. who are willing to

fight anytime to maintain our

"We're going to ask that

that service and loyalties

those who are the beneficiaries

(Continued on page 2)

One new reason why we

Ben Stolberg's "Story of the

of the stories are:

vention. An appraisal of the Illinois icle renewing the charge that the Elections by Albert Goldman. Article on WPA and union struggles in California, on

General Motor's new spreadthe-misery plan, on the turbulent situation in Chile. And many other interesting feat-

Not even the bureaucratic constitution of the A. F. of L. has such a dictatorial clause which wipes out autonomy of the international unions. It would give the C.I.O. top leaders the right to enter into every situation like they did in the auto controversy! The entire constitution as pre-

sented by the committee is a means whereby the Lewis-miners' machine would absolutely control the entire C.I.O. from top to bottom. It remains to be seen if this provision can be defeated. The Lewis forces control the huge majority of votes. The hope of the progressives lies in exposing this

(Continued on Page 4)

RUBBER UNIONS Anti-Nazi Demonstration GPU BREWS NEW **RUBENS TRIAL** APPEAL TO NLRB To Take Place Saturday

NEW. YORK.-The. Socialist The following two Sundays will Moscow Links Local But Action, Organi-Workers Party and the Young be Red Sundays, with the entire People's Socialist League swung party and youth organizations zation Can Stop Wage Cut By R. FERGUSON AKRON, Nov. 14. - Goodyear this country to the victims of

local of the United Rubber Work- Nazi bestiality in Germany. On Saturday, Nov. 19, at 10 the Roosevelt administration to ers of America today demanded A. M. there will be a united front from the N.L.R.B. that it consider at once charges placed a- demonstration before the German for discrimination, financing a Party and Y.P.S.L., the Socialist troducing into their unions and company union and other unfair Party, and the Independent La-

the union came as a response to Street Meetings Scheduled the filing of a petition by the

Akron Goodyear Employees Association, company-stooge outfit, that the N.L.R.B. hold a new election to determine whether the U.R.W.A. should still represent the Homeless!" and "Restore the asylum and to permit the entry the workers as sole collective bargaining agent. Right of Asylum!"

At 6 P. M. there will be a pla- into this country by the immedi-Since the compromise settle-

nue in lower Manhattan. (Continued on Page 2)

into action this week in a camtivities. paign centered around the de-**Petition** Campaign mand for opening the doors of Through the week there will be a sticker campaign and canvassing with petitions calling upon Moscow for 11 months, were sud-

> denly brought back into the news let down the bars. last week in circumstances which Members and sympathizers of strongly suggested the imminthe party have already begun inence of a new frame-up trial linked to the recent Nazi spy trial in New York City.

> > Moscow Defense Commissariat, suddenly came out with an art-

Rubens' (Mrs. Rubens is an -, call upon the Presi-American) were spies and link-

A New Trial?

ment of the Goodyear strike at card parade down Second Ave- ate lifting of all restrictions and the Soviet press by accident. The (Continued on Page 2)

other mass organizations the following resolution: "In view of the unparalleled The same day between noon persecutions now raging in Euand 3 P. M. the S.W.P. and Y.P. rope and especially the Nazi S.L. will hold street meetings drive to exterminate the Jews, we slogans will be "Open the Doors dent and Congress of the United

quota limitations."

ing them indirectly to the spy trial in New York.

of the persecuted and oppressed These things do not occur in

Spy Trial to

Couple

Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Rubens,

The "Red Star," organ of the

prisoners in a G.U.P. prison in

throughout the city. The main the to the Refugees!" "A Home for States to restore the right of

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Genora and Kermit Johnson, Leading Auto Workers, Quit S.P., Join S.W.P. Puppet UAW Board Hits (Continued from page 1) (Continu

By GEORGE CLARKE

Kermit Johnson and Genora Johnson, nationally prominent workers in the Sociaist Party and outstanding militants in the Michigan automobile Union, have resigned from the S. P. and joined the ranks of the American Fourth Internationalists in the Socialist Workers Party.

Their resignation comes as a protest to the bankrupt policies of the S. P. now culminating in the planned retirément into the reactionary Old Guard Social Democratic Federation.

It comes as a climax to a long. difficult struggle to introduce revolutionary principles into the Socialist Party and revolutionary methods into its trade union work. At every stage, these militants were obstructed in their efforts by the opportunist and careerist leaders at the top of the party.

Significant Act Particularly was this the case in Michigan where Walter Reuther, Stalinist stooge, led the party by the nose through the mud of Communist Party wrecking maneuvers in the auto union

. . while the agents of Norman Thomas and the N.E.C. prevented the militant workers in the auto union from flinging Mr. Reuther out on his ear.

That Genora and Kermit Johnson have left the Socialist Party after valiantly attempting to change its course, is a significant proof of the impossibility of revolutionists to live in a party which expels the left wing and prepares to unite with the decrepit Old Guard. Their action in joining the S.W.P. blazes a trail for all remaining left wingers in the party, for all who refuse to be submerged into the debris of the Old Guard and who wish to strike out on a fresh path of revolutionary activity.

To Those Still In S. P. The statement of Genora and Kermit Johnson, printed herewith, is especially directed to the automobile workers still in the Socialist Party, to the rank and file S. P. members in the West Side Briggs, Dodge and Hudson locals of the U.A.W. They have had a common experience with the comrades Johnson in struggling for a clean-cut policy in the union against Walter Reuther, Ben Fisher and Co. 'It is now obvious that from the situation in the U.A.W. and from the condition of the S. P. nationally that these efforts have run headlong into a brick wall. Intelligent revolutionists will draw the necessary conclusions -- conclusions which we are convinced can be no different than those drawn by

Kermit and Genora Johnson. Kermit Johnson was the leader of the successful Chevrolet strike during the famous Flint sit-downs early in 1937; he was formerly chairman of Local 156 (Flint) of the U.A.W. In the recent gubernatorial elections in Michigan he



Above in center is Genora Johnson, enrolling recruits into the famous Women's Emergency Brigade which was an important factor-on the picket lines, in the strike kitchens and elsewhere-in winning the famous sit-down strike in the General Motors plants in Flint in early 1937.

Following is the text of the statement issued in Flint, Mich., by Genora and Kermit Johnson announcing their adherence to the banner of the Fourth International:

The practical experience we gained in the great auto strike made us left-wingers in the Socialist Party. After seeing the party in the east, with its preponderance of right-wingers. we came back to Michigan to build a real leftwing bloc in the state, with a view to taking over, together with New York left-wingers, the machinery of the Socialist Party. But not being well enough equipped to provide leadership at the time, we felt the only alternative was to support the representative of the left-wing who had been sent to Michigan.

This leadership, in conjunction with some of the Socialist union leaders in Detroit, began to set policy which we felt many times not to be in keeping with revolutionary socialist principles but rather a policy seemingly formed to promote the careers of some of the Socialist leaders in the labor movement-which can only be termed an opportunistic policy in the language of any revolutionary party.

As a result we felt it our duty to investigate the past and present policy of the Socialist Party. Its numerous shortcomings on the national scene, and its entire lack of an international program, on any revolutionary basis whatever, led us to ask ourselves the question, "For what reason does the Socialist Party exist?"

DEALING WITH OLD GUARD As almost any party member knows, the Second International, insofar as its furtherance of the cause of the international working class is concerned, has long since been completely destroyed, and its pretence of promoting the workers' revolution is as false and degenerate as that of the Stalinist bureaucracy-the voice of the Third International today.

Through our investigation of the facts at hand we saw that the Socialist Party must inevitably move to the right, and not to the left, as we and other left-wing comrades had for some time been hoping and pressing for. Later developments in the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party showed our predictions, based on facts, at being left with a party name and no membership-is attempting at this time to effect a deal, a reconciliation with the old guard Social Democratic Federation: not on the basis of a left-wing revolutionary program, but on the basis of uniting all socialists in the country.

Hypocritically they add that this will make their fight against capitalism more effective. We know that a party formed on this basis means a party with about twenty different programs, whose effectiveness as a revolutionary organization, if it can be called that, can easily be divided by twice that number.

JOINING THE S.W.P.

As a conclusion to our investigations, we find there is still a party in America today, the Socialist Workers Party, based on real revolutionary principles, and which has lately, with other revolutionary movements in the Fest of the world, inaugurated the 4th International. Although at present the 4th International probably is not as large and far-reaching as the two old bankrupt Internationals-the 2nd and 3rdits future possibilities on the basis of the program that it gives to the working class makes its rapidity of growth and its accomplishments unlimited.

For these reasons we are leaving the Socialist Party and joining the Socialist Workers Party to build the vanguard of the coming revolution unhampered by reformist maneuvers, petty intriguers, opportunists and careerists.

This is the job facing any man or woman who sincerely calls himself a real revolutionist; for in the crisis which must inevitably follow economic conditions under the declining capitalist system, only the genuine vanguard will lead the working class to the victorious consummation of the revolution.

After seven years' membership in the Socialist Party, striving for the true path to socialism,an investigation of the facts has shown us that the Socialist Party has not, and can not provide the leadership necessary. And we ask all other members of the Socialist Party to investigate as we have.

Take no one's word, but find out for yourself; and after this has been done we feel that our

posals for "peace" and reinstated As everyone who has the faint-

the expelled union officers. est experience in this field knows, "Democracy" In Action WPA workers cannot be organ-Two other major proposals were

adopted, it is reported on good authority: first, that the previous practice of sending Executive Board minutes to the local unions the other unions following suit, Appeal is always interesting, but be discontinued. (You never hear about Hillman or Murray reporting to the membership what they are going to do; what is good effect such a policy excludes the enough for Hillman and Murray, the board members must reason. the WPA workers. Amounts to Liquidation is good enough for us.) Secondly, four monthly fifty-cent assess-It is to the honor of the Auto ments were levied to replenish the bankrupted auto union treasestablished functioning WPA orury. (After squandering the money

ganizations in Cleveland, Detroit, in an unprincipled factional fight, and several other centers, uniting they figured the men in the shops all the WPA workers, while the C.I.O. was floundering around However you look at it, it was with no definite policy or pronot a very impressing contribugram of its own. To turn these WPA organization for a board meeting in ses-

sion a full week! Thus the new tions, at this late date, back to "Neo-Unity" leadership that now the regions, means to throw the controls a majority of the recon- WPA workers back to the tender stituted National Executive Board mercies of the Stalinists who unlaunched the auto union for the fortunately control both the C.I.O. councils and the Auto Councils in

Salaries Voted many key cities of the Auto After these exhaustive deliberaunion, as in Cleveland, Toledo, tions, the board adjourned to re-Detroit, South Bend. It means in convene again in Washington, effect giving the Stalinists a free D. C., the beginning of November. hand to wreck these bona-fide As the decisions of the board are, WPA organizations attached to under the new ruling, secrets that the labor movement, in favor of cannot be disclosed to the local the defunct, Stalinist-controlled unions any longer, militants are Workers Alliance. It is very now forced to scan the columns doubtful whether the WPA workof the daily capitalist press to ers will show much appreciation learn of the plans and decisions for this decision. of the leadership. Score Zero

The leadership upon thinking All in all, the labors of the it over was apparently a bit ap- International Executive Board reprehensive about the effects upon semble the labors of the mounthe membership of a sudden antain that brought forth a mouse. nouncement of a new \$2 assess- As far as presenting even half a ment. At the second board ses- program or solution to the many sion, then, the assessment seems unpostponable problems which the to have been pigeon-holed for the auto workers face, the score of time being. As if to better prove the board is so far zero.

why the membership should not The Stalinist-bureaucratic ma allow themselves to be assessed jority of the National Executive by these irresponsible spend- Board has launched its administhrifts, they then voted to pay tration by taking away from the back salary to the five officers Auto Workers Union its paper, who were suspended last June. its bona-fide WPA organizations, amounting to \$1,200 each. A total and some of its most important

expense of \$6.000! democratic rights. Paper Abolished In the October 8 issue of the

The board then proceeded, it is reported, to abolish its weekly it to the Executive Board to work publication, the "United Auto out a realistic program of action Worker" and voted the "CIO and to carry this program into News" its new official organ. One effect? No! The International could write a page full of criti-Executive Board composed of cism of the "United Auto Work-Stalinists and reactionary bureauer," about its timidity, its lack of crats has shown that it is punch, its lack of program, its worthless in important matters of ininspiring style and its defense this kind. If the union is to be of so many of the rotten, inde- saved, the rank and file memberfensible policies of the famous ship of the locals must save it." Martin administration. Still, relatively speaking, it was quite a The recent Washington sessions progressive paper, as union papers | further substantiate the truthful-

go. It bears the honor of having fought the pro-war, collective seerendum on war

and weld all militants into a new result, the company union has Precisely because of this the progressive group, work out a apparently been able to scratch Likewise, in answering the ly-Stalinists vowed to abolish it. sound and realistic program how together sufficient signatures Now the auto membership will to launch a new drive to organize from "red-apple" workers, who committee witnesses who will receive all of its union informa- the 150,000 unorganized Ford think the union is on the run, to testify this week in Washi tion from the "CIO News;" the workers, how to organize the unenable it to take this new move journalistic product of the fusion organized competitive parts plants challenging the U.R.W.A.'s of the Stalinist and the Lewisand standardize wages and workrights. Goodyear's anti-labor record is

APPEAL ARMY

... And still letters of praise Newsstand Poster Out: come in from all over the The Appeal Poster Shop, ably world about the World-Conlirected by Comrade R., has just put out an extremely attractive. gress issue!

The latest one is from a comrade in London, England, who writes: "I have just received ized except into one organization. my usual number of Appeals To have the auto unions organize from the Revolutionary Socialist are some still left and they can its WPA workers, the Steel Union | League literature secretary. It is be obtained by writing the Apits WPA workers, the Rubber, all the World Congress issue. The peal. The cost is only 5c each. is to bring back the worst dis- this issue is the finest I've yet eases of the old A.F.L. craft seen. It is an historical number unionism into the WPA field. In worthy of the widest distribution. Your efforts must be heartily building of any organization of congratulated in rising to such a tremendous effort. I am sure I could sell 3 dozen of them so

I'm enclosing cash for same. As Workers Union that it set out and you would say in America, they certainly were the goods! And coming nearer home. a comrade in South Bend. Indiana, writes as follows: "My opinion of the APPEAL? It suits me swell. I have found nothing to rival it. I have at least one with me at all times. The tri-weekly anti-war issues more than proved which is the vanguard party of the work-

> ers. ". . . The main thing I like about the APPEAL is that it not only tells the workers what is happening, but it tells them 'what is to be done'. . ."

How To Sell the Appeal: Everett Washburn, new litera-"To accomplish this we have

decided to concentrate on the sale of the APPEAL at four places. The Liberal Forum which meets every Sunday evening; the C.I.O. Council which meets twice each monthabout 100 attend this meeting; the Shop Stewards meeting of the United Auto Workers which about 200 attend, and the Gas House Workers Union."

The branch plans to advertise due. the Appeal and other literature at these meetings by having comrades wear posters put out by our Appeal Poster Shop.



(Continued from page 1) the end of last May, the company has done nothing but stall the union representatives in negotiations for a signed contract. More for governor of Ohio by the Rethan that it has baldly stated

publican Bricker must not be that it intends to institute a wage utilized successfully by the officut and return to the 8-hour day cial leadership and their Commu-'when the time is ripe." nist Party stooges to argue that **Union** Unprepared the union must now refrain from

Meanwhile, the union has done taking concrete preparatory ness of this statement. The rank little or nothing in the way of steps. This can mean only reand file cannot afford to wait and solidifying its strength among treat in the face of difficulties. curity policy of the Stalinists and hope for miracles. It is up to the workers and preparing for a On the contrary, the labor moveof championing the Ludlow ref- them to take the initiative now showdown with the bosses. As a ment can advance only by showing a bolder resolution.

> ing boss propaganda of Dies labor will most effectively make headway by proclaiming its determination to enter upon a

poster for newsstands. They are being mailed to all branches which are listed as covering newsstands in our column. There

The following is a list of new subscriptions obtained during the

NEW YORK CITY 16 Massachusetts 4 Illinois 4 New York State 3 Indiana 2 California 2 Ohio 2 Montana 2

3

· .

.

÷.

1

C

0

Michigan 2 Foreign 2 Colorado 1 Missouri 1 Total 41

> The most notable bundle order ncrease of the past few weeks has been that of New York City which has gone up by 400! Abe Miller, New York's literature director, now handles and directs the distribution of 1600 Appeals per week. And pays for them, too!

In addition, the new Flint, Michigan section of the S.W.P., is ture agent of St. Louis, Mo., starting off with an order of 10' writes us of his branch's plan to per week . . . Comrade Taylor of increase its weekly sales quota: | Seattle has already increased his order to 30 per week after only a few short weeks of effort . . . From San Francisco's lit-agent, Art Moore, comes a weekly increase of 40 copies, making a total of 115 handled each week . . .

> Attention: Literature Agents: At the end of this week we are mailing out the regular monthly financial statements. We urge prompt attention and even more prompt remittance of payments

Send all contributions to: SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

RUBBER UNIONS Real militancy and a display of determination to defend the interests of the workers must take the form of concrete preparations

Smash Election Alibi! The election defeat of Sawyer

to meet the company's offensive. Such action alone will convince the waverers that the union means business this time.

ran for Lieutenant-Governor on the S. P. ticket. He was also a member of the State Executive Committee and the National Labor Committee of the S. P.

Organized Emergency Brigade Genora Johnson was the organizer of the Woman's Emergency Brigade in Flint, which was a potent factor in mobilizing the comprehensive review, on The women and in winning the fa- World Situation After Munich mous sit-down in 1937. Prior to and the Coming War, the Decemher recent illness she took a ber number of the New Internaprominent part in the national tional will be represented by an work of the Ladies' Auxiliary of unusual variety of excellent artthe auto union.

The Socialist Appeal and the Socialist Workers Party extends a feature, will be devoted in good full and hearty welcome to Genoral part to an analysis of the elecand Kermit Johnson into the tion results throughout the counranks of the party and bids all try. A sidelight on the Lovestone other S. P. militants to follow position in the elections will also be included. their example.

icles.

Democratic movement.

in's line in the latter's life-time.

This article is especially timely

in view of the revival of Men-

shevist ideology in some Ameri-

can circles, based on Martov's

prochure, "The State and the So-

cialist Revolution," which Gold-

Dwight MacDonald resumes

his column, "They, the People."

Karl Marx's "Model Inquiry

"Footnote for Historians," nu-

merous book reviews and other

subject matter will complete the

December number, rounding out

one year of the revived New In-

ternational. To make certain

that all interested will obtain the

December issue, it is suggested

that advance orders be placed by

individuals and agents. The sub-

scription rate is \$2.00 per year;

single copy, 20 cents. Address: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL,

116 University Place,

New York, N. Y.

in the Archives Section.

nan reviews.

THE TRUTH AT LAST!

Secretary of War Woodring, speaking in Akron Nov. 1 in behalf of labor-supported Dow Harter, candidate for Congress and member of House Military Affairs Committee, dropped New Deal demagogy for a moment to reveal how class-conscious the bourgeoisie really is! Said war-monger Woodring, . . Franklin Roosevelt has the toughest job any man ever had in his efforts to keep the confidence of the great bulk of the people in the profit system. He is the strongest protection for that way of life that we have."

The Publication Of FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS

By Daniel Guerin has been postponed until December 15th. Several hundred dollars are still required to cover the cost of publication. Everyone interested in assuring the publication of this important book without further delay is urged to send a contribution for this purpose to

Pioneer Publishers 100 Fifth Ave., New York City Advance Orders still accepted at \$1.50. Price on Publication \$2.00.

to be true. The Socialist Party with an everwilting membership-its top leadership jittery



C.I.O. WORKERS Headed by L. D. Trotsky's (Continued from page 1)

give proper treatment to ourselves," he added, making a bid for his place in a Roosevelt war cabinet.

It was tragic to hear the ap-The Editorial Notes, a regular plause of the delegates to that war-mongering speech. It was horrible to watch the Stalinist glow in pride over the adoption of their pro-war line. "Democracy is in peril," Lewis

Oskar Fischer, leading German revilutionist, presents an analysis of the German Social-Karl Kautsky's life and role other fascist minded American "Labor!" re subject to a detailed inspecpoliticians because he didn't tion in Max Shachtman's article.

Albert Goldman writes on the mocracy in this country. politics of Martov, the Menshev-**Protection for Capitalism** ist leader and opponent of Len-

ALL SET FOR THE BALL GAME! The sandlots on New York's ness to all.

lower East Side have been resounding all week long. Jim Far- the American Fund for Political rell, captain and stellar pitcher Prisoners and Refugees! for the Studs Lonigan A. C., has Here's the line-up for the big been putting his boys through game. Who you betting on? Into Conditions of the Working their paces and doing no mean **Marxist Maulers** Class," never before published in job of it, either! "When my boys George Novack...Capt. & pitcher this country, will be of unusual get out on that dance floor," says Max ShachtmanRight field interest to all interested in the Jim "Studs" Farrell, "we're gonna James Burnham2nd base ment of Marx will be published like a bunch of second rate bush- B. J. Widick Center field leaguers from the sticks. And is Lyman PaineLeft field my screwball smoking hot these Frank LovellCatcher S. Stanley1st base days! I can just see those Marxists fanning the air!" The day of the big game is Felix Morrow (mascot) drawing near. Don't forget: it's Studs Lonigan A. C. next Wednesday — Thanksgiving James T. Farrell. . Capt. & pitcher eve-at the Hotel Center, 108 West Max EastmanCenter field time. Rubens, who by every evid-43rd Street, New York City. Frida Rivera, wife of artist James Rorty......Catcher G.P.U. agent, will in all prob-Diego Rivera, will be on hand to Dwight MacDonald.....2nd base ability be made the center of throw out the first ball. The con- Arthur Pincus......1st base some concocted tale of Japanesetest will be umpired by the vet- David Glusker......Right field Nazi espionage in this country tended lack of acquaintance with John McDonald Left field Trotskyists but all sorts of antithe rules ensures scrupulous fair-Al Margolies (mascot)

decision will be your decision. **GENORA** and **KERMIT** JOHNSON.

Jews, all creeds, any school of thought that maintains respect

for our institutions." That is, for all believers in capitalism. Lewis is against democracy within the C.I.O. No radical will be protected by the C.I.O., if he has it his way. Only believers in capitalism can expect support

"The United States may some day face a great external crisis

when the bloodthirsty German government, following upon its nvasion of Czechoslovakia, incites other attacks on the democ acies."

rom him!

"Possibly we'll have to meet the German dictator as he exsaid. "And in the United States we tends his power to the Western want to preserve democracy." He Hemisphere," Lewis declared in blasted at Hitler for destroying another Orson Welles phantasy the German labor movement but to frighten the workers. "Who is didn't make one word of criti- going to protect the institutions cism of Mayor Frank Hague, or of this country?" Lewis asked.

John L. Lewis has openly anwant to expose the fraud of de- nounced his intention to assist in recruiting labor, into another

tion of all Americans-Gentiles, different answer.

world slaughter. Perhaps the "The C.I.O. stands for protec- C.I.O. rank and file will have a And it's all for the benefit of perialism. Stalin's way of going

about that first would be to attempt to link all anti-Stalinist elements in this country to the German Nazi espionage system. Rubens' "Prepared"

For something along these lines, it appeared fairly certain, the Rubens' were being prepared, "ready" to play their assigned roles. That will be the meaning of a new trial if it comes off this Sidney Hook Shortstop ence appeared to have been a

Stalinist anarchists, liberals, Left

Hillman-Murray bureaucracies. ing conditions in the parts indus-WPA Set-up Revised

Finally, it is reported, the board eral offensive of the auto emdecided to revise the existing ployers against the union and its WPA set-up. The WPA workers, membership. henceforth will be attached to WPA Auxiliary connected with asm of the membership who will the International Union. This de- rally to their support and who cision amounts in its practical will back up their fight to put

consequences to deliberate, typi | this program across in the union.



(Continued from page 1)

portend a new attempt to stage who helped Rubens get his phony a trial involving American anti-Stalinists. The attempt was made

nearly a year ago but was abandoned when the Socialist Appeal and other newspapers in this

lin now center almost exclusively

try, and how to combat the gennotoriously the most vicious and brutal of all the rubber compa-

Let the progressives espouse a their respective regional organiza- real program of this character the future, in spite of pleas to tions, rather than have a national and they will arouse the enthusi- the N.L.R.B. attempt to bring re- present position, and all the canunion, etc.

Expect No Miracles

All such methods have been Socialists, Lovestonites, and the situation demands most ob-

viously is that the union itself The G.P.U. figures that the retake decisive, well-planned ACcent Nazi spy trial will have TION in preparing the Goodyear caused the American public to workers for the struggle that lies ASK FOR THE APPEAL have forgotten the shelved in- ahead. The time for words and

dictments of Arthur Sharfin and appearance of this article may Ossip Garber, proved Stalinists, "talk" has long since disappeared.

American passport.

WEBER TO LECTURE ON **MOSCOW FOREIGN POLICY**

"Will Stalin Seek An Alliance With Hitler?" will be the subject of a lecture by Jack Weber, angle was left abruptly unfin- expert on foreign affairs, at the ished in the trial of Bukharin Marxist School, 116 University Place, N.Y.C., on Monday, Nov. 21, at 8:45 P. M. The lecture is ible by the fact that the diplo- part of a series of six which matic requirements of the Krem- offers a Marxist interpretation of current events in the world politaround the necessity for arriving, ical arena. Admission is twentyif possible, at some kind of an five cents for the lecture or one understanding with American im- dollar for the whole course.

Just Published

The Black Jacobins By C. L. R. JAMES

(Author of WORLD REVO LUTION: 1917-1936

Toussaint Louverture and the San Domingo Revolution The story of the only successful slave revolt in history

> \$3.75 ٠

at the LABOR BOOK SHOP 28 East 12th St. N.Y.C.

course of militant action. To a great extent the result of Goodyear local's coming elecnies. Every thinking worker has tions will mean progress or deno reason to believe that the cline for the union in the next company's attitude will change in | year. All weak-kneed leaders who have brought the union to its spectable "public opinion" of didates of the reactionary Combusiness men onto the side of the munist Party which has been supporting these leaders, will have to be swept aside in favor used time and time again in re- of those with known records of cent months, to no avail. What consistent militancy if the union is to climb back to its old posi-

tion and influence,

AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

"Excellent"-The Criterion (London) . . . "Congratulations!" -John Dos Passos . . . "Very good"-Edmund Wilson . . . "Pretty good"—Gertrude Stein . . . "Insincere"—Malcolm Cowley . . . "Trotskyite imposters!" — V. J. Jerome in the Daily Worker.

PARTISAN REVIEW

In the Fall Number, now on sale:

Ignazio Silone: The School for Dictators

Edmund Wilson: The Myth of the Marxist Dialectic (With a reply, "The Devil Theory of the Dialectic," by**William Phillips**

Andre Breton and Diego Rivera: Towards a New Revolutionary Art

Munich and the Intellectuals-and other editorial comments

Franz Kafka: An Elderly Bachelor

And Work by Robert Fitzgerald, William Troy, Louise Bogan, Lewis Corey, Lionel Trilling, Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, and others.

One Year of Partisan Review Costs Only \$1.25!!!

Partisan Review

Box 30, Station K, New York, N.Y.

Enclosed find \$1.25. Please send me one year (four quarterly issues) of PARTISAN REVIEW. (Single copy, 40¢.) (Canada: \$1.35; other foreign countries, \$1.50.)

Name					1				2.5
1	CHU S & AND					Mar I well	2 and 15 the	· 2010年1月1日	A STATE AND A STAT
Aaaress	•••••	•••••	•••••	••••	•••••		••••••	••••••	

country published information linking the Rubens' to the Stalinist party in this country by a dozen threads. The American

and others earlier this year. This is made the more plaus-

NOVEMBER 19, 1938

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Elections Prove Need For Independent Labor Action

A Pointed Lesson At the Polls

The receding wave of the New Deal left the Republican Party with losses of only three Governorships among important State or Federal posts, their delegation in the House of Representatives approximately doubled, their Senators increased by eight, and their candidates in control of fifteen new State Administrations.

If the campaign had involved the Presidency, the Republican electoral votes would have been increased from the all-time low of 8 in 1936 to about 210. Discounting the Solid South, there was a Republican popular majority, or very close to it, in the remainder of the country.

The Republican vote was made up of nine-tenths of the bosses, two-thirds or more of the middle classes, including the farmers, and a small fraction of the workers.

The overwhelming majority of the workers, however, voted for the candidates of the Democratic Party. This fact, confirmed equally by the preliminary polls and by the election returns, is of enormous importance. As in 1936, so last week, the workers voted as a class. In every election prior to 1936 the workers were divided in about the same percentages as the other classes of the population. Today they are acting politically as a class, however distortedly the existing parties may reflect genuine class interests.

WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

The elections turned out as they did, with the middle classes shifting over to open reaction, because, primarily, the New Deal demagogy is losing its hold on the bulk of the middle classes, and labor has offered no alternative program or perspective.

The New Deal is losing its hold for a very good reason: because it has failed, because after six years of its promises the results in practice are merely the continued unemployment of 12,000,000, universal insecurity, and the close threat of war. Promises that never come true cannot remain eternally attractive.

The bosses are growing impatient with the New Deal's "social experiments." They want to deal more bluntly with labor, to cut down relief expenditures, to lift all restrictions on profits. They no longer have the fear of total collapse which so terrified them that in 1933 their majority accepted Roosevelt, the N.R.A., and even concessions to the workers, as saviors for themselves. They speak today with a bolder and more insistent voice, and the middle classes swing as always to the side which seems the stronger

It is interesting to observe, nevertheless, that the Republican Party did not dare campaign with the program and methods of the old-fashioned Harding-Coolidge type of reaction. The Republicans had to appeal in part through liberal-looking candidates like Dewey in New York, Stassen in Minnesota, Taft in Ohio, whom they put up as shirt-fronts. More than half of the newly victorious Republican Congressional candidates were "pensionites," and endorsed by Dr. Townsend. At the same time the Republicans appealed from another direction to middle-class prejudices through anti-Semitism (New York) and anti-unionism (Michigan, the Far West).

WHAT WILL BE PROPOSED?

The bosses liked the election returns, and showed their approval by sending the stock market up to a new high for the year on the day following the elections. They believe they are now in a position to carry through a drive for amending the Wagner Labor Act in such a way as to deprive the unions of essential rights, to revise taxation in their favor, to block any moves toward regulation of monopoly profits, and to reduce drastically expen-

Connecticut Workers Vote Independently

Heavy Vote for Jasper McLevy Shows **Readiness of Workers to Support** Independent Labor Ticket

By B. HARDE League (C.I.O.) had not worked with might and main to stem the (This is the first of two articles on the recent election in drift away from the New Deal Connecticut and its meaning candidates toward third-party for workers.) support, the Socialist candidate Upsetting all political applemight very well have won hands earts, the refurnished Connectidown.

cut Republican machine last From Both Parties week crept back into state In most of the eight counties power, nosing out by scant pluof the state, McLevy drew more ralities the Democratic apparvotes from the Democrats than atus of staunch New Deal Govfrom the Republicans. The disernor Wilbur Cross. iffection which resulted in the The Republican pluralities, staggering Socialist vote was nowever, spelled victory only in ampant in both parties.

he traditional language of pat-It is clear as daylight that ε conage opportunities and control adical change has come ove. of political plums, rather than the Connecticut electorate since n the more satisfying terms of he precipitate New Deal landpopular support and approval. slides of 1934 and 1936.

Victorious Republicans and de-The attempt is now being overeated Democrats alike shook enthusiastically made to explain worried heads and pondered pesaway the McLevy boom on the simistically over the significance basis of his "clean government" of the election returns, which program, which, it is monotongave evidence that a current of cusly repeated, won him a huge third party sentiment had reared "protest vote."

its lusty head throughout the There is, to be sure, a certain state, under the aegis of Old garbled truth in the statement. Guard Socialist Jasper McLevy, Scandalous revelations of graft mayor of Bridgeport. and corruption amongst those

Election Figures high in public office have rocked The bare election figures are the state in the last year. First hemselves startling enough to the sordid plundering and misseasoned machine politicians of management of the Merritt highway affair, under Republican State Assemblymen, not a single the major parties: rock-ribbed auspices, was brought into the one was returned to office, and Yankee Democrat Wilbur Cross, open a year ago. Then, on its only one new candidate (Garcia darling of lady reformers and heels, came the incredible grand Rivera) was elected to the Asprofessorial liberal, polled a mere jury discovery of systematic sembly. Of the Congressional 225,000 votes; Baldwin, white milking of public funds in candidates, only the Stalinist nope of the new young blood in Waterbury, this time under Dem- hack, Vito Marcantonio, running the Grand Old Party, rolled up only 228,000 votes; while Jasper, ocratic auspices (the Democratic the crusading Socialist advocate Lieutenant-Governor and Mayor of clean government and the of Waterbury were indicted,

merit system, and deeply-scarred along with 26 local dignitaries of veteran of reformist political the Democratic fold). battles since 1900, garnered the Honor Among Thieves

Understandably, neither of the neat third-party vote of more han 163.000. major parties chose to make po-If the mere figures gave the litical capital out of these scannanagers of the Republican and dals, for fear of their boomerang gle. The workers were simply Democratic plunderbunds food effect; there is still a certain for much sober thought, their honor among thieves. McLevy, significance, and the facts which therefore, had a beautiful set-up emerge once they are broken for his honesty-stomping. Paradlown, were doubly discomforting his relatively clean linen in

public, he went forth crusading swing to McLevy cut squarely **Revealing Percentages** under the slogan: "Don't Let the The Republicans polled only Raiders Ride Again!" Naturally, 7% of the total vote, a smaller more than a few honest, upright heavily only because the latter percentage than they have re- and righteous citizens were im- had previously been riding the ceived in any election since 1930. pressed. Their plurality of 2,500 was But hardly 165,000 of them. hrown their way by the few Even the Bridgeport Herald is mass character to be interpreted after the elections, Antonini, attered remnants of Father forced to seek elsewhere for the Coughlin's Union party, which real significance of McLevy's hrew its support to Baldwin in vote. That muckraking paper he gubernatorial race. Had the knows full well that sober mid-Democrats won, their plurality dleclass people do get sufficientamongst the electorate would ly incensed at large-scale graft-

have been scarcely more com- ing to protest with their ballots. plimentary. McLevy

ticut river.





Reading from left to right are Ruben Plaskett, Frank Shapiro and Willis Crews, S.W.P. candidates in the recent elections in Essex County, New Jersey.

ALP Pays Price For Sleazy Deals In N.Y. Vote Falls Off by 100,000 as Workers See

No Difference Between Labor Party and Democratic Machine

Last week's elections struck a heavy blow at New York State's American Labor Party, and wrote a devastating comment on the "realistic" policy of deals with boss parties which was followed by the present A.L.P. leadership.

In New York City, the home and fortress of the A.L.P., the party's vote declined about 150,000 from last year's mayoralty election. Increases in other cities doubled the upstate 'count; but this meant a rise to only 60,000, from 30,000, so that the total was more than 100,000 behind 1937. Of the A.L.P.'s five incumbent

> separating the A.L.P. from the boss parties.

On both scores, the failure of the A.L.P. is the direct result of the policy which was followed. In New York City a shameless deal was made with Kenneth also on the Republican ticket and Simpson's Republican machine, blessed by LaGuardia, was electwhereby the A.L.P. endorsed a couple of dozen of the Republi-Failure to Lead

can candidates. On a State scale, The setback to the A.L.P. in the A.L.P. put up only two of its votes, however, was less decisive, own candidates, for minor ofbad as it was, than its failure to fices, and endorsed the remainder lead and organize the workers of of the Democratic slate-headed New York in independent strugby that stalwart trade unionist, Herbert H. Lehman, high on the

not convinced that the A.L.P. list of America's Sixty Families. was their party; they did not Judged even by the standard of see in practice any sharp line "practical politics," which was the sole slogan by which Alex returns are inescapable: (1) The across major party lines, seempolicy was proved by the elecing to hit the Democrats more tions to be a total loss.

The Morning After crests of popularity. (2) The So resentful were the workers at the deals that on the day

shows that it was only the deals

swing had far too much of a merely as a protest vote against Chairman of the A.L.P.'s State corrupt government. (3) The Executive, tried to crawl out of bulk of McLevy's votes came responsibility for them with a working-class sources, statement that he had been out some teeth. To implement this deof town when they were made, which could not have been very much aroused by the scandals never approved, and remained that the labor movement be given themselves, since those scandals silent only in order not to "hurt its full voice in the Farmer-Labor

But not enough of them to ex- have been an open secret for the party at the polls." A careful Party, which has drifted more and more into the hands of small reading of Antonini's statement

Benson Defeat Shows Disgust For New Deal

Farmer-Labor Party Goes Into Slump as Victim of Attempt to Become Prop of Roosevelt Regime

By JULES GELLER The Socialist Workers Party of MINNEAPOLIS-After an un- Minnesota, in an open letter to nterrupted eight-year reign in Benson and the Farmer-Labor the State Capitol, the Minnesota State Campaign committee, had Farmer-Labor party was overwarned, weeks before the elecwhelmingly defeated in last tion, of the dangers ahead. "The present program of the

veek's elections. It staked everything in the election campaign on Farmer-Labor party is one which identifying itself with the New can scarcely inspire the workers Deal, and went down with it. and farmers to close ranks and After narrowly defeating Hjalconduct the stubborn fight which mar Peterson, Farmer-Labor renis necessary for victory in the egade, in the primaries, Governor state elections," the letter said. Benson campaigned for re-election on a pro-New Deal, ineffec-Labor Party is in danger of mortual and purely defensive protal defeat at the hands of reacgram that resulted in his defeat tion, unless the workers and oy over 250,000 votes. farmers can be armed with a pro-Lost 500,000 Votes

gram which will spur them to the While Governor-elect Stassen utmost efforts to achieve victory." himself posed as a liberal, the The S.W.P. open letter to Benvictorious Republican party studson went on to propose a proded its campaign with Anti-Semigram, which included an immeditism. It carried on an intensive ate doubling of the W.P.A. quota red-baiting barrage. But neither of the state, a \$40,000,000 relief of these methods explain the fact appropriation, a state housing that Benson, elected in 1936 by a program, a state public works plurality of 250,000, lost a half program, opposition to Roosemillion votes in two short years. velt's war program, and the im-When the Farmer-Labor Party mediate calling of a special sesof Minnesota turned its back on sion of the legislature to put the the national labor party move- program into effect. To carry out

ment and proclaimed its servility this program, the letter demandto Roosevelt politics, workers and ed that the F.L.P. break with the farmers by the tens of thousands New Deal, and publicly propose lost faith in it as their political the formation of a national labor representative, and they were left party. in bewilderment, the easy prey of **Ineffectual Program**

the Republican Party. Hanging on to Roosevelt's coattails, the Farmer-Labor Party F.L.P. candidates stuck to their brought down upon itself the farmers' hostility to curtailment of crops, and the resentment of W.P.A. and relief workers to

zens. **Republican** Promises Far from being grateful for the

elief handouts of the government, the farmers and workers wanted a "normal" status. The Republicans promised it to them

by holding out the hope that under their administration, business would spurt. As though in order to doubly Rose and his friends tried to seal its fate, the Farmer-Labor sell the deal to the workers, this party adopted for its 1938 program a watered-down, faintly liberal series of planks that had

nothing serious to offer toward a solution or alleviation of the plight of the workers and farmers of the state. Minneapolis labor leaders months ago demanded that the

Farmer-Labor platform be given mand, trade unionists proposed

sewing societies.

be. Nevertheless the Connecticut

workers responded enthusiastic-

ally to a candidate freed of the

old boss parties and running as

a socialist. McLevy finished close

the State and its industrial cen-

ter-Bridgeport-as well as a

Dangers Ahead

The workers themselves have

lozen other towns and cities.

When the labor party movement in Minnesota is reorganized, it

ineffectual program, which was almost identical to the fake liberalism espoused by the Republican Governor-elect. Harold Stastheir status as second-class citisen. This fact was so obvious that. commenting on the defeat, Governor Benson was obliged to say:

"The fact that the Republican party found it necessary to promise the people the very kind of a program for which the Farmer-Labor party has always fought is proof that the Farmer-Labor movement has made the people of the state liberal con-

But instead of campaigning on

such a fighting program, the

"The truth is that the Farmer-

scious.' What he failed to understand was that any party could afford to be "liberal." but a party ostensibly based on the workers and farmers had to offer a program which would inspire the masses of the population. The vote in Minnesota, as throughout the nation, was a protest against this meaningless liberalism, which was no different than old-time capitalist politics in action.

Future Course

ditures for unemployment relier.

It is a foregone conclusion that Roosevelt cannot and will not put up any serious resistance to this drive. It is not excluded, it is even probable, that Roosevelt will continue to prate about "the New Deal" and to appear publicly as the "champion of the masses" against the Tories, in order to keep a grip on popular support; but at every crucial point he will give way. A coalition of Republicans and right-wing Democrats will control Congress at every important turn:

Roosevelt will now concentrate, above all, on the one remaining and supreme ace in his deck: on his war program. It is by this that he will try to confound his opponents-since here none of them can attack him-and to sustain an atmosphere which will make the public afraid to move too far away from him.

And, in order both to consolidate the chief remaining base of his own support and at the same time to complement his war program as he understands it, he will devote renewed and strong energies to bringing about labor unity. In order to keep control of the outcome, it is quite-probable that he or one of his immediate subordinates will take the initiative toward new unity steps.

The response of the majority of labor bureaucrats, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., to the elections will be: to become more conservative and timid, to pull in even further the tentative feelers which some of them have put out toward independent class action, to crawl in deeper beneath the bedraggled New Deal wing in order to escape the sight of the Republican bogeyman.

WHAT MUST THE WORKERS DO?

If the workers themselves follow the policy of labor's officialdom, and through it of Roosevelt, the result will be disastrous. Reaction was strengthened by last week's election, that is true. But all modern history teaches us that to retreat under such circumstances only makes certain far greater defeats. The workers must reply to the gains of reaction by going ahead, by a determined advance.

On the economic field the workers must take the question of labor unity into their own hands, not turning it over to a Roosevelt-Perkins-Lewis-Green combine for bureaucratic solution. The workers must force in the quickest possible time a solid reunification of the ranks of labor on a democratic and militant foundation.

And at the same time labor must undertake an aggressive campaign to extend organization into the still vast unorganized sections of industry-Ford looks like the first job to be cleared up.

On the political field, the workers must set before themselves as the immediate goal: independent class politics. This means shaking off the dead and dragging weight of the New Deal, of Roosevelt and of all "liberal," "progressive" capitalist politicians—who have already shown that they "lead" the workers only to defeats-and striking out to build a party of labor's own

•

It is necessary, of course, to fight against the attempts that will be made to alter the Labor Relations Act in favor of the employers, to cut down relief and to pass anti-labor taxation measures. But such a fight cannot be made by supporting Roosevelt who has neither the intention nor the power to carry it through.

plain the Socialist vote. It is years. 400% over that which he rolled clear that McLevy got a very toll chiefly among the more inup in 1934, when he received 8,000 votes, and 800% over 1936. and workers are notoriously cal-Dark horse McLevy carried 18 loused to the question of corrupcowns, including the cities of tion in public office; they rather Bridgeport, Waterbury and Bristol and the towns of East Hartford, Manchester, Glastonbury, Watertown, Fairfield, Stratfield. He came in second in 20 more by "revelations."

towns. Most of his votes came Lessons of Vote from cities and large towns, from The Herald is forced to comthe most heavily industrialized ment editorially: "McLevy's camwestern regions of the state: paign, attacking Governor Cross less than 10% came from the for not taking action to prevent four counties east of the Connecthe Merritt parkway scandal and for not acting sooner regarding ates.

Industrial Vote the disclosures made about lob-The three most populous counbying and corruption in the ties, seats of the chief industries | Waterbury scandal, were credited of the state, Hartford, New Hawith diverting thousands of votes ven and Fairfield, gave McLevy from the Democratic ticket to 135,000 of his nearly 165,000 votes. the Socialist ticket, yet it does The predominantly industrial not appear that this offers a character of McLevy's support complete explanation of the shift can hardly have been a comfort- in electoral vote . . ." Besides, ing thought to the old-party the Herald points out, the reacchieftains, who made unpretion in Waterbury, the scene of cedented bids for labor's vote the municipal scandals, was not in the election campaign. away from the Democrats alone.

McLevy could easily have been although it was under their adelected. Thousands of voters ministration that the plundering wanted to cast their ballots for took place. In Waterbury Mc-McLevy, a state-wide poll by the Levy carried with a plurality of fails to explain why the dissat-ing men are the people we must Bridgeport Herald revealed, and 400 over the Democrats, but he isfaction with the "growing con-serve." efrained from doing so only be- took more votes away from the cause they thought "he didn't Republicans than from the Demhave a chance." If the A.F. of ocrats!

L. and Labor's Non-Partisan The immediate lessons of the

It can be successful only if labor displays its independent class strength.

The workers must understand that the first and primary object of labor in politics is not the immediate election of an illusory majority to office, but the organization of the working class for struggle. Only this makes labor strong; without this, elections can win exactly nothing.

Finally, the workers must set for themselves new and bolder and wider aims. If they turn now in fear, and remain content with scraps from the bosses' tables, labor will itself sink into passivity and despair and the middle class will continue their rush toward reaction. Only a perspective which openly and audaciously asserts the rights and claims and ideals of the workers can rouse the enthusiasm and courage of labor for the struggle ahead, and can draw along with labor the great majority from the middle classes who share with labor the oppression and exploitation of a declining society and who with labor seek a way out of the crisis.

This perspective-the bold, independent class action of the workers on both the economic and political fronts-is the way and the only way to stop reaction, and to move ahead.

substantial working class vote- nocent pillars of honesty in rural with the Republican Party that and middle-class circles. Some 'Explanations'

ed.

from

cynically accept the grafting as it to explain away McLevy's im- Party. Alex Rose meanwhile dea necessary concomitant of the pressive labor vote. The best that old two-party squabbling for the liberal Herald could do was power, and fail to be impressed to announce, in its post-election headlines, that the returns signi-

fied a "Workers' Slap At Democratic Bosses." According to this explanation. Connecticut labor was incensed at the failure of the state Democratic party to run genuinely "liberal" candid-

"Revelations" took their

Despite Roosevelt's maneuvering, New Deal Congressman Koppelman failed to receive the as many promises to labor as senatorial nomination, and Old Guard Democrat Lonergan was run again. Similarly, the Democrats failed to nominate Tone, gainst the "stuffed shirts" of the sioner, for Lieutenant-Governor, preferring to run the "reaction- aong the line. His running mate. ary" Hewes. The Full Truth

leading. It is a half-truth, and, to please the wealthy class. The by that token, an untruth. For it great middle class and the work-

not rebound to the benefit pletely overhauled. Now that dic- from arteriosclerosis because of influence of the Stalinists the tator Roraback, czar of Connec- too great job security, why did pretext for pulling out from un-

the party. These leaders make as he New Deal.

he disavowed; he made no criticism of the equally reprehensible Commentators are hard put to coalition with the Democratic fended the whole tactic. The election results in Connecticut provide an instructive and

ironic contrast with what happened to the A.L.P. There Mac-Levy ran for Governor on a comindependent Socialist behind the Democrat and the pletely ticket. It is true that MacLevy Republican, and carried over both rates about zero among the of them the largest city in champions of genuine socialism, and that his campaign, conduct-

There is a real danger now "old Toby" Cross ever did. that the A.L.P. will collapse. Its His campaign was characterized by continual strictures awill shrink back toward unadulterated New Dealism in the "liberal" State Labor Commis- old Republican party, and prom- face of the Republican advance, ises of liberal labor legislation all fearing that otherwise hev will lose the favor of the White Danaher, who was elected to the House, which means more to senatorship, proclaimed in the them than the needs of the The explanation, of course, is name of the Republican party workers. They will be stimulated intentionally superficial and mis- that "We are all through trying further in this direction by the inroads of the Stalinists, who are

now close to control of the A.L.P. local clubs, and who, as proved by the vote for their one inde-Why Leftward Then? pendent candidate (Amter), pro-If labor's discontent was divided more than 100,000 of the of the Republicans. The Repub- rected merely against a once- A.L.P. ballots. The old-time trade lican machine has been com- liberal New Deal party suffering union officials might make the

ticut utilities and erstwhile it not manifest itself in a swing der, and hopping back into the power-behind-the-throne of the to the right, rather than in a Democratic Party proper. old G.O.P., has been buried for all leftward swing toward an indetime, new and "progressive" lead- pendent vote against both major ers have risen in the ranks of capitalist parties?

and live up to their responsibil-The more thorough-going im- ities. They have got to take over fine-sounding and radical prom- plications of the elections cannot the A.L.P. from top to bottom ises as the best rabble-rousers of be sidestepped by any amount of and re-make it as their own full

word juggling. The bare fact is and genuine class political in-If, therefore, the laboring elec- this: Connecticut labor has be- strument. This means absolute orate is incensed merely be- gun to stir out of its political independence, an end to all deals cause the Democrats were not lethargy. Its first groping step is of any kind with the boss parsufficiently responsive to their in the direction of support of Mc- ties; it means a bold program of gether. dictates, if they wanted a can- Levy, an independent candidate workers' demands. And it means didate here and there which the running on a Socialist ticket. Re- a realization that a labor party Democrats would not give them, gardless of the multifold motives is not just another vote-gatherwhy didn't they turn to the Re- for that step, however confused ing machine, but primarily a publicans to vent their wrath? and unorganized the step may means of organizing the workers They would have received a re- have been, it represents a quite for struggle: from which it fol- tration. Meanwhile, they look forceptive ear in those circles. No obvious slap in the face for both lows that the A.L.P. must not one was ever more solicitous to- traditional parties of capital. It be allowed to go to sleep now wards labor than the Republican represents the beginnings of sat- until next election day, but must candidates. Baldwin himself, son lation with the high-flown enter non-parliamentary fields, reaction, and serve as a rallying of an old "crusader for labor's phrases and vote-getting labels and must become the leader in point for the exploited millions rights" who was for years legal of the twin Democratic and Re- the day-to-day battles of the not only of Minnesota, but of the advisor to the A.F. of L., made publican parties. workers.

will have to come forward as a town liberals and Stalinist-congenuine independent political introlled paper organizations and strument of the unions and farm organizations, as part of a nationed chiefly on "good 'government" issues, was about as empty of militant class content as it could

al labor party movement. The workers will never again support a party in which they have little if any voice, in which paper organizations and ward clubs swing the majority vote, and which does not separate itself from the old capitalist parties.

The Communist Party in Minnesota, as the extreme right wing of the F.L.P., contributed no little to Benson's defeat. Through their various stooges, who were close to Benson, they pushed the Farmer-Labor leaders toward alignment with Roosevelt. excluded the labor movement from Farmer-Labor councils, and mepresent officials, if unchecked, chanically railroaded through the F.L.P. convention in Duluth, the meaningless and conservative program that sealed the doom of the party in the elections

Desertion to G.O.P.

The hundreds of state job holders, who were only too willing to follow the C. P. line in the Farmer-Labor party as long as they felt it meant a job, now are deserting to the Republican Party, like so many rats escaping a sinking ship. These elements will never again be allowed to take the labor party movement out of the hands of the trade unions.

Most of the small town bankers. lawyers and business men who supposedly represented the farmers at the last Farmer-Labor Party convention, and who fit very now got to assert their rights well into the Stalinist People's Front idea of what a labor party should be, will go back to roost where they belong, in the Republican Party. The Stalinists helped them water down the F.L.P. program, and now that the job is done, they wash their hands of the Stalinists and the F.L.P. to-

> Progressives throughout the state are prepared to defend the labor movement against any and all blows directed at it under the cover of the Republican adminisward to the formation of a fighting labor party on a nation-wide basis, that will stop the wave of country as a whole.

servatism" of the Democrats did

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II-No. 50 Saturday, November 19, 1938 Published every week by the

SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place. New York, N. Y. elephone: National Office: Algonquin 4-854

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents. All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal. Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937, at the post office at New York, New York,

under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN Edito HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE Asociate Editors

S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Open the Doors!

Sympathy is cheap. Indignation costs nothing. Sympathy and incignation alone are of no use to the Jewish victims of Nazi bestiality.

Dozens of politicians, bishops, preachers, educators, and professional humanitarians have been waxing nothing but sympathetic and indignant in the press and over the radio during the past week of horror for the German Jews.

These worthies may mean well. A few, like Al Smith, Herbert Hoover, Alf Landon, Thomas Dewey, and their counterparts in the New Deal camp, have no objection, at any rate, to getting some easy publicity that makes them look like liberals.

But the Jews and other victims of the Nazis in Germany need more than oh's and ah's.

They need a refuge.

They need asylum from the Nazi terror. To this need there is one answer that can be made right now:

OPEN THE DOORS OF THIS COUNTRY TO THE VICTIMS OF THE NAZIS!

From this obvious and imperative solution all the well-wishers and viewers-with-alarm steer clear.

They are ready to bleat with pity. They are not ready to give any real help to the suffering.

Roosevelt has made a "gesture" too. He has called his ambassador back from Berlin for consultation.

This is just Roosevelt's way of getting out from under. Gestures are of no use to the German Jews.

Roosevelt's lead has been followed by John L. Lewis and, of course, by the Stalinists. At the Pittsburgh convention Lewis asked the government to make "proper representations" to Berlin, nothing more.

In New York Earl Browder hailed Roosevelt's gesture as "an American deed that will speak more eloquently than any words." The Daily Worker's proposal is-an embargo on German goods. What good will that do the victims of the Nazi terror?

No, none of this frothing at the mouth will help the Jews one single bit.

There is only one real answer: OPEN THE DOORS!

To this some workers may reply: But how about our unemployed? How can we provide for the German Jews when we haven't got enough jobs to go around for ourselves?

This is a legitimate question. But it can be answered for the Jews whom we shelter in the me way that it can and must be answered for all the unemployed.

Not a cent for swollen dividends, for battleships and planes!

Money for Life! Not a cent for death! AND OPEN THE DOORS TO ALL REFU-GEES FROM FASCIST TERROR!

Elections Over . . . WPA Slash!

Mr. Dooley once said, "The Supreme Court follows the election returns.'

If the famous American humorist were alive today, he would add to his epigram: W.P.A. and relief slashes follow election day.

Hardly had the votes in the mid-term elections been counted than the announcement comes from Washington that Roosevelt is planning to "contract W.P.A. and other relief programs,'

The two-faced hypocrite has already stored his fine-spun phrases about "social injustice" and the "underprivileged one-third of the nation" in the White House attic. They will remain there until the next election. But that time the sufferings of the unemployed will be a matter for cool, cynical calculation.

Who will foot the bill? The millionaires, the corporations, the financiers-they refuse to carry it any longer. And they are Roosevelt's bosses. Therefore, the poverty-made wounds of the unemployed millions must be salted-must be salted now not with rhetoric but with a new elimination of relief and W.P.A. appropriations.

Hopkins said that "business was improving" and would continue "its upward trend" and hence there would be a "permanent curtailment of his program.'

His tongue was in his cheek-or it should have been-when he made that crack. The statistics of his own department show that there are still 10-15 million unemployed in the United States-despite all the business "improvement." The figures of the A. F. of L. confirm this.

The same condition prevails today-perhaps more acutely. But to Roosevelt and Hopkins it is enough that "business is improving" (read: profits and dividends are going up). That is pretext enough to deprive the unemployed of the thin crust of government charity and cast them on the breadlines and into the "Hoovervilles"-only this time they will be called Rooseveltburgs.

It is not unnatural, therefore, that the man who so callously toys with the misery of the jobless should be preparing to grind them into cannon-fodder. Roosevelt meets with the General Staff of the army and projects a plan to 'shift the emphasis in federal spending . . . to job-producing projects under a national defense program.

The meaning is as clear as a pikestaff:

Thousand of workers will be removed from W.P.A. rolls and made jobless because even the most ambitious rearmament program cannot provide work for all.

Thousands of workers will be performing skilled and unskilled labor at W.P.A. handouts not at union standards. Like the labor camps of Hitler Germany.

Millions of workers will be engaged in building death-dealing equipment for an army and navy of imperialist conquest, while the poor continue to inhabit disease-infested fire trap slums and their children die from malnutrition. That is the long and short of Roosevelt's new SOCIALIST APPEAL







(Special to the Socialist Appeal) | did not publish a single rectifica- made by an impartial commis-MEXICO CITY, Nov. 12 .- Vig- tion of his speech. We had to sion. In place of this, he has bethe latest Stalinist drive to destroy his asylum in the sole country of the globe willing to receive him, Leon Trotsky yesterday tore away the clumsy framework of a typical Lombardo Toledano. calumny, exposing. the crude lies upon which this Stalinist lackey based himself. Comrade Trotsky's statement is as

In his speech at the Palace of Fine Arts on Nov. 8, Toledano declared: ". . . Something that I have never affirmed, because am not crack-brained, is to say that Trotsky had proposed a general strike during the petroleum conflict . . ." It is to be presumed that the report of the speech in "El Popular" has been edited by the orator himself with he necessary care. [Lombar

rously defending himself against wait a year and a half for Tol- gun to refute them himself. Peredano to find it necessary in a sonally, I do not have any obnew speech to declare that he is jection to these methods, and acnot "crack-brained" and that he cept with gratitude the testimony had not made such statements. that the only ones able to accuse He is not correct this time me of wishing to provoke a ger either. The facts and the texts eral strike against the govern speak in another manner. The ment of General Cardenas-acrefutations of Mr. Toledano, as cording to Mr. Toledano-are the we see, are distinguished by the crack-brained. I add only that same exactitude as his affirma- the other accusations launched tions. But minus times minus against me have the same value Leon Trotsky.

equals plus. Mr. Toledano does not want an Coyoacan, D. F. investigation of his accusations November 10, 1938

Cardenas Raps Attacks On Trotsky's Asylum

, cians, answered the emergency (Continued from page 1)

Unity, Union Democracy **Issues Stir Convention**

(Continued from page 1) oureaucratic maneuver and forcing a change.

Labor Unity The question of labor unity was discussed for a half day following

709 TPEU

the presentation of a special report as a reply to the message of President Roosevelt urging labor beace. The convention unanimously

adopted the policy outlined by the committee. It reads, "The C.I.O. states with finality that there can be no compromise with its fundamental purpose and aim of organizing workers into powerful industrial unions, nor its obli-

gation to fully protect the rights and affiliated organizations." "The C.I.O. accepts the goal of unity in the labor movement and

declares that any program for the attainment of such goal must embrace as an essential prelude these fundamental purpose and principles.'

C.I.O. Committed

This is a re-statement of the previous position held by the C.I.O. with one important difference. The goal of unity has been accepted as part of the C.I.O. program!

The tremendous applause given he Roosevelt message worried he Lewis clique, primarily because they feared a stampede for peace which would mean a tramping of the C.I.O. principle of inlustrial unionism for mass pro-

luction industries. The long discussion on the committee report was intended as scale of wages to answer fake 'educational" talks to show the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. rank and improbable that the questions file that the C.I.O. was for peace but not at the cost of sacrificing industrial unionism.

It was felt that the position give the C.I.O. a stronger lever in negotiating with the A.F. of L. There was a general impression among delegates that resumption of negotiations with the A.F. of L. was in the offing.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Nov. 14. How strong the sentiment

within C.I.O. ranks is for labor inity was illustrated by the reception given the Roosevelt message urging labor peace. The demonstration that folowed the reading of the Roosevelt message was the first real evidence of enthusiasm at the convention

John L. Lewis immediately appointed a special committee to through class action force Condraft a reply to President Roosevelt. It was headed by Phillip

Murray, vice-president of the C.I.O. Among delegates there was more talk about peace with the

the sessions has been to lead the cheering for the Lewis machine. It is quite apparent that Lewis is perfectly agreeable to their support and some of their ideas, but he is going to keep organization-

NOVEMBER 19, 1938

hands of his machine. Since very few of the 476 delegates are rank and file workers, the attitude of the membership to the C.I.O. policies is not receiving clear expression at the convention.

al control of the C.I.O. in the

The future program of the C. I.O. as outlined by Lewis in his report which was accepted without any discussion by the convention is merely an extension and interests of all its members of that already being carried out. The C.I.O. top leaders are des-

perately trying to reform capitalism. Legislation for a little more social security, for higher wages, for preservation of the Wagner Act, for a housing program, for a "guarantee" of civil liberties. These are the immediate demands of the C.I.O. All of them

deserve critical support,

Major Issues Evaded

But the huge problem of unemployment, which the convention recognized in the report, has not been discussed nor is it likely that any serious discussion

The announcement of General Motors of its "income security" plan caught the C.I.O. leaders flatfooted. Although it is imperative that the convention adopt more progressive proposals for a sliding scale of hours and a rising company plans of "security" it is will receive consideration.

On every question facing the workers today, the C.I.O. conven-

tion recognizes the problem but adopted by the convention would has no answer except vague generalizations about the need for adequate legislation, security and other phrases. Civil liberties are being trampled, the Lewis report pointed out. But how the workers can fight for their rights is not shown. How Mayor Frank

> leaders can be stopped is not indicated. The "swing to the right" in

C.I.O. leaders. They know that even the program of mild reform legislation which they want stands little chance of passing under the present relationship of forces. However, they are afraid to take steps which would arouse the militancy of the workers an l 🐞

gress to give concessions to the labor movement.

tion) was not understandable

This is so only because he re-

"Honeymoon" Days Over It is this dilemma which they cannot answer. The "honeymoon' days of the C.I.O. are over. Bit-A.F. of L. than any other sub-ject. It was generally believed that one of the main purposes of this convention was to put on

will develop.

There are 12,000,000 jobless in this country If we took in every Jew in Germany that would add 500,000. The program we propose will give a working livelihood to all of them together.

Let the workers demand an immediate application of a gigantic public works program of slum clearance, housing roads, waterworks, and other public services!

Open the closed factories and operate them under Workers' Control!

Cut down the hours of the employed workers and make work for all!

That way we will take care of ourselves and of all the victims of oppression everywhere whom we invite to our shores.

Who will pay for it?

light of the British Empire."

gained from war."

"The British ruling class," con-

The rich will pay for it. Tax all the upper income brackets. Divert all war funds to public works.

new book. "The Black Jacobins" measures' be taken against Ger-

Money for food, homes, and work!

dish for the unemployed. His program of war is a program of poverty. And his program of poverty is a program of war.

The elections are over. The cards are on the table. Roosevelt has played his and now it is the turn of the workers.

The trump card of the working class is in its united organized strength and in its program. And this card must be played before it is too late.

The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. must be roused into action

Millions of workers must demonstrate against the Roosevelt deal of poverty and war.

For the turning over of war funds to the unemployed and not to the murder-gang of the General Staff of the army!

For the expansion-not contraction-of real W.P.A. projects by appropriations of billions of dollars to wipe out the slums and build decent homes for working men to live in!

do Toledano is editor of El Popular-Ed. Note.] It is not possible to desire anything more categorical than the refutation cited above: "because I am not crack-brained !!!" Nevertheless we shall try to check what Mr. Toledano says.

In the newspapers of May 31 1937 ("El Universal," first section, page 8, "Excelsior" first section, page 4, "El Nacional," first section, page 6, "La Prensa," page 6) in the report of Toledano's speech at a meeting held May 30, 1937, in the Theater of the People, it was stated: "We are not going to follow those who

label themselves of the extreme left and wish to carry us into a general strike in the Republic. We are not going to follow Trotsky who represents the counterrevolution. The general strike is against the government."

Cracked Brains

In these four newspapers we encounter the same phrase. It is C. L. R. James, Noted Negro Militant, that the text has a character if not official, at least not To Speak on Decline of British Empire less than authoritative. Neither the discourse as a whole nor the phrase which interests us have C. L. R. James, the distin- Lloyd George and Duff Cooper, Europe must be taken in colever been disavowed by Mr. Toledano.

quished British author, whose have been urging that 'stern laboration with Great Britain. In the same newspaper is Labor Party Aids Chamberlain printed my declaration of June "The Labor Party and trade 26, 1937, in which I said: "Mr. union leadership swung com-Toledano in a series of public pletely behind Chamberlain dudeclarations attributes to me ring the war crisis and showed various acts of intervention in its ever-readiness to collaborate the internal life of Mexico (parand do the same devil's work that it did in 1914. So tense is the ticularly, for example, a call for . . a general strike). In such

Yet after this, Mr. Toledano

betrayal by the labor leadership ruptcy of the policy as revealed has been reinforced by the Stal- at Munich has thrown the Stalinists who were among the loud- inists into serious confusion, and est shouters for war during the for the moment they are waiting

American workers who wish to showing that the government is hear a first hand report of the "The anti-war sentiments of to attend the meetings which are the politically minded workers being arranged for C. L. R. have been canalized into 'anti- James throughout the country.

> first opportunity to hear him on November 30th at Irving Plaza. Note the date and be

cal heights in the Stalinist call of his brother Stalinists, and press, reflecting their fear over entered the convention hall to the rapidly spreading insurgent take the floor. He could not make movement in the Teachers' Unhimself heard among the hisses ion against their gangster dictatorship, a movement which and boos. A large banner pinned they fear with only too good reason might spread into other hall by Stalinists reading, "To unions where they now enjoy a fight Trotskyism is to work for monopoly over the union treas- unity," was torn down. The eight hundred delegates wanted to disury and the resolutions commit-

cuss union business, not the political needs of Joseph Stalin. Union Revolt

An Expensive Campaign In typical G.P.U. fashion. Toledano. Laborde, and their cohorts In the very heart of the Stalhave labelled this movement inist dominated unions of Mexico "Trotskyite," attempting to link -those belonging to Toledano's it with all the notorious reaction-| C.T.M.-increasing signs of rearies of the country, including volt, almost wholly subterranean sexual perverts discovered and until the recent explosion of prodenounced by the G.P.U. for this test in the Teachers' Union, point particular amalgam, and ending to an ominous decline for the with their customary slogan: Stalinists. That is the real reason "Trotsky is mixing in Mexican for the fantastic fear and hysoolitics; throw him out." teria displayed by them in this

Actually the movement began latest campaign of calumny and spontaneously among the rank slander against the exiled leader and file of the Teachers' Union in of the October Revolution.

protest against a heavy monthly According to unimpeachabl assessment levied against them sources of information, this camby the Stalinist bureaucracy and paign has been the most expendeductible according to Mexican sive so far waged by the G.P.U law from their already pitiful in Mexico. In order to whip up pay checks. The movement any semblance of popular re gained such momentum that at sponse to their speakers, articles, the first session of the union con- and slogans, the Stalinist are

vention yesterday, committees compelled to spend greater and sent by the Stalinists from other greater sums of money because unions to block the rank and file of the growing apathy and disas its key figures, a miners' unopposition were booed off the gust of the workers. The policy floor amid demands to proceed to of rule or ruin is beginning to Lewis are the trimvirate who are the order of business. Lombardo bear its fruit. President Carde-Toledano, who does not have as nas' well-timed rebuke at the C.I.O. at this convention. much connection with the Teach- height of the Stalinist howling ers' Union as Wm. Green of the gives a good indication as to how

A.F. of L. has with the musi- that fruit will taste.

YOUTH TAKES A FLING at the **REBEL SWING** Sat. Nite. Nov. 19 Young Circle League Audit. 22 East 15th Street Toby Woods and Orchestra Convention Arrangements MAX SHACHTMAN, M. of C. Committee, 160 N. Wells St., Proceeds to YPSL Nat. Conv.

show of strength to the A.F. of , and the public.

entrenched as ever.

fuses to recognize the existence **Industrial Workers Convention** of the class struggle. He fails to The C.I.O. convention is a understand that in a period of somewhat unusual gathering. Its declining capitalism, the bosses place in labor history as the first relentlessly fight against every national convention representing manifestation of labor solidarity mainly the industrial workers is and seek to destroy the union assured. Its record of achieve- movement.

ment is obvious. Lewis stated it Fortunately, American workers succinctly when he declared in have a great experience behind his 66 page report, "What the them in the organizing drives A.F. of L. in fifty-four years of and sit-down strike wave that existence couldn't accomplish, build the C.I.O. It is very probthe C.I.O. did in three years." able that the C.I.O. workers in action will work out more pro-There can hardly be any doubt gressive policies to meet the hat industrial unionism has been great problems of today than established permanently in the will the C.I.O. convention.

nass production industries. The In the fact that this C.I.O. con-C.I.O. claims of 4,000,000 members vention shows little if any signs are perhaps a bit high, but it is of the hide-bound conservatism very significant to hear of the which marked the A.F. of L. connew wave of union spirit growing among mass production vention, is the hope of the American labor movement. New ideas. workers who have recently been flexible tactics, and response to rehired. Undoubtedly, dues-colsocial conditions will be manifest lections are very low in the quicker in the C.I.O. than in C.I.O. but the ideas for which it the A.F. of L.

stands in the minds of the industrial workers are as firmly Skate Around Politics

The noticeable lack of "polit-**Miners' Machine Dominant** cal" talk at this convention is This convention is being run another illustration of the sen-

strictly as a John L. Lewis, sitivity of the C.I.O. to social miners' union bureaucracy affair. changes. Before the convention Every important committee has began, Lewis announced the need for "reforming" the Democratic ion official. Murray, Hillman and Party in view of the election defeats. He criticized "fake liberals determining the destinies of the and New Dealers." He even menioned the possibility of a labor party development.

Because of the firm control of His speech was an admission this powerful machine over the of the brankruptcy of the present convention, it is somewhat listpolicy of Labor's Non-Partisan ess. Its opening session was pre-League of supporting capitalist sided over by Pat Fagan, miners' party candidates. His mention of union official. He praised John labor party politics was a concession to a growing sentiment pledge to support American im- for an independent working class

Again, however, the C.I.O. leaders fear to break with the Democratic machine. Yet they know other miners' official, and execu- the bourgeois politicians. And tive assistant to Lewis, read the they don't want too much discuslengthy report of the C.I.O. chair- sion of the question at this conman to the convention. The day vention. That is why no political ended with the hearing of the figures have been invited to attend. That is why the Lewis report says nothing about labor in

L. Lewis. Then Lewis spoke on "democracy" and made his perialism during war in return party. for a few concessions. For two hours in the afternoon session, Walter Smethurst, an- the futility of "playing ball" with

Roosevelt message.

Stalinists Cheering Squad The role of the Stalinists at politics.



C. L. R. JAMES

tinued James, "it itself split many at once. By this they do as a means of supporting the as to exactly how the polit- not mean war, but would like to rearmament program and ultimical crisis should be dealt with. frighten Hitler to the point that ately pushing the workers into Some, like Winston Churchill, whatever steps he takes in an imperialist war, but the bank- sure to be present.



crisis. A Stalinist delegation was on Moscow . . .' admitted to 10 Downing Street,

quite willing to use them . . .

New Yorkers will have the

LAST WEEK

This is the last week in greetings NOW-\$1, \$3, \$5 or \$10 for the Convention Program Book to the National

Admission 39¢

Room 308, Chicago, Ill. **National Convention**

Arrangements Committe

which to greet the Tenth National Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League, which is being held in Chicago during the Thanksgiving weekend. Send in your

situation in England are urged

situation in Britain that they do not even pretend to be anti-war statements there is not one word or anti-imperialist, but months of truth." ago signified their approval to the rearmament program. This