National Plenum Votes To Issue Appeal Twice Weekly

Launch Campaign For \$3,000 Fund

(Resolution of Plenum of the National Committee) For some time the party has been considering the problem of expanding our press to meet the requirements of intensified political work projected in our transitional program. The heavy tasks imposed upon us by the general situation necessitate, and the resources of our growing movement make possible, a decisive strengthening of our most important

Therefore, after due consideration of the matter, and after consultation with the party branches, the Plenum of the National Committee decides:

weapon—the Socialist Appeal. The time has come

for a bold step forward.

1. To publish the Socialist Appeal, in its present size, twice a week!

2. To raise a twice-a-week Appeal fund of \$3,000 to meet the doubled publication costs and provide a reserve fund to guarantee its maintenance during the first months. Proportionate quotas are to be assigned to all party units and the campaign for this fund is to begin at once and be completed within 60 days. The first number of the twice-weekly Appeal is to appear about February 1st, or sooner if the fund is on hand before that time.

Plenary Session of N. C. Mine Leader Rides Adopts Program of Action

Party To Be Geared To New Tempo To Apply Transitional Program In Trade Union Activity

NEW YORK, Nov. 20.—The momentous decision to launch over the entire Congress of Indusa drive to expand the Socialist Appeal into a twice-weekly newspaper trial Organizations (C.I.O.) follow marked the high point of the second full meeting (Plenum) of the held by the industrial unions af-National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party held here on filiated to that organization. Nov. 19-20.

TRIAL OF P.O.U.M.

Only For Part In

May Days

The leaders of the P.O.U.M. sen-

bouregois regime and of partici-

Barcelona workers, according to

fresh information arriving only

All the slanderous accusations

had connections with the Fascists

in Spain, Italy, and Germany, fell

through completely at the trial

and were abandoned by the prose-

Myths Exploded

The judgment against them ex-

ploded a thousand Stalinist slan-

ders when it characterized them

To be sure this does not miti-

gate for a single moment the vic-

iousness of the sentences handed

down by the Lovalist regime on

these working class militants. But

it does expose completely the lies

which formed the basis of the

Stalinist campaign against the

P.O.U.M. and against the Bolshe-

The case against the Bolshevik

Leninist comrades, Muniz, Rodri-

guez, and others, is still pending

but the release of one of them

upon whom the whole false case

against them rests, showed that

the Barcelona government has no

more evidence against them than

it did against the P.O.U.M. lead-

Charges Collapse

The indictment on which Julian

Gorkin, Juan Andrade, the mur-

dered Andres Nin, and others,

were brought to trial included

charges of connections with the

Fascists, of "desertion" from the

front, and espionage on behalf of

Italy and Germany. One by one

(Continued on page 6)

vik-Leninist militants in Spain.

as "sincere anti-Fascists."

ere traitors that they

now from abroad.

Turning its face to the gigantic problems created by the developing crisis in this country, the turbulent labor struggles clearly on the horizon and the impending approach of a new war, the Nation-

See page five for resolutions adopted by the Plenum of the Committee of the

al Committee laid plans to gear the party to its new tasks, to transform it into a combat organization. At the head of its plans is the twice-weekly paper, calculated not only to convey our message to the workers with greater frequency but to influence the labor movement with a fighting policy and a constructive revolution ary program.

Watchword Is Forward!

The watchword of the Plenum, which will be carried into every part of the organization from coast to coast, was FORWARD! tional Committee carried through its sessions in a serious, businesslike fashion, grappling with the problems before the party and elaborating a practical program of action.

The two principal points on the order of business were the twiceweekly Appeal and the problem of organizing our party work.

' Discussion on Semi-Weekly

The Plenum had before it a census of opinion of the party branches-in the form of replies to a questionaire sent out by the national office—on the twice-weekly Appeal. The report of comrade Cannon revealed that the overwhelming majority of the party branches were enthusiastically in favor of the two-a-week paper.

In a lengthy discussion which ensued, the relative merits of the twice-weekly paper as against increasing the present weekly to eight pages was soberly debated with practically every member of the committee participating. The arguments weighed strongly for the twice-weekly. It was felt that the striking power of the party and its organizational effectiveness would be tremendously enhanced by two Appeals each week. The Plenum decided 3-1 for the

Re-shapes Party Work

In line with the decision on the paper, the Plenum yent to work to re-shape the party organization to enable it to apply the revolutionary program of transitional demands. In order to gear the organization to its new tasks, the on a campaign footing. Over specified periods of time, the entire membership will be engaged in promoting some special action planned by the Political Committee. All party work, all agitation, all activity in the branches, in mass organizations will be fo-

The campaigns will revolve around the program of transitional demands and intense efforts will be made to popularize this program in the press, through leaflets and in internal education-

al meetings and bulletins. To carry through this plan, the Plenum gave the Political Committee power to raise a special (Continued on page 5)

Socialist Appeal

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

Saturday, November 26, 1938

To Europe's Refugees!

Open the Doors

One Cent per Copy

ENOUGH PIOUS TEARS: ADMIT THE REFUGEES!

CIO CONVENTION RUBBER STAMPS LEWIS MACHINE

VOL. II-No. 51

Roughshod To Full Control

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

(Special to Socialist Appeal) PITTSBURGH, Pa. - John L Lewis took undisputed control

His election as president, and the heavy predominance of his personal supporters on the newly-TREASON' COUNTS constituted executive board of the C.I.O. assures Lewis of greater personal power than ever achieved **COLLAPSE DURING** by a single trade union leader in this country.

After the shadow-boxing be tween Lewis and the Stalinists over one clause in the constitution for the C.I.O. (described in las Militants Sentenced week's Socialist Appeal) the convention was smoother than a session of Stalin's central committee meeting. There simply wasn't any opposition on any quesction of

Stalinists Roughly Handled enced to 15-year terms recently The C.I.O. constitution doesn't in Barcelona were found guilty guarantee the right of political affiliation for members. However, only of being opponents of the Lewis was able to cut off any dispating in the May uprising of the

cussion on this question. Lewis called Harry Bridges and mildly protested against the con- powers and jurisdictions.

around here. You can go to hell, as far as I'm concerned, and if you want to get licked, start something at this convention," Lewis privately told Bridges and Curran.

Whereupon, the Stalinists retrying to discuss the constitution membership. seriously. Lewis took the floor before the committee on this subject made its report.

"This is a simple and democratic constitution." he explained to the doubters. "It isn't going to be amended. You are going to vote on the committee recommendations. . . .," Lewis gently explained. Everybody got the hint. Outside of a mild discussion on per capita tax, the constitution was adopted without a murmur,

Weapon Against Autonomy Under the provisions of the constitution, the executive board can investigate any international or local affiliate and make a report to the convention, anytime it thinks an international union is not carrying out C.I.O. policies.

Thus two legal weapons have been given Lewis for a possible purge of political minorities. The first is the lack of a guarantee on political affiliation rights, the second is this clause which allows

(Continued on page 5)

YPSL Convention Opens in Chicago

CHICAGO-The Tenth National convention of the Young People's Socialist League opened here on Thanksgiving Day. Delegates who have come by bus, freight-cars, by the hitchhiking route, from all corners of the country gathered to hammer out a program of action based on their own ex-

UAW AUTONOMY ENDANGERED BY DETROIT MOVE

G.M. Loses No Time In Seizing Its Opportunity

DETROIT, Mich.-Continuing its attempts to build up a machine in the automobile workers union, the International Executive Board announced from Pittsburgh that it had voted to abolish the Detroit District Auto Council, on the grounds that it was "Con

This latest autocratic act is shameless violation of the union constitution, which specifically makes it mandatory for all unions Joe Curran, the big-guns of the of any locality to set up district Stalinists to the stage after they councils and provides for their

It is indeed true that: "I don't like you and your gang | troit District Auto Council is dominated by stooges of the Commun ist Party, and therefore has been a worthless body as far as solving any of the union problems was concerned. But the previous attempts of the Martin Administraturned to their places and kept as tion to bureaucratically suppress silent as a couple of children just the C.P. have proven only a boon spanked by their father. In order for the Stalinists and have won that no one else get any ideas of them renewed support from the

> so unceremoniously abolishing auto councils, bureaucratically suppressing the rights of the membership and ignoring the wishes of the locals. General Motors is beginning to crack down on the local unions, firing shop stewards. trying to speed up the lines. Apparently the only answer the Ex ecutive Board can give to these provocations is a further attempt o emasculate the union's strength Above all they want to show the ruthless, union-hating automobile manufacturers that the union is now respectable, that it no longer possesses the fighting qualities it did a year ago.

who have sacrificed their very lives to build up an organization in their industry have other ideas on the subject, however. They are responding to the manufacturers' offensive in an entirely differen

Fire Shop Steward

Belgian Militant Tried For plant on the fake excuse of inmen, Fleetwood workers, unanimously voted to back up their steward and instructed the local a special meeting for a strike next day by locking out the workers of the Fleetwood division of

That Sunday evening a confersupport their program.

Empty Talk Fills Air Minn. Labor Demands As Pogrom Goes On Open Door for Refugees

Hypocritical Plans For Havens In Remote Colonies Offer No Real Possibility Of Relief For Victims Of Hitler

There is one, and just one, test of the seriousness of any protest against the monstrous Nazi drive to exterminate the German Jews.

That test is this: Is the protest backed solidly and unequivocally by the demand that the doors of the United States be thrown open at once to all of the German Jews? Let us not fool ourselves. Bombastic speeches by the big-shots

do not prove that they are friends of the persecuted Jews. Quite The truth of the matter is that the big-shots are trying to

exploit the popular indignation at the persecutions for their own reactionary purposes.

REAL ROOSEVELT PERSECUTES NEGROES

Take Roosevelt. What is his real attitude toward the persecution of racial minorities? To get an answer, all you have to do is to look at the practice of the Party he leads in its chief stronghold, the Southern States.

In the South, not 700,000 but 11,000,000 Negroes live exactly the life that Hitler now plans for the German Jews. The Negroes are consigned to squalid Ghettoes, cut off from the cultural life of the community, barred from any but the harshest and lowest-paying types of employment, and subject to the constant threat of lynch-terror.

The real Roosevelt is the Roosevelt who bases his power and position on the exploitation, oppression and persecution of the American Negroes.

And what is the purpose to which Roosevelt is trying to turn the public outcry against the Nazi terror? He himself makes it plain. He is using it as the excuse for putting across his colossal armament plans, for building up the weapons and the hysterical spirit which will enable him in the not too distant future to drive the American masses to slaughter on the battlefields of U.S. imperialism.

CHAMBERLAIN'S CROCODILE TEARS

How about Chamberlain, and his side-kicks Joseph Kennedy, Roosevelt's Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and Rublee, head of the Committee created by that widely advertised vacuum, the Evian Conference?

To try to stifle and shunt aside the world protest, they now put forward a grandiose "plan" to settle the Jews-in British Guiana and in the British mandated colony of Tanganyika, and they ask "private individuals" to contribute at least \$100,000,000

The proposed territories, so generously suggested, are completely wild and undeveloped, without even means of communication and transportation.

The maximum estimate of the number of Jews that could be settled in Guiana over a period of many years is twenty to

thirty thousand, and about the same or a few more in Tanganyika. The Chamberlain-Kennedy proposal thus comes down to this: no solution at all for the mass of the Jews, but a scheme for the highly profitable exploitation of British colonies to the

benefit of British finance-capital. VILE OFFERINGS OF STALINISM

The most shameful role of all is that played by the Stalinists. The Soviet Union, product of the workers' revolution, which should be the home of all the persecuted and oppressed, has been transformed into so iron-bound a prison by Stalin that the regime cannot even make the pretense of offering asylum within the vast and under-populated Soviet territories to the German Jews. Instead, Stalin's trade treaty with Germany continues merrily in operation, and not a single demonstration of protest against the persecutions by the Russian workers is permitted by

But in this country, the agent of Stalin and the G. P. U., the Communist Party, calls for a breaking of diplomatic relations between the U. S. Government and Germany, an official Governmental boycott, and, as Marcantonio explained Monday night at the Madison Square Garden meeting, for the logical sequel to

Every one of these demands can serve only the interests of imperialism, and can only injure and worsen the condition of the German Jews.

FACE THE ISSUE—HERE!

We have got to face the issue. If we are not merely indulging our emotions, if we mean business when we say that it is our duty to aid the German Jews in their terrible crisis, we have got to raise throughout the country and carry through the one demand that can really help them and help them now, when they need help: the demand that they be permitted to enter this country. We cannot carry out our duty by passing it off on to the shoulders of someone else, of some other country or of

We must compel the President and Congress to lift the quotas and abolish all financial restrictions and all red tape.

This demand can be won if a great popular movement for (Continued on page 5)

MINNEAPOLIS.-Progressive labor forces here have given real impetus to the drive to lower the U.S. immigration restrictions to permit asylum to the hounded refugees from Fascism. This drive was initiated by the Executive Board of the General Drivers Union, Local 544.

A resolution adopted last week which called upon President Roosevelt to back up his expressions of sympathy with real aid to the refugees and demanded that he "open the gates of the United States to the oppressed of Europe.'

The resolution, which is a model for trade unions throughout the country, reads as follows:

"The working thousands enrolled under the banner of General Drivers Union Local 544 extend their keen sympathy to the victims of the repulsive and abominable fascist terror

"Fascism is the most reactionary form of capitalism. The senseless cruelty of these outrages demands more than sympathetic statements. The people of the world must study conditions in order to root out the causes for such pogroms as are now being let loose daily in Central Europe. They come only when the working class of people see their organizations destroyed and become enslaved. Such outrages inflicted upon helpless minorities have never happened where a strong independent labor moevment exists to guard human rights.

"Local 544 pledges itself to stand ready to protect the civil rights of minorities here locally.

"Local 544 demands of President Roosevelt that he open the gates of the United States to the oppressed of Europe

Roosevelt Proclaims Hemisphere His Domain

New Arms Program Designed To Assure Rule Of U.S. Imperialism From Arctic To Cape Horn

From every sounding board of the administration, from President Roosevelt down to Mayor LaGuardia, through the press, and over the radio, the American people are being prepared for the greatest armament program in history.

They are being prepared for the war policies of the Roosevelt administration which has now openly proclaimed the entire Western hemisphere as the immediate bailiwick of United States imperialism.

To Be Created For

``Undesirables''

The regime of the concentration

amp has been introduced into

Begun now only for "undesir-

able foreigners" - which includes

the thousands of foreign workers

in France already hounded by the

People's Front regime and the

present Daladier government—the

concentration camp will soon face

all the workers if they do not

quickly crush the totalitarian

These camps were set up under

the same decrees issued ten days

ago by the Daladier government

putting a formal end to the 40-

hour week and attempting to

meet France's permanent econom-

ic crisis by fresh attacks on the

living standard of the French

Strikes Begin

Sporadic strikes of protest took

place last week but in each case

Daladier's Mobile Guards and po-

lice carried out the orders of the

erstwhile hero of the People's

Front and forced evacuation of

the factories occupied by the

That the regime of the concen-

(Continued on page 6)

Membership Meet

On Plenum Report

A membership meeting of all

New York S.W.P. members

will be held Saturday, Nov. 26,

3 p.m. at Irving Plaza Hall,

Irving Place and 15th St.

James P. Cannon will report

on the Plenum of the National

Committee and on the twice-

weekly Socialist Appeal. Ad-

mission by red card only.

This is now the heart and core of Roosevelt's policies. Every move he makes is related to it.

DALADIER LASHES "Continental Defense" FRENCH WORKERS: 1. On Nov. 15 Roosevelt proclaimed the new slogan of "continental defense." He explained that this meant that the land. naval, and air forces of the United States would be brought up to the level needed for action Concentration Camp anywhere from the Arctic Circle

to Cape Horn. 2. The same day-and it was no accident-Roosevelt engaged in a bit of convenient indignation against the anti-Semitic pogroms in Germany. Roosevelt may be credited with feeling somewhat sorry for the Jews. But he does not intend to do anything serious about their plight. What he is interested in is the utilization of the legitimate indignation of the American masses over the Nazi terror to create an effective war psychology. Roosevelt is attacking Hitler not because Hitler is a Fascist beast but because German imperialism represents the most aggressive threat to Ameri-

markets. Trade Pacts

can hegemony in Latin American

3. Last week the Roosevelt administration signed trade pacts with Great Britain and Canada. This too forms an integral part of the government's war plans. Intrinsically the Canadian pact was more important, covering a larger trade, and also serving to knit that British dominion more closely in the economic sphere to American imperialism. For Anglo-American relations on the broader sphere of world politics, relating to Europe and the Far East both. the pact also contains profound implications whose real extent will be determined and revealed by future events.

4. The continuing conflict between United States and Japanese imperialism moved into a new and sharper stage with the exchange of diplomatic notes completed last week by Japan's reply to the U.S. note of Oct. 6. Japan in thinly-veiled language announced that the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 governing the bal-

ance of power in Asia was virtually dead. This leaves wide open (Continued on Page 4)

ganization to its new tasks, the Plenum decided to place the party Slugging Fascist Chieftain (Special to Socialist Appeal) ternational) of Jemappes was cited to appear before the Corcussed on these campaigns.

That day Degrelle and the fund to increase its staff of full hold of Wasmuel and the Socialist sisting police officers at the same Revolutionary Party organized a demonstration.

great counter-demonstration. De-BRUSSELS-Comrade Philibert grelle demanded and got police Bouillon, member of the Socialist their way and Degrelle and his protection. But the workers had Revolutionary Party (Fourth In- man Friday got it in the neck.

The citation before the court, which was regarded among the rectional Court at Mons on Nov. workers of Wasmuel as something 16 for slugging Leon Degrelle, of a citation of honor, charged leader of the Belgian Fascist Rex-Bouillon with "wilfully striking ists, and Degrelle's lieutenant, blows and inflicting injury upon Vandoorne, when the latter tried Leon Degrelle and Valentin Vanto hold a meeting at Wasmuel on doorne, from which the latter was incapacitated for work."

Two other comrades of Rexists tried to organize a mass P.S.R., Emile Barbieux and Alfred meeting in the workers' strong- Petiau were also indicted for re-

periences in the trade unions, unemployed organizations and in the student field. Subsequent issues will report the proceedings and the results.

munist dominated."

General Motors Attacks

While the Executive Board is

The militants of the auto union

On Nov. 17th, a shop steward was fired out of the Fleetwood subordination. About four hundred union officers to immediately call vote. The management replied the

ence was called of all representatives of the Fisher Body plants from Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Lansing and several other cities. Al most unanimously they declared that the time had come to assert their union rights; declared that they were ready to back up the Fleetwood division, Local 15, and called upon the International to

(Continued on page 4)

Review of the Mid-Term Elections CIO COUNCIL

CORRUPT NEW DEALER BEATEN AT MASS. POLLS

Labor Refuses Curley Backing Despite Fanfare

By WILLIAM SHERMAN

BOSTON-James Michael Curley-"labor's friend"-a professed admirer of Mussolini, with a record of graft and worse which stank to high heaven, went down to defeat and oblivion in a storm of ballots that swept a "young hurried over those vulnerable activity and discipline in carrying Republican" slate, headed by Leverett Saltonstall, into office in Massachusetts.

Curley had the endorsement of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Federation of Labor and the blessings of Stalin's gift to Massachusetts, the self-styled "intelligent voter's guide," Phil Frankfeld.

Backed Wrong Horse

The leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League woke up the morning after with a bad taste in the mouth and a pile of unpaid bills. They had gambled on the wrong horse. They not only supported a capitalist candidate, but a grafting faker as well. Butand here is what really hurtthey had backed a man who was beaten, not by his opponent, but by his own record.

Labor's Non-Partisan League put on a campaign and succeeded in hitching the bulk of organized labor to the fortunes of a grafter whose sun had already set.

A number of progressive unions including the Food Workers in Lynn, repudiated the endorsement of Curley and called for Independent Labor Action.

Curley's Campaign

Curley's own campaign consisted of boasting that while his one and ineptness and failure to be time buddy, Graves, was in jail, he was out running for governor. He made childish attacks on the facial appearance of his opponent and pulled all the old clownish against widespread unemploytricks that went down well in the era of prohibition and prosperity. At one meeting, reported in a small town paper, Curley prom- the industrial overlords of Conised to plant 2,000,000 trees, a vaudeville troupe performed, and a Lovestonite, Sam Sandburg, appealed for votes for Curley, Casey and Kelly on their records. Such was the campaign!

The Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Socialist Labor Party had candidates. The Socialist Workers Party, nominated no candidates, but used the campaign to put forward our program and sell our literature. In this we were fairly successful.

The Communist Party put on a big campaign. Their largest rally in Boston Arena brought out more than 10,000 persons. And yet they polled only 961 votes in Boston. Their campaign was similar to Browder's in the 1936 presidential elections. "Defeat Saltonstall-Elect Real Liberals."

However, they did appeal to some people to vote for their candidates. Wrote Phil Frankfeld in "The Intelligent Voter's Guide," a 16 page pamphlet: "There are many intelligent voters who cannot stomach the Republican party and refuse to vote for James M. Curley. We appeal to these independent voters to vote Com-

munist." Frankfeld on Curley

Of Curley, who supported the Teacher's Oath Bill, opposed the Child Labor Amendment Bill, praised Mussolini repeatedly and gave the Fascist salute in public, who called for the use of forceful measures to curb radicals, and whose "honesty" in office is on a par with that of Tammany Hall in N. Y., or Bill Thompson in Chicago, Phil Frankfeld said:

means a paragon of political vir- the state one of the most vicious tue or steadfast representative of progressive principles and ideals" -and then went on to speak of

The Socialist Party had a place on the ballot and 679 citizens of Boston, out of force of habit, voted for what may be the last gubernatorial candidate of the Socialist Party in Massachusetts.

NOTICE

Because of the Thanksgiving Day holiday, the Socialist Appeal reach Subscribers and newsstands one day late.

McLevy Has No Labor Program But **Workers Vote Slams Old Parties**

By B. HARDE

(This is the second of two articles on the recent election in Connecticut and its meaning to the workers).

Never was it so difficult to draw the arbitrary dividing line between the two major parties as in the recent Connecticut elections. ly did not make any efforts to tickets boiled down to the debat- same do-nothing attitude toward verbial peas in a pod. Both parties gone past in the Socialist party, had been involved in malodorous when he argued eloquently against scandals and misuse of funds at party work in the trade unions, the expense of the people. Both against a party policy for union points in their campaigns. Both made the same liberal promises, took the same pious oaths, performed the same public gyrations.

But-for the first time the working people of Connecticut began to see through the game. As the first step in their political maturation, they turned to the third party in the field to give vent to their indignation and scepticism. And they were not repelled by the Socialist label which that party wore.

"Socialist" Label Doesn't Scare That is a fact of tremendous significance. More sophisticated people realize that the Old Guard Socialist party is socialist in name alone-but the average worker, just beginning to stir politically, does not know that, And still, believing that the party they were voting for was a socialist party, substantial numbers of workers were nevertheless not afraid to vote for it. As an index of their dissatisfaction with the old parties, and as a portent of their readiness to turn leftwards, that fact is of tremendous import.

More than a few workers in this state meant more, a great deal more, in their "protest votes" than a mere censure of the two traditional parties for corruption compliant to political pressure when ensconced in office. They were voting against ten years of almost continuous depression, ment, against low wages, long hours, the control of their destinies and precarious existences by

Voted Against Old Parties

They were voting against the two parties whose economic and social scheme of things is beginning to lose its glamor and even its credibility as a rational system capable of providing some minimum of security to the laboring people.

The Herald's survey of public point indicated that sentimen beyond a shadow of a doubt. The sentiment was not organized, not very vocal, not well-formulated nor thought-out to its logical con- would, indeed, in all probability, pendent action, must constantly clusions. But that it existed is be- have been elected. And yet, de- facilitate every groping move yond doubt. No other reading of spite his empty program and dothe election returns makes any nothing past, he received the im- ist parties.

And it must be borne in mind that this sentiment succeeded in

dustrial workers still turned out the Communist party, intent on in impressive numbers to pull the redecorating the decayed falsethird lever.

No Labor Program

Further, the bald fact is that McLevy did everything possible to assure his own defeat. He certain-The distinctions between the two gain labor's favor. He took the able distinctions between the pro- labor that he assumed in years it out—on the miserable basis that the labor movement is something distinct from the Socialist party another planet entirely, as remote as Mars, which politicians, even of a mild socialist stripe, must never invade, at risk of life and limb!

And, indeed, what more positive attitude toward the unions could McLevy take? It is incredible but true that he offered the workers and poor farmers not one whit more than did the other parties! Not a word about collective bargaining in his program! Not a sentence about unemployment! Not a phrase about social security, the debt-structures oppressing the farmers, old-age pensions, an extension of work relief at adequate wage levels, wages-andhours legislation, etc.! Only an exhortation not to let the raiders ride again, a few generalities about clean government and the merit system, and a pious phrase or two, couched in conveniently abstract terms, about the "ultimate solution," the "cooperative commonwealth"!

Unsavory Record

And as against his hollow program there stood McLevy's quite concrete record: A touching solicitude about lowering taxes, an advocacy of the state-wide sales tax. a none-too-savory attitude towards a strike of municipal workers only last year. In McLevy's own Bridgeport you will find the veriest beginnings of "sewer socialism"-a few improved highways, a stretch of park or landscaped terrain here and thereand little else! His Social-Democratic brethren in the hevday of European reformism, during the twenties, must surely have promsed much more, and accomplished more, in their harmless gradlalism, and still remained as staunch and respectable demo-

crats as ever he was. Had he put forward a bolder social and economic program, had pressive vote he did! That is the

The Communist Party, stunned manifesting itself against all odds. at first by the election returns, at Every conceivable effort was last recovered enough presence of dates. Failing that, critical supmade by the capitalist parties, mind to issue a face-saving state- port of McLevy would have been and their representatives within ment. The results, say the seers of the next best step. But, despite delabor's ranks, to turn the tide of the Communist State committee, liberate false counsel from its the lucrative business of governpopular dissatisfaction into the "should weigh heavily on the con- Stalinist and trade-union bureautraditional two-party channels science" of Mayor McLevy. By cracies, Connecticut labor was The A.F. of L. and L.N.P.L. outdid running his Socialist ticket, it sufficiently propelled by basic ecothemselves in their efforts to bol- seems, he has accomplished noth- nomic and social stimuli to take ster up the workers' flagging loy- ing less than the defeat of "real a great step forward. That is the alty to the New Deal, Despite all progressives" and supporters of tremendously encouraging sign of Chicago but for the sake of a victheir efforts, despite their sound President Roosevelt, while con- the times contained in the state tory a most cynical partnership trucks and impassioned orators tributing to the election of "reac- elections.

and gaudy election posters, the in- i tionary Republicans." In this way front of the Democratic party, attempts to cover up the mass labor swing away from both capitalist parties. At all costs, a scapegoat

for labor's refusal to play the old

two-party game must be found. L. N. P. L. Defeats McLevy

But for all its face-saving devices, the Communist party stands revealed in this election for what it is. It is a well-known fact that the state organization of L.N.P.L. ment of the Democratic ticket. Now the election results have rewon the election!

L.N.P.L. realized the situation considerable political astuteness, remarked before the elections that the League had, as its chief purpose, the stemming of the mass drift toward McLevy in order to assure Cross's return to office and a victory for the New Deal. It is not too much to say, in view of the results, that the Communist Party, acting through its stooge organization, L.N.P.L., caused the defeat of McLevy and the consequent election of Baldwin! The lie of the Stalinists is flung back in their faces by the ineradicable figures themselves.

Lessons of Election

For revolutionists, the Connecticut elections are full of significance as indices of current trends and as guides for future action. Connecticut, long a focal center of hidebound Yankee conservatism, has given birth almost overnight to independent political currents, however uncertain and fumbling, groping toward independent political action. That is the whole meaning of McLevy's vote.

development, it is not because Mcfundamental way better than the licans. The successful candidate old capitalist candidates, with any for the U.S. Senate, Scott Lucas, more satisfactory palliatives with- is as reactionary as they make in a decaying capitalism. On the them. The Republican newspapers contrary, it is because labor's attribute his victory to the fact breaking away from the capitalist | that, while a member of the parties is thoroughly progressive, House of Representatives, he a necessary preliminary to further education, the first step in a left- Court Bill. Behind Lucas stood the ward development. For that rea- Horner-Courtney faction of the he acted more vigorously and pro- son alone, revolutionists must Democratic machine, representing gressively in his own city, thus everywhere encourage movements respectable Big Business. Courtnarcating himself a little more in the direction of support of in- ney, the present State's Attorney sharply from the capitalist par- dependent candidates, must agities, McLevy would have run up a tate within the ranks of the considerably higher vote. He unions and L.N.P.L. for such inde- by men who do his bidding. away from the traditional capital-

It would have been far more progressive for the Connecticut

California Labor Movement Smashes Anti-Labor Measures that the reactionary Chicago Tribune, after the election, contained

ply at the polls last week to the "Ex-Governor Curley is by no attempt of the bosses to foist on anti-labor statutes ever drafted.

While the powerful employers Curley's "excellent labor record." staged one of the most extensive, best-financed, and aggressive ifornia on behalf of the notorious be issued. Proposition No. 1, the anti-picketing measure, labor united its forces and succeeded in winning a victory by 1,359,963 to 982,908.

Larger Vote Than Olsen's

vote cast for Culbert Olsen, the victorious democratic candidate for governor, who polled 1,353,124

do as well in Oregon where a and others. similar proposal was voted into The \$30-a-week pension plan law. There labor will have to was defeated by a decisive vote

LOS ANGELES.—The workers this menace to the most element- cast for it showed the great senworking man.

tion results. Olsen is committed will be the old New Deal runopponents of the pardon to show campaigns in the history of Cal- cause why the pardon should not

Release the Others!

We've had more than enough hearings on Mooney but the long uphill struggle that has been waged for the country's most fa-The vote cast against the anti- mous class-war prisoner may labor statute was larger than the now be drawing to a successful conclusion.

ahead with a drive to secure freeto his Republican opponent's dom for all the other class war prisoners in California, including Unfortunately labor failed to Billings, Ramsey, King, Connor,

mobilize all its forces to fight but the vote of nearly 1,000,000

of California gave a smashing re- ary democratic rights of the timent that exists for some such measure. This was reflected in The workers will derive at one of Olsen's first statements promising some kind of old-age least one benefit from the elec- security. But we may be sure this to pardon Tom Mooney and an- around. Security lies not with

S.W.P. Active

The Socialist Workers Party in California issued a special election edition of the Socialist close to 10,000 copies, arousing the workers to the danger of Proposition No. 1, the anti-labor measure, and giving critical support to the Old Age Pension measure.

The paper was received with great interest and contributed to the successful drive against the effort to destroy organized labor in the state.

Read Socialist Appeal

ILLINOIS POLL **SHOWS NEED FOR** LABOR PARTY

Workers Corralled In Voting For Crooked Gang

By ALBERT GOLDMAN CHICAGO-What was obviously

middle-class revolt against the New Deal throughout the country hit Illinois as well. The sharp is completely under the Stalinist drop in the price of corn and thumb. It was the Stalinists who wheat created resentment amongst steamrolled through the endorse- the farmers; the generally bad business conditions for the lower vealed to all who have eyes to see middle class of the cities engenthat with organized labor's sup- dered dissatisfaction in the ranks port McLevy could easily have of that class. The result was a loss of faith by those two elements of the population in the very clearly. The Herald, with ability of the Roosevelt New Deal to solve their problems and the only place they had to turn was to the Republican party. This once more illustrated the Marxian maxim that if the middle class gets no decisive leadership from the left it turns to the right.

The Republican sweep did not, however, succeed in winning the mportant contest for the United States Senate. The Republicans recaptured four seats in the House of Representatives and apparently have gained control of the State Legislature. But their march to victory was stopped by the powerful Democratic machine of Chi-

Majority Whittled Down

Scott Lucas, running for Senator on the Democratic ticket, lost to his Republican opponent by 100,000 votes outside of Chicago elections signify above all that jority of over half-a-million which growing numbers of workers are the Democrats obtained in Cook cial security" legislation. bursting out of the chains of the County in 1936 was whittled down two-party capitalist system and to about 40 percent of that figure.

If the Republicans didn't win, neither did the New Dealers. In any contest for first place for re-If revolutionists support such a actionary politics most of the Democratic candidates would have Levy or his cohorts are in any nothing to fear from the Repubvoted against Roosevelt's Supreme of Cook Country, delights in raiding all labor unions not controlled

Supported by Underworld

Lucas was also supported by the notorious Kelly-Nash machine, closely allied with the underworld and in charge of the police who murdered striking steel workers L.N.P.L. to advance its own candi- for exercising their right to picket. These two factions, though fighting like cats and dogs in the primaries, for the right to control ing the people, found no difficulty in getting together during the election.

There isn't a single New Dealer in the whole Democratic crowd of was entered into between the respectable Horner faction, the underworld of the Kelly-Nash group and the Roosevelt New Dealers. One can judge the liberalism of the Kelly-Nash group by the fact an editorial expressing gratification over the victory of that group on the local scene.

L. N. P. L. Backs Unholy Front

The workers undoubtedly supported the Democrats. In the first place they were told to do so by nounced after the election that Olsen and the New Deal but Labor's Non-Partisan League he would hold hearings to permit opponents of the pardon to show gle. carried on an extensive campaign; it hasn't enough belief in its own program to do that. Whatever the Communist party could do to help was done.

However, the C.P. was somewhat impartial. The astute leadership of that party looked very and-true in the ranks of the Republican party and since the C.P. is really serious about the Demoendorsed the good Republicans.

the workers would have voted for peal.

PICKETS FOR JOBLESS DOLE

Administration For Run-Around

(Special to Socialist Appeal) LYNN, Mass.—Red tape, delay and other abuses in the administration of unemployment compensation in Massachusetts was scored last Monday by the North Shore Industrial Council of the

C.I.O. when union picket lines were formed before the State Un- OF THE APPEAL: employment Compensation offices in Lynn and Salem. the council, and William G. from the Lynn picket line and

on the sidewalks, distributing hand-bills and "refusal to move." Want No Stalling Picket banners reading "We Want Our Money Now" pointed to the fact that thousands of Massachusetts unemployed entitled under the law to unemployment compensation have been denied this relief by all sorts of stalling

and resorts to innumerable "jok-

ers" in the state law. viciously anti-labor in denying editions possible. compensation to striking workers and in the financing through a TWICE-A-WEEK APPEAL system of deferred wage pay- MUST BE PREPARED FOR! ments.

Carson's statement, which drives at evils only too familiar to workers in other states, said in

"The job of settling the multitude of personal grievances arising out of the interpretation and administration of the present unemployment compensation legislabut obtained a plurality of more tion must not be allowed to cloud among the working class. The than 200,000 in Chicago. The ma- over the larger and more basic job of drastically modifying "so-

Aid to Strikers "The anti-labor sections must be eliminated, notably the present denial of benefits to strikers. who must be allowed full compensation. Benefits must be increased. especially in the lower brackets, and benefit periods must be extended. This must be done by increasing the contributions of the employers. No further taxes from the workers should be exacted—in fact their contributions should be entirely eliminated.

ment compensation benefits must be eliminated. The excuse that such delay is necessary to check up on an applicant's eligibility is unjustified. Better a few should receive benefits to which they are not entitled than that large bers with valid claims should sufmonths of delay, while their claims are being probed, as is the case today."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

GALA CELEBRATION! Founding of the 4th International and showing of the historic film "TSAR TO LENIN" December 10, 1938, 8 P. M. promptly at Albion Hall, 141 Albion St., between 16th & 17th St., nr. Valencia. 35c by ticket, 50c at door. Tickets can be secured at Mac-Donalds Bookshop or at 542 Valencia, Rm. 11, SAN FRAN-

UNEMPLOYED AND RELIEF Workers League victory-get-together affair. Saturday, Dec. 3 ca, L. I. Dancing - Beer - Fun -Food. Admission 25 cents. the Democratic party. To them

New Deal, and between the New Deal and the reactionary Republicans they chose the former. The presence of a real Labor party with a program meeting the needs of the workers would have made a tremendous difference in Illinois and elsewhere. Not that victory would have been assured but there would have been a far dif-Stalinists. Not that the League ferent spirit arising from an independent struggle for independent candidates on a militant program. The so-called Labor party in Il-

linois consists of not much more along the unholy combination of than the local leaders of the de-Appeal, distributing and selling Horner, Kelly and the New Deal crepit Socialist party, supported by a number of local trade unions. The party was unable to get on the ballot because the Democratic politicians feared the possibility of losing some votes to it. At that, carefully and found good-men- and without any campaign, some thousands of workers must have written in the name of the Labor party candidate for Senator. The cratic front it acted logically and Socialist Workers' party supported the write-in for the Labor par-It must be admitted that even ty candidate. The Chicago S.W.P. without the urgings of Labor's also issued a special 2-page elec-Non-Partisan League and the C.P., tion edition of the Socialist Ap-

Appeal Army

A special supplement, dealing for your local campaign. List the serious solution offered to the refugee problem. This revived New York party is showing the way!

LOCAL EDITIONS

As an indication of our growing influence and strength we want Donald G. Carson, president of to list the following special, local editions of our paper that have Adams, a delegate, were arrested appeared in recent weeks. These editions have been mainly devoted charged with violations of city to placing our revolutionary viewordinances against carrying signs coint before workers during the election campaign: (1) Special All-California 4-

page issue of the Appeal. (2) Special Chicago 2-page is sue of the Appeal. (3) Special New Jersey 4-page

issue of the Appeal. Also, New Jersey has just pubished a second 4-page issue, devoted to the election results and

analysing the tremendously successful vote recorded by the revo-In a statement for the C.I.O. lutionary candidates of the Social-Council issued to the local press, ist Workers Party. The Appeal Carson exposed many important staff offers its heartiest congratudefects of the administration of lations to those comrades, especthe law and the law itself, par- | ially literature agents, whose enticularly those sections which are ergetic activities have made these

Every comrade of our party and the Y.P.S.L.: every friend and sympathizer of the Fourth International in America will be more than happy to learn about the decision of the National Committee to issue our paper semi-weekly. The revolutionary nature of this step on the road to a daily Appeal is recognized by all.

Next week-and in future weeks -branches and literature agents throughout the country will receive detailed instructions from the National Office and from the Appeal management on how to prepare for the coming semi-weekly. Branches will be assigned quotas in the campaign to raise the necessary funds: literature agents will be advised on how to handle the problem of additional distribu-

But it is never too early to

with the burning problem of the various ways and means you inrefugees from fascism, has been tend to employ to raise your quodded to this week's Appeal. These ta. Select suitable places for addi-Lynn Workers Rap extra two pages were financed en- tional distribution; prepare asirely by the New York section of signments for all comrades. And our party. In addition, the New above all, don't forget the month-York party and Y.P.S.L. is active- ly statement of your account with ly engaged right now in selling the Appeal which is now in your and distributing 5,000 copies of the hands! We here in New York are 2-page supplement on the streets gearing our staff, our print-shop of New York. All reports indicate and ourselves to the momentous a rousing response to the only task of the semi-weekly Appeal. Swing into action now, comrades, and the twice-a-weeker will be anpearing before you know it; With its more frequent appearance, with its even more popular content and broader appeal, circulation is bound to go skyrocketing. On to the mass Socialist Appealthe voice of the American working class!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FROM ENGLAND:

The British Empire may be tottering, but not its revolutionists! We print below extracts from a resolution adopted by the English Revolutionary Socialist League and sent to the Appeal:

"We, the undersigned members of the Lit-Com. of the R.S. L. wish to convey to the American comrades our unreserved thanks for the invaluable assistance which we have received in the unrestricted supplies of newspapers and literature. . . .

"We further would like to inform you of our great appreciation of the achievement of your movement, in the inestimable service you have rendered the 4th International in producing the special issues of the Socialist Appeal during the recent crisis, and the splendid World-Congress Number. . . ."

These comrades, incidently, are handling about 100 copies per week in London alone.

This past week was a record sub week for the Appeal! A new, all-time high was reached in new and renewal subs received:

NEW YORK CITY	2
St. Paul	1
Ohio	
Connecticut	
Minneapolis	
Pennsylvania	
New York State	
Washington, D. C	
Kansas	
Chicago	
Indiana	,
Foreign	á
Total	Ī

There was one bundle-order inthink about this problem. We urge crease recorded this week when all literature agents and literature St. Louis' new and capable agent committees to start the ball roll-increased his to 40 per week.

"Delay in payment of unemploy- SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL

NEW YORK CITY MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Fourth Ave., S.E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S.W.; at Third Ave., fer and starve through weeks and N.W; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N.W.; at Sixth Ave. N.E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl. N.E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich

> Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave. S.W; at Sixth Ave., S.E.; at Sixth Ave., S.W.; at Seventh Ave., S.W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St. 23rd St. & 4th Ave., S.W. & N.W Essex and Delancy Sts; Book store at Grand and Attorney Sts Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave: Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave; 110th St. and Columbus

Ave. BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th St; Jerome Ave. and 167th St opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave Jerome and Burnside Aves; 160th St. and Prospect Ave; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard: 174th St. & at 8 p.m. 146-37 South St., Jamai- Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 3897 Sedgwick Ave.

BROOKLYN: Havemeyer and S. 4th Sts., Tompkins and Myrtle the Democrats represented the Aves.; Strauss St., near Pitkin Ave.; Sutter Ave., near Van Sin-

deren Ave. LONG ISLAND: 23rd St. & 45th Ave.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza N.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza S.; 27th St. and Bridge Pla-

ROCHESTER, N. Y. 433 N. Clinton St. 257 N. Clinton St. Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts. Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St. S.E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts. S.W. Cor. Main & South Ave. NEWARK. N. J. Reitman's, cor. Broad & William

Littman's, cor. Hawthorne Ave. & Reeves Pl PATERSON, N. J. A. Guabello's Stationery Store 317 Straight St. NEW HAVEN, Conn.

Nodelman's Newsstand, Church St., bet. Chapel & Center CHICAGO S.W.P., 160 N. Wells, Rm. 308 Cor. 57th & Blackstone Cor. 12th & Kedzie P. O. News, 37 W. Monroe Ceshinsky Bookshop ALLENTOWN, PA

R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St. Otto Yost, 383 Hamilton St. PHILADELPHIA 1806 North Franklin St.

Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands Cor. 11th and Market Sts. (N.W.) 40th St. & Girard Ave.

QUAKERTOWN, Penna. Esser's Newsstand Front & West Broad Sts. BOSTON, MASS. Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford) CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square LYNN. Mass. S.W.P., 54 Central Sq., Rm. 12

ROXBURY, MASS. Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall) INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana Lyric News Shop 115 N. Illinois Street MINNEAPOLIS Labor Book Store, 919 Marquette

Sam's Corner, Olympia Square

Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin; Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet. 410 Washington Blvd. ST. LOUIS MO. Foster Book Company CLAYTON ,MO. The Book Nook, 24A Meramac YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio Nick's, Wick St. and Commerce

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Sportland Smoke Shop, 3399 Mission St. Store 20, 3057 16th St. Mason Grocery, Mason & Pacific Sts. Ferry Building, Stand at Key System entrance Kobliks Stationery,

1004 Fillmore Room 2, 542 Valencia St. Ray's Smoke Shop, 1203 Sutter LOS ANGELES 233 S. Broadway, Room 312 1541 N. Echo Park Ave. Smith News, 5th & Main Sts. Modern Book Shop, 509 W. 5th St. Shoe Shine Shop, 2307 Brooklyn Candy Store, 2231 Brooklyn Ave. Candy Store, 2141 Brooklyn Ave.

SAN DIEGO, Calif. Universal News Co., 242 B'way Sweet Shop, 2526 Brooklyn Ave. AKRON, Ohio News Exchange, 51 S. Main St. Cigar Store, next cor. Bartges &

S. Main St. OAKLAND, California 7th and Washington 12th. bet. B'way & Washington Andrew Williams Market Broadway, near 19th DETROIT, Mich.

Socialist Appeal Club, 3513 Woodward Ave., Room Cor. 13th and Market Sts. (N.W.)

Stem From Same Roots As Lynchings of Negroes Here NEW YORK PARTY AROUSES MASSES ON ASYLUM ISSUE NEW YORK PARTY THE CASE OF GRYNSZPAN IN WORKERS PICKET NAZI CONSULATE A pistol shot has torn open the abscess of Fascism. Herschel Grynszpan, homeless 17-year NEW YORK PARTY THE CASE OF GRYNSZPAN IN WORKERS PICKET NAZI CONSULATE NAZI CONSULATE OF THE CASE OF GRYNSZPAN IN THE PREIS NAZI CONSULATE OF THE PREIS OF THE CASE OF GRYNSZPAN IN THE PREIS OF THE CASE OF GRYNSZPAN IN THE PREIS OF THE PREIS

By JAMES BURNHAM

The wave of shame and horror that has swept the world at the spectacle of the latest Nazi anti-Semitic bestialities gives witness once again to a depth of noble feeling that promises well for the future of mankind, whatever the darkness of the present. But shame and horror are not enough, and reaction is always awake and ready to harness the

noblest feelings to its own bitter shafts. We must also understand; and if we do not understand the meaning of what is now happening, our very indignation will be turned into a further instrument of our own destruction.

Why does this monstrosity in animal-like ferocity, hound them in public and in private, drive them from every refuge, seek to deprive them not only of every apparently, of life itself? Who and what are responsible?

Masked Hypocrisy The Roosevelts and Al Smiths and Hoovers and Dorothy Thompsons, quick to exploit the popular response for their own prestige and aims, tell us that this persecution is "unbelievable" and "unprecedented in history," that it is glories of "western civilization." When they tell us this, and use their words to justify the impe-

ing, they lie. In reality, these at any proposal to send Jews there. Nazi persecutions are the natural and normal harvest of the social to live in large numbers in Jews and stated that an indesystem which these pious hypo- Africa, there exists an economic, pendent Africa would be glad to crites, the Roosevelts and Smiths political and social situation of welcome Jews who would be able and Hoovers and Thompsons, the most acute tension. The ac- to contribute materially to the spend their days in defending cepted policy is to take the best technical and educational devel-It is only a festering sore, pres- land for the whites and to segre- opment of Africans. But it opent always and everywhere in gate the Africans in areas too capitalism, breaking open as dis- small for them. This is one of imperialism once more to solve ease and rottenness spread more the means by which black labor its difficulties at the expense of widely throughout the whole so- is assured. Unable to earn a liv- the African. cial organism.

Capitalist-Bred

"unbelievable" and "unprece- go to the settler and seek emdented"? Not in the least. All ployment at whatever terms the that is unprecedented is their settler offers. openness and cold ruthlessness, and even these are by no means unexampled. From its beginnings capitalism has bred on the fanning of the most frightful and hideous racial and religious hatreds—the means whereby capital- land they have stolen. But they ism keeps its exploited slaves resist the increasing demand of divided, by which it re-doubles over two millions African for oppression of subject races, and provides scapegoats to turn away wrath from its own head.

Do we in the United States need to be reminded that in this country thirteen million Negroes live in precisely those conditions an enemy to his most fundawhich Hitler today proposes for the Jews: in Ghettoes, in squalor and disease and poverty, deprived out from all the cultural institu-tions of the dominant race, prevented from exercising political rights, barred from all dignified or lucrative employment? Does an Englishman need to be reminded how Chamberlain today in Palestine pits Arab and Jew savagely against each other for the safety of British imperialist rule or how he sweats the natives in the gold mines of South Africa? Does a Frenchman have to be told what happens in the Sudan or in Indo-China?

Get at Roots! The blood of the German Jews, dripping from the hands of Goebbels and Goering and their gangs ual departures from it. of maddened sadists, drips also from the white hands of Chamberlain and Roosevelt and from tension of the Palestine policy to the whole international associa- Africa, the strengthening of Eution of cut-throats and murderers ropean imperialism in Africa, who sustain in life a system whose price for humanity is now emigrant Jews will be forced to measured only in a daily and occupy the position in Africa in continuous increase of torment regard to the Africans that the

against the Jews because, in his the ordinary African will see it. desperation, he has no other re- He could not help seeing it othercourse. Perhaps the expropriation will patch up the cracks in his shattering economy. Even Africans have reacted already. more, he must try to whip the German masses into insane and futile frenzy against the Jews so that they will forget their own ations of the Evian Conference in chains and their own hunger. its organ International African And on the other side of the Opinion. The Bureau attacked medal the Roosevelts and Hoo- Nazism for its persecution of the vers seek to turn the popular fury against the persecutions of a defense of the most mighty from its only genuine and effec- and sinister of all the sectors of tive outlet in a drive against capitalism-American imperialism capitalism itself, the source of the and its schemes for world-wide persecutions, to their own ends | conquest

makes the rulers of Germany scourge an entire people with such An African "Homeland" For the Jewish Refugees?

human comfort and decency but, New "Panacea" Put Forward by World Imperialists Full of Pitfalls—Only Solution Is "Open Doors" Right Here

By C. L. R. JAMES

Among Africans, as all over the world, there is wide-spread sympathy for the Jews and detestation of this latest brutality of the Nazis. Africans, more than most other social groups, can understand tion. the work of "madmen" cut off what it is that the Jews are being subjected to. They are ready to from all connection with the take common action against the imperialists, Fascists and "democrats" who have for generations subjected them to similar persecution in their own country. But the land situation in South and East rialist war that they are preparal Africa makes inevitable a wide-spread resentment among Africans

Wherever whites have been able ing and money for the Government tax in the restricted areas Are these persecutions truly assigned to him, the African must

Natives Need Land This, in Kenya for instance, is the foundation of the conflict between blacks and whites. There are less than 20,000 whites in support for it. Kenya. They cannot use all the

more land. To settle thirty or forty thousand Jews in Kenya will be for the native African almost a death-blow. He will see, he sees already, in all who support this,

mental need. Furthermore, the social and political situation will be aggravated. The European in South or

There is no form of racial discrimination practiced by the Nazis against the Jews, that is not practiced by the Europeans in Kenya against the Africans Any Jew who attempted to behave in a manner different from the ordinary English settler would forthwith be deported from the country. The economic relationship between European and African makes this social system inevitable, and European imperialism will not tolerate any individ-

The transference of Jews from Germany to Africa means the exwith the additional crime that the Nazis occupy in regard to the Hitler launches his thugs Jews in Germany. That is how

more politically-minded The International African Service Bureau, a London organization, issued a statement on the deliber-

posed this attempt of European

Join Fight for Jews

The Bureau proposed a united front of working class organizations all over the world to agitate and bring pressure to bear on the capitalist governments of the world for the relief of the persecuted Jews. With such an organiwork and would mobilize African



C. L. R. JAMES

In the recent Munich crisis the Bureau stood in a united front the American Student Union, with the Revolutionary Socialist League (the British section of the Fourth International), the Militant Labor League, the Independent Labour Party, etc., for the revolutionary struggle against war. The millions of Africans will rally to this policy only on the basis of their struggle against world imperialism for national in-

dependence. Support of the imperialist policy of sending Jews to Africa would create a gulf between the potentially powerful African revolutionary movement and revolutionary socialism. It, would assist the British and French imperialists who, by sending Jews to African colonies, would be able to use that, if need be, as an argument for defending these colonies against German "aggression."

Assuredly, the Jews everywhere service of France. Yesterday's Fourth International.

Workers Respond To Vigorous Drive By Locals

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party-to aid the victims of Fascist persecution in Europe and especially the victims of the Nazi drive to exterminate the Jews-is gathering momentum. Meetings and demonstrations, locally and on a city-wide scale, have been held or are scheduled for the duration of this campaign. Resolutions and petitions are being circulated. Around the main slogan of "Open the Doors to the Refugees!" militant workers of all races and creeds are rallying in an enthusiastic and aggressive demand for ac-

At street meetings and demonstrations in every borough of the city the response of the workers has been unmistakable.

In the Bronx, for example, 500 to 600 people gathered last Friday at Tremont and Prospect Ave. More than 100 Socialist Appeals were sold. One thousand manifestos were distributed.

Hundreds of workers on the East Side responded similarly. In the short period of the campaign 15,000 manifestos calling upon the workers to act against the Nazi pogroms and to demand that the American government let in the refugees have been dis-

25,000 stickers have been pasted all over the city. 10,000 copies of this penny issue of the Socialist Appeal are on sale. In the Garment Center, in the Bronx, on the zation the Bureau was ready to Lower East Side workers have not only listened to our party speakers, but have themselves helped to distribute the manifestos. Attempts of the Stalinists to disrupt local placard parades and street meetings were squelched by indignant workers.

Thousands of copies of a reso lution (printed elsewhere in this issue) for introduction into all unions and mass organizations have been distributed. Already this resolution, calling for the opening of the doors has been passed by a number of locals in New York City. To the Commuthe Kremlin open the doors?

Among the youth of the city, in clubs, in the high schools and n the colleges the campaign is being pushed by the Young People's Socialist League. Already thousands of signatures have been secured to the petition to Roosevelt. The City College unit of which is controlled by the Communist Party, has joined in the call to let down the bars.

As the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party reaches its peak it will try to impress upon every one that the only way to give real aid to the refugees is to abolish all numerical quotas as well as all financial, racial and political restrictions. The success of the campaign depends upon the push of the working class and the minorities already in this country.

'democrats" in Czechoslovakia are today campaigning against

On the contrary, mass agitation of the workers against the capitalist governments for the right of asylum to the persecuted on guard against being used as lions of Africans. The stronger pawns by British or French im- this agitation by the workers and perialism in the bloody and cyn- oppressed colonials on a national cal game of imperialist rivalries. and international scale the greater of Daladier, the French Premier of the Jews. The basis of the ap--who was until yesterday support- proach to the Jewish question, ed by the whole Popular Front of here, as always, is the revolution-France-proposed the restriction ary struggle against capitalism, of the Jews in the government | or in other words, the road of the

Fascism. Herschel Grynszpan, homeless 17-yearold Polish Jew, in a gesture of defiance and despair, shot a secretary of the Nazi embassy in Paris. This act has served as the pretext for abominable reprisals against 600,000 defenseless individuals, the whole of German Jewry. Thus, the inner poison of Fascism bursts forth to dis-

gust the world.

WHAT IS GRYNSZPAN'S FATE? Today Herschel Grynszpan lies a pathetic and broken figure in a French prison waiting for the law to move its course to the guillotine. Starting as the central figure of a tragedy still in its opening act, Grynszpan has already become submerged under developing events of such tremendous and shocking character as to divert the world attention from his own fate.

But Herschel Grynszpan must not be forgotten. He is both a portent and a lesson. As a portent, he reflects the growing feeling amongst the masses that fascism can never be curbed by simply bowing to its deadly advance, by servility and meekness, by reliance on sentiment and indignation alone. Fascism can be destroyed only by the most unyielding and courageous resistance on the part of victims and potential

NO INDIVIDUAL TERROR!

As an object lesson, however, this pitiable boy demonstrates, as never before in history, the falseness and futility of acts of individual terror as a means of fighting the oppression of a whole social system. Individual terrorist acts. striking at single representatives of an entire class, are a reflection only of weakness, disorganization, and lack of understanding of the real forces that keep political systems like Fascism in power. Indeed, individual terrorism only re-enforces those ideas which fascism itself employs to gain and hold power. Whoever thinks that by wiping out certain individuals he can cripple an entire regime thereby lends weight to the Fascist ideology, the "Leader" principle, which builds up the need for a Dic-

FASCISM IS CAPITALISM

But fascism is not the product of the Hitlers and Mussolinis. They themselves are rather the products of fascism, the off-spring of a decaying capitalist order. It is decaying capitalism that breeds Fascism.

The "democratic" capitalists, and their agents -who are themselves prepared, when they feel the need, to push forward their own particular brands of "Fuehrers" in America, Great Britain and France-do not want the true nature of fascism exposed, because in the exposure its very roots will be traced directly into the soil of the capitalist system itself. This is the fundamental fact which Grynszpan did not understand. That is why he made a futile gesture against one individual instead of fighting politically against the system which breeds such

GRYNSZPAN IS VICTIM

The real responsibility for Grynszpan's act does not lie with this half-crazed immature boy himself. In reality, it lies with the "democratic" capitalists and their agents, who raise their hands in horror at this hapless victim and are preparing to offer him as a sop to Nazi bloodwhose system is in the crowning of the individual over the masses.

These scoundrels "denounce" in the same breath, and to the same degree, both Hitler and Fascism is the crime of an entire ruling class which degrades millions upon millions of Grynszpans into servile existence.

MUST NOT BE VICTIMIZED

We must not permit the spokesmen of capitalist "democracy" to portray the act of a Grynszpan in the same light as they do the acts of a Hitler. We dare not permit these gentlemen, whose own hands drip with the blood of millions of exploited workers and colonial slaves, to sanctimoniously offer the body of Grynszpan as tribute to Hitler.

Herschel Grynszpan has already paid for his folly a thousand times over-with the terrible realization of the consequences of his false method of fighting fascism. Far from aiding his people and weakening Hitlerism, which was his honest desire, his act served as the pretext for more bloody repressions. For fascism can be destroyed only by the mass revolutionary action of the workers stamping out the entire system of capitalism which breeds anti-Semitism and

His own words after his arrest attest to this realization, as well as to his just despair of any hope from the representatives of democratic capitalism. He said, "Being a Jew is no crime-I hoped President Roosevelt would take pity on us refugees—I am not a dog—I did not mean to kill—I lost my head." But Roosevelt did not take pity on the refugees. Nor did any other "democratic" leaders. So Grynszpan was driven to resist by the only means which his limited understanding could grasp.

Above all, we must realize that Hitler's actions against the Jews did not arise from Grynszpan's act. Hitler's terror campaign was already planned. It flowed from his desire to use this campaign as an outlet for the resentment of the German masses against their terrible living conditions. Grynszpan's revolver shot was merely a pretext. Inevitably, even if he had never existed, some other pretext would have

The tragic fate of this boy must serve as a living lesson to the Jewish people. They must no longer beg for the grace and condescending "good-wishes" of the "democratic" nations, who have not and will not willingly lift a finger for their practical aid. They must stiffen their spines! Stop crawling and cringing! Join hands with all the oppressed workers and masses of the earth to offer open resistance to fascist ter-

If Grynszpan dies, it will be only as another victim of the yielding to the fascist demands. The liberals and the "democrats" plan to offer his life as another appeasal to insatiable fascism. But the workers must cry "Halt!" to this submission to Nazi blackmail. This is the same sort of blackmail that Hitler has been using on the Jew of the world! But the more you yield to a blackmailer, the more he demands!

Workers of all races, religions and colors! Unite against the taking of Grynszpan's life as payment for the Nazi blackmailing threats!

United Front Demonstrates Labor Strength

Shouting the slogans "Open the Doors to the Refugees!" and Only Working Class Action Can Smash Fascism!" over 400 workers joined in a united front picket line last Saturday morning at the German Consulate in New York City in protest against the Nazi pogroms against the Jews.

The demonstration started at 10 a.m. when members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) marched into Battery Place, where the Consulate is located, and flung a picket line in front of it. Soon they were joined by members of the Socialist Party and of the Independent Labor League who participated in the united front. Under the watchful eye of a

special detail of police the picket line marched, shouting slogans. and bearing placards. Three thousand manifestos setting forth the party position on aid to the victims of Fascist terror were distributed by S.W.P. members to the crowd continually collecting. and continually shooed away by the mounted cops.

COUNCIL JOINS

A large group of reporters and cameramen from the Metropolitan press were on hand.

After the picket line had been marching for some time the Progressive Women's Council, a Stalinist-influenced organization, showed up with its own placards protesting the Nazi pogroms. Sensing the stupidity of refusing to march with the united front picket line already in action this group, after considerable hesitation, joined the line. Despite the exhortations of their leader not to shout any slogans at all many of the women could not restrict themselves to such passivity and joined in some of the shouted slogans, especially those calling upon Roosevelt to open the doors to the refugees.

Through an intermittent rain the line kept marching, adding the cry, "We fight Fascism, rain or shine!" Only after two hours of steady picketing did the line break up in an orderly fashion. Every local paper and some of the evening radio broadcasts reported this protest march.

AMERICAN FUND CALLS FOR AID

Petition lists calling upon Congress of the United States to 'Open All Doors to the Refugees' are to be circulated on a national scale according to an announcement of the American Fund For Political Prisoners and Refugees 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This campaign, already begun in New York, is being conducted by the National Campaign Committee For the Right of Asylum of the above-named organization.

The Socialist Workers Party enthusiastically endorses this campaign and call on all workers to give it their support, not only by signing the petition themselves but by circulating them in their unions and other organizations. Only by reinforcing, through such means among others, an irresistible mass pressure upon Congress, can the immigration restrictions which amount to virtual exclusion of all refugees be removed, and this country, the richest in the world, become again a haven for the oppressed and persecuted workers of the world.

All contributions to cover the cost of this specific campaign, as well as contributions to the regular work of the Fund, should be sent in to the Fund at the address given above. In the months of its existence hundreds of dollars have been sent abroad to aid the most persecuted people of Europe, the militant fighters who have been carrying on an open and unrelenting struggle against Fascism from years past right up to the present and have earned thereby the hostility of every government in Europe.

tion, "What will you do for the refugees now?", "Why does not Bosses Exploit Jobless 10UGHT TO KNOW... Needs to Bar Nazi Victims

capitalist democracy have slipped on earth. Over half its populaon another fancy dress. Back in tion trace their ancestry in this the Palmer Red-Raid days follow- land no further back than 1860. ing the last war to make the These "refugees" and immediate world safe for millionaires, im- descendants of "refugees" of but from war-torn Europe was sharp- cannot deny to the oppressed vicly curtailed. Then, the cry was: tims of fascism the right of asy-America for Americans!" The tor- for themselves. rent of immigrants into the U.S., so necessary for capitalist expanpurely reactionary reasons. But,

of persecuted refugees from Fascim for "progressive" and "hu-

America's unemployed millions, show a less than reasonable ing concern and label it for what it is: "WPA Chicken"—balogney! and the right to live.

The quick-change artists of America is the richest country migration of harassed refugees a few years ago in all decency "Undesirables! Criminal elements! | lum which they so eagerly sought

Crocodile Tears As for the unemployed, who

sion, was practically stopped for have had to fight for every relief crumb from the groaning banquet tables of the American industrial-Today, you see, these same re- ists and bankers, they must recactionaries oppose the admission ognize that the crocodile tears a hypocritical display. They will manitarian" reasons. A few hun- not permit their persecuted dred thousand more people added brothers and fellow-workers of to the 130,000,000 million already other lands to be hounded to their Jews could help to draw into the here might interfere with the death because America's ruling must struggle, but they must be struggle against capitalism mil- right of America's unemployed to class might use the refugee problem as an excluse for chiseling on the meager rations of the unemployed. The fight for asylum who for nine years have experi- for the refugees is part of the Already L'Ere Nouvelle, the paper the safeguard of the minority enced the tender concern of fight for better conditions for the American capitalism for their unemployed part of the worldwelfare, will be forgiven if they wide fight of the working-class to wrest from a brutal and profitgratitude for this sudden touch- mad capitalism, both fascist and "democratic," the right to work

comes when you find people whom you trusted as comrades and fellow-workers selling out to the enemy. Sometimes it is done for greed and sometimes out of confusion or fear. Often it is done merely because the deserter is tired of being broke. Always there is an elaborate mechanism of self-defense-a new "philosophy," or a new cynicism. "But it is very painful to wit-

By MIKE GOLD

honest. The worst moment

". . . it isn't always easy to be

ness and a bit demoralizing. I have seen at first hand some scores of cases and have become accustomed to it as a human phenomenon. What I say is that it doesn't pay. The man thinks he has sold out only his brothers. But he has really sold out the best part of himself, and for a mess of pottage. And there always comes a bitter and lonely night when he wakes up and realizes it. That was the story of Judas. He too earned some "easy money" but came to a bad end. It is the universal "No, I think it is better to be

loyal and truthful. In the last analysis, a man has to live with himself, and even a gangster like Dutch Schultz raved on his deathbed, in the agony of a bad conscience. And even if there is no bad conscience, such people are always caught up with in time by society."—From the Daily Worker, Nov. 22.

The Story that was NOT in the Headlines!

The real reason why Chamberlain capitulated to Hitler at Munich.

HEAR THE EXCITING LECTURE BY

C. L. R. JAMES

World-Famous Journalist and Labor Leader; author of "World Revolution," "A History of Negro Revolt," "The Black Jacobins."

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NEWARK JOBLESS DEMAND ASYLUM FOR NAZI VICTIMS

Call Upon Roosevelt to Open Doors of America

NEWARK, N. J.-The Joint Executive Committee of the Essex County Workers Alliance, representing the thousands of jobless in this area, have refused to swallow the misleading propaganda of the American bosses that letting down the immigration bars to the victims of Nazi terror will take jobs away from American work-

In a resolution, unanimously endorsed by the board last Thursday night, these representatives of the organized jobless called upon the U.S. Congress and Roosevelt to open the doors of America to the refugees from Nazism. The resolution demanded that all quota restrictions be lifted for all refugees from fas cist countries.

Wise to Boss Agitation This action, introduced by George Breitman, a leading member of the Essex County W. A. demonstrates that the jobless are becoming increasingly wise to the fact that it is capitalism and the capitalists who are responsible for taking the jobs away from millions of American workers, and not other workers. Barring the refugees from America will not give the unemployed jobs.

Organizing the workers to fight for the opening of the shut down factories, for huge public works, for housing projects, for the reuction of thed work-day and work-week with no reductions in weekly earnings-these are the things which will provide jobs for American jobless and the refu-

GREEN AND WOLL ish masses away from their only ism is leading the Jews up a blind ism is leading the Jews up a blind alley DODGE ISSUE OF **ASYLUM FOR JEWS**

Falling in line with the wave of public indignation, William Green and Matthew Woll made radio denunciations of Hitler last Friday evening. After saying correctly that a "strong, free and independent labor movement is the greatest protection any country can have for the protection of its freedom and civil liberties," Green ended in a conclusion that an intensification of the consumer's boycott of German goods would alleviate the plight of the Palestine. Jews. Experience has proved that a boycott is only a partial measler continues to rule supreme and still is so foolish as to believe President Martin to demand strike tion. would "support any 'practical' plan" for the release of the persecuted. Why then not support OPENING THE DOORS of the U. S., the only practical plan?

Prayers But No Refuge Green and Woll refuse openly to advocate opening the doors because they have pledged themselves to Roosevelt, who is "horrifled" by the Nazi pogroms and willing to offer a prayer but not a haven. Such "pledges" are a mockery of the sufferings of the tortured. Organized labor cannot rest content with the extension of visas for 12,000 German "visitors"

in this country. Matthew Woll is also ready, on his part, to relieve the despair of the Jews with "a moral ring around Germany." Pious indignation is hardly an answer to a plea for life. That cannot be the complete answer of a strong, free and independent labor movement.

Serious persons will reject halffor the Jews in AMERICA.

> This week at THE

MARXIST SCHOO

116 University Pl., N. Y. C.

Monday, Nov. 28th at 7 P.M. B. J. WIDICK speaks on American Trade Unionism. Monday, Nov. 28th at 8:30 P.M.

JACK WEBER continues his lectures on world politics with a discussion on events in Spain. Tuesday, Nov. 29th at 7 P.M.

J. G. WRIGHT on Marxist Fundamentals. Tuesday, Nov. 29th at 8:45 P.M.

JAMES BURNHAM lectures on "The Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours and Worker's Control of Production."

Wednesday, Nov. 30th at 7 P.M. JAMES CASEY speaks on Labor Journalism.

Friday, Dec. 2nd at 7 P.M. DAVE COWLES on The Capitalist Crisis and the Farmer. Friday, Dec. 2nd at 8:30 P.M.

GEORGE NOVACK speaks on "The Third American Revolution." Admission is 25 cents per lecUnion Leader Demands Open Door for Refugees

That organized labor must take the lead in securing sanctuary in America for victims of Nazi persecution, and that trade unionists here must prepare to prevent a repetition of Nazism here, were the outstanding statements made by Carl Skoglund, President of General Drivers Union, Local 544, in an interview with a Socialist Appeal reporter today.

"I am fully in accord with your demand that America's doors be opened to these victims of race hatred," declared President Skoglund.

"As the workers increasingly engage in struggles against the employing class, there will undoubtedly be a systematic attempt made to incite racial hatred. Anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism will be part of the arsenal of American fascism. We see this already in Minneapolis, where the Silver Shirts are organizing, combining anti-Semitism with anti-unionism. Our union is ready to fight this reactionary movement with every means at our command. We have organized a Union Defense Guard for this purpose, which is engaged in rooting out fascist activities wherever they can be unearthed."

ZIONISM PROVES TO BE A **BLIND ALLEY FOR THE JEWS**

By BEN HERMAN that Roosevelt fight for the open most miserable conditions. door . . . in Palestine!

Our worthy President has been only too glad to comply. He im- there can be no homeland for the mediately expressed his most tender sympathies for the Jews and system is overthrown. The task was all in favor of their transpor- of today is to organize and fight tation to the holy land. Roose- for the socialist revolution. What C.I.O. were buried or ignored, the velt, together with most of our we must do now is to struggle liberal friends, seeks out all sorts for the OPENING OF THE of places for the Jews to go ex- DOOR OF OUR OWN COUN-

ing directly into the hands of immigration to Palestine, here these fakers of sentimentality by and now, and by diverting the turning the attention of the Jew- Jews from their main task; Zionsalvation . . . the fight for the alley. ppen door in the United States . and directing it to Palestine.

Learn from Experience! What hope is there in Palestine for the persecuted Jews of Europe? . Today the doors of Palestine, like the doors of every other nation, are shut tightly. Great Britain permits only a handful of immigrants each year. Although she parades as the friend of the Jewish people, England actually uses them as a pawn in her own imperialist interests. Needing a scapegoat inside Palestine to divert the Arab movement away from the channels of anti-imperialist struggle, the British Lion allows a tiny trickle of Jews into

The door to Palestine is opened and shut periodically in order to ly, misleadership of the Auto Unure. A consumer's boycott has open permanently the faucet of been in effect since 1933. Yet Hit- Arab chauvinism. Anybody who mously to hold a meeting with persecutions reach new pitches of that Britain is motivated by a authorization for the Fisher locals frenzy. Green also said that he consideration for the interests of to back up their demands in negominority peoples need only look to Czechoslovakia, where she delivered thousands of Jews and anti-fascists over to the executioners of Hitler because this was in the interests of British im-

> perialism. Britain's Game

What is the position of Palestine in the world today? It is merely a tiny pawn in the hands of an imperialist giant. Palestine guards Britain's route to India. It protects the Suez canal and the gateway to England's African empire. Oil pipe lines from Iraq terminate at Haifa, the most important port of the Near East and a proposed refueling naval base for British warships. In brief, Palestine is a key point of strategic importance to imperialist Great Britain.

Some Jews believe that Britain will permit them to establish a homeland in Palestine. This is a fatal error. Every new experimeasures; they demand a HOME ence proves that Britain will never tolerate this. In order for Palestine to become the homeland for the Jews, the country would role of the National Guard in lahave to be built up by the most | bor struggles, the report of C.I.O. have to be established. But Eng- draw the proper conclusions from land does not, cannot, and will that fact. not let this happen. Such a development would mean the to break strikes has been subsidgrowth of a huge modern work- ized by Federal government. The ing class movement inside Pales- National Guard is organized, fi-

tine which would be a permanent threat to British interests. That is why England refuses ally appropriates between \$30,to allow the growth of industry 000,000 to \$40,000,000 for its supin Palestine. That is why she port," the report states. stirs up riots between Arabs and Jews. That is why she encourages Guard to break strikes has in-Arab terror against the Jews, creased in recent times," the re-The Jews in Palestine like those port points out. in Czechoslovakia are being sac-

The latest proposal of the Brit- makes the budget that gives the ish hypocrites is to offer British. National Guard its expenses, nor Guiana and parts of Rhodesia as of the fact that Roosevelt is inplaces of refuge for the Jews. creasing the strength of the Na- locals in the Connecticut C.I.O. Why, of all the vast territories of tional Guard under the arma- must not repeat the mistake of the British Empire, have these ment program. It fails to counsel the convention, of yielding their places been singled out? Up till against depending on the federal organization to the union-wrecknow these territories have re- government in strike struggles ers by default. They must organmained undeveloped because they since it is an admitted fact that ize their ranks to fight for a corwere unprofitable. England hopes an agency of the federal govern- rect and militant organizational

order to build up her colonial The Zionists in the United empire. The Jews in Africa will States have been conducting a be for England a group of colowhirlwind campaign demanding nial slaves who will toil under the

> Britain's policy in Palestine and elsewhere proves one thing. That Jews until the whole imperialist

UAW AUTONOMY ENDANGERED BY DETROIT MOVE

(Continued from page 1)

As was to be expected the International Representative began apologizing for the General Motors Corporation, called for caution, inaction, and ended up by an appeal to allow him personally to handle the situation. The delehowever, have had too much experience with the weakkneed leadership, or more correction. They therefore voted unanitiations with General Motors.

The rank and file militants have taken the correct first steps. It is now obvious for all who care to Stalinists. They attempted to insee that the International Execu- troduce several significant resolutive Board is only interested in showing the manufacturers how ity, for independant working-class "reasonable" and "respectable" it has become, while, at the same time, suppressing every genuine

expression of the membership. If the shop stewards' committees of G.M. stick together and of Stalinists. Delegates from the fight for a genuine militant pro- Amalgamated Clothing Workers gram to protect their own interests, they will win the support of | Committee, who were opposed to the membership and will again reestablish the auto workers union | Local 505 and fight the Stalinists as an aggressive fighting body as they should have. protecting the interests and demands of the automobile workers of this country.

CIO Skirts Issue Of National Guard

PITTSBURGH, Pa. - While criticizing the strike-breaking modern machinery. The latest chairman John L. Lewis to the and best type of factory would founding convention refused to

> "The use of the National Guard nanced and regulated by the Federal government, which annu-

> "The use of the National

However, the report does no the Roosevelt regime which to capitalize upon the blood and ment, the National Guard, is a program to meet the needs of the misery of the Jewish people in strike-breaker.

Des Moines Drivers

DES MOINES, Iowa-An ironclad union contract, including substantial wage increases and Union Local 90. This contract marks another milestone in the clean-up drive of the organized truck drivers and helpers to pull into line hold-out operators in the 11-state area who have been attempting to buck the terms of the great area pact. The strike was won only after an extended struggle against bitter opposition.

The contract brings wage increases of five cents hourly to and warehousemen, the new hourly rates being respectively 571/2 cents and 55 cents. The local and the area pact will expire October 31, 1939.

C.P. HOGTIES

Capture Convention In Absence Of Major Unions

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.-In onvention during which the "par ty line" ran riot while vital organizational problems confronting the Stalinists seized the helm of the cept one . . . the United States. TRY TO THE OPPRESSED organization of the C.I.O. Employ-The Zionist movement is play- | JEWS. By concentrating upon | ing a mechanical 3-2 majority in gained in part by the failure of in accordance with Roosevelt's large and outstanding progressive grandiose "continental" plans. To locals of textile, rubber, auto and munist Party on the defenseless, ington and Wall Street. heads of the delegates.

support of New Deal agencies the workers as Batista. such as the National Youth Administration, Federal Housing Autions Board, and joining with such

Auto Workers Resist

Delegates from Local 505 of the Auto Workers offered the only opposition in the convention to the tions condemning collective securaction against war, for a popular referendum before any war and for a Labor Party. These were immeditely buried by a resolutions committee composed all but one and the Steel Workers Organizing the Stalinists, failed to support

Out of an executive board of 15 elected by the convention, eight posts including the presidency went to party members, two to "followers" of the line, and five to non-Stalinists. With this organizaional hand-cuff on the state C.I.O. apparatus the C.I.O members in Connecticut will have to fight the stranglehold of bureaucracy and anti-militancy from within, as well as the aggressions of the employers from without.

Must Organize Fight

Under the handicap of the Stalnist control, the locals and membership, if further organizational growth and gains from the employers are to be won, will have to start an uncompromising fight. The threats of many leading locals to withdraw from the state body must be discontinued. It is not the job of honest and militant workers to run away from the battle leaving the organization, which they have helped build, as the undisputed property and playrificed to the interests of Eng- include one word of criticism of ground of those whose only real interests are to turn the workers over to the Roosevelt war machine as docile cannon fodder.

> The progressive workers and industrial workers.

Win New Contract Fight From Arctic

(Continued from page 1) improved working conditions, the perspective of intensified conmarked the end of the strike of flict between the two powers leadthe fighting Des Moines Drivers ing to the ultimate struggle between them for domination of the Pacific area.

It is in preparation for this greater struggle that Roosevelt is now, spectacularly lacing the entire Western hemisphere into a unified war machine for Wall Street and American capitalism. LaGuardia Holds a Coat

The immediate focus of these plans is the forthcoming Pan-American conference at Lima on drivers and 7½ cents to dockmen Dec. 9. For this a whole series of preliminary maneuvers have been carried out. Col. Batista, the butcher of the Cuabn workers agreement extends for two years and the latest recruit to the "democratic front" was brought here, wined, dined, flattered and

After being proudly photoflower of a Mayor, LaGuardia, CONNECTICUT CIO flew down to Havana and there made a stump speech against flew down to Havana and there foreign" dictators.

> Batista was of course "won program. This means that Cuba more than ever before will become a major strategic base for the U.S. Navy and air force and the Cuban workers lashed more tightly than ever before to the American imperialist machine. Woe to those who fight for Cuba's United Rubber Workers of Amer freedom! The "democrat" Batista. with the approval of the "demo- Bridges' statements by making a crat" Roosevelt will shoot, torture, and butcher them as he has ever since he came to power.

newly formed Connecticut state including Alfred Landon and John L. Lewis' daughter as symbols of "national unity" will have the task of coordinating and organizsteam-roller style, a majority ing the puppet "good neighbors" this end they will consider plans for a Pan-American League of steel workers to send delegates, Nations, a "peace pact," etc. But the Shoe Workers union, took the the Stalinists turned the conven- the forms will be only secondary. same stand as Dalrymple, adding tion over to their "liberal" and The chief aims will be the ecolawyer "fellow-travelers" who pro- nomic and military regimentation ceeded to dump the entire war- of all the Latin American repubmongering program of the Com- lics under the command of Wash-

Let us not be fooled by all this conference he had a few words to No resolutions were permitted hypocritical palaver about defend- | sayto come before the rank-and-file ing "democracy" in this hemidelegates except those embodying sphere. Roosevelt does not give a the undiluted reactionary and hoot about democracy. More than pro-imperialist policies of Stalin- half the Latin American republics ism, support of Roosevelt's pro- are ruled by dictators as ruthless war foreign policies, uncritical and as stained with the blood of

The workers of Latin America and of this country have nothing thority, the National Labor Rela- in common with the war aims of Yankee imperialism and its Stalinist stooge outfits as the agents in the southern republics. American League for Peace and The real struggle for democracy Democracy. There was no discus- will be waged by us here against sion from the floor on any resolu- our own bosses and in Latin America by the workers chained To follow Roosevelt means not ist movement in that dictator-rid-oppressed workers of Peru, the

NOTICE

Many branch secretaries and literature-agents have gotten into the habit of mixing up letters, money-orders, funds and other materials which they send to the National Office in New York City.

The directors of the various party institutions make the urgent request that this practice cease immediately. Any material destined for one particular institution of the Party (for example, the NEW INTERNA-TIONAL, or the SOCIALIST APPEAL, or the National Office) should be addressed DI-RECTLY to that institution. In addition, DO NOT send in one money-order or check which is to be divided up among the various party units. PLEASE SEND SEPARATE PAY-MENTS MADE OUT AND AD-DRESSED TO THE ONE IT IS INTENDED FOR. The

other method leads to interminable delay, confusion and added bookkeeping. It is extremely annoying. Only an additional postage-stamp is required to prevent this.

We repeat: send all payments and letters DIRECTLY to the party institution that is supposed to receive it. Socialist Workers Party

New International Socialist Appeal

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36 West 15th St., 6th Floor.

U.S. Prepares To Bridges' Dictatorship Drubbed By CIO Leaders

To South America Rubber And Shoe Worker Delegates To CIO Convention Defy Machine; Back Fight For Democracy

> (Special to Socialist Appeal) PITTSBURGH, Pa.-The grow ing opposition to Harry Bridges Stalinist west coast C.I.O. direc tor, and his rule or ruin policies that developed at the C.I.O. convention here scored a signal victory despite a last minute intercession by John L. Lewis in behalf of Bridges.

An attempt by the Bridges forces from the west coast to get an endorsement of his policies at a private meeting of leading international union presidents who have local unions on the wes coast failed dismally.

The meeting was called by the president of the Stalinist-con trolled California C.I.O. council. Its purpose became apparent imgraphed holding an overcoat for mediately when all international the Cuban dictator, our little presidents except Homer Martin, of the auto workers, were invited. Bridges "Defends"

Bridges opened the meeting with a smooth speech in defense of his policies and he urged the over" completely to the Roosevelt | international union presidents to force their west coast locals into his councils. He tried to blame "a few disgruntled leaders" for the attacks on himself, and said the "rank and file is with me."

No sooner did he finish than S. H. Dalrymple, president of the ica rose to expose the lies in staunch defense for his west coast organizer.

Dalrymple Attacks "I've known my organizer for vears. He's been with us from the start and he's done a good job," Dalrymple declared for George B. Roberts, U.R.W.A. organizer in California. and then he told how he knew the rubber workers on the west

coast were against Bridges. Powers Hapgood, president of to the setback of Bridges. But the real attack was yet to come, Michael Padgett, shoe workers' well-known militant, told the

Blistering Attack Fadgett began by describing how Bridges had wrecked the furniture workers' union.

He told Bridges, "You want the auto workers union to join your council. Yet you had the nerve to tell them to crawl back on their bellies to work when

they were on strike. That takes a lot of guts!"

Padgett explained the whole strategy of Bridges and the west



HARRY BRIDGES

coast Stalinists. "You control the C.I.O. councils through issuing charters to paper unions under your domination. But you know that paper unions don't have any real strength or power. So you want us to go back because you need our per capita tax and our strength. After this blistering attack,

Bridges and the Stalinists left and the meeting adjourned in an uproar. Since the C.I.O. constitution

does not make affiliation to local or state industrial union councils compulsory, the west coast unions organizer on the west coast, and can continue, if they desire, to work separately from Bridges through an independent progresive union council.

After this meeting, and similar protests against Bridges' policies, John L. Lewis on the last day of the convention, made a special point of praising Bridges, and thus guaranteeing that the C.I.O. on the west coast will continue to suffer from the rule-or-ruin policies.

New Revolutionary Organ Published By Peru Group Partido Obrero Revolucionario

paper published in Peru, reveals To follow Roosevelt means to for the first time the existence of head not for peace, but for war. an organized revolutionary social-sympathetically received by the to fight against Fascism but to den country. The paper, several seat of Roosevelt's forthcoming the support given to the "popular be subjected to it ourselves right issues of which have already ap- imperialist "democratic" Panpeared, is the organ of the Liga American Congress. de Trabajadores Revolucionarios (League of Revolutionary Workers). The L.T.R. was organized by usual insidious rumors about Peruvian workers and students who were repelled by the anti- ites, but with little success. The revolutionary and pro-imperialist L.T.R. has already won many nature of Stalinism and the petty- members from the Stalinists, and bourgeois "simple" nationalism of will undoubtedly win many more. the A.P.R.A., spontaneously devel- This is especially true since, with oped to the position of the Fourth | the Stalinist turn to open support

International. ism, or "Trotskyism," and vehe- vian masses. mently attacks the Stalinists and

As was to be expected, the Stal-

inists are already spreading their "counter-revolutionary" Trotsky- organ. of Yankee imperialism, the L.T.R. The first issue of Izquierda Roja is quite obviously the only organ-L.T.R. with revolutionary social and social liberation of the Peru-

In the meantime, our revolu-Social-Democrats for their sup- tionary "Salud!" to Izquierda Roja port of imperialist exploitation and the comrades of the L.T.R.

NICOS PANAYIOT

Our comrade Nicos Panayiotidis, member of the Central Committee of the former Internationalist Communist League, died a few weeks ago in the fortress of Acronopolis, where he has been imprisoned since the summer of 1937. A working class militant since his early youth, Comrade

Panayiotidis received his training as the leader of many strikes among the shoe workers of Piraeus, from whose ranks he emerged. Arrested and jailed repeatedly, he displayed unshakable courage in the face of unceasing persecution. Hounded by the police of Metaxas, he continued his work

illegally and rendered invaluable services to the organization of the Fourth Internationalists. Arrested in 1937, he was savagely tortured and then thrown into the miserable dungeon where at last, his body broken, he died.

In the last letter he managed to get out, he wrote: "We know that we are all going to die. But our deaths will not be in vain. Our corpses will become banners for the proletariat. Sign statements of capitulation in order to get out of prison? Then what would we do with our dishonored lives? If it is not possible to be free to work for the revolution, then it is better to die in a concentration camp."

Together with all the comrades of the Fourth International we salute Nicos Panayiotidis, victim of capitalist oppression, soldier of the revolution.

FORWARD to the TWICE-A-WEEK APPEAL

On the Road to the DAILY

TRUCE DECLARED IN CHILE WHEN **WORKERS ARM**

Popular Front And Fascists For U.S.

Imperialism By DONALD BERGNER

Rumblings of civil war were leard last week in Chile as the opposing parties quarrelled over the tiny majority won by Pedro Aguirre Cerda, joint Presidential candidate of the popular front and fascists. The actual outbreak was averted only by the withdrawal of his recount demand by Gustavo Ross, the defeated conservative candidate.

Final election returns were not officially announced as yet, but unofficial published reports indicate that the large rural vote for Ross cut Aguirre's majority to only 800 votes out of nearly 500,-000. Ross charged coercion at the polls by bands of popular frontists and Nacistas (fascists).

The conservative government nouthpiece, La Nacion, claimed the popular frontists were organizing an armed revolt should Aguirre be counted out. The popular frontists in turn charged that the conservatives were arming to keep out Aguire, the representative of American imperialism, and put in Ross, who is more friendly towards the British.

The rapid arming of the trade nion and Socialist workers undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the calling of a truce between the two representatives of the rival imperialisms. They both must have been afraid of the armed might of the Chilean masses.

The Nazis are evidently still in their unique "front" with the Stalinists. The "Popular Liberating Alliance," composed of the two fascist groups: the Nacistas and the "Union Socialista," issued a statement on Nov. 10 that it would give unstinted support to Aguirre in case of trouble. The popular frontists have also tipped their hats to the Nazis. Grateful for the 15,000 Nazi votes that swung the election for Aguirre. they call the election a triumph ver "right-wing Fascism" (?!).

"Left" Goes Right Senor Aguirre explains the popular front," in an interview n the N. Y. Times of Nov. 6, by saying that the rightist parties moved a little bit to the left while the "leftists"—the C.P. and S.P. moved a great deal to the right. Aguirre, incidentally pledged himself in advance to "cooperate" with U.S. interests and not to "Mexicanize" Chile. He was alluding to Mexico's nationalization of foreign imperialist interests.

Thus Aguirre gives added confirmation to the charge of the Revolutionary Workers Party), Chilean section of the 4th Inter-The appearance of Izquierda and war and "popular front" co- national, that this landowner-capby Wall Street. That way lies Roja (Red Left), an underground alitions. That issue and those that italist "friend of labor" is the gent of U.S. imperialism.

C. P. Weasels Its Stand Stalinist typographical squirmings, attempting to explain away front" candidate Aguirre by the fascist candidate, General Carlos Ibanez, reached new contortions in the November issue of the Communist. C. P. "theoretical"

A few days before the issue appeared Harry Gannes in the Daily Worker of Oct. 27 claimed that 'Ibanez is a confused national reformist," whose "only connection with the Nacistas was that he had not repudiated their endorsement." This despite the fact announces the agreement of the ization that fights for the national | that the entire Chilean labor movement, even the Stalinists, had long been attacking Ibanez

as a power-thirsty reactionary. But the past has once again caught up with the Stalinists. The editors of the Communist carelessly published an article by their Chilean leader, Carlos Contreras Labarca, which must have been written about two months ago. Contreras gives a thumb-nail sketch of Ibanez:

"Show Me Your Friends . . ." "Dictator from 1927 to 1931; anti-worker and anti-people, he persecuted the labor movement and the C. P. implacably, served Yankee imperialism, even when he castigated. . . . Alessandri. Ross, etc. and liquidated the English monopoly on nitrate." A note is added: "Events have confirmed the prediction that Ibanez would resort to open betrayal. Ibanez led the recent Nazi putsch."

This is the man who supports the "popular front!"

But the article in the Communist, after indulging in 13 attacks on the horrid Trotskyites who further class struggle and a labor government, contains a veritable gem of proof-if any is still needed-of the pro-imperialism of the Stalinists. Contreras writes:

". . . the people have always respected and always will respect the provisions of the Political Constitution of the State which guarantee the property of foreign capital, and, in general, of all capital. . . ." To put it bluntly.

Resolutions Adopted by National Committee Plenum

Trade Union Resolution Points Road to Unity, Progressive Work

National Committee)

1. A marked trend towards unity has been an outstanding feature of the developments in the American labor movement in the recent period. It was expressed clearly in the events of the A.F. of L. convention where the progressive revolt of a large section of the membership, especially the Teamsters Union, against the reactionary policies of the "diehard' clique in the executive council was revealed. The action of international unions of the C.I.O., of state C.I.O. councils, and Local unions, calling for unity with the A.F. of L. was another manifestation of this trend. Roosevelt administration pressure for unity, as part of his strategy of achieving national unity in war-time has increased tremendously following the September war crisis. The swing to the right in the off-year elections has further served to strengthen sentiment for the unification of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.; both organizations feel themselves to be in greater jeopardy from reactionary forces consolidated in Congress seeking to foist unionsmashing legislation on the divided labor movement.

The hegemony of the industrial Wages, (2) Open the Idle Factoworkers in the American labor movement as reflected in the in- and other demands contained in crease in industrial unions within the transitional program. the A.F. of L., the growth of power of the large truck drivers international union with its pro-unity deadly alliance of John L. Lewis sympathies, and the permanence and other C.I.O. bureaucrats with of the C.I.O. has served to aid the the reactionary Stalinist machine. shift in the direction of unity, be- Despite protests of an ever incause of the vital needs of this creasing section of the C.I.O. decisive force in the labor move- movement, the criminal and irre-

Labor Unity

In light of these developments, we strongly reiterate our unequiv- John L. Lewis. The ruinous pracocal support of unity in the labor movement, and reiterate the fol- Coast C.I.O. director, brought a lowing considerations from our spontaneous revolt of progressive National Convention Trade Union unionists which was temporarily

"Although it is impossible for us at the present time to influence decisively the course of events, or to determine the pace and method of trade union unity, we are nevertheless bound to concentrate our propaganda and agitational activity among the workers in favor of the most desirable basis for unity. that is, democratic organization and a wide measure of autonomy for the affiliated unions, especially such a measure as would facilitate the organization of the basic industries into industrial unions and preserve the integrity of those already in existence. Every attempt to carve up the industrial unions into craft formations must be stubbornly resisted as thoroughly reactionary."

Pro-C. I. O. Direction 2. Basing itself on the numerically greater dues-paying A.F. of L. membership in comparison to the C.I.O., and the increase of Stalinist influence in alliance with John L. Lewis, there has arisen a certain tendency within our own ranks which can best be described as "pro-A.F. of L.-ism." It has appeared in some of the trade union publications influenced by our comrades and in some policy proposals in certain instances. This attitude is false. In spite of specific tactics in separate union situaany "organizational fetishism," we

standing of and support for the ous elements to exclude the agents the Socialist Appeal are one mani-C.I.O. lies in recognizing that it is of Stalinism from control of festation of the progress made in primarily a social movement re- unions. It must be emphasized the direction of a trade union ori- among the leading Stalinists who the convention. flecting the needs, desires and that our tactic of a "lesser evil" entation. Even greater attention are on the board which is comaspirations (even if often in dis- within the unions has nothing in of the Party must be devoted to torted form) of the most decisive sections of the industrial proletariat. Historically, it remains a progressive break from the conserva- serving the unions from destruc- stronger proletarian character; the A.F. of L. The future of the American labor movement depends on the success of this mass movement of industrial unionism in the economic field, and its development on the political field as the leading force in an independent working class political party.

Transitional Program 3. While our propaganda and agitation for the creation of a labor party is a very important task of the Party primarily in the trade unions, it must be accompanied by the equally important struggle for the popularization of our program of transitional demands as a vital part of our strategy of rallying the workers against the blows on the economic and political fields of the social crisis. The inescapable contradictions of the present policies of the trade union movement in seeking to alleviate the miseries inherent in a decaying capitalist society within the frame-work of that re-

(Resolution of the Plenum of the Political Committee Rapped on Election

(Resolution of the Plenum)

With the exception of the Newark local, the party failed to conduct any serious election activity in the various state campaigns recently concluded. No S.W.P. candidates appeared on the ballot-save for Newark where the party made a splendid showing - in any of the state, congressional or local con-

Write-in campaigns have in all cases proved ineffective and aroused little or no interest among the workers. In several states, it was possible to place at least one party candidate on the ballot. But these opportunities were uniformly missed.

Responsibility for this failure rests with the Political Committee. Parliamentary activity is a vital part of our work and our program. Serious efforts must be made to correct the faults evidenced in the recent cam-

actionary society, opens the way for fruitful activity of our Party centering around the slogans of (1) Sliding Scale of Hours and ries, (3) Workers Defense Guards,

4. One of the gravest dangers to the labor movement has been the sponsible policies of the Stalinists were forced down the throats of important unions with the aid of tices of Harry Bridges, West defeated only by drastic intervention of John Brophy, Stalinist C.I. O. director. The autonomy of the auto workers union has been seriously ieopardized and all progressive tendencies within that union badly crippled by the infamous

bloc of Lewis and the Stalinists. Everywhere within the C.I.O. and other unions, the Stalinists hound and seek to destroy genuine progressive and revolutionary workers who resist their "rule or ruin" policy with its war-mongering dictated by the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, which seeks to tie the American labor movement to the Roosevelt war machine in return for a Stalin-Roosevelt bloc. Ruthless disregard of vital union democracy, slandering and framing of progressives, crea tion of a dictatorial-bureaucratic structure for the C.I.O.; these are the methods of the Stalinist agents within the labor movement.

"Lesser Evil" in Unions

5. Blocs with non-Stalinist workers, and even with conservative elements genuinely interested hands are not only permissable but at times necessary. While always expanding our own program independently and maintaining our right of criticism, our Party, in a certain sense, supports the "lesser evil" within the trade unions. Stalinists are the main entions, dictated by exceptional cir- emy in the present instance becumstances, and though avoiding cause of the deadly role of this cancerous force within the unions. The key to a thorough under- destruction, we unite with all seri-

preserve the unions-which are their own sole base-from actual destruction, and a united front with them on this basis is correct. But in the political field, we have no interest in preserving capitalism and its state. Quite the con-

trary, we seek to destroy it

through revolutionary action. Our action, for example, in supporting the Martin administration, as against the Stalinists, in the auto workers union was based on these considerations. It was correct to seek to preserve that union from the Stalinist disrupters. In our failure to give sufficiently clear criticism of certain reactionary maneuvers of the Martin forces, we did not, however, draw a sharp enough line between our program and the limgle was tactically sound but incomplete as a result.

Stalinism in blocs with other tenof the workers, disillusioned by their experiences of Stalinism, toward syndicalist conceptions and against "politics" and political parties in general. These reactionary tendencies, which only disarm the workers in the struggle against capitalism, must be fought by the Marxist party.

Greater Concentration

7. While the most important and largest field of our trade union activity remains at present in the Minneapolis area, there have been other labor centers where the Political Committee for negmodest but definite progress has been recorded. In Lynn, Mass. in | for effective participation in the the C.I.O. movement. In steel in state and local contests. New Jersey and elsewhere; the painters and maritime workers in New York City; the development entation of the party was the Abern was the reporter on the of a cadre in auto; the activity in Akron: these are a few of the places where our work is integrating the movement with the trade unions and building the party.

8. Experience has shown the need for greater concentration of our work in those unions and centers where roots already have been established or concrete prospects are opened up. Intensification of our Party work around these areas rather than & diffusion of our limited forces over the whole field must be the guiding system of organizing our trade union work in the future. Colonization of comrades into these places should be an integral part of this program of action, wherever possible.

National Labor Secretary

9. There has been an improved coordination of national trade Lewis to investigate unions, in the the C.I.O. was united. lack of finances for the trade un ion department which made it im-Jersey, Ohio, East Chicago and It becomes a question of relation-Connecticut has begun to function. ship of forces. Maritime work has been improved in saving the union movement somewhat on a national scale, Exfrom destruction at Stalinist change of information, advice and policy have been given in the field, to a greater or lesser degree. However, any really satisfactory trade union work on a national scale must be based on adequate support of this department. Means must be found to place the party labor secretary on a full-time basis.

10. Our advances in trade union have been, and remain, pro-C.I.O. In order to save the unions from press. The increasing news and attention given to labor events in ally interceded. common with its reactionary this question. Activizing the nonnamesake on the parliamentary trade union comrades around this field. We are interested in pre- work; giving the Party a much tive and antiquated traditions of tion and that is the basis for the recruiting in the unions through ments of the union which the "lesser'evil" tactic in the unions. the good work of the fractions: Even union conservatives have a these are the problems which the common interest in this aim, at Party must solve in the coming least to the extent of wishing to period.

NO MORE PIOUS TEARS!

(Continued from page 1)

it is aroused. This will be democracy and anti-fascism in action, not mere democratic, "anti-fascist" phrase-mongering.

Our job is to raise this demand in every organization which we can reach, to bring it before every individual with whom we can come into contact, to circulate petitions embodying it, to make it the central focus of mass meetings and demonstrations

Down with the attempt to pervert anti-Nazism into the handmaiden of imperialist war and the war-mongers!

Grant asylum to the refugees! Lift the quotas! Abolish the financial restrictions, the means test, and the red tape!

Welcome our persecuted brothers into the United States! Open the doors to the German Jews!

Plenum Endorses World Organization to Be Re-Shaped **Congress Decisions**

The Plenary Session of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, having heard the report of its delegation to the World Conference of the Fourth International, declares its endorsement and approval of the theses and resolutions adopted by the Conference.

The National Committee considers the decision adopted by the Conference to found and organize the Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution) as an indispensable step of the highest political and historic significance for the revolutionary and labor movements of the world.

The National Committee further reaffirms its adherence to the Fourth International and to the Executive Committee and Secretariat elected at the Conference, and declares formally that the Socialist Workers Party is the United States section of the Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolu-

The National Committee declares, finally, in favor of the continuation of the maximum amount of support, financial, political and moral, and the closest collaboration in the regular work of, the Executive Committee and Secretariat of the Fourth International and instructs the Political Committee to take all the necessary steps to realize this support and collaboration.

ited program of Martin and his allies. Our role in the auto strugcomplete as a result. 6. Nevertheless, in combatting $Adopts Program \ of Action$

dencies, we must resist the swing Party To Be Geared To New Tempo To Apply Transitional Program In Trade Union Activity

(Continued from page 1) on the Young People's Socialist time party workers. The goal was League and its 10th National Conset to have at least one full-time | vention to be held in Chicago this party organizer in every district of the party before the next S.W. | members of the Committee, that P. convention in the Spring of

The Plenum took note of the failure of the Party to put up candidates in the recent electionsexcluding Newark - and rapped lecting to provide any directives

Report on C. I. O.

Significant in the changed oriopening of the Plenum with a report on the C.I.O. convention by comrade B. J. Widick, supplemented by two delegates to the Pittsburgh gathering. The report on the C.I.O. introduced the discussion on the trade union question, also led by comrade Widick. The experiences of six months' activity in the unions and the burning issue of unity occupied the center of discussion.

ingly indicated in the discussion the American working class.

weekend. It was remarked by this Plenum marked the first time in years that the leading party committee gave serious consideration to the Youth question. **Endorses Change**

The Plenum heartily endorsed the proposed change contemplated by the Y.P.S.L. leadership in the character and outlook of the youth organization, i.e., a broad mass youth movement rather than a "youth" political party. Martin youth question.

Max Schachtman reported for the International Delegation on the World Congress of the Fourth International and a resolution was adopted approving the decisions of the conference.

The Plenum adjourned on a note of well-founded optimism. Its members are returning home to marshall the party forces in a determined drive to make the So-The new direction of the party cialist Workers Party the recogin its practical activity was strik- nized revolutionary leadership of

CIO Convention Rubber-Stamps Lewis Machine tion, Martin was the man, Perhaps on the war referendum is urged him to participate actively

(Continued from page 1)

union work in the past period de- manner he did in auto. These are So Martin spoke on the resoluspite the big obstacle presented by dangerous precedents for the lab- tion for observing collective bar-

possible for the labor secretary to | flexible interpretation of these vi- | but was far too sharp in his own function for four months during tal clauses depends entirely on criticism of sit-downs. Later on, the summer in New York. A na- how much pressure the rank and | Martin talked on the resolution to tional steel fraction, covering New file places on the executive board. organize Ford.

Stalinists Get Posts

-fifteen Stalinists are on the is more bitter than ever. board!

posed of 42 members.

But Lewis Controls

However, voting on the Board is on the basis of per capita payboard member represents. This provision gives Lewis absolute control of the Board. He and Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, alone have a majority of votes from coal, steel and textile and clothing! Besides, they are the executive officers whose actions are subject to review only twice a year by the Board which they

John Brophy, C.I.O. director, was dumped from the post of secretary which he temporarily occupied since the death of Charles P. Howard. James Carey, of the electrical and radio workers, was elected since he is considered "safer" than Brophy by the C.I.O. leaders. Carey is known as a "fellow traveller" of the Stalinist line. C.I.O. leaders expect to "win him

"Love-Feast" with Martin

in the convention, to show that

gaining agreements. He blamed Of course, a broader and more the employers for the sit-downs The final touch was a charming

love feast arranged by the auto workers executive board which Because the constitution pro- saw Martin presenting Murray, vides for the executive board of Hillman and Lewis with watches the C.I.O. to be composed of one for their "great services to the member from each affiliated na- auto workers," while the Stalinists tional and international union and cheered. Actually, neither Martin, organizing committee-and Lewis nor Lewis nor the Stalinists be insisted that the nominees be the lieved the talk of unity and peace president of each of the affiliates and the struggle behind the scenes

This remarkable performance Joe Curran, of the National was followed by another event Maritime Union, was elected de- which, to put it mildly, was unwork are reflected in the Party spite opposition from his own usual. On a point of special privdelegates, because Lewis person- | ilege, Joe Curran arose and read a little speech prepared for him Bridges, Mervin Rathborne, by Thomas Ray and Roy Hudson, Michael Quill, Lewis Merrill, are Stalinist behind-the-scenes-men at

Curran pledged "undying loyalty," etc, etc, to Lewis and Lewis made a public endorsement of Harry Bridges. Tit-for-tat. . . while the workers suffer from the ruleor-ruin policies of the Stalinists. No Politics at Convention

Conspicuous by its absence throughout the convention was talk on Labor's Non-Partisan League and its role in politics. The recent election defeats have demoralized the C.I.O. leaders and they didn't want to discuss politics

Only one resolution endorsing the League was introduced. Before it was introduced, Eli L. Oliver, executive vice-president of the League spoke on the resolution, and was followed by Michael Quill. No discussion was called for, although various delegates wanted to speak, and the resolution was endorsed.

Another example of the caution of the C.I.O. leaders was their refusal to allow a Stalinist delegate to introduce a special resolution calling upon Roosevelt to run for a third term. The C.I.O. leaders ruled it out of order, not because In an effort to impress the pub- they necessarily disagree with the lic, Lewis approached Homer Mar- idea, but because they are afraid tions gave a pledge to American tin, auto workers president, and Roosevelt won't run and they'll be tapitalism.

delivered in a mild tone.

The Star-Spangled Banner nounced.

to elect their own.

A series of reports on organizing drives in the South, and elsewhere were approved and the C.I. O. executive board urged to plan a large campaign for new mem-

Support of Roosevelt's war program was given in a special resolution. In fact, all political resolu-

On Fighting Campaign Lines

(Resolution of the Plenum of the National Committee)

In the period between the present plenum of the National Committee and the National Convention in the Spring we must bring about a decisive improvement in our methods of work. Determined efforts must be made to replace scattered and desultory activity in organization as well as in propaganda agitation-characteristic of Social Democratic organizations and propaganda circles-by systematic planned work and activity organized on the Bolshevik campaign principle. The membership must be activized on the basis of universal and individual responsibility for an organized series of separate actions flowing from our own general political positions and Leninist organization concepts. It is the responsibility of the party leadership to plan and direct these actions and to concentrate all party energy on them for a given period of time in each case. Special "weeks" or longer periods must be dedicated to specific tasks and the striking power of the entire membership brought to bear upon them.

TASKS FOR NEXT PERIOD Particular attention in the next period should

be concentrated on the following specific tasks: 1. The popularization of our program of transitional demands as a whole, and each item separately. Internal educational work along this line must be coordinated with editorial exposition, agitation, leaflet distribution, etc., in one comprehensive plan.

2. A special campaign against perfidious Stalinism, the greatest plague of the labor movement, directed especially to the Stalinist youth and trade unionists. The role of the Stalinists as undisguised agents of imperialism must be exposed and denounced far more vigorously than before by concrete illustrations, especially on questions of social patriotism, trade unionism and betrayal of the Latin American people

PROFESSIONAL WORK

3. The party must strive to increase and strengthen its professional staff. The intensified work of a revolutionary political party is incompatible with amateurism and the sluggish routine that always goes with it. More and more qualified comrades, ready for sacrifice, must be encouraged to devote their full time to party work. A party functionaries' wage fund, provided by special contributions from better-paid party members and sympathizers must be established to assure professional party workers a reliable minimum of support in their work. The party must come to its next convention with an increase in the number of full-time party workers in general, and at least one full-time party organizer in each district.

4. The party work in the trade unions, which has recorded a modest improvement since the party convention, must be organized more systematically. The work on a national scale must be directed and coordinated by a full time labor secretary. A part of the APPEAL staff should specialize in trade union matters. In general the convention orientation toward concentration on trade union work must be re-enforced by the necessary organizational and literary measures.

THE PARTY PRESS

5. Since the convention big strides have been made toward the financial stabilization of the party press, the prerequisite for its further expansion. The crux of this problem is the prompt payment of bundle order accounts by the branches. Carelessness and negligence in this respect, still prevailing in sections of the party, are the chief factors undermining the foundation of the APPEAL and the NEW INTERNA-TIONAL and, at times, threatening their existence. These intolerable practices must be ended, by drastic measures if necessary.

A workers' party, operating without subsidy, can publish papers only if they are paid for. Those who take a light-hearted attitude toward this question act as disorganizers of the party press. Particularly now, with the party steering toward a twice-a-week publication of the AP-PEAL, with its consequent doubled expense of production, the party must insist on a strict and responsible payment for bundle orders. The plenum endorses the previous decision of the Political Committee instructing the business managers of the party publications to cut off the bundle orders of branches violating this rule regardless of which branch may be effected or what excuses are offered. The party is determined to stabilize the financial structure of its press and to permit no disruption of it.

At least two national tours of prominent party speakers are to be organized before the Spring

Sidelights on C.J.O. Convention

By B. J. W.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.- What is Homer Martin going to do at the convention? This was one of the most frequently asked questions. Best answer was that the auto workers' president was an unpredictable man. It was generally agreed, however, that if anyone would create a stir at the convenhaps on the war referendum is-

John Brophy, C.I.O. director, pulled the first boner of the convention. He announced there would be a meeting of the "paper industrial unions" Monday night. Whereupon a newspaperman asked, "did he mean the Stalinist-controlled unions?"

John L. Lewis looked perplexed and tired during his opening re- who was afraid or too uncertain marks. Even his denunciation of to fight for his position on unity the Nazi persecution of Jews was within the C.I.O.

was played for an introduction to the sessions. Nothing like trying to whip up patriotism before a pro-war policy is an-

After Lewis' plea for democracy and the bill of rights a rank and file member of the miners union told some visitors that his union had been trying to get that for fifteen years within the U.M.W.A. Many of the District 4,000,000 membership figure given Browder. The only difference is officers are still appointed by in the Lewis report was that "of that Lewis carries more weight." Lewis. The rank and file wants course, it means both employed

A little taste of what price the so-called socialists are going to pay for supporting the Stalinist-Lewis bloc in gaining control of the auto workers' union was given to none other than Walter Reuther, international executive board member, and president of the West Side Local. He was NOT elected a delegate by the executive board. And you can imagine how much sympathy he will get

left high and dry.

from the rank and file who saw him help the Stalinists in their "rule or ruin" tactics.

Mr. Tucker P. Smith, another bright luminary of the alleged Socialist Party was a visitor to the convention. He, too, has felt the axe, according to reports. He was dismissed from the educational department of the auto workers.

The cut-and-dried character of the convention so far would have been changed and a much more thorough discussion of the question of labor unity would have the presence of every well-known International Ladies Garment Workers Union. When a convention committee accidently mentioned David Dubinsky's name in connection with a report, the delegates laughed. He is viewed by many C.I.O. unionists as a man

The International Woodworkers paper, passed out to all delegates, carried an interesting story about the charges placed against George H. Arms, treasurer of Harry Bridges' longshoremen's union. It was claimed he was a "red-baiter." The story revealed that Arms was recently re-elected to that post despite Bridges' opposi-

and unemployed."

It was considered very unlikely that the Workers Alliance woud be given a C.I.O. charter, despite the frantic under-cover efforts of the Stalinists who want to save themselves from complete exposure and bankruptcy in the unemployed field.

The notable absence of "outside" speakers of the LaGuardia Murphy, and other "friends of labor" variety was explained by the desire of the C.I.O. top leadership to have less said about the Participation in another "war bankruptcy of their "realistic" for democracy" was pledged in a policy of working with the demoresolution adopted by the conven- cratic and republican "progres-

> Mr. John Strachey, "The big Shot from England" (a Stalinist explained) was hanging around the convention autographing copies of his latest piece of Stalinist propaganda Apparently the Stalinists had to go to England to get a "literary" name to impress their stooges at the C.I.O. conven-

Chief topic around the press table was "will the Stalinists take over the C.I.O.," and "why don't they pep this convention up so I have a hot story."

Only Postal Telegraph messengers were allowed in the convention. Brophy explaining that a C.I.O. contract had been signed with that company while Western Union was fighting the C.I.O.

The importance of this convention was illustrated in one way by resulted from the presence of the labor reporter. Over 50 journalists representing the world, labor and radical press were covering the

> There is little direct rank and file representation at the convention. Executive boards of C.I.O. international unions. regional directors, and presidents of C.I.O. councils constitute the overwhelming majority of the delegates, who number

The key men on every important committee are miners, devoted henchmen of the Lewis machine. The C.I.O. is certainly in his control, organizationally speaking, although the place is swarming with Stalinists. Of course, they do not seem to be worrying very much. The Lewis speech on democracy could have The official explanation for the been given word for word by

> In case any opposition should arise from the floor, the Lewisminers machine alone controls over 2,500,000 votes. Add to that the Hillman votes (and he is an integral part of the Lewis bureaucracy) of 700,000, and the Stalinist votes of 500,000 (a good deal from paper unions) and you can see how much chance any opposition might

> > 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

LET ME IN!

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor

GEORGE CLARKE HAROLD ROBERTS Asociate Editors S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Two Times Every Week!

The revolutionary party moves forward in the United States!

With reaction and fascism on every hand, with the old parties of labor collapsing before our eyes, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party steps on the accelerator: a drive is launched for a twice-weekly Socialist Appeal.

The decrepit Socialist Party issues a miserable tiny tabloid, anxiously awaiting only the final rites. The pretentious Lovestonites are visibly stagnating. The Communist Party shudders in its patriotic orgy. Only the Fourth International shows real revolutionary vitality-courage, audacity and self-confidence.

The strength of "Trotskyism" has always reposed in its program. We have held firmly to this program throughout the years. Now our faith in the great ideas of Marxism is beginning to pay its dividends. The Fourth International prepares to move ahead with a semiweekly paper the heavy artillery of the new offensive.

The significance of the semi-weekly will be clear from the appearance of the very first issue. The squeels of our enemies will testify to the power of the paper. The influence of the Party carrying its revolutionary message to thousands of awakening workers will be speeded up by the more frequent paper.

Our weekly paper spread the propaganda of revolutionary Marxism to the advanced work-

Our semi-weekly Appeal will sink its roots in the broader masses.

The watchword is FORWARD! Forward to the twice weekly Appeal on the road to the

What's the Difference?

Wilder McGowan, 24-year-old Negro, is lynched by a Mississippi mob on the hoary pretext of having attacked a 74-year-old white woman.

Thousands of Jews-the Negroes of Germany—are tormented and persecuted by Nazi mobs in Berlin.

The pretexts are similar, the mobs are alike, the tortures differ only in degree. What's the

Germany is a (capitalist) dictatorship: Hitler admits his vicious intentions. He frankly wants to drive the Jews out of Germany and to per-

secute the miserable victims in their flight. The United States is a (capitalist) "democracy": Roosevelt fills the air with twaddle about "equality," but his eyes are closed to the barbarian treatment of the Negroes which goes the

Nazis one better. Roosevelt and his friends, from Al Smith to Herbert Hoover shed bitter tears of compassion for the suffering Jews of Germany. Crocodile tears! The difference between Wilder McGowan and Solomon Levine lies only in the color of their skin and the sound of their name.

The same beast attacks them. Its name is capitalism.

Spiked Slanders

Pres. Cardenas last week dealt a body blow to the Stalinist campaign to force Trotsky's expulsion from Mexico.

In a few blunt words he brushed aside the slanders of Lombardo Toledano and all the other Stalinist stooges and indirectly at the same time made an answer to the stupid accusations of some American capitalist papers concerning

The Stalinists have tried to smear Trotsky by linking him, in their familiar style, with reactionaries in Mexico. The Daily News and other capitalist papers in this country have, on the other hand, tried to see Trotsky's hand in the policy of oil and land expropriation pursued by the Cardenas government.

Cardenas declared all these charges to be untrue. He said that Trotsky has honorably kept his pledge not to intervene in the internal affairs of the country. And Cardenas should know better than anyone else.

The Stalinists "support" Cardenas. Cardenas supports Trotsky's right to asylum. To put it mildly, this is somewhat embarrassing for the Kremlin stooges.

But we know that the Stalinists will not stop here. If their incredibly base campaign of slander does not work because Cardenas happens to be an honest democrat, we can be sure they will attempt to resort again to the only real weapon they have-the knife or the bullet of

But that will not avail them either. We and our comrades all over the world stand vigilant guard over the safety of the foremost living exponent of authentic revolutionary Marxism. More than ever now, safeguard Trotsky's right of asylum! Safeguard Trotsky's life!

The People Want No War

Buried away in the inside pages of the N. Y. Times is an inconspicuous news item reporting a tremendous vote in Chicago in favor of a referendum calling on the Illinois congressional delegation to vote "no" on all legislation drafting American boys to fight on foreign soil.

It is not surprising that the Times, consistent drum-major for Roosevelt's war drive, printed the item in an obscure corner and disparagingly attributed the huge favorable poll to the "votegetting abilities of its sponsor 'Big Bill the Builder'." The bill received 1,025,801 votes for and 572,646 against. Not even the high-powered William Hale Thompson, with all his vote-catching proclivities, could have mustered so large a turnout unless there was real popular sentiment for the referendum.

The plain fact is: the sentiment was genuine and widespread. The people of Chicago and the people of the entire nation do not want to fight any war for Morgan, Rockefeller and DuPont whether it be on the soil of Asia, Europe or even Latin America. That a demagogue like "Big Bill" Thompson should initiate such a measure is irrefutable proof that anti-war sentiment is firmly imbedded among the millions of America's masses.

That Thompson should exploit this deepseated feeling for his own crooked political ambitions, that he should blunt its force by making the referendum "advisory," is no cause for

Our candle of indignation will burn at both ends at the unconscionable tricks of crooked politicians until we learn what they so clearly understand now:

The masses do not want war-no kind of war regardless of imperialist pretexts.

The masses want to participate in an antiwar movement. They want a referendum on war. They do not trust the politicians.

Let us harness this sentiment to a revolutionary anti-war campaign. One million Chicago votes will be expanded to thirty or forty millions throughout the nation. The masses will only begin by votes . . .

'TREASON' COUNTS **COLLAPSE DURING**

The counterpart of this in the

At the C.G.T. conference last Finally, Jose Rovira, the P.O.U.M. week the rank and file delegates commander whom the Stalinists by secret ballot voted all the charged had gone over to Fascist Stalinist members off the Execu- territory, created a sensation by

Whether the workers will now resume the offensive, knit their ranks together and produce fresh, pieces. The P.O.U.M. leaders were unsoiled leadership ready to take convicted only of the honorable Having been left out in the cold a bold course of struggle against "crime" of having solidarized by their ally Daladier, the Social- the threat of open dictatorship is themselves with the Barcelona ist and Communist parties both now the major question for workers in the May struggles expressed opposition, and the France.

court

Experts examined the famous "N" document supposedly establishing the Fascist connection and unanimously declared it to be a crude forgery.

The charge of desertion col-

appearing personally in court to

One Charge Left

Stalinists Kicked Downstairs Daladier repaid them with the

of the Stalinist bureaucracy in

Daladier Regime Is Leading

France Swiftly

By TERENCE PHELAN

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

PARIS, Nov. 9-French reaction

oushes steadily on toward Fas-

cism through the Bonapartism of

French capitalism is determined

to compete with fascist Germany's

'efficiency," i. e. its ability to

drive its workers a practically un-

limited number of hours a week.

It can do so, it claims, only by

having an equally free hand in ex-

tending production - hours. And

that means it must once and for

1936 strikes and half lost already

by the treachery of People's

The question of fascism in

France is no longer "Whether"

but "How soon?" For how long a

time still will Daladier's Bona-

Daladier Declares War

Party, Daladier, with hypocrisy

rivalling that of Roosevelt, "de-

fended" the social legislation in

placable war on the gains won by

This was Stalinism's reward for

perialism, for its frenzied propaga-

tion of the slogan, "Daladier to

Stalinists regarded as a firm ally

an eventual deal with the Fas-

that it was engaged in effectively

hounding the working class move-

ment. The Loyalist government

used the G.P.U. to ferret out the

revolutionists, to murder them in

dark alleys—as they did Nin—to

disrupt and demoralize the work-

ing class. At the trial of the

P.O.U.M. leaders they no longer

needed the clumsy forgeries of

the Kremlin gangsters and con-

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sequently let them drop.

class movement.

the workers in June, 1936.

partism be sufficient?

Daladier.

Frontism.

Munich pact and at the congress he sarcastically asked the Stalinists why, if they preferred war to the "diktat" of Munich, they could not get the workers under their influence to work more than 45 hours a week for the national defense! French capitalism no longer

needs the People's Front and with loud guffaws simply has kicked it downstairs. The Stalinists themselves have been among the first to feel the impact of the new situworkers' gains won in the great ation. Two important Stalinist prohibited and broken up by po-

Fascism's path to power has differed in each country. In Italy it was gangsterism, in Germany the parliamentary road, in Spain, revolt by the army. Bonapartism is a French invention and it may very well hand power over to sion. And again watched. Fascism more smoothly than Last month at the Marseille Bruening cleared the way for Hit-Congress of his Radical Socialist ler in Germany.

Comrades Imprisoned

But French Bonapartism already yields little to Fascism in words and actually declared imthe mounting brutality of its repressions. It has already sentenced to one year in prison our comrade its years of support to French imthe Fourth Internationalist Youth paper, for "provoking the military to disobedience." It is bringing Duvernet and Jourdain to trial Daladier made savagely ironic for articles appearing in the tradeise of the demagogy of the Stalinunion paper Reveil Syndicaliste; ists of the past few years, with as well as the anarchist comrades which they held the workers' sup-Schek (already imprisoned in the port by pretending to be concern-Santé) and Leclerc; and others. ed for their demands, while ac-During the great building-trades tually enslaving them to the strike at Lyon, which has just French war machine which the gone down to bitter defeat, the government imprisoned 80 workers for picketing, 20 of whom it has already sentenced to from actionaries whose only aim was three months to a year. For mere the repression of the working picketing, these crushing sentences! Among the last arrests Negrin and Co., preparing for was Labrousse himself, Federal Secretary of the Building Trades cists, desired in this trial to show Union. And this government pretends to be impartial.

To Resist Is "Treason" Daladier frankly threatens the munitions workers that any struggle to retain the 40-hour week will render them liable not only to being fired, but to undergoing criminal prosecution. Workers' rights are being redefined as treason. Meanwhile the radical Mistler, that one-time stalwart of the People's Front, calls for the formation of "semi-voluntary" labor- presses desperately; fascism camps and the muzzling of "dema-

gogues" (i.e. protesting workers). compulsory-arbitration and strike- inist parties of betrayal, return to illegality laws which the workers | revolutionary mass action? let the People's Front put over on them in late '36 and early '37. ternational must show them how!

These "legalities" provide Daladier and the bosses with perfect pretexts for their increasingly smashng counter-attack. Lockouts, small and isolated strikes deliberately provoked by the bosses the more surely and finally to smash them, become the order of the day. With increasing intensity and thoroughness the daily police roundups drag into jail anti-fascist refugees whose "papers" are not in order. Only last week, under pretext of sanitary regulations, a hospital-train of wounded international anti-fascist fighters was turned back at the French-Spanish border by the government of this "great democracy."

Æ10P

Creeping Technique

Noticeable is the creeping technique of Daladier Bonapartism. With each new repression it has skilfully taken the workers' temperature, watched hawk-eyed for a real mass counter-attack. And then smashed on another repres-

And how do the workers answer? What is their spirit? How are they fighting against this creeping fascisization?

An off-hand answer is difficult. The Communist Party is undergoing a fierce internal crisis. Not only rank-and-filers but district and regional leaders are tearing up their party cards in disgust S. Charpy, editor of Révolution, and rage. Munich was the last straw. Throughout the workingclass spreads a black brooding anger; but also a discouragement, puzzlement, depression. But if they can find the way, they will fight with a fierce courage. Our Tasks The Fourth International in

France is faced with an immense opportunity and an immense task The workers are ready. Symptomatic was the war-crisis action of the Lille District Central Local of the General Confederation of Labor, representing 250,000 militant workers: not under telegraphed warning from the C.G.T. Paris Headquarters, nor under threats of mass arrests by the "socialist" mayor of Lille, would they take down their smashing anti-war posters. Such incidents aresignificant. The P.O.I., French section of the Fourth International is utilizing every opportunity for

powerful united-front action. A constantly rising cost-of-living, new taxes, flercer and flercer boss-attacks on the few remaining 1936 gains, are forcing the workers to turn to the only way-the Bolshevik-Leninist Marxism of the Fourth International. But time creeps on; will the French workers find the only way in time?-Now come home to roost the break with the reformist and Stal-

They must, and the Fourth In-

BOOK REVIEW — "Story of C76"

By Max Shachtman -

THE STORY OF THE CIO. By Benjamin Stolberg. 282 pages. Viking Press. New York. \$2.00.

Whoever missed the series of articles on the C.I.O. written by the author for the Scripps-Howard newspapers last spring, now has the opportunity to read them between book covers. But even more; for the material has not only been revised and strengthened and brought up to date, but a good deal has been added to amplify and round out the story of what Stolberg correctly calls "our most important social movement since the Civil War," making it a work which can be enthusiastically recommended not only to the student of the labor movement, but to everyone who is actively engaged in it.

THE BOOK-BURNERS FAIL

When the articles first appeared, they were answered by a barrage of denunciation by every Stalinist who had even the remotest connection with the trade union movement. The official party machine was set in motion, and "letters to the editor" and resolutions and speeches attacking "Mr. Stool-berg" as a Redbaiter and professional enemy of the C.I.O. were turned out with the same "spontaneousness" that characterizes the resolutions calling for "Death to the Trotskyist-Bukharinist wreckers" which are adopted with such easy unanimity in the Soviet factories. This virulent campaign was supplemented by a perfectly ignoble pressure which the same forces sought to exert upon the publisher of the present book in order to prevent its appearance.

Fortunately, the totalitarian drive to suppress the book did not deter either the author or the publisher. Fortunately-for this is no dry academic document destined for dusty oblivion on a college bookshelf, but an exciting, vivid, well-told narrative of the struggle to build and to preserve the most important and most promising labor movement in America today. Fortunately, also, for the reputation of the author and the indubitably progressive significance of his work, because to read only a few pages is enough to dispose of the vicious canard disseminated by reactionaries-Stalinist and bourgeois, in tacit accord-that the book is an attack on the C.I.O. and industrial unionism. It is anything

A DEFENSE OF THE C.I.O.

If the C.I.O. ever did need defense and justification as the first great and successful mass industrial union movement, it has it, brilliantly presented, in this book. The author starts with the historical background of the American labor movement and gives us again the all-too-well-known picture of the pitiable importance of the traditional A. F. of L. policy when confronted with the problem of organizing the millions working in the key, basic, mass-production industries. Unlike so many superficial students of the labor movement,

Stolberg shows that this impotence-more accurately, unwillingness-to organize the unorganized, the infuriating atomizing of labor's strength into obsolete craft unionism, stems from the social composition of the A. F. of L., its domination by the labor aristocracy and the petty bourgeois ideology that characterizes it.

It needed the greatest economic crisis in America and its consequences to release the powerful forces of the most proletarian sections of the working class in this country and to achieve, in the form of the C.I.O., what the isolated radical movement in the United States had urged for decades, namely the industrial union organization of the basic industries. Its very composition has endowed the C.I.O. with the robust militancy and revolutionary tactics (sit-in strikes) that distinguish it from the old A. F. of L., even though the leaders of both movements scarcely differ in their social outlook.

The same factor—and this is true regardless of the immediate prospects of unity between the two groups-makes the C.I.O. potentially the most revolutionary force ever assembled in the

The bourgeoisie knows but too well the danger the C.I.O. represents for it. One of Stolberg's most thoughtful, sober and instructive chapters, "The New Vigilantism," gives us an ominous picture of how far advanced are the preparations of capitalist reaction in the fight to annihilate the C.I.O. and, for that matter, the whole labor movement. He is right, we believe, in showing that American Fascism has already passed beyond the mere embryo stage; he is keenly right, too, in his analysis of the class dynamics making for the Fascist movement (what a gratifying contrast to the windy superficialities about "democracy" offered us by Stalinism and its associated liberals!); and he substantiates his views with the story of how the Little Steel strike was broken and his account of the sinister "Mohawk Valley Formula" for strike-and-union-smashing.

THE VIRUS THAT THREATENS LABOR

But an even acuter threat to the C.I.O .- and here again the author is dead right-lies within the organization. It is the insidious destructiveness of Stalinist reaction. Stolberg does more than merely give an unassailably documented record, in one union after the other, of the ruinous effects of Stalinism at work in the C.I.O. He gives the political explanation of it. It is precisely because they are not "Reds" that the Stalinists sap the vitality of the movement. They operate as instruments of the reactionary Soviet bureaucracy which, because of its desire for union with the American bourgeoisie, wants a docile labor movement in this country, patriotic and class collaborationist unions.

That is why, as Stolberg demonstrates, the most deliberate and systematic Red-baiters and anti-progressive elements in the C.I.O. today are the protagonists or dupes of the Stalinist line. And it might be added, that is at bottom why the C. P. has had so little difficulty with its allies and patrons of the Lewis-Hillman bureaucracy, for the political program of the latter differs in few practical aspects from that of Mr. Browder. The author's failure to emphasize this point, resulting from his failure to make a social and political group analysis of the C.I.O. bureaucracy, leaves a bad gap in the book which deserves comment on another occasion.

The author lays no claim to a spurious and hypocritical "impartiality" in the internal fight during which Stalinism is threatening to scuttle the C.I.O. He has a viewpoint: he proclaims it and justifies it amply; and he knows that it is unambiguous enough to prohibit either Stalinist or bourgeois reaction from taking comfort in it.

FORMULA FOR PROGRESS

"First, it must permit radical and revolutionary criticism . . [it] must not exclude any worker for his political beliefs. no matter what they are. But it must rid itself of Stalinist officials, staff members and organizers. . . . If the worker is made to understand that Stalinism is neither Red nor communist nor labor, and that the effort to get rid of it is not Red-baiting but on the contrary an effort to get rid of Redbaiters and union-wreckers, he will elect no Stalinists to

The formula deserves hearty endorsement because it is to the best interests of the C.I.O., for today and for the future. It provides for the protection of every member's democratic rights in prohibiting expulsion of any worker for his political views.

Any number of critical observations could be made of Stolberg's book. Most important, perhaps, is the inadequate treatment of the C.I.O.'s political policy and activities. Less important are some of the author's misjudgments of individuals-Mrs. Herrick, Homer Martin, John L. Lewis, for example. Similarly, our analysis of the Lovestone group, of the fight in the auto workers' union, of the defeat in Little Steel, would differ, as our readers know, from Stolberg's. And we would not get along very harmoniously with him in a discussion on his odd views on "Thermidor."

But these defects, which detract from a page here and there, do not invalidate the soundness of the book as a whole. At all events, they are not the targets at which most of the shooting has been aimed in the public prints. What has been under attack, above all from the Stalinists who have more than enough cause for their hysterical fear, is quite invulnerable. Every worker who reads the book will not only easily convince himself of this fact; he will also find its contents a necessary and valuable tool in his work in the American labor movement today.

DALADIER LASHES **FRENCH WORKERS**

(Continued from page 1)

tration camp faces the workers was eloquently forecast in the Daladier decrees which provided for drastic fines and imprisonment for workers who refuse to accept the extra hours of work demanded.

The anger of the workers over these decrees, which are designed to bring about a return of "liberal" economy-i.e., to give the bosses free rein and make the workers pay the whole whack, was so strong that the General Confederation of Labor was compelled to take a strong stand, at least verbally against them. At the C.G.T. conference last

week Jouhaux, the French Bill Green, succeeded only with great effort in sidetracking demands for a demonstrative general strike of protest. This was canalized into a resolution of a general protest and a proposal for protest demonstrations on Nov. 26. Meanwhile opposition to the decree laws piled up on all sides.

powerful war veterans associations, feeling their pensions threatened, likewise joined in. Daladier, shifting his base to the center and right of parliament, began openly toying with the idea of disbanding parliament altogether and ruling by decree until 1940-in other words establishing a police-military dictatorship to force the workers to comply.

field of foreign policy has been a continuing attempt to align France with Germany in a new understanding.

This is the net result of the two years of People's Frontism in lapsed when it was shown that France. The forces of the workers have been dispersed and de- unit involved, was actually moralized. The Communist Party praised by the Stalinist General has lost heavily in influence be- Pozas for its part in the fighting cause it was so openly the only around Huesca in June, 1937, at pro-imperialist war party in the time when it was supposed France during the recent crisis. to have "deserted." tive Committee of the Confedera-

TRIAL OF P.O.U.M.

(Continued from page 1) these charges fell to pieces in

the 29th Division, the P.O.U.M.

refute the charge.

The G.P.U. frame-up fell to against the Stalinist-bourgeois re-