The Appeal Will Be Issued Three Times Weekly Beginning Saturday!

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

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

Workers Party are taking the lead in the fight against imperialism and against war. We are swimming against the stream as Liebknecht and Lenin and Luxemburg and Trotsky did in the face of universal treachery and patri-

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

Only the revolutionary Marxists of the Socialist longer be possible for the revolutionists to publish legal organs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Workers Of The World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For The Fourth

International! YOUNG PEOPLES

SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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Saturday, October 1, 1938

FIGHT IMPERIALIST

Drivers Accept Terms PRIMARY DEALS REVEAL DANGER While Strike Goes On

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

NEW PACT REDUCES HOURS of the class collaboration policy of the American Labor Party

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

Mayor LaGuardia's compromise agreement, which calls for 44-hour work week at the present rate of weekly pay and specifies that no driver is to work more than 44 hours in any week including overtime, was accepted by the strike committee yesterday. A strike meeting called at Mecca Temple yesterday morning and afternoon tumultously discussed acceptance of the compromise. The men angrily Republican primaries, Louis insisted that the 40-hour demand remain intact, in spite of pleading

by many of the leaders, including ; those formerly members of the "rank-and-file" committee. The Mayor, after a hot reception, called for a rising "ave" vote. After he got it, he said: "That's enough for me!" and left the hall. No "nav" vote was taken. Heated discussions continued in groups. City Trucks Roll

The strike committee is proceeding with the signing of contracts on the basis of the compromise agreement. The Mayor has declared a "Public Emergency" and mobilized Sanitation Department trucks for the shipment of foodstuffs and other "vital necessities." Union men are manning the trucks at regular pay. in this "emergency trucking" ven- poor little blue coats. ture of the Mayor's, they nevertheless regard some such arrangement as inevitable.

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

NEW YORK, Sept. 26.-More than 30,000 truck drivers in Greater New York and New Jersey are engager in one of the greatest strikes to hit this area their trucks. Even newsprint has gan to sing that well known ditty, been halted.

police headquarters that "mate- FIVE YEARS," sang the boys on rials for the stricken New Eng- the shelf. land and Long Island communities (suffering from the floods) also were being halted." But strikers claim that they have stopped only scab trucks trying to carry non-exempt goods under false "flood signs."

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

Strike Now Sanctioned

Starting out originally as a socalled "outlaw" strike early last speaking, was THAT. week, the truck drivers' action was sanctioned by an official ballot. of, the membership of Locals (Centinued on page 2)

IN ALP POLICY

Independent Action Alone Will Rally Workers

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

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

The main A.L.P. figure in the (Continued on page 2)

STRIKELIGHTS the TRUCK FRONT

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

A "Citizens Committee" headed by aisles one enthusiastic brother wanted to solve this question? Richard Lawrence, chairman of was puzzled. "They must think the New York State Chamber of this is a bloomin' Flower Show," Commerce, is in charge of emer- he said. The cops were slightly gency trucking. While the strik- embarrassed, and the 5,000 strikers are suspicious of every move ers felt kind of sorry for the

> Brother Cashal's middle somehow or other connected with a loose shoe (size 141/2 according to the grunt) during the question period. When the clod-hopper was held up for identification one near-sighted brother in the second balcony sighed sadly and said, "The Naval Limitations Conference won't mean a thing unless they check up on that guy..."

in years. The truck operators are gangs were right on time with not even attempting to move the chorus when Mike Cashal be still for the forty-hour week. This "I've been in the labor movement Complaints are pouring in to for more than-" "-FORTY-

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

When the vote was taken or bitrate on the old wage and hour scale, the boos almost blew the roof. And that, in a manner of

Abe-Klein had a tough time trying to push the compromise over and began to sweat after strike, boys PLEASE!

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

Some guys were doubtful of the 'Little Flower's" honesty on the unemployment problem. "Didn't As the Police filed down the he say more than once that he Well, how does he explain his refusal to accept the forty hour

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

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

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

As the men filed out of the hall Mike Cashal held on to the 'mike' and begged them not to stop any trucks, not to continue the strike, to obey their elected officials and please, please, don't continue the issued in New York City by Albert | very moment of the opening of

New War Flows from MILLIONS IN ARMS Versailles Banditry AWAIT ZERO HOUR

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

By LEON TROTSKY

(Sept. 19, 1938) These lines are written in the very midst of an ominous diplomatic muddle around the question of the Sudeten Germans. Chamberlain has flown over the skies in vain hope of finding

there the solution of the imperialist contradictions. Whether the war will break out now, or, what is more likely, whether the rulers of the world will succeed in putting it off for some time - not a very long time to be sure — this question is still not definitely settled. None of these gentlemen want a war. All are afraid of its consequences. But fight they must. War they cannot avoid.

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

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

There are three and one half million Sudeten Germans. If war breaks out, the number of dead will probably be four or five times, possibly even ten times as much with a corresponding number of wounded, cripples and insane; and a long wake of epidemics and other tragedies. This consideration, however, is incapable of influencing in the least any of the enemy camps. For the robbers in the final analysis it is not at all a question of three and a half million Germans but of their role over Europe and (Continued on page 3)

Teachers Fight G.P.U. Slander Against Trotsky

launching of a new campaign of actually remained in the United slander against Leon Trotsky, a States and that his principal misgroup of revolutionary teachers sion here was to complete arhave issued a sharp protest rangements with the New York against the charges made by the center of the G.P.U. for launching Mexican Communist Party that a new anti-Trotsky campaign in Trotsky has been carrying on Mexico which was to culminate political propaganda hostile to the either in Trotsky's expulsion from Mexican Workers' Federation.

President Lazaro Cardenas against | leader. the Stalinist stranglehold on the Ministry of Education. They organizations, using guns to word about his return. silence all opposition or criticism.

Rivera Challenges Laborde

In a statement issued at San Angel on September 14 Diego Union on a visit in recent weeks. Goldman, Chicago labor attorney,

MEXICO, D.F.-Aroused by the | who charged that Laborde had Mexico or in direct attempts to The teachers also protested to assassinate the exiled Bolshevik

"At the same time Goldman made these revelations," Rivera charged that the Stalinists have said. "Laborde suddenly appeared brought the methods of gunmen in Mexico. I say 'suddenly' since and racketeers into the teachers' the press did not carry a single

A Mysterious Return "Where did Laborde come from? Had he really been in the Rivera, the noted revolutionist U.S.S.R.? This is not difficult to and artist, challenged Hernan La- prove by passport visas. Or did borde, leader of the Mexican Com- Laborde, as Goldman's source munist Party, to prove that he states, remain secretly in the had been, as stated, in the Soviet United States? What did he do there? And why did he return Rivera quoted the statement with the utmost secrecy at the (Continued on page 3)

ON ALL BORDERS Pacifists Leap On Bandwagon to

Support War

BULLETIN

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

Every country in Europe stood Their economy, their obilized this week awaiting the fateful zero hour of the new world imperialist war.

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

Last week the principal "denocracies," Britain and France, gave a clear demonstration of just how much the abstract notion of "democracy" is worth to them when they offer Fascist Germany a deal that involved the dismemberment of Czechoslova kia, their own Versailles offspring. Prague was forced to ac cept the bargain.

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

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

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

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

Fight Hitlerism By Revolution

An Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

This answer is a lie and a betraval.

THE REAL INTERESTS OF THE CZECH **GOVERNMENT**

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

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

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

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

THE OBJECTIVE FOR WORKERS

AND PEASANTS

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

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

They tell us: "Poor little Czechoslovakia," . . . "Stand by Czechoslovakia" . . ., "Save Czechoslovakia" . . . We heard that one before.

Only it was "Poor little Belgium" the last time. But it was the same lie and the same betrayal. For the sake

of poor little Belgium, the workers were induced to do the dirty work of British and French and American imperialism.

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

THE LIE OF "DEMOCRACY"

But "democracy" is now at stake?

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

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

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

(Continued on page 3)

Omaha Trucks Tied Up Throughout North Central Area

UNION PERMITS

New Area Contract Is Issue: 35 Companies Sign

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

Determined to force all overthe-road trucking to be done Rubber Workers of America held under the new North Central Area here last week was marked by agreement and the signing of con- considerable achievements on tracts by city operators with many important trade union Local 554, the strike is backed by questions and a solidarity and the strength and machinery of union democracy that sets an the entire drivers movement of example for other C.I.O. unions. the 11-state area.

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

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

This information made the farmers friendly to the strikers drive in Akron at the Goodrich and turned them against the employers, who would use the farmers to break the strike. When the spoken lies failed, the bosses hired U.S. Rubber, Goodrich and Firehoodlums to stone trucks of the farmers in a futile attempt to cerns in America. wreck the cooperation of farmers and workers.

Omaha tied at a dozen terminals direct aid from other locals came to Local 554. From Chicago and tion. St. Louis drivers locals sent financial contributions and from Local 710 in Chicago came an admonition to the Swift Packing Co. which put an end to anti-union activities of the Omaha branch of the company. The local branch trucking lines which signed with the union.

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

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

Teamsters' Joint Council No. 18 of New Jersey, which comprises hours in support of the "New Locals 560 of Hoboken, 641 and Deal." 617 of Jersey City, 136 and 478 of Newark and 469 of Trenton and question of praising Roosevelt in Perth Amboy, joined the strike today. The latter not only went run on a third term. Some deleout in sympathy with the New gates said he was the greatest York drivers but are demanding president, others argued he was the same kind of an agreement. no greater than Lincoln or Jeffer-Francis M. Sheridan, general or- son and should only be called one ganizer of the Motor and Bus of the greatest. With debate pro-Terminal Checker Platform and ceeding along that fashion, a few Office Workers Local 21, 512 of progressives didn't take the floor the A. F. of L. announced that to speak against Roosevelt's polihis union would join during the cies. day. Allan Haywood, regional diunions the "fullest cooperation"

tion, A. F. of L., whose contracts John Brophy, national C.I.O. dihave only four days to go, have rector, Eli P. Oliver, executive announced that they would also demand a reduction in the work Partisan League, and other week, from 44 to 40, and they speakers. would not handle any "hot cargo," that is, trucks carrying goods ocratic traditions of the rubber banned by the strike committee.

strike, which has the official used on the West Coast recently backing of the Central Labor in seeking to cover up Bridges' Council and the State Federation stacked C.I.O. state convention, of Labor, is spreading rapidly, although the West Coast rubber The attempt of the truck drivers workers were staring him in the to get a radical solution of the face and had passed out a wellproblem of unemployment by a documented booklet exposing the same basic rate of pay seems W.A. delegates. to have caught the imagination of large layers of the laboring population of this area. The supcomplete. From the point of view League, blasting of Mayor Frank is no reason why the bosses U.S.A., criticism of the Dies comshould not be brought to terms mittee, etc., etc.

MOVE ONLY WITH Rubber Workers **Urge Labor Unity**

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

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

TRENTON, N. J. - The third annual convention of the United Unity of the C.I.O. and the A.

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

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

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

pledged. Among the most important achievements of the past year recorded in the officers' reports was the smashing of a wage cut plant which prevented a nationwide slash. Likewise the U.R.W.A reported signed contracts with stone, three of the largest con-

Membership of the U.R.W.A. had remained high despite lay-With over-the-road trucks from offs of 25,000 union men in the past year who are still considsince the day the strike began, ered in the union, due to special provisions made in the constitu-

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

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

The convention rebuked a Sta-DRIVERS ACCEPT: linist delegate from Akron who was a delegate from another to cal by voting not to permit the practice in the future, unless the his own local. "Who paid her way here," a Goodrich worker asked.

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

Still Follow F.D.R.

Everything looked rosy for the Stalinist clique when the convention first began. The great mapority of delegates were Roosevelt followers and the Stalinists 4.071 for the strike with only 365 hopped on the band-wagon. cheering as over 75 resolutions were passed in less than two

> Only argument was on the the resolution calling for him to

The national C.I.O. policy of rector of the C.I.O., offered the playing around with Democrats and Republicans and the C.I.O. of his organization in a telegram position on labor unity was outlined in speeches by Allan S. Hay-The Longshoremen's Associa- wood, New York C.I.O. director, vice-president of Labor's Non-

Knowing the militant and demworkers. Brophy in his speech did From the looks of things, the not dare to use the language he reduction of the work week on Bridges and Brophy to the U.R.

Blast Mayor Hague

Other resolutions called for sup-

Of special importance was the needed, Grillo said.

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

to the executive board for action,

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

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

Praise Western Organizer

Then S. H. Dalrymple, internaional president, took the floor, and contrary to reports published in the Daily Worker, criticized attorney for the union. The prothe Stalinist-introduced resolution gressives have issued an appeal busting attack were so great, as one "which breaks the unity to the membership of the union and harmony of this convention." and he told the delegates that the and calling on the members to be executive committee had agreed prepared for similar attacks in not to bring the subject up at the the future. Gangsterism will not convention. So the resolution was be allowed in Local 302. squelched by a motion to table indefinitely which passed by nuge majority.

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

proved of no avail.

port included recommendations and opposition to laws conscriptwhich we are unalterably op- removed him from his job. When posed." These were passed.

Officers Re-Elected

The present officers, Dalrym ple, vice-president Thomas F. Burns, and secretary-treasurer Frank Grillo, were unanimously re-elected.

board two surprises came when in the shops has brought a rift in N. H. Eagle and Salvatore Came- the union leadership. The "Unity" lio, organizers and founders of group, under the leadership of the union, were defeated for re- President Mesevich, gives signs of election. Part of this was because the beginning of a break with the of the feeling delegates had | Stalinist clique. On September 21, against having organizers on the Mesevich for the first time openly board and part of it was their attacked the Stalinists. The ocreputation for playing too close casion was a membership meetto the Stalinists. John Marchian- ing to hear reports of the recently do, another board member and concluded international convenorganizer, also suffered defeat.

In their place were elected slated to run for an International Scott Friess, a progressive from vice-presidency, but was doublethe U.S. Rubber plant in Indiana, G. T. Palmer, of Barberton, who also has a progressive reputation. and C. V. Wheeler, of Goodyear Local, who is not very well known but follows the Stalinist party line.

for his work at the convention, program: got the highest vote for re-elec- 1. Full democracy in the union. tion; L. L. Callahan, president of Goodrich Local and a well-known Akron labor leader was re-elected, and Walter J. Welsch, representing the small locals, was returned to the executive board.

In all localities the U.R.W.A. had fought for adequate W.P.A. projects and higher wages, and is doing its best to keep the burport given by organized labor is port of Labor's Non-Partisan den of the crisis from falling on the workers. Although the finanof the strike's effectiveness there Hague and fascist tendencies in cial condition was not very good, the International Union could obtain \$100,000 from the C.I.O., if

YPSL Conference

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

SLUG MILITANTS IN FOOD UNION

Appeal Is Made Against Gangster-C. P. Clique

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

On Thursday, September 22, Charles Mitchell, a member of the executive board and a leading progressive, was met at his place of work by Harry Lieben, Stalinist business agent, and his bodyguard. Without warning Lieben struch Mitchell a terrific blow in N.M.U. men. In this fight he the face, almost breaking his nose, Mitchell preferred criminal charges against Lieben. who appeared in court defended by the demanding the removal of Lieben

Lieben Frames Militant

Behind the physical attack was the charge hurled against this same business agent, Harry Lieben, of framing a militant worker in cooperation with an employer and removing him from his job Henry Feller, who had organized his shop into the union and had worked there several years, was assistant shop-chairman and a vigorous fighter in defense of inion conditions and against dis events, the Stalinists rushed to crimination. For this reason he get Michael Quill, Transport had incurred the hostility of his delegate was first elected from Workers' Union president and boss. Because he is a progressive "party line" follower, down as he became a target for Lieben, speaker but his clever speech the business agent in charge of his territory, and of the Stalinist The legislative committee re- | frame-up machine.

One day Feller was accused of for extension of the Social Secur- complicity in the theft of some ity Law to provide for benefits to cartons of cigarettes by his em-W.P.A. workers, endorsement of ployer, who immediately called the Civil Liberties Committee Lieben. Lieben told Feller that work, favored a low-rent housing there was a warrant for his arprogram, condemnation of use of rest, and threatened him with the the National Guard in strikes. "third degree." But if Feller would leave his job "voluntarily," ing capital in war-time since "this Lieben promised to "fix everywould lead to drafting of labor to thing." Feller refused and Lieben Feller appealed to the executive statement of Lieben that "I am to reinstate him.

The corrupt practices of the Stalinist machine, and its failure In the elections for executive to maintain wages and conditions tion, at which Mesevich was crossed by his Stalinist allies.

Program Outlined

The progressives have appealed to all sections of the union membership, appealing for a united struggle against the corrupt L. S. Buckmaster, president of Stalinists in control of the union, Firestone Local, and outstanding on the basis of the following

2. For the election of all officials from top to bottom. 3. For the full enforcement of the

union contract. 4. For the abolition of the Adjustment Board (foisted on the membership last spring by the

Stalinists). For the merger of all branches into one unified union (The local are not diplomats. is divided into three branches Chain store workers, skilled workers in independent stores. and unskilled in independent

stores).

SAILORS TIE UP Plans Activity SHEPARD AGAIN

Breaking of Pact Gets Quick Strike Action

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

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

Use Election Ruse

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

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

Bridges Backs Down Repercussions from this union even among longshoremen, that in the present dispute, which is in all essentials the same as the other, Bridges and the whole Communist Party machine are

and the unions supporting them be holding public office. see the attempt to end the agreement as another move in the persistent open-shop drive of the Shepard Line and declare their determination to maintain the closed shop on the five ships.

S.U.P. Gives Position "We took no wage cuts this the union states. "We have lost no agreements-and the Shepard Steamship Line will be no exception. This is final, and do not be misled by Mr. Shepard's attempts to hide behind the skirts of a government bureau.

"The agreement which the S.U.P. intends to enforce with the Shepard Line was won through strikes, misery and sacrifices on the part of our members in attempting to clean up these lousy scows and get decent working conditions on them. We intend to keep what we have gained."

Unemployed Militant board, that body bore out the Faces C.P. Expulsion

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

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

Popovitch is accused of individualism, of conducting sit-in relief demonstrations without the approval of the Alliance bureau cracy, of sabotaging the work of the Alliance, of being a Trotskyist and an enemy of the working In reply to these slanderous

charges Popovitch replied: "I am not a saboteur. I am not

class traitor. When you are a militant the bosses call you a Communist and the Communists call you a Trotskyite.

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

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

Never mind why. They are lousy

Call the Cops!

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

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

S.W.P.'er: Why not? Who said I can't? Vet: I did! And if you don't

stop, I'll call the cop! S.W.P.'er: That's just like the Communist Party nowadays-calling the cops! Vet: Sure it is! We believe

in Law and Order now...

JOBLESS ISSUE CONVENTION CALL

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

The call for the conference, signed by Henry V. Rourke, President of the Mechanics' Union, and speaking for the Continu- the city. ations Committee elected at the first conference, asked Locals still gates each to the October 1 conits members, and that there is defeated the Labor Party allies intolerable discrimination against of Simpson and Crews, the heads those who refuse to follow the of the state and Brooklyn organipolitical line of the majority zations of the G.O.P. respectively, leadership of the W.A."

A Militant Organization "We will carry on a consistent and militant struggle for an adeon home relief rolls...fight for in line completely with their an increase in jobs for all those whole "Democratic Front" politics able to work; and furthermore we and they never miss an opporkeeping hands off. They limit pledge ourselves to carry on a tunity to injure and betray the themselves to giving "advice" as bona fide and militant fight for workers in whose name they to "caution" and "cool-headed- these just demands without fear speak. What was more surprising of embarrassing any political was the fact that the Loveston On the other hand, the S.U.P. groups or individuals that may ites were the only other political

be judged according to their honest work and sacrifice in behalf | Social Democratic Federation of the above principles and not could stomach it in the crass because of their affiliation to any form in which it was put forward specific political party," the call continued.

policy or program."

ANNOUNCEMENTS Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office be-

fore 6 o'clock Monday evening. NEW YORK

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

Tickets are for Monday and Office, 116 University Place, 65c. Auspices. Downtown Branch of

step with a versatile Swing Band. Sat., Oct. 15. Further details forthcoming. months, as the militant actions of HAPPY EVENTS COLUMN: Bob Brown, ex-Business Manager of the Appeal, became the

father of a 71/2 lb. bouncing, baby boy Bolshevik-Leninist this week. Congratulations, RUSSIAN BULLETIN No. 68-69, featuring several important articles by Leon Trotsky. Single copy 20c; 1 year \$2. Sutscrip-

tions and single copies on sale

at Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St., N.Y.C. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

TWO STUDY COURSES:

"Fundamentals of Socialism" -6 Lessons W. W. Norris, Instructor "History of American Labor Movement"-6 Lessons

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Every Sunday at 3 P.M. beginning Sept. 25. Dealing with current subjects of local, national and international interest. Good Speakers. Socialist Workers Party Hall,

Admission Free

919 Marquette Ave.

PRIMARY DEALS **REVEAL DANGER**

(Continued from page 1)

IN ALP POLICY

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

The Election Yield

An authoritative summary of the contests, given by the New York Times, concludes as follows: "The result of the Republican-Labor Party deal, because of the failure of the Republican

organization leaders to deliver,

has been to give the Republican leaders what they wanted most and to give the Labor Party comparatively little of value." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 22, 1938). In other words, the Labor Party leaders were "double-crossed." In reality, however, the Republicans only did the natural thing: they remained true to the interests of their class, and consequently, their party, while the Labor Party heads bargained away the real interests of their party and their class, the laboring population of

Such an outcome could have been foreseen. Moreover, it should in the Alliance to send two dele- serve as an idication of far more serious "double-crossing" to come ference, "if you believe as we do if this disastrous alliance is to be that the Workers Alliance is no continued in the halls of the state longer carrying out a militant and legislature. It is significant to honest struggle for the needs of note that while the Republicans they nevertheless relected them to the party leadership.

Lovestone Treachery

That the Stalinists endorsed quate standard of living for all this class collaboration policy of those on public work projects and the A.L.P. is only natural. It falls force in the Labor Party to go to "... We will build a non-partisan bat for this piece of treacherous organization, where workers shall class collaboration politics. Not even the old line reformists of the

The Lovestoneite argument, presented by their wiseacre spokes man. Will Herberg, runs as folconference said: "We believe in lows: Since the A.L.P. had prevpracticing true trade union democ- lously been closely tied to the racy, which shall give equal rights | Democratic Party machine and to all members. No member or still was, nationally, the alliance groups of members shall be per- with the Republicans will serve secuted or discriminated against to break down this tie and thus, because of difference of opinion by the will of gods, bring about with the majority on questions of an independent Labor Party. which the Lovestoneites officially advocate. That is, advocate in words.

In reality, the Lovestoneites are

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

S.W.P. Position

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

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

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

Against the capitalist party candidates, both those on the Republican, Democratic as well

as Labor Party tickets! For the labor candidates, the candidates of the Labor Party. irrespective of endorsements by

Defeat the class collaboration policy of coalitions with the Republican and Democratic mach-

Vote Labor!

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

of the city to do likewise. Forward to the building of an independent Labor Party!

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

Appeal Army

WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS!

The great War Crisis which is leading rapidly towards the Second World War puts the necessi-Tuesday evenings, October 10th ty for a greater and greater disand 11th. May be obtained from tribution of the Appeal right on Lillian Reynolds at National the order of the day. Our voice is the only voice of revolutionary socialism, and it is threatening to be drowned out amid the howl-ANNOUNCING THE PREMIER ing chorus of war-mad Stalinists DANCE of the year. Check and other jingoes. The Appeal your calendars for the City will carry clear-cut, simple and Convention Bal and get into forceful articles each week hence forth, giving the position of the revolutionary opponents of capitalist war. These articles must reach trade-union workers by the thousands and tens of thousands! It is the most important part of our present struggle against the war machines.

> Every branch and unit in the country should immediately take up for consideration the problem of how to double its present bundle-order. Don't forget that the promotion price for extra copies still holds good. It offers an ex- ers is taking a bundle in Oakland, cellent change for mass distribution of America's only genuine geles has successfully pulled the anti-war paper! Summer vaca- | L. A. branch out of its literature tions are forgotten; literature- hole and is steadily increasing his agents are the front-line fighters order. . . Our "friend" in Proviin our anti-war propaganda; let's dence, Rhode Island has already hear from them with increased increased his weekly order from

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

Although subs declined this past week, we are glad to report Special Notice! that bundle-orders are definitely on the increase among the be out very soon now. Rush extra branches. Here's the list of new order immediately before it is too

оню Chicago New York City Massachusetts California Foreign Tennessee Marvland Wisconsin Michigan 1 New Jersey

The New York City local, under the able direction of Lou Gordon and Abe Miller, distributed 2,000 copies of last week's APPEAL to the striking truckdrivers. The YPSL furnished great help in this work.

Karl Shier of Chicago is back in the running again. He increased his bundle-order by 50 copies last week . . . And a new agent by the name of Elsie Mey-Calif. . . John Murphy of Los An-3 to 10. . .

Send all contributions and subs

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

The World-Congress issue will late!

Imperialist Powers Prepare Millions For New Slaughter

MILLIONS IN ARMS careful to confine himself to humanitarian terms and to assume AWAIT ZERO HOUR the air of complete impartiality. But let us have no illusions on this score. If war breaks out in ON ALL BORDERS Europe, this country will intervene—and much sooner than it

(Continued from page 1) is why they have been so desper-

Democracy In Discard

But part of the process of coming to terms is a trial of strength. When Hitler raised the ante. France and Britain were forced ment's struggle to preserve the to play new cards. Both capitalist | peace for which it will eventually governments-not bothering with have to go to war. the "democratic" procedure of Let us not fall for all this humconsulting their respective parlia- bug! The workers of Europe are ments - undertook measures of being called to the blood bath. mobilization and tried to impress They will soon enough come to upon Hitler the need for arriv- the realization that they and they ing at some amicable arrange- alone will have to end it by ments - undertook measures of their own strength. We in this meeting in a war that neither country must be prepared to take side actually wants.

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

The Real Fear

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

That is the real threat of which Chamberlain was so emotionally of an Unemployed Defense Comconscious when he made his sob- mittee, whose immediate purpose bing speech over the radio. He will be the defense of William knows that the end of the Brit- Lubin and fifteen other unemish Empire is just around the cor- ployed youths, arrested last Sepner from the outbreak of war. tember 1st at the demonstration The French bosses know the at District Relief Office No. 79 same thing goes for them. Hitler Lafayette and Nostrand Avenues and Mussolini know it too, but Brooklyn, and giving aid to the they are in a position where they Matson Defense Fund of the have to take the chance, because Workers Defense League, was anthey know they are ruined any- nounced here by the publicity way if they don't.

No Way Out

the capitalists are of the implicaof capitalism makes it impossible Defense League, Cohen said. to avoid the war. It provides no other way out of the economic impasse that has become so intolerable in the last eight years. And the only way out, it has reason to fear, is going to prove a way out for capitalism altogether.

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

The Only Answer

Against this double threat the wokers can make only one answer: they have to mobilize themselves to fight capitalism - the breeder of war and fascism. The most fatal thing now is to listen to the lies of the bosses' lackeys -the labor fakers like the Jouhaux, Greens, Lewises, and Ci- relief for Lubin, who was about trines, and the lackeys of imperi- to be evicted from his lodging. All alism, the Stalinists, who are of the sixteen are charged with most loudly of all trying to fasten on the workers the lying belief that this struggle, like the war in 1914, is to be a struggle for "democracy." Under their auspices the so-

called "pacifists" are lining up once more in classic manner. These bleaters against war are standing up on platforms in this country to tell us how they have hated war all their lives but now "holy struggle against Hitlerism," they are prepared to support it to the utmost.

Novelist Turns War Monger

ago was Th. Mann, the novelist. who gave a perfect demonstra- Broadway, and to Miss Buxbaum tion of the pacifist's role at a at D.O. No. 79, to protest against mass meeting held under Stalinist | the persecution of these workers." auspices in Madison Square Gar- Cohen said. "The committee is

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

Therefore, Mann, the pacifist, becomes now Mann, the supporter of imperialist war, under the "civilization."

U. S. Soon Involved In his appeal Roosevelt was

the air of complete impartiality. this score. If war breaks out in Europe, this country will interdid last time. All the machinery of propaganda is at work toward that end. Roosevelt, the pacifist, slow advance of the monster on speaks of "humanity" and "civilithe frightened Frankenstein. That zation," but he was bold enough to speak of the threat against ately trying to come to terms capitalism, and it is capitalism with Hitler rather than face the that he is interested in defending fearful prospect of a war and all and for which he will sooner or they know it will bring in its later summon this country to

> Roosevelt's appeal showed just how close that day is, for it merely is the first step in "making the record" in this govern-

our place with them at that time Matters stood at this point and that we will do by most re-American imperialism toward

> Our war is not the bosses' war. Our war is the war against the bosses, in our own country first, and throughout the world. Let us keep hammering that home in the critical days and weeks that are coming.

DEFENSE FORMED FOR UNEMPLOYED

NEW YORK. - The formation director of the committee, Milt Cohen.

Organizations represented or the present crisis. Roosevelt's the committee include Locals 4, statement shows how conscious 17, 19 and other locals of the Workers Alliance, and the New tions of the war. Yet the system York City branch of the Workers

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

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

16 Involved in Case

The sixteen defendants in the Brooklyn case were arrested at the September 1st demonstration where some 300 unemployed work ers were demanding immediate disorderly conduct, while Lubin and three others face the additional charge of felonious assault. The felonious assault cases come up on October 10 in Felony Court and the disorderly conduct cases on October 13 in the Pennsylvania Avenue Court, Brooklyn.

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

We are appealing to every labor and unemployed organization to Most prominent here a few days send telegrams or delegations to Commissioner Hodson's office, 902 also urgently in need of funds. which should be sent to the Unemployed Defense Committee. Room 302, 112 East 19th Street New York City."

> AT YOUR NEWSSTAND ASK FOR THE APPEAL

LERMAN BROS. 37 EAST 14th STREET New York City

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Fight Hitlerism By Revolution

which will follow it if declining capitalism still remains in the

(Continued from page 1)

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

THE ANSWER OF REVOLUTIONISTS

To the Czech workers and peasants the revolutionists give

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

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

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

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

THE REAL ALLIES OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

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

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

The allies are the workers and peasants and farmers of France and Great Britain and the United States, aiding the workers of Czechoslovakia not in union with but in direct and uncompromis-

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

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

Trotskyists Defend Heroic against reaction and fascism." Past of Polish Communists charge that the Stalinists have the rapacious and police regime entrenched themselves in the of Czechoslovakian "democracy"

Dissolution of Party and Murder of Leaders campaigns. Last week at a na-Is Reward for Loyalty to Stalin and Comintern

movement. Before our Polish lice! comrades is posed the responsibility for a tremendous task:

new revolutionary party!

At the command of Stalin. Yezhov and Litvinov, the Comintern dissolved the Communist Party of Poland and Young Comas well as former, Warski, Kostrszeva, Waletski, Domski, Sophia Unshilicht, Krukikowski, Lenski, many other leaders of the Communist Party of Poland were shot This infamous charge is now against the whole Y. C. L. P. According to the verdict of the executioner in the Kremlin the Communist movement of Poland during all the 20 years of its existence has been nothing but an agency of the secret police and General Staff. An infamous lie! sion of the party of Rosa Luxem-

The C. P. P., born out of a fuburg and Leo Tishko (known as the left wing of the Socialist Party of Poland, was for many years the heroic vanguard of the Proskyists who emerged from the C. P. P., protest against this infamous slander of the heroic past of our party. Despite the serious differences which separated us from Warski and Kostrszeva we will remember with the deepest

service to the working class.

respect their names and their

tion of the Polish Bolshevik-Le- for their devotion to the Socialist ninist, issued in connection with Revolution. We, who for seven the dissolution by the Comintern years fought against the base of the Communist Party in crimes of the Lenskis and the Poland. The complete dissolu- Hangrikowskis, know that these tion of the Communist Party of last leaders of the C. P. P. were Poland is an unprecedented obedient tools in the hands of event in the history of the labor | Stalin-not the Polish secret po-

Tools of Stalin It was at the command of Sta-

fragments of the Polish Com- its head) carried out in 1929 the munist Party and to construct a adventurist ultra-left policy of the "third period," and in 1935 called them "Trotskyites, splitthe unprincipled "Peoples Front." When the C.P.P. carried on proand reported them to the police, that too, was done at the direct munist League of Poland. This order of Stalin — not the Polish formal dissolution was preceded secret police. But neither devotion by the destruction of the whole to the "leader" nor the "achieve-Trotskyism, helped the C.P.P. At them Leon Trotsky. the moment when Stalin no longer needed the C.P.P. he smashed membership of the Party.

Thrown Into Discard

Below is printed the proclama- | ered by the Stalinist executioners

the Fourth International the of the C. P. P. (with Lenski at vocations against the Trotskyists

Comrades! Completely bewilderor killed in the torture chambers ed, you are confusedly seeking an of the G. P. U.; accused of being explanation for the dissolution of spies and agent-provocateurs. your Party, this event which seems to inexplicable to you. But in the chain of Stalinist crimes, march of the Thermidorian counter-revolution which destroys not Trotsky and that, therefore, arising Fourth International. the secret service of the Army with fire and sword the old re- Beck could after all find a comvolutionary generation.

(Continued from page 1)

the congress (the Latin-American

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

Teachers' Statement

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

"Yesterday the so-called Comnunist Party of Mexico made a declaration in which it accuses the revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky, among other things, of carrying on personal agitation against the C.T.M. and the S.T. E.R.M. (trade union of educational workers) and other revolutionary organizations of Mexico "We, the revolutionary teachrs, protest energetically against this calumny. The Stalinists of Mexico who slander Trotsky cannot prove, and we challenge them to do so, that Trotsky is interfering in Mexican affairs and is attacking the S.T.E.R.M. The Stalinist and Vilchist camarillas which are trying to rob the teachers by imposing upon them a tax of one and a half percent allegedly for trade union dues, regard the opposition and indignation with which almost the entire body of teachers have met their greedy scheming as the personal work of Trotsky.

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

The statement went on to they carry on their slanderous tating its worst methods. with all possible means to obtain

"They call Trotskyites all those teachers who cannot be bossed ment continued. "To terrify them prevent the distribution of leaflets and propaganda material among the teachers. Last Saturday the delegates of the school zones of To gather under the banner of lin that the Central Committee the Federal Districts presented at the Belles Artes meeting (the con- pacifist congresses. vention) some petitions and were met by gunmen who immediately ters . . ."

The statement ended with a re-

Henrikowski, Bronkowski and the leadership and scattered the the role of a bridge between the Stalinism? Kremlin and the Inspector Genmon language with Litvinov.

life were not known to us. But efforts however were in vain. The vanced Communist workers of the we do know that they were murd- | C. P. P. was incapable of playing counter-revolutionary essence of Warsaw. July 1938

Comrades! For the past seven America must tolerate with graticracy subordinated the Comint- and a base slander, long ago ceas- and, to create the cadres of the Jogisches in Germany-Ed.) and ern to the interest of its foreign ed to be a Communist Party in new proletarian party. We are the policy. In order to gain favor the Revolutionary sense of the inheritors of the great Marxist with the French bourgeoisie, Sta- word. But so far only a small sec- traditions, of the Party of Rosa lin pushed the Communist Party tion of the workers understands Luxemburg and Tishko, and the "Radical" bourgeoisie. Without workers the C. P. P. was, up to Trotskyists are in Poland as well hesitation, Stalin placed the C. P. the last moment, a representative as the world over the only group-P. at salute before Ridz-Smigla, of October Bolshevism, a symbol ing which represents Leninist hoping thereby to effect a change of proletarian revolution. The Communism. Our program is the in the Polish foreign policy. But members of the C. P. P. proceeded program of Bolshevism. Our banthe decisive circles of the Polish under the yoke of crassest op- ner is the banner of the October bourgeoisie rejected the Moscow portunism, convinced that they Revolution. To this banner we proposal. The C. P. P. did every- were serving the cause of the Re- call you comrades! The old C.P.P. thing in its power in order to volution. Is it possible that the is dead-long live the New Com-The views of Domski and Un-create in Poland a "democratic" destruction of the C. P. P. by munist Party of Poland! Long shlicht in the last years of their Front of G. P. U. allies. All the Stalin did not convince the ad- Live the Fourth International!

TEACHERS FIGHT G. P. U. SLANDER AGAINST TROTSKY New War Flows from perialist war—is quite another. The how ling of the "pacifist" jackals of democratic imperialism is therefore the best accompaniment to Hitler's speeches. "You see," he says to the German people, "even socialists and communications of the perialist war—is quite another. The how ling of the "pacifist" jackals of democratic imperialism is therefore the best accompaniment to Hitler's speeches. "You see," he says to the German people, "even socialists and communications of the perialist war—is quite another. The how ling of the "pacifist" jackals of democratic imperialism is therefore the best accompaniment to Hitler's speeches. "You see," he says to the German people, "even socialists and communications of the perialist war—is quite another. The how ling of the "pacifist" jackals of democratic imperialism is therefore the best accompaniment to Hitler's speeches. "You see," he says to the German people, "even socialists and communications of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the "pacifist" jackals of democratic imperialism is therefore the best accompaniment to Hitler's speeches. "You see," he says to the German people, "even socialists and communications of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the perialist war—is quite another. The how line of the per

(Continued from page 1) over the world.

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

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

Versailles Brought Fascism

For the strategic heads of the triumphant imperialism of the Entente Messrs, Democrats, with the support of the Second International delivered the Sudeten ist clique of Stalin during the Germans into the possession of last years has consisted in provthe young imperialists of Czecho- ing to the imperialist "democra slovakia. Meanwhlie the German social-democracy waited with love for order. For the sake of dog-like submission for favors the longed for alliance with imfrom the democracies of the En- perialist democracies the Bonatente; waited and waited in vain. partist clique has brought the The results are known: democratic Germany, unable to stand political prostitution. Two great the yoke of the Versailles Treaty "democracies," France and Engthrew herself in despair onto the land, try to persuade Prague to road of fascism. It would seem make concessions to Hitler who that the Czechoslovakian democ- is supported by Mussolini. Apparacy which stood under the au- rently nothing is left to Prague gust protection of Franco-Brit- but to yield to "friendly" advice ish democracy and of the "so- Of Moscow there is no mention cialist" bureaucracy of the No one is interested in the opin-U.S.S.R. had every possibility of ion of Stalin or his Litvinoff. As showing the Sudeten Germans a result of the disgusting crawlthe great advantages in reality of ing and bloody vileness in the a democratic regime over a fas- service of imperialism, especially cist one. If this task had been re- in Spain, the Kremlin is more isosolved, Hitler would not dare, of lated than ever before. course, to make an attempt on Sudeten. His main strength lies two. The first lies in the fact that now precisely in the fact that the having definitely become a lackey Sudeten Germans themselves of "democratic" imperialism, Sta want unity with Germany. This lin does not dare, however, to

tional convention they put itself until a short time ago un- measures he remains in the eyes through a resolution "to strive der the tireless solicitude of the of the imperialists just a revoludemocratic Entente which seemed I tionary narvenu, an untrust the expulsion of Trotsky and the to have made it its business not worthy adventurer, a bloody falsidischarge of all Trotskyite teach- to let Austria live or die. It ended fier. The imperialist bourgeoisie by Austria's throwing herself in- does not venture to wager an imto the embrace of Hitler. On a portant stake on Stalin. smaller scale the same experience and robbed," the teachers' state- was previously made in the Saar for its partial and temporary region which after having relaims. But here the second cause they use the regular methods of mained in the hands of France for Kremlin's isolation looms up: racketeering, bringing thugs into for fifteen years and having tried in its struggle for self-preservathe secretariat of Education to out all the benefits of imperialist tion the unbridled Bonapartist democracy, by an overwhelming clique has crippled the army and majority expressed a desire for the fleet to the last degree, shakunity with Germany. These les- en economy, demoralized and husons of history are more signifi-

Mockery of "Racial" Unity Only pitiful babblers or fascist crooks can speak in connection with the fate of the Saar, the Auquest that President Cardenas re- strian and Sudeten Germans of ceive a delegation which desired the irresistible "call of blood." to describe to him conditions in The Swiss Germans, for example, the Ministry of Education and do not want at all to go into Mexico to "fight" against war. with a denunciation of the plans slavery under Hitler, because The method is simple—to unite of the G.P.U. to hound and mur- they feel themselves masters in all the democracies against fasleading staff of the Party, present ments" in the struggle against der revolutionists, the first of their country, and Hitler would cism. Only against fascism! "I think ten times before attacking am invited here," speaks the

Comrades! The C. P. P. is no perialism at all!" Whoever fights eral of the Military Forces — and longer among the living and no against "democratic" imperialism, this was not its fault. It therefore one will be able to resurrect it. that is, for the freedom of the became an unnecessary ballast | Every attempt to resurrect the for Stalin and Litvinov. Stalin Stalin C. P. P. would be reactiondissolved the C. P. P. in order ary. The Socialist Parties will made against the whole C.P.P., it is not so difficult to find an once and for all convince the Pol- soon present themselves as the Hindus must reconcile themselves explanation. One must only be ish bourgeoisie that the Soviet inheritors of the C. P. P. There is able to face the truth. The bureaucracy really renounced all no more hope in reformism than port British democracy, the rulsmashing of the C.P.P. is a link revolutionary "illusions"; that the there is in Stalinism. In order to Thermidorian U. S. S. R. does not secure victory, the Polish proletanother step in the victorious even think of preparing for the ariat must have a Revolutionary World Revolution, that Stalin is Bolshevik Party, a Party of the

years, we the Bolshevik-Leninists tude the foot of Anglo-Saxon im-Comrades! The C. P. P. which have been working to create a re- perialism on their neck only be-Long ago the Soviet Bureau- fell victim to a dastardly crime volutionary organization in Pol- cause this foot is dressed in a Polish proletariat. We, Polish of France into the embrace of the this. For tens of thousands of heroic past of the C. P. P. We of defeated Germany. Now the tion of wages for more than a Bolshevik-Leninists.

litical conditions must exist for citizens of a "democratic" country to be seized by a desire for fascist power. The Germans of the Saar in France, the Austrian Germans in the Europe of Versailles, the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia felt themselves citizens of third rank. "It will not be worse," they said to themthe German workers. selves. In Germany, at least, they will be oppressed on the same

The temporary strength of Hitler lies in the bankruptcy of imperialist democracy. Fascism is a form of despair in the petty bourgeois masses, who carry away with them over the precipice a part of the proletariat as well. Despair, as known, takes hold when all roads of salvation are cut off. The triple bankruptcy of democracy, social-democracy

tion. The masses prefer under

these conditions equality in serf-

dom to humiliation in inequality.

and the Comintern were the prerequisites for the successes of fascism. All three have tied their fate to the fate of imperialism. All three bring nothing to the masses but despair and by this assure the triumph of fascism.

The chief aim of the Bonapart cies" its wise conservatism and Comintern to the last stages of What are the causes? There are

desire was inspired in them by bring his work in the U.S.S.R. to charge that the Stalinists have the rapacious and police regime a conclusion, that is, to the restoration of private ownership of Ministry of Education from which which "fought" fascism by imithe means of production and the abolishing of the monopoly of Super-democratic Austria found foreign trade. And without these

Of course, it could utilize him miliated the country. No one becant than resolutions of all the lieves the patriotic howling of the defeatist clique. The imperialists clearly dare not risk a stake on Stalin even for episodic military aims.

The "Fight" Against War

In this international situation the agents of the G.P.U. cross the ocean and gather in hospitable worthy agent of the French Bourse-Jouhaux, "for the struggle against fascism, and not im-French colonies is an ally of fascism, an agent of Hitler, a Trotskyite. Three hundred and fifty to their slavery in order to supers of which at this very time, together with the slave-holders of "democratic" France, are delivering the Spanish people into Franco's bondage. People of Latin-

suede democratic boot. Disgrace, Roosevelt. Under the guise of shame, cynicism—without end! The democracies of the Ver- are in fact deprived of their right sailles Entente helped the victory to strike. Shuttled from one comof Hitler by their vile oppression mittee to another the vital queslackeys of democratic imperial- million organized workers will be ism of the Second and Third In-studied by a judge, a professor ternationals are helping with all and the dean of Harvard's famous their might the further strength- Law School. ening of Hitler's regime. Really, The commission is allowed 30 what would a military block of days to make a report; another imperialist democracies against 30 days must elapse before strike Hitler mean? A new edition of action is taken. During that time the Versailles chains, even more the wage cut will not go into heavy, bloody and intolerable. effect, but all efforts will be made Naturally, not a single German to blunt the fine edge of militancy worker wants this. To throw off that brought forth the huge strike Hitler by revolution is one thing, vote.

nists of all enemy countries support their army and their diplomacy; if you will not rally around me, your leader, you are threatened with doom!" Stalin, the lackey of democratic imperialism and all the lackeys of Stalin-Jouhaux, Toledano and Co.are the best aides of Hitler in deceiving, lulling, and intimidating

Tools of Imperialism

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

The struggle against fascism

demands above all the expulsion of the agents of "democratic" imperialism from the ranks of the working class. Only the revolutionary proletariat of France, Great Britain, America and U.S.S.R. declaring a life and death struggle against their own imperialism and its agency, the Moscow bureaucracy, is capable of arousing revolutionary hopes in the hearts of the German and Italian workers, and at the same time of rallying around itself hundreds of millions of slaves and semi-slaves of imperialism in the entire world. In order to guarantee peace among the peoples we must overthrow imperialism under all its masks. Only the proletarian revolution can accomplish this. To prepare it, it is necessary to place the workers and the oppressed peoples irreconcilably against the imperialist bourgeoisie and to rally them into a single international revolutionary army. This great liberating work is now being fulfilled only by the Fourth International. That is why it is hated by fascists, by imperialist "democrats," by social-patriots and by the lackeys of the Kremlin. This is the true sign that under its banner will rally all the oppressed.

Coyoacan, D. F.

R. R. WORKERS **VOTE TO STRIKE**

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

least 60 days. When George M. Harrison, speaking for 18 railway labor unions, announced that a nationwide vote authorized a strike call for midnight of Sept. 30 unless operators rescinded orders for a 15 per cent wage cut, scheduled to become effective Oct. 1, the National Mediation Board was immediately notified. They in turn notified the President, who then appointed the commission, consisting of Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy of North Carolina, Professor Harry A. Millis of Chicago University and Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School.

800,000 Votes Cast

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

Negotiations between operators

and the heads of the various unions, united into the Railway Labor Executive Association, had resulted in a deadlock. The corporations insisted on a 15 per cent cut; the union officials knew the membership was in no mood for a further lowering of their wages. The dispute, already on for some months, is now further delayed by the action of President mediation the railway workers

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MAX SHACHTMAN Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE Associate Editors S. STANLEY

Half the Battle Won

Business Manager

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the Members of the Communist Party:

stop fascism.

Europe, over to Hitler.

under its slogan.

the paper on which it is printed.

handed central Europe over to Hitler.

would guarantee the defense of the Soviet Union.

For four years your leaders have told you to put your faith

Today the democratic nations have shown their true colors,

For four years your leaders have made the Franco-Soviet pact

For four years your leaders have preached the doctrine of the

Today the People's Front everywhere lies in shambles. It

Your leaders, in great part, justified their policy by telling

Today the Soviet Union stands in more terrible isolation

in the democratic nations. They have said that the system of col-

lective security, support by the great democratic powers, would

have made clear the real meaning of their "democracy." They

have handed Czechoslovakia, and with it control of all central

the keystone of their world policy. Today that pact is not worth

People's Front, have told you that it would lead to victory over

reaction, and have enlisted millions upon millions of workers

was the Popular Front Government in France, put into office by

all organizations making up the French Popular Front, which

you that the People's Front, and the support of the democracies,

ON THE LABOR PARTY

A RESOLUTION OF THE S.W.P.

The decline of American capitalism and the social crisis ensuing therefrom have already called forth the greatest trade union organizing campaign in American history, which brought with it a wave of strike struggles unprecedented in scope and revolutionary implications (the sit-down strikes). At the same time the experiences and results of these herculean efforts of the American proletariat have demonstrated the inadequacy of the purely economic struggle to solve even the most pressing immediate problems of the workers. The precipitious decline in economy, as

a result of the new crisis adds new millions to the ranks of the unemployed, cancels out the gains of the strike victories and even threatens the existence of the newly built trade unions. Instinctively sensing the inadequacy of trade unionism alone under these circumstances, the workers have begun to turn in million-masses toward political action. The further development of the crisis is certain to strengthen this tend-

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

BUREAUCRATS RESTRICT MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RADICAL CHANGE IN TACTICS

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

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

PRINCIPLES NOT INVOLVED

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

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

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

BUREAUCRACY WILL RESIST

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

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

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

WILL SUPPORT LABOR PARTY

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

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

PARTY INDEPENDENCE PRESERVED

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

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

Pinning 'em Down

— B_v JAMES CASEY -

VAST FIELD AWAITS S.W.P.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HOW THE C.P. JUGGLES FIGURES

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

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

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

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

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

HOW OUR RECRUITERS SHOULD SPEAK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Open Letter to the Members of the C.P. The world now trembles on the brink of the most terrible catastrophe in all history. We believe that the majority of you are at one with us in your wish and resolve to wipe fascist tyranny from the face of the earth, to defend the Soviet Union, and to advance the cause of the workers against reaction everywhere, and

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is not much time left.

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

FOR THE UNITY OF ALL WORKERS OF EVERY NATION! AGAINST THE LIES AND DEFEATS AND TREACH-

ERIES OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND THE PEOPLE'S AGAINST THE FRAME-UPS AND MURDERS OF REVOLUTIONISTS AND MILITANTS OF THE WORK-

ING CLASS! AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

FOR THE DEFEAT OF HITLER BY THE OVER-THROW OF CAPITALISM!

FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE! THE MAIN ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY! FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.

than at any time in its entire history. The Soviet Government had to learn from the press dispatches about the agreement to liqui-

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