

Socialist Appeal

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C.I.O. Faces Crucial Issues Of Democracy In the Unions

POUM Leaders Sentenced In Spanish Frame-Up Trial

Workers Everywhere Must Protest Savage Prison Terms Meted Out to Spanish Revolutionary Militants

Five leaders of the Workers Party of Marxist Unification, the P.O.U.M., were sentenced this week to 11 to 15 years' imprisonment at the conclusion of the G.P.U.-staged "treason" trial in Barcelona, according to dispatches in the press.

Julien Gorlin, Juan Andrade, Jordi Aquer, Pedro Bonet, and Enrique Gironella were found guilty and sentenced to these prison terms. Jose Esouder and Treball were acquitted, the report said. Few or no details of the frame-up trial have appeared in the local press. Enough has been reported elsewhere, however, to reveal the complete frame-up character of the trial, the complete failure of the prosecution to prove a single one of the charges of relations between the P.O.U.M. leaders and the Fascists.

This monstrous frame-up was staged for the purpose of covering up the impending sell-out of the anti-Fascist cause, the impending "Munich settlement" of the Spanish situation under the benevolent tutelage of Britain and France, Germany and Italy. The Loyalist government, making ready use of the frame-up apparatus of the Spanish G.P.U., is proving to its imperialist masters that it is proceeding with all the necessary vigor against working class militants. Workers throughout the world must protest the trial proceedings, the charges, and the savage sentences!

In the trial of the P.O.U.M. leaders, the imprisonment and execution without trial of hundreds of worker-militants, the Loyalist regime is hoping to finish off what remains of the Spanish revolutionary movement. That is why we must mobilize the broadest possible movement of protest against these frame-ups. It is the cause of the working class revolution itself which is at stake!

NMU Seamen Bullied into Signing Rotten Contract

Vicious Campaign Against Lundeberg and Militant Seafarers' International Precedes Voting

The National Maritime Union last week signed an agreement with the American Merchant Marine Institute containing essentially the same terms that were overwhelmingly rejected by the membership only six months ago. Joe Curran, N.M.U. President, put the agreement over this time by a bull-dozing campaign in which the men were threatened with loss of their jobs if they did not accept. The result was a referendum vote in favor of acceptance by the suspiciously large majority of 10 to one. The agreement was said to cover 20,000 men.

Curran concluded the deal with the Merchant Marine Institute, at the same time viciously attacking the whole system of militant unionism represented among seamen by Harry Lundeberg, secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

Agreement Bans "Quickies" While N.M.U. heads characterized the agreement as "another stumbling block in the way of Lundeberg's Seafarers' International Union of North America," shipping interests here hailed it as a step toward "peace" and "harmony" in the industry. Arbitration clauses insisted upon by the shipowners prohibit so-called "quickies."

On the west coast so-called "quickie strikes," or job action, are considered the strongest weapon marine workers have against the boss.

Before the N.M.U. contract was ratified and signed here west coast unions, namely the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen's Union, had warned against many provisions it contains. In every respect the conditions under which east coast seamen will have to sail are far below the west coast standard.

The new agreement provides for a basic wage scale which is the same as prevails on the west coast. However, this is no increase over what was being paid here. In payment of overtime, the workers actually lose by the agreement. Most significant, however, is the fact that the preferential hiring clause does not guarantee a closed shop. Following is the hiring clause:

"The company agrees it will give all its employment, except for certain positions (senior electricians, and referers on liners with over 40,000 cubic feet reefer space), to members of the union when available, providing that the prospective employees are satisfactory to the Company (our emphasis—Ed.). This section shall not be construed to prevent or postpone a re-employment of employees who may be absent on account of illness, accidents, vacations or leaves of absence. The intent of this clause is that vacations or leaves of absence shall be granted in writing when leaving the vessel and shall not exceed a period of one round trip."

FOR CONGRESS: Nassau-Suffolk-Queens: 1. Pierrepont [Twitchell]. Brooklyn: 3. Bernard Kleban; 5. Joseph Dermody; 7. Bernard Reswick. Brooklyn-Queens: 9. Spencer K. Binyon. Manhattan-Richmond: 11. John V. Murphy. Manhattan: 13. Eugene P. Connelly; 15. Daniel L. McDonough; 17. George Backer; 18. Martin C. Kyne; 19. Joseph Schlossberg. Manhattan-Bronx: 22. Thomas C. O'Leary. Bronx: 23. Isidor Nagler. Bronx-Westchester: 24. Bartholomew F. Murphy.

FOR STATE SENATE: Queens: 2. William Power; 5. Phillip Brown; 6. George Rifkin; 8. Louis Sadoff; 10. Louis Lambert; 11. Irving C. Velson. Manhattan: 12. Joseph V. O'Leary; 13. Allen Taub; 16. John F. Sullivan; 17. Harold Baer; 18. Victor S. Getner; 20. Joseph Belsky. Bronx: 21. Eli Krieger; 22. Abraham Tuvin; 23. Carl O. Parsons. Richmond-Rockland: 24. Delmore Brickman. FOR THE ASSEMBLY: Manhattan: 1. Giuseppe Valicenti; 2. Salvatore Bonanno; 3. Joseph E. Burke; 4. Arthur J. Hartley; 10. Bella Dodd; 12. Louis Tomka; 15. Clifford McAvoy; 23. Samuel Hendel. Bronx: 1. Richard J. Browne; 2. Abraham Rubenstein; 3. Morris Fuchs; 4. Meyer Levenstein; 5. Nathaniel Minkoff; 6. John O'Donnell; 7. Gerald Muccigrosso; 8. George Steinhart. Brooklyn: 7. William Kenney; 8. Anthony Callace; 15. George Rogers; 17. Theophilus Aleantara; 19. Peter Bonnano. Queens: 1. William Grogan; 2. Leroy Maclean; 3. Michael d'Azara; 4. William Cowell, Jr.; 5. Allen Taft; 6. John Perry. Richmond: 1. Otis Hudson; 2. Joseph Englab.

CONVENTION NEXT WEEK MUST TAKE DECISIVE STEPS

Unity and Fight on Stalinism on the Agenda

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

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The C.I.O. convention here will mark an important milestone in the history of the American labor movement.

It will be the first time that the mass production workers are overwhelmingly represented at a national labor convention. The C.I.O. is based primarily on the industrial workers. The future course of the industrial workers will largely be determined by the policies adopted at this convention.

The burning issue of labor unity looms in the forefront of the questions this convention must answer. The danger of war, the growth of incipient American fascism, the need for independent political action, the unemployment question; these are the major problems demanding a solution if the workers are to go forward.

Stalinist Issue Decisive Will the C.I.O. convention consider its most serious internal weakness: the treacherous influence of the Stalinist "rule or ruin" clique? Allied closely with this question is the problem of democracy within the C.I.O. itself. It must if the C.I.O. workers are to be free to determine their own destiny.

How the C.I.O. convention will deal with these problems is reflected in the pre-convention moves of John L. Lewis and the top leadership.

An imposing facade of strength is being carefully built by Lewis to impress the A.F. of L. and the general public. Startling figures of membership will be revealed. The S.W.O.C., for example, will report over 500,000 members, although this is a higher figure than claimed at the peak of the C.I.O.

New Unity Bid The C.I.O. will make another bid for unity with the A.F. of L. on less intransigent terms than one year ago. The actions of international unions like the rubber workers, auto workers, etc., the actions of state C.I.O. councils urging unity, will set the tone for the convention.

Considerable speculation has arisen here over reports that Lewis will resign as C.I.O. chairman as a maneuver to win more support in unity negotiations with the A.F. of L.

Absence of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is expected although its executive board does not meet until Nov. 10 to consider the question. Its presence here would have a tremendous influence for labor unity.

Bureaucratic Preparations The convention is being prepared in the usual John L. Lewis fashion. Its bureaucratic structure will be similar to that of the A.F. of L. convention. The

1,500 Hear Trotsky Speak At New York Mass Meeting

Antoinette Konikow Honored by Tributes at Tenth Anniversary Celebration; Cannon Points the Road Ahead

Nearly 1,500 crowded into the main ball room of the Center Hotel in New York City last Friday night to celebrate the founding of the Fourth International and the coincident tenth anniversary of our movement in this country.

Leon Trotsky addressed the meeting by electrical transcription. He reviewed the history of the movement that has come to fruition in the newly-founded International and reiterated its historic task, "the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution."

C. P. DISCOVERS NEW DEMOCRATIC HERO IN BATISTA

Cuban Dictator Due For War Parley in Washington

By J. LOPEZ

The Daily Worker has recently reported "good news" from Cuba. Through the leader of the Cuban Communist Party, Blas Roca, it informed its readers that Batista, champion of the bloody tyrants of Latin America, has broken with the "reactionary forces" in the United States and accepted the baptism of democratic faith.

Cuba's history is rich in dictators. But whatever their names and their methods, behind them stood always the same boss: U.S. imperialism. With a capital investment of \$1,500,000,000 in Cuba's sugar-cane fields, tobacco plantations, railroads, etc., i. e. with more than \$400 investment per capita of the island's population; with a powerful naval base, main bulwark of the Panama Canal in the east—Washington has not ceased for one minute since the beginning of this century to maintain an iron-hand over the politics in the Pearl of the Antilles.

Ambassador Rules The genuine ruler of the destinies of the Cuban Republic resides in the U.S. embassy. It is his task to maintain the political stability of the country for the benefit of monopolistic exploitation of the Cuban masses by J. P. Morgan, the inspirer of the Spanish-American war which brought Cuba under the domination of the United States.

The liberal Roosevelt administration has been especially active in this work. When in 1933, the mass rebellion against the barbarian dictatorship of President Machado and his officers' clique was at its height, the present Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, forced upon Cuba a new President, Dr. Cespedes. A military revolt, led by the then Sergeant Batista, swept into power the liberal government of Grau San Martin against the desires of Sumner Welles. This was the first and last government of Cuba which tried to ease the untold mass misery and to avert the threatening revolution by social reforms.

Washington Intervenes But Grau had reckoned without Roosevelt and Welles. Washington refused recognition to his government, enforcing an economic boycott against it. Welles and his successor Jefferson Caffery, both emissaries of the Good Neighbor Roosevelt had won Batista to set the machinery of the army against the Grau government.

After Grau's resignation the puppet presidents Mendieta, Gomez, Laredo, etc. obtained immediate recognition by Washington, while Batista, inspired by the example of Mussolini and Hitler, silenced the Cuban masses and their leaders with emergency laws, tortures, castor oil, shootings and imprisonment.

All the efforts of Batista to gain mass support beyond his military following failed. Having crushed the powerful general strike in 1935, he outlawed all the trade unions and created state unions in fascist style. But the workers were nevertheless able to gain some freedom even in these

Others who spoke represented the currents that merged with the Left Opposition and are now fused

"During the next ten years," he predicted, "the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven."

Trotsky's speech was the climax of a meeting that dramatically symbolized the struggles, the sacrifices, the traditions, hopes, and convictions of the movement that has now entered the most fruitful period of its development under the unfurled banner of the Fourth International.

Konikow's Speech Highlight

One of the highlights of the evening was the tribute paid to Comrade Antoinette Konikow of Boston, who celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of her participation in the revolutionary movement. Witness and participant in the founding of the Second and Third Internationals, veteran of the old Social Democracy and of the Communist Party in their first days, Comrade Konikow was one of the founders of the Fourth Internationalist movement in this country. Tributes from the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and from Leon Trotsky were read.

Her vigor and her enthusiasm belying her 69 years, Comrade Konikow said that she regretted only not having another 50 years in which to work with the youth to whom she addressed "no sermons or admonitions" but the firm hope that they would carry the banner she has helped keep aloft to the final victory. When she had finished, the crowd spontaneously rose in an ovation to a fine revolutionary spirit and a stalwart militant.

Colorful Meeting The members of the Young People's Socialist League to whom Comrade Konikow particularly addressed herself were smartly represented by a color guard which opened the meeting by marching down the aisles, red flags aloft, and singing revolutionary songs. On the platform, draped with red flags and great portraits of Lenin and Trotsky, they formed a guard of honor, replaced at intervals throughout the evening. They gave a splendid demonstration of vigor and discipline that made the meeting the most colorful our party has ever held.

The other speakers of the evening represented in their own persons the history of the movement. James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist and the Socialist Appeal, and Martin Abern, business manager of the New Internationalist, were the three original pioneers who were first to be expelled from the Communist Party they had helped found because they raised the banner of the fight against its degeneration under Stalin. In their addresses they reviewed the struggles of the past decade and outlined the path to the future.

Other Speeches Maurice Spector, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, now co-editor of the New Internationalist, described the meaning of internationalism, the root and stem of our movement, the essence of its program.

George Clarke, associate editor of the Socialist Appeal and one of the first to join the Left Opposition in this country, paid tribute to the martyrs who have already given their lives under our banner for the cause of the workers' revolution.

Others who spoke represented the currents that merged with the Left Opposition and are now fused

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TWENTY-ONE YEARS

Twenty-one years ago this week the Russian workers and peasants seized power from the capitalists and created the first Workers' State in history.

To a world weary of slaughter, dark with the hopelessness of the war, the Russian revolution came like a dazzling ray of light, illuminating a new path to a new future, a future without war, without hunger, without oppression.

Lenin and Trotsky, who led the Russian Bolsheviks to the first great working class victory in the history of the modern world, repeated a thousand times that the workers' revolution in Russia would and could survive only if the workers of other lands followed suit, overthrew their own capitalists and laid the basis for the reconstruction of world economy on a world scale. Isolated, the Soviet State was doomed.

The workers in Central Europe responded to the stimulus of the Russian revolution, surging forward in a mighty wave that toppled the thrones of the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs and carried them to the very threshold of workers' power.

But there was no revolutionary party like the Bolsheviks to lead them to the final triumph. There was only the Social Democracy which sought not the socialist order, but the defense and preservation of capitalism. With their aid, the capitalists counter-attacked, drove the workers back, and re-established their tottering power.

After four years of unremitting struggle, of indescribable hardships imposed by civil war, the Bolsheviks defeated the Whites and the interventionist forces of the foreign imperialists. But then they stood alone. In this isolation were nourished the germs of the degeneration that has now so grossly deformed the Workers' State and had such baleful effects upon the working class movement in other countries.

From the firmest internationalism that characterized the basic Bolshevik program, the Soviet bureaucracy crystallizing around the previously obscure figure of Joseph Stalin turned, first gradually and then at an increasingly swift pace, to the most reactionary nationalism.

The Communist International, forged in the fires of the Russian Revolution and armed by Lenin and Trotsky with a powerful Marxist program, was converted into a border patrol of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of Germany capitulated without a struggle to Hitler in 1933, surrendering the German workers to the scourge of Fascism.

The Communist Party of Spain, flunkey of Anglo-French imperialism, erected the dams of G.P.U. terror to turn back the tides of the rising Spanish Revolution.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after converting the Czech labor movement into an appendage of the vilest nationalism sacrificed it without a murmur to General Syrov and the reactionary satellites of Hitler and Goering.

The Communist Parties of France, England and the United States shouted themselves hoarse for a People's Front as a substitute for the class struggle, and finished by leading the parade of warmongers and armaments builders.

The 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution, which set in motion the greatest revolutionary movement of modern times, the Communist International, occurs at a time when this movement is reduced to a shambles and what still remains is a miserable caricature of a revolutionary organization.

The 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution occurs not in the red setting of Central European revolutions and colonial uprisings but in the reactionary milieu of the Munich Pact. Fascism marches triumphantly through Europe. The Democrats throw off their hypocritical masks. The Daladiers follow the footsteps of Hitler.

For the working class a more difficult struggle against a stronger ruling class. And for the Soviet Union growing isolation—the pacts with France, with Czechoslovakia, with Poland are torn to shreds—until a new iron ring encircles the Workers' State tighter than the *cordon sanitaire* forged by Lloyd George and Clemenceau after the last war. Then the young Soviet Republic was isolated but only in terms of imperialist politics—for the fervent partisanship of millions of workers throughout the world was solidly behind it.

The isolation of the Soviet Union from the world proletariat coincides tragically with the internal degradation of the conquests of the Russian Revolution. Soviets, trade unions, factory committees, all the organs of workers' democracy are wiped out—a distant memory only for the few of the remaining veterans of the revolution who by some miracle escaped the purge. Art, literature, science gasp in a totalitarian strait-jacket.

And while the disruption of economy by Stalin's wreckers continues unrestrained, the condition of the Soviet masses is daily aggravated. Long queues wait once again before the food and commodity stores. Rich farmers and bureaucrats steal a large portion of the wealth produced by the nation's workers. But the end is not yet.

Having driven the Workers' Fatherland to the precipice of

Pouliopoulos Escapes From Hands of Metaxas' Police

Word reached here last week that P. Pouliopoulos, secretary of the Greek Fourth Internationalists, has escaped from prison. Pouliopoulos was arrested along with 12 other leading comrades of the Greek organization by police of the Metaxas dictatorship. The Metaxas police announced a reward of 25,000 drachmas for the recapture of the courageous working class militant.

There were no additional details of the fate of the other arrested

comrades. Last week we reported in these columns on the plight of 3,000 working class prisoners in concentration camps located on islands in the Aegean Sea. Through an error in transcribing the translation, we said that among them were "at least ten" of our comrades. The actual number is nearly 100.

An addition to the list of those arrested was D. Nikainas, a marble cutter.

Spanish Veterans Form New Group

A provisional committee has been established by American veterans of the Spanish civil war for an organization to be known as "Veterans of the Spanish Revolution." The group held a meeting last Wednesday night and will meet again on Nov. 16 at the Theater Building, 14th Street and Avenue A (entrance on 14th St.). All qualified veterans were urged to attend.

The new organization will conduct vigorous anti-fascist activities and will also work in the defense of working class militants and anti-fascists imprisoned and persecuted by the Barcelona regime.

PROGRESSIVE PAINTERS SPURN C.P.'S BRIBES

Lash Administration For Pork-Barrel Regime

NEW YORK, Nov. 2.—The complete bankruptcy of the Weinstock regime in District Council 9 of the Painters Union was revealed in two important maneuvers which were exposed in full by a delegate to a so-called "peace" conference in the latest issue of the *Progressive Painter*—organ of the Inter-Local Conference of Progressive Painters Clubs.

The Stalinist administration of the Council suffered a telling blow when the painters voted overwhelmingly to defeat a \$5,000 tax which Weinstock & Co. attempted to foist on the membership in order to save the union from the head-on crash prepared in advance by the wrecking policy of the Communist Party.

Would Bribe Progressives Now, according to the paper issued by the Progressives, the Stalinists have approached leaders of the Progressives and offered them jobs in an attempt to buy them off. "We'll give you ten weeks at \$52.50 a week for nine organizers and leave the selection of the organizers to your discretion," the *Progressive Painter* quotes the Weinstockites as saying. "We want to give you the post of Assistant Secretary, posts in the Real Estate and Complaint Departments. If you like we might rearrange the Council to give you better proportional representation and we are also willing to give you a post in the Finance Department. . . . Anything you want (even a new election)—just ask for it! But stop your agitation and cooperate with us in putting over an assessment. . . . Be good boys, and become a part of our family."

The answer of the Progressives to this "approach" was a general horse-laugh all around. Nobody was fooled by this sudden attitude of brotherly love and consideration for the rank and file. Not for Sale! The statement of the Progressives

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HOW TO VOTE ON TUESDAY

The Socialist Workers Party urges all voters to write in the names of James P. Cannon for governor, and E. R. McKinney, for Senator, full term, at the polls next Tuesday.

On the rest of the ticket we urge support only of those candidates running on the American Labor Party ticket without running on the ticket of any of the capitalist parties. This is the concrete expression it is possible to give in this election to a program of independent political action by labor.

HOW TO VOTE 1. In the voting booth above the top row of levers you will see a series of slides which lift up diagonally slightly to the right. Lift up the slide over the designation for Governor and print in clearly with pencil the name of James P. Cannon. Over the designation for U. S. Senator, full term, (Line 5), pull down the slide and write in E. R. McKinney.

2. Touch no other levers in any of the top rows but turn to Row C for the American Labor Party and pull down the levers over the names listed below. Ignore all others. If you pull a lever down by mistake you can lift it up again without invalidating the vote.

On the Constitutional Amendments, we urge voting as follows: Amendments 1, 2, 3, 5, 7—Vote NO. Amendments 4, 6, 8, 9—Vote YES.

The list of candidates to be voted for on the American Labor Party slate is as follows: State Offices: Controller, Langdon Post; Attorney General, Joseph V. O'Leary. Bronx: Municipal Court Justice, Matthew M. Levy. Kings: County Judge, Louis Waldman. Queens: District Attorney, Frederick W. Ritter. Register: Matthew W. Napear.

Mass Meeting Hails Founding of Fourth International

1,500 JAM CENTER HOTEL TO LISTEN TO LEON TROTSKY

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under the single banner of the Socialist Workers Party; James Burnham and Ernest R. McKinney, who with the American Workers Party joined in the fusion with the Communist League of America nearly five years ago to create the Workers Party of the United States; and Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth Internationalists), who two years ago joined our youth movement with other militants of the left wing of the old Socialist Party and youth organization.

Following are the texts of the resolutions adopted at our mass meeting last Friday night protesting anti-working class repressions in Spain and Greece:

"We, 1,500 workers assembled in Hotel Center, New York, protest against the secrecy and censorship surrounding the present trial of the militants of the P.O.U.M. in Barcelona.

"We protest against the Spanish Government's refusal to grant entry permits to the French attorneys Torres and Noguere, chosen by the defendants, and its refusal to allow representatives of international labor to attend the trial.

"We protest against the false charges brought against the defendants patterned upon the Moscow frameups.

"We call upon the Spanish Government to clear these working class leaders of these dishonorable accusations and to restore full freedom to them and to all other imprisoned anti-fascist militants, including Munis, Carlini, and Rodriguez. Their continued persecution and detention serves only to compromise and weaken the struggle against fascism.

"We ask that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Spanish ambassador at Washington and to the press.

Resolution on Greece

"We, 1,500 workers assembled at Hotel Center, New York, having heard an account of the barbarous treatment inflicted upon the Fourth Internationalists P. Pouliopoulos, Voursoukis, Catherin Morphy, and other labor prisoners of the Greek government, protest against these horrible crimes.

"We call upon the Greek government to cease these offensive practices and to accord these and all political prisoners immediate release.

"We ask that a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees for transmission to the Greek Ambassador at Washington.

Trotsky Reiterates Mission of the Fourth International

Following is the text of the electrically transcribed speech delivered by Leon Trotsky to the mass meeting held in New York on Oct. 28 to celebrate the founding of the Fourth International and the tenth anniversary of the Trotskyist movement in this country:

Dear Comrades and Friends:

I hope that this time my voice will reach you and that I will be permitted in this way to participate in your double celebration. Both events: the tenth anniversary of our American organization as well as the foundation congress of the Fourth International deserve the attention of the workers incomparably more than the war-like gestures of the totalitarian chiefs, the diplomatic intrigues, or the pacifist congresses.

Both events will enter history as important milestones. No one has now the right to doubt that.

It is necessary to remark that the birth of the American group of Bolshevik-Leninists, thanks to the courageous initiative of Comrades Cannon, Schachtman, and Abern, didn't stand alone. It approximately coincided with the beginning of the systematic international work of the Left Opposition. It is true that the Left Opposition arose in Russia in 1923, but regular work on an international scale began with the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

WORK BEGAN IN 1928

Without a personal meeting we reached an agreement with the American pioneers of the Fourth International, before all, on the criticism of the program of the Communist International. Then, in 1928, began that collective work which after ten years led to the elaboration of our own program recently adopted by our International Conference. We have the right to say that the work of this decade was not only persistent and patient, but also honest. The Bolshevik-Leninists, the international pioneers, our comrades across the world, searched the way of the revolution as genuine Marxists, not in their feelings and wishes, but in the analysis of the objective march of events. Above all were we guided by the preoccupation not to deceive others nor ourselves. We searched seriously and honestly. And some important things were found by us. The events confirmed our analysis as well as our prognosis. Nobody can deny it. Now it is necessary that we remain true to ourselves and to our program. It is not easy to do so. The tasks are tremendous, the enemies—numerable. We have the right to spend our time and our attention on the jubilee celebration only insofar as from the lessons of the past we can prepare ourselves for the future.

OUR HISTORIC TASK

Dear friends, we are not a party as other parties. Our ambition is not only to have more members, more papers, more money in the treasury, more deputies. All that is necessary, but only as a means. Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves. The old Internationalists—the Second, the Third, that of London Bureau—are rotten through and through.

The great events which rush upon mankind will not leave of these outlived organizations one

stone upon another. Only the Fourth International looks with confidence at the future. It is the world party of Socialist Revolution! There never was a greater task on the earth. Upon every one of us rests a tremendous historical responsibility.

THE DEMANDS UPON US

Our party demands each of us, totally and completely. Let the phillistines hunt their own individuality in empty space. For a revolutionary to give himself entirely to the party signifies finding himself.

Yes, our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to every one of us the highest happiness: the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a particle of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain.

The fidelity to the cause of the toilers requires from us the highest devotion to our international party. The party, of course, can also be mistaken. By common effort we will correct its mistakes. In its ranks we will eliminate unworthy elements. By common effort we will eliminate them. New thousands who will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level. But we will never forget that our party is now the greatest lever of history. Separated from this lever, everyone of us is nothing. With this lever in hand, we are all.

WE KNOW NO FEAR

We aren't a party as other parties. It is not in vain that the imperialist reaction persecutes us madly, following furiously at our heels. The assassins at its services are the agents of the Moscow Bonapartist clique. Our young International already knows many victims. In the Soviet Union they number by thousands. In Spain by dozens. In other countries by units. With gratitude and love we remember them all in these moments. Their spirits continue to fight in our ranks.

The hangmen think in their obtuseness and cynicism that it is possible to frighten us. They err! Under blows we become stronger. The bestial politics of Stalin are only politics of despair. It is possible to kill individual soldiers of our army, but not to frighten them. Friends, we will repeat again in this day of celebration... IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FRIGHTEN US.

Ten years were necessary for the Kremlin clique in order to strangle the Bolshevik party and to transform the first Workers' State into a sinister caricature. Ten years were necessary for the Third International in order to stamp into the mire their own program and to transform themselves into a stinking cadaver. Ten years! Only ten years! Permit me to finish with a prediction: During the next ten years the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven.

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

L. TROTSKY.

Coyoacan, D. F. October 18, 1938.



Antoinette Konikow Views 50 Years of Her Activity

Following is the text of the speech delivered by Comrade Antoinette Konikow at the Hotel mass meeting last Friday in reply to the tribute paid her there on the occasion of her fiftieth anniversary in the revolutionary movement:

The comrades have received me with warmth and friendship. It gives me tremendous happiness. The kind words written by Comrade Trotsky on his picture presented to me remind me of the greatest honor—the honor that was—given to comrades in Russia, the Order of Lenin pinned upon their breasts. I feel as if Comrade Trotsky has pinned the Order of Trotsky on my breast! Not that I am a hero-worshiper—for I have helped to pull down too many heroes from their pedestals. But in the last ten years of darkness of despair, the words of Leon Trotsky have been like a bell for a ship in distress, leading it to safe harbor.

JOINED IN 1888
In 1888, fifty years ago, I joined the Social Democratic Party of Russia. Life was as dark and hopeless as it may seem to many today. I was delighted to hear the words of Plekhanov at the first congress of the Second International: "Only the working class will lead the Russian revolution!" But the working class of Russia was spiritually even further away from us than the workers of the United States today. If anyone had told us at that time that 15 years later a strike of one and a half million workers would overthrow Czarism, and that 15 years after that the Russian soldier would turn his gun not only against Czarism but against the Russian bourgeoisie, we would not have believed it. We would have laughed. But it happened—and it will happen again. Only this time it will not take 30 years.

AT MANY CRADLESIDES
I have had to sponsor so many new organizations that I have often jokingly told my comrades that I feel like a mother always rocking a new cradle—and that is all wrong for me, for I am known as an advocate of birth control.

AN UNSOILED BANDER
But I did rock the cradle of the Russian Social Democracy and out of it came a great giant, the Russian Bolshevik Party. After being expelled in the United States from the Socialist Labor Party, I soon began to rock the cradle of the Debs party, later the Socialist Party. It seemed to contain a healthy baby, but the war and the Russian revolution proved that there was a weak spot in its spine.

I then helped to rock another cradle, the cradle of the young, vigorous Communist Party. The glory of those days of the great

APPEAL ARMY

This week we want to devote a large part of our column to the all-important financial problem.

In a revolutionary party such as ours, the existence and steady growth of our paper depends directly upon the response of the local rank-and-file units. The surest indication of healthy growth and activity as regards the press lies in the answer to this question: Does your branch pay its legitimate bills or is it falling further and further into debt? Does your branch get out into the streets and sell the Socialist Appeal or does it accumulate piles of dusty papers in some dim corner of its headquarters? If it does the former—that is, sells the paper—then there is absolutely no reason for its not paying up its bills, for the cost of a single copy is far less than the selling price.

Most branches, we are convinced, are really selling the paper and actively pushing it among workers. Yet we can't hide the fact that far too many of them have fallen far behind in payments—so far behind that we have to bring the whole matter into the open.

The heavy financial burden placed upon us by increased frequency of publication and increased circulation (anti-war issues, 12-page World Congress issue) is creating a dangerous situation. We are not making any special appeals for funds—we are only asking for payment of legitimate debts on bundle-orders. Two-thirds of our regular income is based upon bundle-order payments! We depend on bundle-order payments for our finances!

There is now in the hands of each and every branch literature agent and executive committee a statement of just what is owed. We have made absolutely clear how serious our need is. Therefore, we propose the following concrete actions:

(1) **ALL APPEAL FUNDS TO THE APPEAL.** Whatever is on hand now from newspaper sales etc., should be remitted to us immediately. Henceforth, rigid observance of the rule that APPEAL funds must promptly be sent to the proper destination and should never, under any circumstances, be used for anything else.

(2) **Immediate consideration of a special affair to help the APPEAL,** the full proceeds of which should go to liquidating old debts. We request branch executive-committees to give this prompt action.

Below is a list of branches which are most delinquent in their duties toward the Appeal. A heavy responsibility falls upon them. They are actually holding back our paper from the great possibilities that lie before it. We are growing, but we could grow much faster! Let these branches weigh their responsibilities in light of the recent proposals that have been sent around to all branches for increasing the frequency of the Appeal!

- 1—Los Angeles, California
- 2—San Francisco, California
- 3—Chicago, Illinois
- 4—Louisville, Kentucky
- 5—St. Paul, Minnesota
- 6—Akron, Ohio
- 7—Toledo, Ohio
- 8—Youngstown, Ohio
- 9—Philadelphia, Penna. (YPSL and Party)

Of course, we must acknowledge that some of the agents from the branches listed above are doing yeoman work. John Murphy of Los Angeles and comrade Ferguson of Akron, Ohio are really doing splendid work and are a long way toward straightening out the mess they were handed. But more effort is needed! Let bundle-order payments pour in and we guarantee to hold up our end!

Following is the list of new subs for this past week. New York City's subscription campaign is putting it way out in front week after week:

| | |
|---------------|----|
| NEW YORK CITY | 18 |
| Massachusetts | 5 |
| Ohio | 3 |
| Philadelphia | 3 |
| California | 3 |
| Texas | 1 |
| Florida | 1 |
| Chicago | 1 |
| Missouri | 1 |
| Connecticut | 1 |
| New Jersey | 1 |
| Total | 38 |

Bundle order increases have come from the U. S. and foreign places this week:

- (1) T. Leonard of Boston, Mass. is now taking 120 copies per week—an increase of 30 from a few weeks ago.
- (2) Howard Mangum of Portland is starting off with 5 and promises to give a good account of the new branch in the field of literature.
- (3) From Palestine's leading cities (Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa) we get various orders totaling 16 copies per week. About 75 copies go each week to various sections of Palestine.

SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL

Can be obtained at the Following Newsstands

- NEW YORK CITY**
MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W.; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S. W.; at Third Ave., N. W.; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N. W.; at Sixth Ave., N. E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl., N. E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave.
Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave., S. W.; at Sixth Ave., S. E.; at Sixth Ave., S. W.; at Seventh Ave., S. W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St.; 23rd St. & 4th Ave., S. W. & N. W.; Essex and Delancy Sts.; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts.; Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave.; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave.; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave.; 110th St. and Columbus Ave.
BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th St.; Jerome Ave. and 167th St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave.; Jerome and Burnside Aves.; 160th St. and Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 2897 Sedgwick Ave.
BROOKLYN: Havemeyer and S. 4th Sts., Tompkins and Myrtle Aves.; Strauss St., near Pitkin Ave.; Sutter Ave., near Van Sinderen Ave.
LONG ISLAND: 23rd St. & 45th Ave.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza N.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza S.; 27th St. and Bridge Plaza S.
ROCHESTER, N. Y.
433 N. Clinton St.
257 N. Clinton St.
Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts.
Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St.
S. E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts.
S. W. Cor. Main & South Ave.
NEWARK, N. J.
Reitman's, cor. Broad & William Littman's,
cor. Hawthorne Ave. & Reeves Pl.
PATERSON, N. J.
A. Guabello's Stationery Store
317 Straight St.
NEW HAVEN, Conn.
Nodelman's Newsstand,
Church St., bet. Chapel & Center
CHICAGO
S.W.P., 160 N. Wells, Rm. 308
Cor. 57th & Blackstone
Cor. 12th & Kedzie
P. O. News, 37 W. Monroe
Ceshinsky Bookshop
ALLENTOWN, PA.
R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St.
Otto Yost, 383 Hamilton St.
PHILADELPHIA
1806 North Franklin St.
Cor. 13th and Market Sts. (N.W.)
Cor. 11th and Market Sts. (N.W.)
40th St. & Girard Ave.
8th St. & Arch St.
- QUAKERTOWN, Penna.**
Esser's Newsstand
Front & West Broad Sts.
BOSTON, MASS.
Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford).
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square
LYNN, Mass.
S.W.P., 54 Central Sq., Rm. 12
Sam's Corner, Olympia Square
ROXBURY, MASS.
Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall)
INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana
Lyric News Shop
115 N. Illinois Street
MINNEAPOLIS
Labor Book Store, 919 Marquette
Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin;
Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet.
ST. LOUIS MO.
Foster Book Company
410 Washington Blvd.
CLAYTON, MO.
The Book Nook, 24A Meramac
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio
Nick's, Wick St. and Commerce
SAN FRANCISCO
MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 6th St.
Fillmore Bookstore
Sutter & Fillmore Sts.
LOS ANGELES
233 S. Broadway, Room 312
1541 N. Echo Park Ave.
Smith News, 5th & Main Sts.
Modern Book Shop, 500 W. 5th St.
Shoe Shine Shop, 2307 Brooklyn
Candy Store, 2231 Brooklyn Ave.
Candy Store, 2141 Brooklyn Ave.
SAN DIEGO, Calif.
Universal News Co., 242 E'way
Sweet Shop, 2526 Brooklyn Ave.
AKRON, Ohio
News Exchange, 51 S. Main St.
Cigar Store, next cor. Bartses & S. Main St.
OAKLAND, California
7th and Washington
12th, bet. B'way & Washington
Andrew Williams Market
Broadway, near 19th

ANNOUNCEMENTS

JAMES T. FARRELL, Max Schachtman, Max Eastman, Sidney Hook, James Burnham, George Novack, and others play Baseball at the Gala Event of the Fall, Baseball Game and Ball on Thanksgiving Eve, Wednesday, November 23, 1938, at Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street, N. Y. C. Refreshments, Swing Band. Tickets now on sale, 75c.—American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue. Tel. AL-gonquin 4-8659.
Join with Max Schachtman, Master of Ceremonies, November 19, at Y.U.C.A. Auditorium, 15th St. & Uni'v. Sq., 8:30.

Cannon Reviews the Past And Points to the Future

Following are excerpts from the speech delivered by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party at the Hotel mass meeting last Friday:

We are not the evangelists of a new revelation. The movement of resurgent Bolshevism in America which we have created and whose anniversary we celebrate tonight is already ten years old. But at the outset of our struggle ten years ago, we said nothing new. We anchored our struggle, by its theory, its program, its methods, and its traditions, in the great world emancipation struggle of the proletariat set on foot by the Russian revolution of 1917. So it is only in a formal sense that we celebrate our tenth anniversary.

We have a full right also to say that we are celebrating our 21st anniversary, for our roots go back directly to Nov. 7, 1917. Many of us adhered then to the banner of Bolshevism, the banner of struggle and victory. The program incorporated in the Russian revolution was our program 21 years ago. It was our program ten years ago when we began the new struggle against the betrayers. It is our program now. But neither were the Bolsheviks the inventors of new panaceas. They were the veritable continuators of Marx and Engels.

Just as Lenin and Trotsky had to cleanse the banner of Marxism from the blood and filth of Social Democratic treachery in the World War, so we, ten years ago, recognized that Stalin and his clique were nothing more than betrayers and we tore the banner of Bolshevism from their hands. (The speaker then reviewed the early, small beginnings of the opposition movement within the Communist Party, and continued.)

THE PROGRAM DECIDES!
We began with the unshakable conviction that the program de-

terminates everything. And here tonight, on our tenth anniversary, with some modest successes to our credit, with a world organization carrying us forward like a great wind in the sails of a ship, we repeat: the program decides everything!

(Cannon then reviewed the general world situation as it existed in 1928 when our movement began, the bright facade of ascendant capitalism, the seeming triumph of Fordism over Marxism, the defeats of the working class in China, in the British general strike, the decadence in the narrow circles that constituted the radical movement.

(Our task, he continued, was to bang on, to tell the truth, to rely on the inexorable development of social forces to confirm our views. In the decade that has passed this course was more than justified. Capitalist economy was shattered in a series of catastrophic crises which continue, with incidental fluctuations. The seeming dormancy of the international labor movement gave way to profound political crises, in Germany, France, and Spain, and in the United States took the form of the greatest labor union revival in history. "Peace pacts" collapsed and the world was faced again with the menace of war. The defeats and treachery of Stalinism exposed it all over the world, as the worst betrayer of the revolution. After paying tribute to martyrs of our struggle all over the world, the speaker continued:)

FACE THE FUTURE

Our tenth anniversary is a milestone in our work. It is a festive occasion for us. We take pride in our achievements but we do not rest there. All the work of the past is only a preparation for the future. This celebration of ten years of struggle is also a mobilization for the new and immeasurably greater struggle in the years ahead.

We do not believe in the permanence of United States' capital-

National Committee Greet Konikow On 50th Anniversary

Dear Comrade Konikow:
The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party extends to you, dear comrade, its heartiest congratulations and warmest greetings on the occasion of your fiftieth anniversary of revolutionary activity.

Your fiftieth anniversary of service coincides with the formal foundation of the resurgent revolutionary movement of the world under the banner of the Fourth International. The coincidence of these two occasions contains a deep symbol. Your presence in our ranks, with fifty years of uninterrupted service on your shoulders and with your face still turned towards the future, provides a visible testimony to the continuity of our historic movement, its firm roots in the experiences and traditions of the past, and its unshakable conviction of the future victory.

In your endurance and tenacity you personify the unconquerable spirit of our great movement. This grand celebration meeting is honored by your presence on the platform and joins with one voice in saluting you, the veteran of the old movements of the revolutionary proletariat and the valiant pioneer of the new movement that rises on their foundations.

National Committee, Socialist Workers Party,
JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary.

ism. It has already passed its zenith, its day of glory, and sinks ever deeper into decline and decay from which there is no way out but the workers' revolution. We are dedicated to the task of organizing this American revolution.

The founding of the Fourth International raises our national struggle to higher ground, gives us greater strength and wider vision. It is the symbol of the great hope of the working class. It is the invincible banner of revolutionary workers in every country of the world.

We aim to build—and we invite you to join us in building—a party in the United States which will be

a worthy section of the Fourth International. That is, a party with a scientific program, an honest party that tells the truth to the workers, a democratic workers' party, and at the same time a disciplined party, a party united with revolutionary workers in all lands in one army for one idea, one program, one goal. That goal is nothing less than the workers' conquest of the world. All the material conditions are already ripe for this victory of humanity. History has put Socialism on the order of the day and the workers' revolution is the means to realize it. The Fourth International is the herald and the organizer of this liberating revolution.

PHILADELPHIA MASS MEETING
MAX SCHACHTMAN
will speak on:
"Ten Years of the Left Opposition & the 21st Anniversary of the Russian Revolution"
Also, the New York Speech of LEON TROTSKY Will be Presented by Electrical Transcription!
Friday, November 11 -- 8 P.M.

Chicago Attention!
10th ANNIVERSARY BANQUET
Saturday, November 12th at 7:00 P. M.
At Venetian Hall, Labor Lyceum
(Kedzie & Ogden Avenues)
Speakers:
LYDIA BEIDEL, Master of Ceremonies
ARNE SWABECK • ALBERT GOLDMAN • ALBERT GATES
Elaborate Program & Delicious Supper
Admission: 65c

Anti-Imperialist Struggle Is Key To Liberation, Trotsky Tells Mateo Fossa

(Fourth International Press Release)

COYOACAN, D. F., Sept. 26. — Comrade Mateo Fossa was delegated by the Committee for Trade Union Freedom to attend the conference of Latin-American trade unions convoked in Mexico. The Committee for Trade Union Freedom embraces 28 organizations, among them 24 independent trade unions.

Each of these organizations individually gave written credentials to comrade Fossa. In spite of this the managers of Latin-American trade union "unity" did not admit comrade Fossa to the conference. Did not admit? How? Very simply—closed the doors in his face. For what reason? The reason is not complicated.

For a short period, Comrade Fossa belonged to the Argentine Communist Party, but raised a voice of protest against the Moscow trials. This was sufficient for the respected trade union worker to be dubbed an enemy of the people, a "Trotskyite," and so on. From Buenos Aires, the Stalinists immediately informed Lombardo Toledano of the arrival at the congress of a dangerous delegate who did not believe in the immaculate purity of Stalin, Vyshinsky, Zehov, and the other falsifiers.

Toledano, G.P.U. Flunkuy

When the G.P.U. gives orders, Toledano obeys. This now constitutes his main role in the working class movement. No matter how preposterous it may sound, yet the bourgeois lawyer, Lombardo Toledano, closed the doors of the trade union conference in the face of the worker Fossa, an honest Argentine revolutionist. Nothing remains for the proletarians of Mexico but to hail: "Long live the totalitarian regime! Long live our fuhrer, Adolf Toledano!"

On September 23rd, Comrade Fossa visited Comrade Trotsky and in a long conversation posed a number of important questions. Below we publish these questions together with the answers of Comrade Trotsky:

War Is Inevitable

Fossa: In your opinion what will be the further development of the present situation in Europe?

Trotsky: It is possible that this time too diplomacy will succeed in reaching a rotten compromise. But it will not last long. War is inevitable and moreover in the very near future. One international crisis follows another. These convulsions are similar to the birth pangs of the approaching war. Each new paroxysm will bear a more severe and dangerous character. At present I do not see any force in the world which can stop the development of this process, that is, the birth of war. A horrible new slaughter is relentlessly drawing upon humanity.

Of course, timely revolutionary action by the international proletariat could paralyze the rapacious work of the imperialists. But we must look the truth straight in the face. The working masses of Europe in their overwhelming majority are under the leadership of the Second and Third Internationals. The leaders of the Amsterdam International of trade unions fully support the policy of the Second and the Third Internationals and enter together with them into so-called "People's Fronts."

People's Front For Imperialism

The policy of the "People's Front" as is shown by the example of Spain, France, and other countries, consists in subordinating the proletariat to the left wing of the bourgeoisie. But the entire bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries, the right as well as the "left" is permeated through and through with chauvinism and imperialism. The "People's Front" serves to turn the workers into cannon fodder for their imperialist bourgeoisie. Only that and nothing more.

The Second, the Third, and the Amsterdam Internationals are at present counter-revolutionary organizations whose task it is to put brakes upon and paralyze the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against "democratic" imperialism. So long as the criminal leadership of these Internationals is not overthrown, the workers will be powerless to oppose war. This is the bitter but inescapable truth. We must know how to face it and not console ourselves with illusions and pacifist babbling. War is inevitable!

Democracy and Fascism in War

Fossa: What will be its effect on the struggle in Spain and on the international working class movement?

Trotsky: In order to understand correctly the nature of the coming events we must first of all reject the false and thoroughly erroneous theory that the coming war will be a war between fascism and "democracy." Nothing is more false and foolish than this idea. Imperialist "democracies" are divided by the contradictions of their

interests in all parts of the world. Fascist Italy can easily find herself in one camp with Great Britain and France if she should lose faith in the victory of Hitler. Semi-fascist Poland may join one or the other of the camps depending upon the advantages offered. In the course of war the French bourgeoisie may substitute fascism for its "democracy" in order to keep its workers in submission and force them to fight "to the end." Fascist France, like "democratic" France would equally defend its colonies with weapons in hand. The new war will have a much more openly rapacious imperialist character than the war of 1914-1918. Imperialists do

you. It is clear to me at any rate that the internal tasks of these countries cannot be solved without a simultaneous revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The agents of the United States, England, France (Lewins, Jouhaux, Toledano, the Stalinists) try to substitute the struggle against fascism for the struggle against imperialism. We have observed their criminal efforts at the recent congress against war and fascism. In the countries of Latin-America the agents of "democratic" imperialism are especially dangerous, since they are more capable of fooling the masses than the open agents of fascist bandits. I will take the most simple and

ment. In Peru the activity of this party has an illegal character and is therefore hard to observe. The representatives of APRA at the September congress against war and fascism in Mexico have taken, so far as I can judge, a worthy and correct position together with the delegates from Puerto Rico. It remains only to hope that APRA does not fall prey to the Stalinists as this would paralyze the liberating struggle in Peru. I think that agreements with the APRists for definite practical tasks are possible and desirable under the condition of full organizational independence.

Must Fight All Imperialism

Fossa: What consequences will the war have for the Latin-American countries?

Trotsky: Doubtless both imperialist camps will strive to drag the Latin-American countries into the whirl-pool of war in order to enslave them completely afterwards. Empty "anti-fascist" noise only prepares the soil for agents of one of the imperialist camps. To meet the world war prepared, the revolutionary parties of Latin-America must right now take an irreconcilable attitude toward all imperialist groupings. On the basis of the struggle for self-preservation the peoples of Latin-America should rally closer to each other.

In the first period of war the position of the weak countries can prove very difficult. But the imperialist camps will become weaker and weaker with each passing month. Their mortal struggle with each other will permit the colonial and semi-colonial countries to raise their heads. This refers, of course, also to the Latin-American countries; they will be able to achieve their full liberation, if at the head of the masses stand truly revolutionary, anti-imperialist parties and trade unions. From tragic historic circumstances one cannot slip out by trickery, hollow phrases, and petty lies. We must tell the masses the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Tasks of the Trade Unions

Fossa: What in your opinion are the tasks and the methods facing the trade unions?

Trotsky: In order that the trade unions should be able to rally, educate, mobilize the proletariat for a liberating struggle they must be cleansed of the totalitarian methods of Stalinism. The trade-unions should be open to workers of all political tendencies under the conditions of discipline in action. Whoever turns the trade-unions into a weapon for outside aims (especially into a weapon of the Stalinist bureaucracy and "democratic" imperialism) inevitably splits the working class, weakens it, and opens the door to reaction. A full and honest democracy within the unions is the most important condition of democracy in the country.

In conclusion I ask you to transmit my fraternal greetings to the workers of Argentina. I do not doubt that they do not for a moment believe those disgusting slanders which the Stalinist agencies have spread in the entire world against me and my friends. The struggle which the Fourth International carries on against the Stalinist bureaucracy is a continuation of the great historic struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors, of the exploited against the exploiters. The international revolution will free all the oppressed, including the workers of the U.S.S.R.

I do not know APRISM sufficiently to give a definite judgment.

Fossa Joins Forces of Fourth International

(Fourth International Press Release)

Comrades: With these lines I declare my adherence to the ranks of the Fourth International, and I oblige myself to struggle loyally and intensively for its program and for the carrying out of all its resolutions. I hope to be a worthy soldier of our great cause. Salud! And long live the Socialist Revolution!

MATEO FOSSA.

September 28, 1938

not fight for political principles but for markets, colonies, raw materials, for hegemony over the world and its wealth.

The victory of any one of the imperialist camps would mean the definite enslavement of all humanity, the clamping of double chains on present-day colonies, weak and backward peoples, among them the peoples of Latin-America. The victory of any one of the imperialist camps would spell slavery, wretchedness, misery, the decline of human culture.

The Only Way Out

What is the way out you ask? Personally, I do not doubt for a moment that a new war will provoke an international revolution against the rule of the rapacious capitalist cliques over humanity. In wartime all differences between imperialist "democracy" and fascism will disappear. In all countries a merciless military dictatorship will reign. The German workers and peasants will perish just like the French and English. The modern means of destruction are so monstrous that humanity will probably not be able to endure war even a few months. Despair, indignation, hatred will push the masses of all warring countries into an uprising with weapons in hand. Victory of the world proletariat will put an end to war and will also solve the Spanish problem as well as all the current problems of Europe and of other parts of the world.

Those working class "leaders" who want to chain the proletariat to the war chariot of imperialism, covered by the mask of "democracy," are now the worst enemies and the direct traitors of the toilers. We must teach the workers to hate and despise the agents of imperialism, since they poison the consciousness of the toilers; we must explain to the workers that fascism is only one of the forms of imperialism, that we must fight not against the external symptoms of the disease but against its organic causes, that is, against capitalism.

Perspectives For Mexico

Fossa: What is the perspective for the Mexican revolution? How do you view the devaluation of money in connection with the expropriation of wealth in land and oil?

Trotsky: I cannot dwell on these questions in sufficient detail. The expropriation of land and of the natural wealth are for Mexico an absolutely indispensable measure of national self-defense. Without satisfying the daily needs of the peasantry none of the Latin-American countries will retain their independence. The lowering of the purchasing power of money is only one of the results of the imperialist blockade against Mexico which has begun. Material privation is inevitable in struggle. Salvation is impossible without sacrifices. To capitulate before the imperialists would mean to deliver up the natural wealth of the country to despoliation; and the people—to decline and extinction. Of course, the working class organizations must see to it that the rise in the cost of living should not fall with its main weight upon the toilers.

Latin American and War

Fossa: What can you say on the liberating struggle of the peoples of Latin-America and of the problems of the future? What is your opinion on APRISM? (A liberal nationalist movement in Latin America—Ed.)

Trotsky: I am not sufficiently acquainted with the life of the individual Latin-American countries to permit myself a concrete answer on the questions posed by

obvious example. In Brazil there now reigns a semi-fascist regime which each revolutionary cannot view otherwise than with hatred. Let us assume, however, that on the morrow, England enters into a military conflict with Brazil. I ask you on whose side of the conflict will the working class be? I will answer for myself personally—in this case I will be on the side of "fascist" Brazil against "democratic" Great Britain. Why? Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the contrary should be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship. The defeat of England will at the same time, deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the revolutionary movement of the British proletariat. Verily, one must have an empty head to reduce world antagonisms and military conflicts to the struggle between fascism and democracy. Under all masks one must know how to distinguish exploiters, slave-owners, and robbers!

Stalin's Criminal Work

In all the Latin-American countries the problems of the agrarian revolution are indissolubly connected with anti-imperialist struggle. The Stalinists are now treacherously paralyzing both one and the other. To the Kremlin the Latin-American countries are just small change in its dealings with imperialists. Stalin says to Washington, London and Paris: "Recognize me as an equal partner and I will help you put down the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies: for this I have in my service hundreds of agents like Lombardo Toledano." Stalinism has become the leprosy of the liberating movement.

I do not know APRISM sufficiently to give a definite judgment.

C.P. JOINS NAZIS TO ELECT NEW CHILE PRESIDENT

Stalinists Here Make Ludicrous Attempt To Cover Up

By DONALD BERGNER Defeating Gustavo Ross by the close vote of 220,892 to 213,521, Pedro Aguirre Cerda was elected the first "Peoples Front" President of Chile by one of the strangest "popular" fronts yet seen.

Aguirre was supported by his own Radical Party (about as radical as Daladier's French Radical Socialists), the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the "Union Socialista" (a group of former reformists who developed, like Mosley's group in England, into Fascists), and the Nacistas (Chilean Nazis).

At the start of the election campaign there had been two other candidates. The Socialist Party, under pressure of militant elements within its ranks, had nominated the popular Marmaduke Grove. Support was pledged to him by various labor groups and by the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party), Chilean section of the Fourth International.

S.P. Withdraws Grove

The Socialist leaders, however, managed to withdraw Grove in favor of Aguirre despite rank-and-file opposition. The P.O.R. denounced this treachery and called for class action, against the landowner-capitalists Ross and Aguirre, and for support of all independent S. P. candidates.

The other candidate was General Carlos Ibanez, an ex-dictator who hooked up with the Nazis in an attempt to become President again. General Ibanez withdrew from the presidential race in May, to enter the Senatorial race. At that time it was pointed out in "Alianza Obrera", organ of the P.O.R. and in the Socialist Appeal of June 18, that some sort of a deal has been rigged up between the Nazis and the Stalinists.

General Supports Aguirre

The General politely threw his support to Aguirre and the Stalinists joined the Nacistas and members of the "Union Socialista" on the streets in peddling Ibanez propaganda sheet "Clamor." The Stalinists also supported the presence of the fascist "Union" in their expanding "Peoples Front." Soon after this, President Alessandri, the man behind during his speech to Parliament by a pistol shot fired by the Nacista parliamentary leader, Gonzales von Marees. Alessandri had bitterly attacked both the Fascists and the Communists. The Stalinist paper "Frente Popular" thereupon published the portrait of the "Valiant" Gonzales von Marees!

Following Ibanez' defeat in the Senatorial elections, he reentered the presidential race. The unsuccessful Nazi putsch two months ago resulted in General Ibanez and Gonzales von Marees finding themselves behind bars. Evidently chastened, the Nazis returned to the alliance with the Stalinists and their elastic "Front." As reported in the N. Y. Times of Oct. 25, "In accordance with General Ibanez' wishes, conveyed from his prison cell, the votes of his supporters were given to Senor Aguirre."

Enter the "Daily Worker"

Fearing that some of their less hard-boiled members might begin to wonder about the meaning of a "People's Front" that is so "all-inclusive" that it even includes the Fascists, the Daily Worker went to work on the Chilean question. First they published on October 27 a small article with a big headline about the "victory of the People's Front." This article made no mention of the fact that the Nazis were a contributing—and in view of the close vote undoubtedly the decisive—factor in the "victory." But they added a note for those who had already read the surprising news, telling them to turn to Harry Gannes' more detailed analysis of Chile.

It seems that "it's all a mistake." Does General Ibanez, the ex-dictator want to pull a comeback? Gannes answers: "Ibanez is a confused national reformist who has pledged loyalty to democratic politics." As to his connection with the Nacistas, Gannes smirks: "His only connection with the Nacistas was that he had not repudiated their endorsement." (!!!)

Gannes then goes on to blame the whole Nazi putsch on Gonzales von Marees who had committed the error of having a German-born mother. When he and the General were arrested for the putsch their followers were swung to Aguirre. Then, says Gannes: "Ibanez urged his followers to vote for Aguirre."

One question for Mr. Gannes: What has become of the files of the Chilean Stalinist papers that six months ago praised the "Valiant" Gonzales von Marees and before that denounced him as a Nazi and General Ibanez as a dictator?

Stalinists Discover New Hero In Batista

(Continued from Page 1)

muzzled trade unions. Batista promised to call a democratic Constituent Assembly. But the fear that the oppositionist moods of the population would break into the open resulted only in the addition of some careerists of the confused Liberal Party of Grau San Martin to his government.

"Three Year Plan"

Batista organized with genuine Goebbels methods a campaign for a "three-year plan." But American investors were afraid that the masses of the population would use this plan for an anti-imperialist movement like that of Mexico. The plan fizzled into a poor bureaucratic comedy, ending in nothing but further enlargement of the monopoly of Yankee absentee capitalists at the expense of small peasants and business men.

The bosses in Washington began to realize that Batista's dictatorship required a "democratic" coat of paint,—if a spontaneous outbreak of mass rebellion on the one hand and a penetration of Cuban politics by German and Italian influence on the other hand was to be prevented.

Continental Hegemony

But the main consideration was the growing war danger. Preparing the final showdown with Germany, Italy and Japan in Latin America, Washington cannot renounce "democratic" demagoguery. In Europe, the fake ideology of "collective security" is dead. France and Great Britain have proved unable to feed their European vassals with gold and arms. But America's Dollar Diplomacy is firmly determined to defend its hegemony on this continent. The Good Neighbor policy, this American variant of imperialist exploitation under cover of collective security, is still able to buy the dictators of Brazil, Peru, Chile, Cuba, etc. with good democratic dollars. And it does so with Yankee efficiency.

General Supports Aguirre

Aware of this situation, the Stalinists smell "people's front" prosperity in Latin America. Throughout the continent they display a feverish activity in the service of U.S. imperialism. After the Munich Pact, an alliance with the United States remains the only great hope of Stalin's foreign policy. With even greater cynicism than in Europe, the Stalinists are striving to kill all genuine movements for liberation among the peoples of Latin America and to stifle the growing class consciousness of their working classes.

Stalinism At Work

In Mexico, they advise Cardenas to be "cautious" in his fight against foreign imperialism. In Chile, they conclude a Peoples Front with Nazis, in order to put a candidate of Washington—a feudal lord and millionaire—into power. In Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Puerto Rico, everywhere they side with Washington as the most enthusiastic war-mongers and the most energetic sup-

CONVENTION NEXT WEEK MUST TAKE DECISIVE STEPS

(Continued from Page 1) S.W.O.C. union will be represented by Murray, and five other miners' union top leaders, along with four steel workers who are close associates of the Murray ruling faction. The voting strength of the convention will be concentrated in the hands of international union executive boards, C.I.O. regional directors, etc.

A caucus meeting of top C.I.O. officials has been called for Nov. 11 to plan the strategy of the convention.

The full nature of the deal between John L. Lewis and the Stalinists will be revealed at this convention. Is the war referendum amendment, approved by the S.W.O.C. convention and the U.A. W.A., going to be made a C.I.O. stand, or will the Stalinists with Lewis' assistance tie the workers to the Roosevelt war-machine? All indications are that Lewis and the top leadership will continue the fatal policy of relying on Roosevelt, and trying to keep the workers bound to the Democratic party.

Disrupters Want Recognition

The Stalinist controlled Workers Alliance wants a national C.I.O. charter to save itself from the consequences of its own ruinous policies. Progressive unionists want the C.I.O. to charter its own unemployed union, excluding these misleaders.

If the pressure of the rank and file throughout the country is sufficiently strong, the progressive proposal will carry. Otherwise another Stalinist noose will be placed around the neck of the C.I.O. workers. The autonomy of international unions within the C.I.O. is also

PROGRESSIVE PAINTERS SPURN C.P.'S BRIBES

Lash Administration For Pork-Barrel Regime

(Continued from Page 1) sives on this offer to become "a part of our family" was clear and to the point:

"Mr. Weinstein and gentlemen of the administration: The opposition and its spokesmen are not in the market for places at your feshpots.

"This opposition is the product of your misrule in the past two and a half years. The duty of this opposition is to put an end to your misrule. Your progressive opponents cannot be accomplices in your crime against the union membership! "The opposition are those members who did not object to your exorbitant taxes for fake strikes in the last two and a half years because they accepted such taxes in the hope that they would be used for the betterment of the organization. They have now realized that these taxes were levied for the sole purpose of paying off bootlickers of the administration and parasites of Thirteenth Street. (C. P. headquarters—Ed. Note.)

"The opposition feels that it is morally compelled to let the union members know the truth. Its spokesmen are not for sale. All the gold of Stalin's G.P.U. cannot buy them. An attempt to buy them by means of another holdup on the membership can only arouse their greatest contempt and revulsion.

"The opposition is for the emancipation of the painters from the tyranny of Thirteenth Street.

"The painters, we feel and know, will soon find a way to take the union back into their own hands."

Budget or Pork-Barrel

The whole question of the budget is of vital importance and an examination of the figures presented make an interesting picture. A comparison of the two budgets — Weinstein's and the Progressives — makes clear the frantic efforts of the Stalinist gang to keep its hand on the treasury of District Council 9.

Weinstock & Co. propose, according to the Progressives' paper, a weekly budget of \$1,480. Weinstein, after presenting this figure, added that "this is the maximum expenses that the district council may stand per week, and these expenses amount to \$78,000 a year." It was made clear that this would not include such items as picketing and organizational drives.

The Progressives proposed a budget which would cut expenses of the union by \$23,000 a year. Instead of eight office girls, the Progressive budget proposed three clerks. The Progressives pointed out that by doing away with many fake jobs which at present are pie-cards for Stalinist officeboys, the money formerly used for this purpose could be put into a fund for organizational work.

placed in jeopardy by the Lewis plan of centralization of control within the C.I.O. Already he controls the miners and the steel workers union. The Stalinists aided him in taking over the auto workers union.

The Main Issue

A dominant Lewis-Stalinist bloc based on their common determination to prop up the cracking edifice of capitalism, and to keep the workers from taking the road of class action on the economic and political field will spell the doom of the C.I.O.

Against this possibility, the pro-

Nov. New International Out

The November issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL magazine is off the press and on sale.

The consequences of the "Peace" of Munich and a review of the founding congress of the Fourth International are features of this number.

Leon Trotsky writes on Czechoslovakia's "independence."

Maurice Spector reviews the Popular Front's guilt in relation to the developments before and after Munich, and the editors enter into an exhaustive analysis of the significance of the Four Power Pact.

In an article entitled "The Fourth International is Launched" Max Shachtman, a delegate to the Fourth International Congress, reviews what transpired there.

The burning question of labor unity is treated with clarity and in detail in an article "Labor Unity—A New Stage" by E. J. Widick, Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

L. Rock, writing from Jerusalem, deals with the Jewish-Arab conflict.

The war plans of the Roosevelt administration and their meaning to the labor movement are discussed in detail in a joint article by M. J. Michaels and Albert Gates entitled "The War Mobilization Plan."

Comrade "Z" writes a most significant article, "Stalinism and Fascism in Italy."

In the discussion section, Jules Geller of St. Paul and the editors of the NEW INTERNATIONAL voice their opinions on the Mahoney Bill and the previous article of David Cowles on the subject.

Book reviews are by Leon Trotsky, E. J. Widick, Max Shachtman and S. Stanley on, respectively, "Der Entschcheidung Entgegen" by Jaroslav Cerny, "The Story of the C.I.O." by Benjamin Stolberg, "My Life as a Rebel," by Angelica Balabanoff; and "The Coming Victory of Democracy," by Thomas Mann.

Copies of the November issue may still be obtained by addressing: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

THE MARXIST SCHOOL

116 University Place, New York City

CLASSES BEGIN NOV. 9

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| I. THE AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS | B. J. Widick |
| Monday, 7:30 P.M.—8:30 P.M. | 6 lectures, \$1.00 |
| II. AFTER THE MUNICH CONFERENCE | Jack Weber |
| Monday, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. | 6 lectures, \$1.00 |
| III. LIVING MARXISM—A COURSE IN FIRST PRINCIPLES | John G. Wright |
| Tuesday, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. | 6 sessions, \$1.00 |
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| Tuesday, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 | 6 sessions, \$1.00 |
| V. LABOR JOURNALISM | James Casey |
| Wednesday, 7:30 P.M.—8:30 P.M. | 6 sessions, \$1.00 |
| VI. THE THREE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS | George Novack |
| Wednesday, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. | 4 sessions, \$.75 |
| VII. CAPITALIST ECONOMY IN CRISIS | David Cowles |
| Fridays, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. | 6 sessions, \$1.00 |

REGISTRATION

Registration may be made either at the school office, 116 University Place, N. Y. C., between 8 P.M. and 10 P.M., or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12th Street, N. Y. C., between 1 P.M. and 8 P.M.. Registrations can also be made by mail or by calling Stuyvesant 9-0567. The school term will begin on November 9th.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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MAX SCHACHTMAN
Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS **GEORGE CLARKE**
Associate Editors
S. STANLEY, Business Manager

The Fear of War

Last Sunday night thousands of radio listeners were thrown into hysterical panic by a broadcast depicting an attack on this country by men from Mars, dropping out of the sky in fearsome projectiles and spreading death and destruction through gas and other fearsome weapons. It was based on an old H. G. Wells fantasy.

There was nothing funny about the mass hysteria caused by the broadcast, except possibly the fact that most people did not hear the beginning of it because they were listening to Charlie McCarthy. It was in the process of escaping from the dulcet simpering of Nelson Eddy and Dorothy Lamour that the startled listeners ran plump into a Martian invasion.

Nor were those who raced fearfully into the streets running from what they understood to be an actual invasion from the stellar wastes. They were running because they are afraid, horribly afraid of war, and this fear is always with them. Hearing suddenly of a gas attack in Jersey, of bombs and flames, and sudden death, it seemed only that their fears had been realized. Some enemy had suddenly attacked. The result was a panic of fear and horror and hysteria.

Only a few weeks ago programs of dance music were being interrupted by flashes from a Europe on the brink of war. Only a few weeks ago the radio had made more real than ever before the meaning of marching millions mobilized for senseless slaughter, of droning planes, and the fear of death from the air. These memories were fresh in the minds of the radio listeners last Sunday night. Only the smart aleck with an eye for incongruity can find something humorous in the reaction that followed.

The panic showed to what extent the minds of people have already been prepared for the imminence of war. Behind that hysteria were the headlines staring out of every day's papers about threats of war—headlines pitched into screams in order to help rush through gigantic rearmament programs and vast plans for yoking the working masses to the capitalist war machine.

To that same end, the war-makers are already pouncing upon the incident of the broadcast to pave the way for government censorship of radio programs.

To be sure, the radio broadcasting chains already maintain a rigid censorship of their own, dictated by the needs and requirements of their advertisers. In this they are no different from the newspapers. None of them, for example, would dream of giving time to Consumers' Union because sometimes the information given by that organization pricks the inflated balloons of advertising lies.

And let anybody try to give voice to a revolutionary program over the air! Browder & Co. found their way into the big chains only when they were prepared to warn the masses against revolution and to drum up trade for Roosevelt war and "democracy"!

But radio censorship does not only mean a negative selection of programs. When this country goes to war, the radio will be converted into the most gigantic and effective one-way propaganda agency ever seen or heard in history. It will be every bit as totalitarian as the radio of Hitler, Mussolini, or of Stalin. Let there be no mistake about that!

Meanwhile, the scare broadcast will probably be used to tighten the already tight government supervision over the air waves and move the plans of the war-makers one step further.

Let the Refugees In!

When it is a question of whipping up the war spirit, covering his armament program, or fooling the people by putting on a left coloration, Franklin Roosevelt has a lot to say about the glories of democracy and the hideous crimes of the dictators.

But when it comes down to brass tacks, to getting some action, the President's democracy always seems to develop a bad case of palsy.

The demagogic hypocrisy with which Roosevelt is exploiting the refugee issue hits close to a new low in his political scale. To date his score is 1000 per cent in fine phrases, and just exactly zero in deeds.

By its quota system the United States shuts its

gates to all but a small fraction of the politically oppressed within the totalitarian states. By the restrictions and financial requirements it places even on the quota-immigrants, the United States limits that small fraction in such a way that the most persecuted of all—the proletarian and lower middle-class—are virtually excluded.

Pious words do not make anyone a defender of democratic rights. No one can legitimately criticize the dictatorships for their treatment of the refugees who does not back up his words with acts, who does not do all within his own power to defend the politically oppressed and to offer them haven. Whoever does less becomes in reality jointly responsible for the oppression.

The quotas must be lifted. The restrictions must be modified in such a way that all of the persecuted may find refuge within this country. This is the only central aim which Americans who want to defend the democratic rights of asylum and refuge can set for themselves. Vague plans about settlement in Africa or South America, protests on British policy in Palestine, however legitimate, are here as elsewhere secondary to the main job which is *the job at home*.

It is time for the trade unions and all of the mass organizations of the American workers to press with full force upon the President and Congress the demand that the quotas and restrictions be removed, and that this country welcome within its own borders the oppressed and persecuted of all lands.

The Socialist Party: Act V and Curtain

A little more than a year ago, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party expelled the party's revolutionary left wing. At that time we predicted not merely that thereafter the S. P. would beat a hasty and uninterrupted retreat to the right (a virtually self-evident conclusion, since there would no longer be a firm left force to pull it in a contrary direction), but that the N. E. C. in the act of expulsion was taking the first decisive step in the liquidation of the party itself.

Within the Socialist Party there were a certain number of serious militants, honestly and actively desirous of building a genuinely revolutionary party within this country, who disagreed with our estimate. For one or another reason, they elected to remain within the Socialist Party instead of joining with the expelled left wing in the foundation of the Socialist Workers Party.

The recently concluded meeting of the Socialist Party's N. E. C., reported on elsewhere in this issue, enables them and us to draw up a year's balance; or, if not a balance of the past, at the very least a budget for the future.

The Socialist Party is finished. This can hardly any longer be a matter of dispute for either its friends or its foes. The problem now, in the minds of the most vigorous of its N. E. C. members, is only how most quickly and mercifully to get the job done with.

The meaning of the N. E. C. meeting was communicated politely to the world in the October 29th issue of the *Socialist Call*: "It (the N. E. C.) has authorized negotiations looking toward peace in Socialist ranks and the reunion of all Socialists in America..." The wheel is completing its circle. The right wing of the present S. P., which never differed in political fundamentals from the Old Guard, is going back to its bed-fellows of the Social Democratic Federation. The final divorce turns out to have been only a temporary desertion.

The militants still within the Socialist Party must, then, take stock. History, these days, does not leave time for illusions or for playing around. It is not necessary to debate the merits of the past; we must concentrate on the needs of the present and the future.

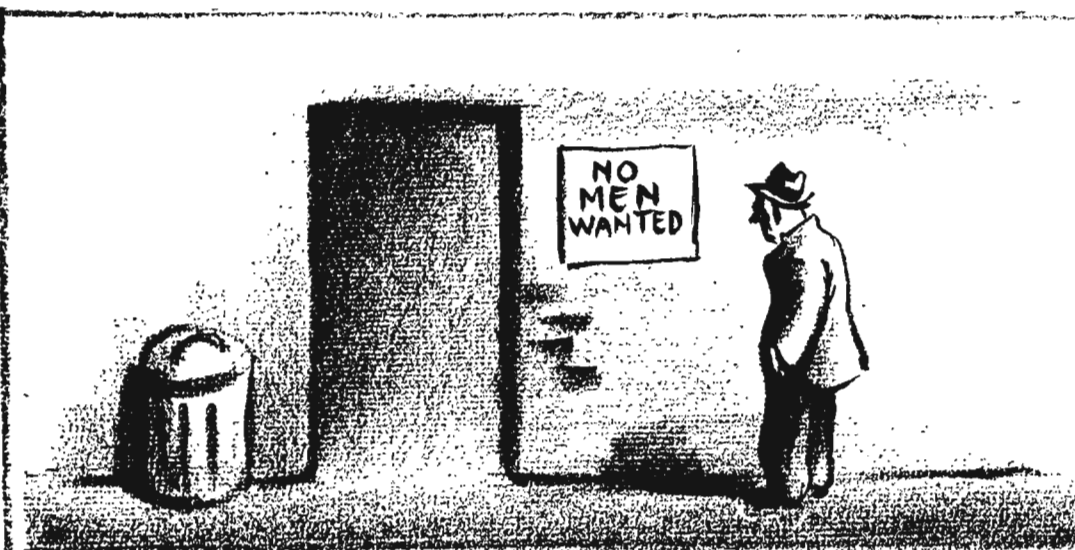
The N. E. C. is going to liquidate the S. P., and nothing will stop it. There will be no organization left, and no chance of reconstructing one out of the ruins: indeed, there is only the fragment of an organization today.

What are the militants, the revolutionary workers, who remain, to do? They cannot follow the N. E. C. without shameful capitulation. They must decide whether they really mean business about building an American party of the socialist revolution, or whether they are going to lie down and quit.

If they mean business, they have only one course: to join with the revolutionary militants of the Socialist Workers Party in the great common task. They will find the doors of the Socialist Workers Party open to every determined worker who is resolved to fight for the new party. They will discover in our ranks a rich and full democracy whereby differences of opinion can be settled in the closest union with disciplined, vigorous action. They will meet no recrimination, no disputes over what has gone by; and they will see that in our party personal capacities and talents are given the fullest opportunities for responsible functioning.

This is the choice before the militants within the Socialist Party. It is time to come to a conclusion.

Forgotten Man Will Soon Be Remembered!



Socialist Party Near Collapse Recent NEC Meet Reveals

A picture of utter demoralization and catastrophic decline in membership and influence, with plans to enter into negotiations for fusion with the right wing Social Democratic Federation after the November elections, was presented to the members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party when they gathered for their meeting in Baltimore, Md., on Friday, October 14, according to an accurate and authentic report received by the *Socialist Appeal*.

The plans for fusion with the Social Democratic Federation, staunch supporter of Roosevelt and the New Deal, and committed to a flagrantly social-patriotic position with regard to imperialism, were adopted but the Committee members tacitly agreed that the negotiations should be kept quiet until after the November elections, lest the public position of the Socialist Party be harmed.

Paul Porter, leader of the right wing from Wisconsin, who took a leading part in the wholesale expulsions of revolutionary socialists from the party a year ago, was the most outspoken advocate of immediate fusion with the Oneal-Waldman-Abe Cahan group. At the meeting, he emphasized the fact that the N.E.C. itself was in a state of despair and despondency over the organizational blind alley into which it had led the Socialist Party.

Mr. Valenti Again

It is interesting to note that prior to the meeting, the party National Office had received the fantastic proposal of the Italian Federation of the Party, dominated by the not unknown G. Valenti, which asked for the creation of a unique kind. The Federation is to be converted into an autonomous Italian section, affiliated with the Social Democratic Federation on the basis of its international—i. e., pro-war—position, and with the Socialist Party on the basis of its domestic position.

Characteristic of the state of affairs in the S.P. today is the fact that a number of N.E.C. members were in favor of this phenomenal proposal. However, no action was taken essentially on the ground that the question was linked and subordinated to the broader question of fusion between the S.P. as a whole and the Federation.

In passing, it is worth noting that at this meeting, the N.E.C. took up for the first time the question of the expulsion of Valenti. The latter was the gentleman who has not only worked cheek by jowl with the Stalinists in the Italian field, but who acquired dubious fame a year ago in the exposure made by the *Socialist Appeal* of the fact that he had discussed with trade union bureaucrats of the New York needle-trades the financing of the S.P. to the tune of thousands of dollars

in return for a mass expulsion drive against the "Trotskyists." Although charges have been pending against Valenti for over a year, he has continued his activity with jaunty impunity.

At the Baltimore meeting, while it was generally taken for granted that Valenti is a Stalinist, no decision was adopted on the ground that this matter too should wait upon the "straightening out" of the unity question.

The calamitous organizational status of the party was reported in an atmosphere of dejection, hopelessness and disorientation such as has not been seen at a meeting of the socialist N.E.C. in many years. Spirits sank to a depressing low while the reports splashed buckets of uninspiring black on the party picture.

Membership Sinks

A dues-paying membership of 2,700 was reported—an all-time low in the history of the party! Not in thirty-five years of its existence has the S.P. ever had such a low membership figure to record. The lowest post-war membership figure was reached between 1921 and 1924, but even then it never sank below 5,000. Only a very few years ago, the party boasted between 15,000 and 20,000 members. Only a few months ago, the party convention was told that there were some 4,000 members left—the result of the wreckage left behind after the effects were felt of the Hoan-Thomas-Zam policy of mass expulsions. But not the full effects, apparently, for now the membership is below 3,000, with the end not yet in sight.

And when it is remembered that not every dues-payer in the S.P. is more than a platonic friend of the party who has not left it only by virtue of the power of inertia, it would be a generous estimate to say that the Thomas outfit today has no more than 1,500 effective members—a veritable debacle.

The "Call" Goes Down

On top of that, the official organ, *Socialist Call*, which has been missing issue after issue recently, is in such a desperate financial plight as a reflection of the complete disintegration of the party, that a motion was made to convert it into a fortnightly, that is, to appear once every two weeks instead of as in the past once every week. If this motion was not adopted, it was in all likelihood due to the fact that the bankrupt S.P. politicians have had a hard enough time getting their "weekly" to appear once every three weeks.

"The trouble with the Socialist Party," according to the summary made by N.E.C. member Hamilton, "is that it no longer has confidence in itself or its leadership. It has no morale."

This annihilating but none the less accurate confession was only emphasized by the complete help-

lessness of the S.P. "leadership" in face of the situation.

The self-avowed "left wing" of Zam and Co., which after each convention where it "consolidates its victory" leads the party deeper into the morass, was particularly striking in its pitiable impotence, and failure to put forward even the phantom of a program for resolving the catastrophic situation to which they had brought the party in alliance with the right wing.

Porter's Program

The only "program" was that brought forward by Porter and his right wing associates. The remedy offered by them is simply the liquidation of the party. But although no other program was presented as an alternative, the N.E.C. took no action on the one proffered by Porter. His 6-point plan had as its first point: unity with the patriotic Social Democratic Federation. His second point was "cooperation" with the Farmer-Labor party movement, including the L.N.-P.L., work in the La-Follette Progressive Party, and "in some instances" in the Democratic party.

"Let us not be hypocritical," said Porter, pointing out that especially in the South, members of the "rrradical" Socialist Party have been working inside the lily-white, Negro-baiting labor-hating Democratic Party.

Porter's third, fourth and fifth points called for "labor unity" for unemployed activity and attention to the farm crisis, while his sixth, and very significant point, was to drop the anti-war phraseology and adopting the Stalinist pro-war policy which Porter has championed without let or hindrance for some time.

The confusion, irresoluteness and do-nothingism of the N.E.C. on the two most crucial questions of the day—the world war crisis and the trade union situation in the United States—was positively tragic.

No Proposals on War

In face of the keen urgency of the crisis, no proposals or motions were made on the war danger. Felix spoke vaguely about the Czech situation and the need of a firm stand on war, with "perhaps some revision of our present position"—revision not stated—but the whole matter was wearily referred to the traditional graveyard—a sub-committee. Similar "action" was taken on the question of the Mexican situation, which must now wait for solution until the party "specialist"—Clarence Senior—reports.

On the labor front, the decline of the S.P.'s influence was recorded all along the line. The most heated discussion occurred over the scandalous conduct of Roy Reuther and Ben Fischer, head of the S.P. in Michigan, in the Auto Workers Union crisis, but

NMU Seamen Bullied Into Signing Rotten Contract

(Continued from Page 1)

voyage or thirty days, whichever may be the greater. "Unlicensed personnel may be transferred to another vessel within the company, provided the transfer is mutually agreeable to the employer, the employee, and the union. This clause shall not be construed to prevent the transfer of unlicensed personnel for promotion or seniority, seniority to be construed as continuous service with the company in a person's particular rating."

West Coast Comments

Typical of what union seamen think of such a clause is a comment from *West Coast Firemen* (Sept. 6, 1938), which deals specifically with it:

"Not only can a company transfer a crew from one ship to another, it can also do this: If an oiling job is open on one of its ships, it can promote a fireman from another of the company's ships over the heads of the men on the ship."

"Then again, men can take vacations and leaves of absence. Remember the old song—Oh Chiefie Dear! Oh Chiefie Dear!

I swear to you I'll give no lip, I'll shine your brass, and kiss your —

If I can make another trip! Just read that clause again. A man can pile off on a leave of absence, and after the ship is back from a round voyage, can pile back on her again."

"Check all these factors over and you can see why there is no hiring hall clause. It's a regular company union agreement."

Slander Sheet Against Lundeberg While members of the National Maritime Union were voting on this agreement, the *Pilot*, official organ of the union, was used as

a campaign sheet for the rotten agreement. One of the main arguments was a threat to the membership that "if you don't take the agreement, Lundeberg and the A.F.L. will get your jobs."

Joseph Curran and his C. P. advisors are mortally afraid of the newly-chartered Seafarers' International Union which is now opening an organizing drive to win conditions for east coast seamen. Their whole strategy is designed to keep east coast seamen within the organizational structure of the N.M.U. and through it to shackle all seamen to the government's Maritime Commission.

Plan to Shackle Seamen

Signing of the new agreement is only part of the plan which is being carried out by Curran & Co. They hope the agreement will serve to keep a certain number of jobs for the N.M.U. Enough shipping will be done through the union hall to encourage seamen to register there. N.M.U. patrolmen will have passes to all ships and any "beefs" will be settled for the operators with the excuse that "we can't do anything yet because if we do the shipowners will revoke our passes and do business with Lundeberg and the A.F.L."

By a constant slander campaign through the pages of the *Pilot* against the A.F.L., which is identified with the discredited International Seamen's Union, C. P. strategists hope to make a final and satisfactory agreement with the Maritime Commission. Relying upon N.L.R.B. elections already held—together with actual proof that the N.M.U. is a "responsible" organization and has no intention of fighting for better conditions—Mr. Curran hopes that Maritime Commission heads may be wheeled into recognizing the N.M.U. as the organization representing all seamen.

TWENTY-ONE YEARS

(Continued from Page 1)

destruction, the Stalinist clique now prepares the final debacle. Having shattered the hopes of millions of toilers, wrecked the labor movement in country after country, facilitated—nay, assisted!—the builders of fascist concentration camps, Stalin has exposed the Soviet Union to the perilously imminent prospect of armed intervention.

How does Stalin propose to fight the war? In the same manner he "fought" fascism abroad. By tearing down the keystone in the arch of Soviet economy! Thus he hopes to appease Hitler and save his own head. But the days of Stalin are numbered: he must fall beneath the heel of oncoming reaction or in the sweep of the resurgent revolutionary masses.

We fervently hope on this 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution, that the Soviet masses will tear from Stalin's hands the precious treasures of 1917 before he turns them over to Hitler and internal reaction.

But to rely merely on hope would be to abandon ourselves to mysticism and futility. Our duty is clearly set forth. We must renew courage and resolution of the Russian workers and peasants by waging an unremitting struggle against our own centers of imperialism that would destroy the Soviet State.

On the 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Fourth Internationalists rededicate themselves to the most imperative task of our times: *the defense of the Soviet Union.*

Defend the Soviet Union against Stalin, Hitler and Roosevelt!
Defend the Soviet Union by fighting the imperialist war-makers in our own country!

Defend the Soviet Union by revolutionary action against capitalism!

Defend the Soviet Union by building the most potent force for the liberation of humanity: the Fourth International!

although criticisms were levelled at them and at one stage in the debate a motion was made to censure them, no action was taken to alter the party's line of trailing behind the Stalinist union-wrecking course. Reuther and Fischer were not even chided for having aided and abetted the Stalinists during the crisis.

Finally, the timid motion by McDowell that all actions of the Socialist Auto League be subject to consultation with the National Action Committee, the N.E.C. and the Labor Secretary of the party (i. e., McDowell), was defeated because Reuther and Fischer denounced it as bureaucratic. Tyler made the audacious proposal that each should consult with the other, but the upshot of the discussion was that Reuther and Fischer emerged unscathed and with free hands to continue their petty bureaucratic policy of acts as short-stops for the Stalinists.

Collapse in Unemployed Work

Just as feeble and ineffectual was the stand taken by the committee in regard to the crisis in the unemployed movement, for it took no stand at all. In the discussion, it was disconsolately acknowledged that the Stalinists had destroyed the work of the S.P. in the Workers Alliance—though no balance-sheet was drawn up of the cowardly and lickspittle attitude of the party leadership towards the president of the Alliance, David Lasser, when he was a party member and flouted the interests of the S.P. and of the unemployed in the interests of his friends of the Communist Party.

The motion of Sam Baron that the socialists withdraw immediately from the bureaucratically corrupted Alliance and launch a new organization, was defeated. It

sounded too much like taking a definite position of one kind or another. The Committee thereupon "generally agreed" that there should be no withdrawals from the Alliance, but at the same time that the new progressive movement in New York should be supported. Then the whole question was referred to the inevitable sub-committee, which by now number almost as many as the membership of the party.

The same action was taken with regard to the report of Fred Harwood, who rushed from New York to give an account of the newly-formed organization of the unemployed and project workers, and to ask for a line of policy. To still another committee—the Ohio State Committee—was referred the proposal by Lee Morgan to resign from the Executive Committee of the Alliance in order to work for the Negro Labor Committee. And so on to the end.

What the meeting did after that was of no importance either to itself, to the party or to the working class in general.

The scintillating leadership of the S.P. is merely waiting for the crushing blow which it expects at the coming elections—Thomas by the way admitted that entry into the A.L.P. in New York would have meant that the S.P. is completely out of the picture—in order to announce the plans for burying the once "all-inclusive" and "revolutionary" Socialist Party, a liquidation which will scarcely be covered up by the mantle of "unity" with the incorrigible reformists and war-patriots of the Social Democratic Federation, and which will surely uncover in full the depths of bankruptcy to which its present leadership has brought the Socialist Party.

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