

All War Funds To the Unemployed!

Socialist Appeal

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

Open the Doors To Europe's Refugees!

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BUILD LABOR'S OWN PARTY!

Let's Remember The Armistice!

The patriots are celebrating the twentieth anniversary of Armistice Day this week—the signing of the agreement on November 11, 1918 which brought the hostilities of the first World War to an end.

The workers, too, have a right to commemorate Armistice Day—in their own way. So let them—

REMEMBER that 14,000,000 workers and peasants were killed or reported missing, and 20,000,000 wounded and maimed in order to determine whether German and Austro-Hungarian imperialism or French, British, Czarist and American imperialism would dominate the world, and reap profits from the millions of white, black, brown and yellow slaves throughout the world—

REMEMBER that in the midst of all the misery and devastation inflicted on the masses, the profits of the capitalist class swelled beyond the highest limits it had yet attained. At the beginning of the war, in the year 1914, the investment return of the United States Steel Corporation was 2.8 per cent, whereas towards the end of the war, in the year 1917, the return was 24.9 per cent, amounting to \$478,204,000—

REMEMBER that the war was fought under the slogan of a "war to end all wars," and that there has not been a year since the end of the World War in which wars, large or small, were not being fought, that we are today closer to a new and more dreadful world war than at any other time since the Armistice was signed—

REMEMBER that the war was fought under the slogan of a "war for democracy," and that there is less democracy, that the masses today enjoy less democratic rights in every capitalist country in the world than they did at any other time in the last fifty years—

REMEMBER that the masses were mobilized and driven to the charnel house of war with the cry that "We'll hang the Kaiser to a sour apple tree!" The Kaiser remains free and alive while millions rot in war graves, the Kaiser remains one of the wealthiest men in the world today. His place has been taken not by a democracy but by the Fascist regime of Hitler which makes the Junker regime of the pre-war Hohenzollerns look like child's play—

REMEMBER that the masses throughout the world went wild with enthusiasm on receiving the news of the Armistice and the promises of the war-lords of the belligerent countries that they would henceforward live in peace. Today every country—Germany as well as France; England as well as Italy; the United States as well as Japan—is engaged in a frenzied armaments race the like of which the world has never before seen—

REMEMBER the abominable lies which the rulers of every land told their people for the purpose of drugging their minds with the poison of chauvinism and nationalism. The same lies, the same poison, are being disseminated at this very moment by the same rulers, who pursue the same aim—preparing docile cannon fodder for a new imperialist war—

REMEMBER that the "peace" which was established at Versailles after the Armistice was a monstrous lie—a brazen attempt to reduce the peoples of the defeated nations to the positions of slaves. It was this "peace" that contributed so mightily to the rise and triumph of Hitlerism in Germany and Austria—

REMEMBER also that even from the standpoint of the war-patriots, the millions did die in vain, for the defeated powers of yesterday once more threaten the preferential imperialist position of the victorious powers—the twenty years that have elapsed have only brought the imperialist rivalries and conflicts to the point at which they stood on the eve of the last World War—

REMEMBER that the infamous Versailles Treaty signed after the Armistice—which brought neither peace nor democracy—was supported by the Social Democratic parties and their International, the Second International, which supported the capitalist class in its war and which took upon itself the responsibility for the indefensible crime of the spurious "peace" and all its consequences—

REMEMBER that the Russian masses brought the war to an end, at least for themselves, a year before the imperialists signed their Armistice, and that they did it in the only effective way, by the revolutionary over-

(Continued on Page 3)

BELGIAN FOURTH INT'L CANDIDATES SCORE AT POLLS

Secure 7,000 Votes And Eight Seats in Communes

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) FLENU, Belgium, Oct. 22—In the municipal elections held on Oct. 16, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International, polled nearly 7,000 votes and elected eight councillors in the heavy industrial districts of Borinage and Thudinie.

Here in Fleny the party polled 1,513 votes, an absolute majority, electing six councillors. It was the first time in Belgium that a revolutionary party had ever won such a majority in any community. Never in its best days did the Communist Party equal this achievement.

Candidates of the Revolutionary Socialist Party were elected at Fleny, Wasmuel, and Gilly.

Fought Coalition The party, which entered the electoral lists for the first time, conducted its campaign upon a solid, revolutionary, Bolshevik program under the banner of the Fourth International. Against it the Belgian Labor Party (P.O.B.), the Stalinists, the Catholics, and the Rightists (Fascists) waged a ferocious campaign of slander.

At Fleny the party took five seats from the Labor Party and one from the capitalist parties. The Labor Party is now in a national union coalition. Its leader Paul-Henri Spaak, is premier. It conducted a particularly vicious campaign here to break the influence of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

"Adventurers," boasted Cén Havron, local P.O.B. secretary, "on Oct. 16 we shall smash the foul beast of Trotskyism!" But the workers had other ideas. At the polls they gave our party an absolute majority!

P.O.B. Losses In the elections as a whole the P.O.B. lost at least 71 seats, most of them to the extreme right. The Stalinists gained in relation to the results of 1932 but showed no progress from its votes of 1936. In the working class districts these results clearly showed the growing disquiet and mistrust of the national union policy pursued by the P.O.B. and the Stalinists.

In many places, especially at Pironchamps, in Thudinie, the P.O.B. conducted its campaign against us on the grounds that they promised "peace and tranquility" while we stood for revolution! The P.O.B. joined forces there with the most reactionary Catholic elements. It was an openly known fact that sisters in the Catholic schools drummed it into the heads of the children to go home and persuade their parents (Continued on Page 3)

For American Domination "As a nation we will assure ourselves that we are in a position to defend ourselves from all aggression from whatever source it may arise, and to be prepared to join with our fellow-democracies of the New World in preserving the Western Hemisphere safe from any threat of attack."

This was a diplomatic way of saying once more that Washington (Continued on Page 3)

DEFEAT IN "LITTLE STEEL" Then came the disastrous strike in "Little Steel." No proper preparations were made nor systematic plans devised how to fight

the determined masters of Little Steel. But the C.I.O. thought they did not need any plans or preparations. Roosevelt was their ace in the hole who would win the steel strike for them in a pinch. When Tom Girdler and his minions declared war on the union, the leadership became bewildered and helpless under the assault. The incompetent and pusillanimous leadership of Phil Murray left the steel workers defenseless before the cruel blows of the vigilante gangs and the National Guard. The unions in the plants of Little Steel were, for the time being, wiped out.

With its prestige heavily shattered by the ignominious defeat,

Out With Batista!



COL. FULGENCIO BATISTA

LIMA CONFERENCE WILL SEAL LATIN AMERICAN PACTS

U. S. Is Seeking to Consolidate Its Hegemony

Spokesmen for the Roosevelt administration last week emphasized again that it is the aim of U.S. imperialism to knit the North and South American continents into a powerful economic, political, and military unit in preparation for the coming world war.

The approach of the Pan-American Conference, scheduled to take place at Lima, Peru, on Dec. 9 has been made the occasion for intensified propaganda for inter-continental "unity" under the aegis of the Yankee colossus.

Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles, maker and breaker of innumerable Latin American governments, declared in a special radio broadcast on Sunday:

"As a nation we will assure ourselves that we are in a position to defend ourselves from all aggression from whatever source it may arise, and to be prepared to join with our fellow-democracies of the New World in preserving the Western Hemisphere safe from any threat of attack."

This was a diplomatic way of saying once more that Washington (Continued on Page 3)

Roosevelt Bids Welcome To Butcher of Workers

Cuban Dictator, Who Rules by Terror, Hailed as 'Democrat' by Local Stalinist Party

President Roosevelt welcomes to the White House this week Col. Fulgencio Batista, dictator of Cuba and assassin of hundreds of Cuban working class militants.

Batista is welcomed by Roosevelt as an ally in the Pan-American system dominated by Yankee imperialism.

He also comes to this country hailed as a "democrat" and a "man of the people" by the Communist Party.

But what kind of welcome does Batista deserve from American workers?

Record of Terror What kind of welcome would we give Hitler, Mussolini, or any of the other dictators who have shot down, tortured, and imprisoned thousands of workers whose only crime was their desire to struggle for their own rights and their own interests?

Batista belongs to that crew. Not even the Communist Party, licking his boots now as a potential People's Front ally, can erase the record of murder and terror that is Batista's sole claim to power, or his record as the tool of Wall Street in keeping the Cuban masses chained to the chariot of U. S. imperialism.

"Democracy" In Cuba

Here are some facts about Batista's terror in Cuba, reported by Arthur Pincus, noted writer on Latin American subjects, in his pamphlet, "Terror in Cuba" issued by the Workers' Defense League in 1936. The facts he gives deal only with the period covering the first two years of Batista's one-man rule. The same story of persecution and terror could be compiled for the two years that have since elapsed.

Shocking Tortures Pincus told the story of the fate of Dr. Octavio Seigle, a Cuban nationalist, who was killed by Batista's henchmen and his body burned "to hide from the world the horrible tortures inflicted upon him." The body of Augustin Matinez Dominguez, murdered with Seigle, revealed "details shocking to human sensibilities. The fingernails of both (Continued on Page 3)

Indochinese Authorities Close Trotskyist Journal

(Fourth International Press Service)

SAIGON, French Indo-China, Sept. 30.—By a special decree dated Aug. 30, the French authorities at Hanoi, in Tonkin, suppressed the Annamite paper Nghe-Mol, organ of the Fourth Internationalists.

This measure, reflecting the complete suppression of freedom of the press in Annam and Tonkin, reveals the real significance of the decree just issued in Indo-China, smallest of the Indochinese provinces, granting limited liberty of the press in both French and Annamite languages.

This decree is obviously an experiment designed to facilitate the efforts of the petty bourgeois constitutionalists and Stalinists to

win the masses over to support of French imperialism in case of war. The authorities want to experiment with the possibility of conducting a campaign, aided by the Stalinists and the bourgeois parties, which will rally the Annamite workers to the imperialist banner.

To be sure, the revolutionists will take full advantage of this on their part. La Lutte, central organ of the Fourth Internationalists, published in French at Saigon, will probably be issued shortly in Annamite. Its purpose will be to see to it that the masses resist any attempt to herd them into a new slaughter on behalf of the French masters and to conduct the broadest campaign for real democratic rights won by the open struggle of the workers.

NEW UPSWING; NEW TASKS

The Committee for Industrial Organization was first established for the avowed purpose of organizing the workers of the hitherto unorganized mass production industries. The economic crisis, which put all of its unions on the defensive, is now beginning to lift and will continue to lift, but stressed as it is by the new armament program of the Roosevelt administration. The shops are beginning to call back their workers and the latter are again regaining their old confidence and ability to resist the offensive of the employers.

All of recent events dictate to the C.I.O. the stern necessity of returning to its great unfinished work—temporarily halted by the loss of the steel strike and the depression of the fall of 1937—of organizing the remaining army of America's unorganized workers. Looming in greatest importance

Organization of South Is Major CIO Problem

Pittsburgh Convention Must Launch Drive

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Organizing the South was one of the biggest problems facing the American labor movement when the C.I.O. was formed in 1936. It is a major problem before the C.I.O. convention which opens here Monday.

Decentralization of Northern industry into the open shop southern states was accelerated as C.I.O. campaigns in the major industries met with success, and wages, hours and working conditions were improved for the industrial workers.

The recent rubber workers' convention took note of this grave situation, which made the open shop plants in the south the Achilles heel of C.I.O. unions.

So far, every attempt of the C.I.O. to unionize in Alabama, Georgia, etc., has been blocked by vicious terror, sluggings and use of national guardsmen in strikes.

Southern Miners Organized The United Mine Workers succeeded in unionizing the major coal mines in Alabama after a campaign of truly heroic proportions. Bill Mitch, S.W.O.C. southern director, was sent by the miners union in the early N.R.A. days to Alabama and aided by local leaders organized 30,000 miners.

"Carpetbaggers," "Communists," "Northern gangsters," "Nigger lovers," these were but a few of the invectives hurled at the miners and later other C.I.O. unionists for seeking to break the open shop stranglehold in the south.

Yet the militancy of the southern workers, when given serious direction, beat down these reactionary arguments. The C.I.O. gained a foothold in the south. In 1937, the U.R.W.A. proposed to John L. Lewis that a joint C.I.O. drive be conducted in the south. Excursions by rubber, steel and other C.I.O. unions individually could not cope successfully with united front of the bosses and the politicians.

Major Drive Not Attempted But a well planned, carefully outlined campaign was never seriously attempted. Today, Gadsden, Ala., home of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., a large steel plant, a large textile plant, still symbolizes the open shop city, where a union organizer's life is not safe and where unionist are hounded as in Nazi Germany, Memphis, Tenn., New Orleans, and other major centers are mainly unorganized.

The south must be organized. It is one of the most exploited sections of the country. This is (Continued on Page 2)

Workers and Middle Class The proletarian vote, hamstrung and straight-jacketed by its official leadership, forbidden to strike out on its own, remained in decisive majority within the Democratic ticket, but, as the results in Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York prove, did so passively, without enthusiasm, and without the ability any longer to attract to itself the other sections of the population.

The key role of the shift in the middle class allegiance was indicated in a dozen ways throughout the course of the campaign. On the one hand was witnessed the flourishing of middle-class panaceas for the solution of the economic crisis: above all, the various pension plans which became issues especially in New England and the West, espoused in many cases by the eager Republicans.

On the other hand, the campaign in several bitterly fought States saw the entry of tendencies far more reactionary than any which have heretofore played a part in American politics, which in their own way were equally designed for the attraction of middle-class support. In the Far West there were the anti-union bills placed on the ballot. In up-state New York the main burden of the campaign against Lehman was carried by anti-Semitism. In every village, town, and hamlet, huge posters called on the citizens to "Vote American," and no one had the slightest doubt about the meaning of the slogan.

American Popular Frontism The election thus serves as a judgment on the American, New Deal form of Popular Frontism. The argument that the working (Continued on Page 4)

Poll Shows Drift From New Deal

Labor Party Alone Can Stem March of Reaction

WORKERS MUST TAKE OWN PATH

A major drift, revealed only very incompletely in the specific shifts in elected candidates, proved on Tuesday that the New Deal demagogy is losing its mass hold, and posed squarely and immediately the road of bold, independent working class politics as the only alternative to the triumphant advance of reaction.

The mighty New Deal wave which in 1936 rolled up for Roosevelt a majority unprecedented in American history receded in virtually every key state

Next week's SOCIALIST AP-PEAL will carry an exhaustive analysis of the current elections. Returns were incomplete on Wednesday morning when this issue went to press.

to a minority or a bare and uncertain majority. In New York State, Lehman just squeezed under the wire with a plurality more than a million under Roosevelt's 1936 figure.

The outstanding feature of the elections was the shift in attitude of the middle classes, weather-cocks of the play of social forces. In 1936 the middle class vote went more than two-thirds for Roosevelt. On Tuesday the percentage was reversed. Disillusioned by the failure of the New Deal to solve the economic and social crisis, finding no clear political lead from the labor movement, and seduced by the bolder and more aggressive platform of open reaction, the middle classes swung heavily into the Republican column.

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Organize the Ford Motor Co.!

By JOHN ADAMSON

The star of the C.I.O. shone brightest in the days following the great General Motors strike. As never before, the workers were aroused out of their lethargy and imbued with new daring and confidence. In those days, anybody with a batch of application blanks in his coat pocket and a lead pencil could organize workers. They streamed into the unions by the thousands, displaying a passion long pent up to destroy the tyranny of the open shop.

It seemed, at that time, as if nothing could stop the swift advance of the C.I.O. and that it was only a matter of time, until that organization would completely dominate the labor movement of America. Those were the days when the members of the moribund A. F. of L. Executive Council were waiting hourly for the death knell that was to usher them out of the position of leadership they had maintained for a decade over the American labor movement.

DEFEAT IN "LITTLE STEEL" Then came the disastrous strike in "Little Steel." No proper preparations were made nor systematic plans devised how to fight

the C.I.O. lost the momentum of its splendid offensive. The faith of the workers was shaken in the organization they had believed invincible. Fear for their jobs, the deadliest of all poisons with which the rulers keep their slaves in subjection, again obsessed them. The C.I.O. began its slow retreat before the employers' offensive and has been retreating ever since.

NEW UPSWING; NEW TASKS

The Committee for Industrial Organization was first established for the avowed purpose of organizing the workers of the hitherto unorganized mass production industries. The economic crisis, which put all of its unions on the defensive, is now beginning to lift and will continue to lift, but stressed as it is by the new armament program of the Roosevelt administration. The shops are beginning to call back their workers and the latter are again regaining their old confidence and ability to resist the offensive of the employers.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The recent meeting between Homer Martin, President, United Automobile Workers of America, and Harry Bennet, Personnel Manager of the Ford Motor Co., has given rise to a handful of rumors concerning an impending change of policy on the part of union-buster Henry Ford towards organized labor. To date there has been no definite and authentic information one way or another.

Irrespective of these rumors, it is obvious that a drive to organize Ford's is one of the major tasks before the U.A.W. and the C.I.O. Just as the top agreement between John Lewis and Myron Taylor did not automatically organize the workers of U.S. Steel, so no written compact between Ford and Martin will organize the 150,000 workers in the Ford plant.

In the adjoining columns, John Adamson, a prominent auto unionist, describes the history of past attempts to unionize Ford's and suggests a plan for the execution of a new drive in the immediate future.

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and significance is the organization of the 150,000 automobile workers employed at the Ford Motor Co. Ford remains the only manufacturer of a union among his workers, who recognizes and deals with no committees and has (Continued on Page 2)

Organize Henry Ford's Open Shop!

Successful Drive Will Put Labor on Offensive

(Continued from Page 1)

signed no agreement with the union. Ford stands today as the facturer of automobiles who has successfully obstructed the form-symbol of reaction, industrial autocracy and the open shop. His anti-union utterances have attracted nation-wide and world-wide attention. Almost naturally, the organization of the Ford plants stands as the necessary next step in labor's program of action.

Cracking the Ford fortress and bringing the overlord of River Rouge to terms would have far greater significance than the mere numerical enlargement of the United Automobile Workers Union or of the C.I.O. Just recall what the signing of a union agreement with General Motors meant for the labor movement; how that accomplished more in one day than all the speeches and routine activity of a whole army of organizers in the previous year. With one great dramatic feat that displayed the latent power and the inexhaustible strength of organized labor with one bold stroke the prejudices of a century were uprooted; the influence of the employers was broken, the regime of blind obedience cracked beyond repair. That strike, unexpected and unprepared for by the C.I.O. national command, was responsible for all of the subsequent growth and achievements.

How could it be otherwise? The American working class is too inexperienced and too untrained to move forward except by the boldest and most spectacular victories. Unmatched in courage and fighting qualities, it must unintermittently register new successes to compensate for its lack of political training and its own political party.

THE GREAT JOB AT FORD'S

Organize the Ford workers, sign a good union contract with the company—and the G.M. victory will pale by comparison. The G.M. strike occurred when the mass production industries were still largely unorganized and the mass movement for labor political action almost non-existent. That strike electrified the workers sufficiently to call forth millions of them out of indifference and timidity to economic and political life. A successful Ford drive, would grip America's organized millions and hurl them in a new attack against the citadels of capitalism in a more profound manner than ever before. The threatened reaction on the part of the manufacturers would be abruptly stopped and the labor movement, more resolute and self-confident, would launch an offensive all along the line.

At the Milwaukee convention of the United Automobile Workers of America, held August, 1937, the officers vied with each other in eloquent speeches pointing to the necessity of organizing the Ford workers, and every one of the orators pledged his undying support towards its accomplishment. A one dollar assessment was unanimously approved by the convention to finance the drive. Immediately after the convention, Richard Frankenstein, union Vice-President, was appointed Director of the Ford Drive and amidst much publicity the national campaign was launched. Today, a year later, the campaign has completely bogged down; the Ford workers are still unorganized.

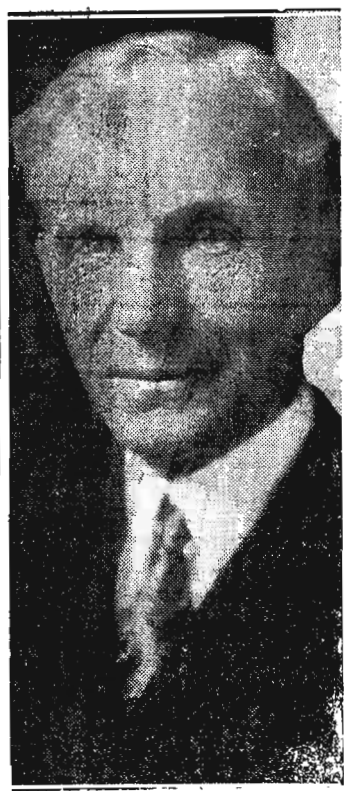
What has been wrong with the Ford Drive launched with so much noise and fanfare a year ago?

WORKERS WANT UNION

The Ford workers know the necessity of being organized. They want a union in their plant. They want to abolish the pitiless blacklist and the shame of the system of espionage. On every side they are surrounded by automobile workers who work in union shops, who enjoy the protection of union contracts, who are represented by union stewards and committees. The automobile workers union, young, vibrant and full of optimism, is in addition a major factor in the life of the city of Detroit. But the Ford workers are held down by long years of submission to a ruthless despotic power.

They know that for years Ford has successfully crushed all that would not bend to his will. They know that practically all the officials of the City of Dearborn are controlled body and soul by the Ford Motor Co. They know of the deadly spy system in operation at his plant and the hundreds of Ford workers who have summarily been fired out of their jobs for union activity and they know that all the hearings and tomfoolery of the National Labor Relations Board have not yet returned these men to work. The Ford workers have submitted too long to spontaneously rise up and challenge the autocracy of Ford.

What they needed to arouse them out of their apathy was a



HENRY FORD

demonstration of power from the outside; a demonstration that the U.A.W. was strong enough to take on Henry Ford.

In view of all this, what was obviously on the order of the day, was a hurricane drive that would catch the imagination of the Ford workers, sweep them into the union in spite of anything Ford could do. After some giant mass meetings that would build up the spirit and morale of the workers, the drive would be brought to a head by the election of committees to formulate the grievances of the men; a union contract would be written up embodying the main points and presented to the management. Everything favored a bold plan of this kind. The U.A.W. was at the high water mark of its career. The auto workers union had not yet tasted defeat. The whole labor movement was on the move and Detroit especially was literally swamped with the U.A.W. members and their activities.

WHY THE DRIVE FAILED

Precisely this boldness, this conception of a swift dramatic attack that would sweep everything before it, was lacking.

First, the organizing staff of the Ford drive was woefully incompetent for the strenuous tasks the drive imposed. The union's ace organizers, men who were enthused about the prospect of participating in this great work should have been placed in the Ford organizing office; instead, the Ford drive was overloaded with incompetents, petty maneuverers and opportunists. The few sincere young men were lost completely in the noise, confusion and disorder.

At the head of the drive stood Frankenstein, inexperienced for such a difficult task, but consumed with an undying ambition to carve out a career for himself. Even as a careerist, however, he did not possess the imagination and the sweep of thought to realize the vast opportunities that the Ford drive offered. The job to him was in the nature of an honorary post, something like the Postmaster Generalship is to Jim Farley. He confined himself to the making of speeches and an occasional visit to the Ford organizing office to find out how things were going. With such top leadership and direction, no hurricane drive—or any other kind of drive—was possible.

Secondly, there never was a well-thought-out and well-defined plan as to how the Ford workers would be organized. Everyone went about his own way, doing what he thought best in the manner he thought best. Added to the disorganization and confusion was the factional strife that was beginning to eat away at the vitals of union activity. Everyone was anxious to prevent the opposing faction from getting the credit for a successful drive and getting control over the Ford workers.

HIGH POINT MISSED

The high point of the drive, such as it was, was reached when the U.A.W. representatives were mercilessly beaten by Ford service men at the gates of the River Rouge plant, in open sight of newspaper photographers and reporters. That day thousands of Detroit automobile workers were aroused to a white fury at this brutality; the Ford drive had become national news and the Ford workers, stirring uneasily, were watching with bated breath the next union move. If 25,000 workers were mobilized the next day to march on Dearborn, it is an almost foregone conclusion that a real dent would have been made among the Ford workers and the Ford drive would have been definitely on its way.

But the golden opportunity was missed. Nothing of any importance was done for several days. The psychological moment was allowed to pass by. At the end of the week, a demonstration was finally organized, poorly prepared and poorly led. Then the Ford drive again reverted to the grind-

Incompetence Stymied Previous UAW Efforts

ing routine of collecting names, visiting individuals, a drive without prospect and without hope.

In general, the imagination and the aggressiveness necessary to mobilize thousands of automobile workers was lacking. The union officials were incapable of mobilizing the ranks which they did possess, and sending them into a decisive battle, but rather it wore out the strength of its own staff by a series of small, fruitless encounters, doomed in advance, to failure. The broad ranks of the union membership consequently were never really involved in the drive and the field staff, rather than directing large scale activities of a mass campaign, themselves puttered around in a dozen routine duties.

The factional fight which flared up again during the summer of this year put the finishing touches to what remained of the Ford Drive. Several weeks ago, the Ford men were chartered as a separate local union of the U.A.W.

The local's Executive Board, composed for the most part of fired Ford workers, inexperienced and new to unionism, is struggling as valiantly as it can with the Herculean task dumped into its lap.

PUT FORD ON CIO AGENDA

The C.I.O. is scheduled to hold its first convention on November 15th. Of paramount importance stands of course the question of fusing with the A.F. of L. to form one united labor movement in America. The U.A.W. delegation should, however, insist that the organization of the 150,000 workers employed in the plants of the Ford Motor Co. be placed on the agenda. The U.A.W. itself has not the financial resources at the present time, nor the experienced organizers, to properly launch a new major drive for the Ford workers. If Ford is to be organized now, the other C.I.O. unions will have to put in some real money for the job.

Proposals are in order to elect a representative committee from the key unions to furnish moral and financial aid to the great drive. It is most important to impress the Ford workers that a new gigantic effort is being made by the whole labor movement, in order to overcome the feeling of helplessness and scepticism which has seized the Ford workers. A solemn pronouncement by the C.I.O. convention that it pledges such help will go a long way towards bringing back new hope to the Ford men.

A PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

Then it is up to the U.A.W. to get into action. Assigned to the drive should be a crack regiment of field workers, who are inspired with the determination to see the Ford plants organized. At the head of the drive should be placed a person with experience and authority, a person, whose presence would constitute a partial guarantee that the Ford drive will in time proceed in an energetic and serious manner.

The presidents of all local unions in the Detroit area should be constituted as a special action and advisory committee, who will make the Ford drive a special order of business in their local unions and will involve every active union member in the great union campaign.

Especially important is the setting up of a special Negro committee of prominent Negro educators and leaders, who will aid the union in winning the good will and faith of the Negro workers in the drive and its purposes. Once the colored workers are set in motion at the great River Rouge plant, they will constitute one of the steel girders of the Ford union as well as the battering ram towards organizing the rest of the Ford workers.

The whole drive must be given shape and continuity by the establishment and the regular issuance of a weekly Ford Drive Bulletin, REGULARLY recording the plans, the aims and the achievements of the campaign. The Bulletin can become the most effective organizer of Ford workers and the means of infusing the new membership with zeal and enthusiasm. The Bulletin can be the agency of convincing all the Ford workers, all the automobile workers, and the whole labor movement that the Ford drive will continue this time full steam ahead until it has accomplished its objective; that the unions mean business this time.

As the drive begins to take form, giant mass meetings held in Detroit and Dearborn will enthrall and inspire the great masses of Ford workers and will begin a mass recruitment of members into the union. The campaign can be brought to a head by the election of rank and file committees to formu-

JOHNSON FREED IN BILL BROWN MURDER TRIAL

Union Enemies Slander 544 as Organizer Is Absolved

(Reprinted from Northwest Organizer)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 3.—Arnold Johnson was found not guilty of the murder of the late Bill Brown (former President of General Drivers Local 544).

The jury reported Tuesday morning, after more than seventeen hours of deliberation and five ballots ranging from 8-4 for acquittal to the final unanimous verdict.

Consensus of jury opinion, explaining the verdict afterward, was that the state had not presented sufficient evidence to warrant a conviction. Jurors indicated they were particularly impressed with the defense plea that Johnson was in a mental fog from the morning of May 25th—the day of the murder—until three days afterward.

Unionists who had been called as witnesses in the trial stood ready to testify in any further investigation of Bill Brown's death.

Killers at Large

The killers of both the late Pat Corcoran (former President of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council) and Bill Brown are still at large, leaving the threat of assassination still hanging over the heads of active union leaders.

Frank Forestal, Chief of Police, said his department had investigated the Brown slaying thoroughly and had "gone as far as it could go. . . Unless there is some new development—and none appears in sight at this time—the case appears to be closed as far as the police are concerned."

Rumors were current that enemies of the Minneapolis labor movement, frustrated in their attempts to use Arnold Johnson's trial to smear organized labor, were seeking ways and means to launch a new attack on the unions.

The direction taken by the defense attorneys, Morgan and Hughes, who seized the occasion to launch a vicious attack on drivers' union leaders, piling up insinuations that the union leadership had not told the truth, is a warning indication of what may come. The particularly hostile onslaught on the union leadership by Morgan in his closing statement to the jury, an attack which could have no direct bearing on Arnold Johnson's case, could only be designed to undermine trusted union leadership.

Friends of organized labor are warned to be on guard against further developments in this direction.

READERS COMMEMORATE BULLETIN ANNIVERSARY

NEW YORK—Readers and friends of the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition gathered here on Oct. 29 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Bulletin's existence and to do honor to the memory of Leon Sedoff, who edited it from the time of its inception to his untimely death. Dr. Antoinette Konikow was the main speaker of the evening. Rae Spiegel also spoke about the life of Leon Trotsky.

late the grievances of the men and demand a conference with Henry Ford to negotiate a union agreement.

While the campaign must be national in scope, obviously all organizational work must be centered and concentrated on the River Rouge plant, the heart of the Ford empire.

THE JOB MUST BE DONE

As everybody knows, the best-laid plans are worthless unless properly executed. It is impossible on paper, to lay out a blueprint for an organizational campaign, especially one so difficult and on such a gigantic scale as the Ford Drive.

What is important, however, beyond this or that detail, is to overcome the handicap of the unsuccessful first drive and the discouragement and moods of pessimism engendered thereby.

What is important is that the Ford workers be impressed that this is not just another petty ineffectual stab but a bona fide large scale campaign, behind which all organized labor has pledged its unstinting support. If a drive of this character is launched, and properly carried through, it has every chance of success. The Ford workers can be organized.

With the final smashing of one of the last of America's open shop fortresses, new vistas will open up for the C.I.O., as for the labor movement as a whole. A successful Ford Drive will unquestionably usher in a new era for all organized labor in America.

Organization of South Is Major C.I.O. Problem

(Continued from Page 1)

the problem of the present C.I.O. convention. Special significance attaches itself to any trade union campaigns in this area. Immediately, union organization poses the question of the rights of the Negroes. It brings into bold relief the problem of the sharecroppers.

The United Mine Workers not only organized all Negro miners, but prominent officials of that union in Alabama are Negroes. This was a blow to the Jim Crowism, to racial prejudice and the setting of Negro against white workers. The main hope of the Negro masses rests in the organization of the workers into unions in which equal social, political and economic rights are fundamental in the program.

That is why the southern manufacturers fear the C.I.O. That is why the terrible repressive measures against unionism have been taken.

The Southern Tenant Farmers union has a glorious history of struggle to alleviate the plight of the sharecroppers. Its campaigns deserve much greater support from the C.I.O.

Organize the South! That should be one of the major slogans of the C.I.O. convention.

Unions Condemn WPA Labor Camps

ROCHESTER, N. Y. — C.I.O. and A.F. of L. have united in protest against the policy of W.P.A. officials of this locality of forcing single unemployed men and veterans to accept jobs in out-of-town W.P.A. labor camps at the wage of \$30 a month rather than permit them to work on local W.P.A. projects at double the wages.

A resolution proposed by the Street and Sewer Laborers' Union, A.F. of L., called for the doing away with all W.P.A. labor camps; the right of all persons on W.P.A. to jobs on local projects, and the expansion of all W.P.A. projects to give work to all single men, whether veterans or not.

This resolution was endorsed by the Central Trades and Labor Council of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. Industrial Union Council, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. This comprises all organized labor in Rochester.

READ The New International

Marxist School Opens; Lists Important Classes

The Program of Transitional Demands adopted by the Fourth International and published in full in the Socialist Appeal of Oct. 22 has aroused widespread interest. Readers realized that here was something fresh and vigorous, a concrete program of action capable of setting masses into motion.

To deal with the significance and concrete application of the program on the American scene, the Marxist School has arranged a series of special lectures under the general title "The Bridge to Revolutionary Action."

Comrades James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and James Burnham will be the lecturers and will cover the fields of national politics, the trade unions, and the menace of war and the struggle against it.

It is still possible to register for this and other courses in the Fall Term which began on Nov. 9. The courses are as follows:

- I. The American Trade Unions 6 sessions \$1.00 B. J. Widick Mondays, 7-8:30 P. M. classes begin Nov. 14th
 - II. After the Munich Conference 6 sessions \$1.00 Jack Weber Mondays, 8:45-10:15 P. M. classes begin Nov. 14th
 - III. Living Marxism—First Principles 6 sessions \$1.00 J. G. Wright Tuesdays, 7:30-9 P. M. classes begin Nov. 15th
 - IV. The Bridge to Revolutionary Action James P. Cannon James Burnham Max Shachtman Tuesdays, 8:45-10:15 P. M. 6 sessions \$1.00 Classes begin Nov. 15th
 - V. Labor Journalism—James Casey Wednesdays, 7-8:30 P. M. 6 sessions \$1.00
 - VI. Three American Revolutions 4 sessions \$1.00 George Novack Wednesdays, 8:45-10:15 P. M.
 - VII. Capitalist Economy in Crisis David Cowles Fridays, 7-8:30 P. M. 6 sessions \$1.00
- Registrations can be made either at the school office or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12th St., N. Y. C.
- James T. Farrell • Max Shachtman • Sidney Hook
James Burnham • Max Eastman • and others
- Go to Bat for European Refugees at the
**Gala Event of the Fall
BASEBALL GAME AND BALL**
- Frida Rivera Will Toss Out the First Ball
Carlo Tresca — Umpire
- Thanksgiving Eve
Wednesday, November 23, 1938
Game Starts at 8:45 — Dancing till dawn
OZZIE CASWELL and HIS ORCHESTRA
HOTEL CENTER — 108 West 43rd Street, N. Y. C.
Tickets on sale now . 75c
- American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees
100 Fifth Avenue

APPEAL ARMY

Several weeks ago we promised our readers to print comments we had received on the now famous 12-page issue of the Socialist Appeal.

Here are a few selected at random from many others:

"With just pride we look upon the party's ability to put out a 12-page Appeal!" — Baltimore Branch.

"The World Congress Issue went like hot cakes. We sold 95 over the week-end and would like to get 25 more." — Boston Branch.

"I think the last issue of the Appeal was the best yet. It was an inspiration. Through its columns I can see the revolutionary message marching forward with leaps and bounds. More power to all of you." — R. Marie Hansen, Billings, Montana.

"That special 12-page edition is causing quite a stir in Lynn radical circles. The allotment to the newsstands was completely sold out for the first time." — Lee Calvin, Lynn, Mass.

"We are all sold out of the International edition and would like to have more immediately." — East Oakland (Calif.) branch.

"I want to tell you what an excellent job the World Congress issue is, not only from the standpoint of its contents, but from the not unimportant standpoint of make-up, etc. You are doing a swell job!" — John Murphy, literature agent of Los Angeles, California.

And finally, a letter from a friend in a CCC camp reading,

"A little contribution with lots of revolutionary greetings." . . .

We appreciate receiving such universally favorable comments. They are completely in line with the growing expansion and increased influence of the Appeal. Within the past month alone, our total circulation has increased by 1,000 per week!

The following is a list of new subscriptions received last week: A decrease, due, we imagine, to the series of holidays. We are sure this falling-off won't last long:

NEW YORK CITY	9
Minneapolis	5
Chicago	3
Illinois	2
New Jersey	2
California	2
Ohio	1
Wyoming	1
New York State	1
Montana	1
Massachusetts	1
Washington, D. C.	1
Total	29

Among new bundle-order and lit-agents we want to welcome the following two comrades: (1) V. S. Pickels of Kansas City, Mo., who is starting off with an order of 15 copies per week and; (2) a comrade in Montreal, Quebec. Also Elsie Meyers of Oakland, California, who has added five more to her weekly order. Elsie is one of the star agents of California, in the same class as John Murphy, Karoline Kerry and former lit-agent, Eloise Booth.

Reminder No. 1: To All Literature Agents: Have you paid your monthly account to the Appeal?

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 Balnbridge Ave.; Jerome and Burnside Ave.; 160th St. and Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. and Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 3897 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.
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A. Guabello's Stationery Store
317 Straight St.
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S.W.P., 160 N. Wells, Rm. 308
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R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St.
Otto Yost, 383 Hamilton St.
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Cor. 13th and Market Sts. (N.W.)
- Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts.
Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St.
S. E. Cor. Main & Clinton Sts.
S. W. Cor. Main & South Ave.
- Reitman's, cor. Broad & William
Littman's,
cor. Hawthorne Ave. & Reeves Pl.
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- 1806 North Franklin St.
Cor. 13th and Market Sts. (N.W.)

Rousing Meetings On Gould Tour

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 30.—Nathan Gould, National Organizer of the Young People's Socialist League and a delegate to the founding congress of the Fourth International, was the speaker at a highly enthusiastic meeting of over 125 workers at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters here. Comrade Gould reported to the meeting on the war crisis in Europe and the launching of the Fourth International.

Great interest was shown when Comrade Gould described the desperate efforts of the G.P.U. to prevent the historic conference from convening—efforts which did not stop short of the murder of the administrative secretary of the International, Rudolph Klement. Many questions were asked by the workers in attendance and a large and generous collection was taken. Oscar Kohler, District Or-

ganizer of the Y.P.S.L. was chairman of the meeting.

CHICAGO.—Nathan Gould, National Organizer of the Young People's Socialist League, spoke at a rousing mass meeting here on Thursday, October 27.

A crowd of over 200, mostly young workers and high school students, heard Comrade Gould speak on "If War Comes Tomorrow." Comrade Gould related to the enthusiastic audience the panic that hit the working class of Europe during the days of the Munich Conference and described the foundation congress of the Fourth International and of its youth section.

The preparations for the meeting were carried out by the Chicago District of the Y.P.S.L. under great difficulties. Three youth comrades were arrested on the West Side for pasting up leaflets announcing the meeting. Two other Y.P.S.L. members were picked up by the police for distributing the leaflets in front of a West Side high school.

U.S. Japanese Clash Due Over Nine-Power Treaty

Free the P.O.U.M. Leaders!

Fourth International Lashes G.P.U. Trial in Barcelona

The Fourth International is throwing the full weight of its world organization into arousing the widest possible protest against the savage sentences meted out to P.O.U.M. leaders at the trial which concluded in Barcelona last week.

The trial, patently a frame-up, engineered by the G.P.U., resulted in prison terms ranging from 11 to 15 years for five of the leaders of the P.O.U.M.: Julien Gorkin, Juan Andrade, Jordi Aquer, Pedro Ponet and Enrique Gironella.

Statement of I. S.

The newspapers have announced the opening in Barcelona of the trial of the P.O.U.M. accused of collusion with fascism and of conspiracy against the republican institutions. The Fourth International, to which the P.O.U.M. is not affiliated, has always voiced the most vigorous protest against any repetition of the Moscow trials on the soil of Republican Spain. It points out that after more than a year of postponements, during which time it has been amply proved that only forgeries and provocations characteristic of the work of Yagoda and Yezhov, have been the basis of the lying accusation of collusion of the P.O.U.M. with fascism, that the Negrin government decided to stage a trial.

The Negrin government has agreed to submit to the compromise with fascism (arbitration) desired by Chamberlain. It has expelled the courageous international phalanxes who were the first to stand against Franco and his minions, the first elements of whom had been organized by the P.O.U.M. in July, 1936. At the very time when this compromise of "democracies" is making ready to deliver workers' Spain to reaction and dictatorship, the government is staging a trial based on patent forgeries against a Socialist workers' party.

"No serious guarantees have been granted the defendants, only daily slanders in preparation for the trial. Only international working class protest has forced the opening of the sessions. But to date the government has denied foreign defense attorneys and an independent labor commission access to the trial.

"The Barcelona trial can have no other meaning than that of political revenge. But the slanders and the wretched provocations of the Stalinist agents there will be exposed through action of the international working class. Already, the G.P.U. has assassinated Andres Nin, one of the leaders of the P.O.U.M. At the same time, legal action based on various forgeries has also been instituted against the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninist group (Munis, Carlini, Rodriguez and others).

"Just as Yezhov is collapsing under the weight of the internal reaction he has unleashed, so the P.O.U.M. trial must mark a decisive halt to gangsterism in the labor movement. The sentiment of all honest workers will be ranged on the side of the Barcelona defendants who are guilty only of having kept alive the socialist faith in the heart of the Catalan proletariat.

"Secretariat of the Fourth International."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

CLUB IN YORKVILLE willing to rent its headquarters to other organizations four days a week. Seating capacity, 75. Please write to "Yorkville Club," care of Socialist Appeal.

ATTENTION—READERS OF THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

You only have two weeks left in which to greet the Tenth National Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League, which is being held in Chicago during the Thanksgiving weekend. Send in your greetings NOW—\$1, \$3, \$5 or \$10 for the Convention Program Book to the National Convention Arrangements Committee, 160 N. Wells St., Room 308, Chicago, Ill. Ensure yourself of a copy of our attractive Program Book and enroll yourself amongst the supporters of the revolutionary youth movement in America. National Convention Arrangements Committee

VETERANS PICKET FOR BLACKWELL

Members of the Veterans of the Spanish Revolution, newly-organized body of returned veterans from the Spanish war front, joined last Saturday in a demonstration in front of the Spanish Consulate in New York City demanding the immediate release of Russell Blackwell, American anti-Fascist held prisoner by the G. P. U. in Barcelona. The demonstration also called for full democratic rights for working class militants now being hounded by the Loyalist regime.

The veterans also wired the Spanish Embassy to the same effect and in a further message to the State Department demanded its intervention on behalf of Blackwell.

Among those present at the organization meeting last week of the Veterans of the Spanish Revolution were representatives of the 29th Division, the 31st Division, the 15th Brigade Staff of the 15th Division, an aviator from the Air Corps, a member of the Garibaldi Brigade, and a representative of the 35th Division.

C.N.T. DELEGATE SUPPORTS AID TO BLACKWELL

Vigorous repudiation of Spanish G.P.U. charges that Russell Negrete Blackwell was an American spy and a counter-revolutionist were cabled to Barcelona last week by Maximiliano Olay, American representative of the Spanish C.N.T., anarchist trade union federation.

Carlo Tresca, well-known anti-Fascist leader and editor of *Il Martello*, seconded Olay's cable with a message of his own declaring that Blackwell was being framed by the Stalinist G.P.U. in Spain.

Fresh Charges
These messages were sent following receipt of a letter from Secretary Inigo of the C.N.T. in Barcelona giving information of fresh charges against Blackwell.

Blackwell, an American militant, was released by Spanish authorities last summer but was kidnapped on Aug. 1 by G.P.U. agents from the boat upon which he had been placed by the American vice-consul for repatriation via France. He has been held incommunicado ever since.

Secretary Inigo wrote that the Military Investigation Service now charged:

"Agent 29" that Blackwell was Trotsky's secretary; that he was the author of various books of "Trotskyite tendency";

that he was "sent to Spain to promote the counter-revolution in combination with United States authorities, to whose espionage service he belonged as Number 29. The C.N.T. secretary said the charges were false in order that it could continue with its efforts in Blackwell's behalf.

Olay's Cable
Olay cabled at once in return: "Blackwell not a spy, well-known in revolutionary circles, person of integrity, letter with information follows." Tresca's cable was: "Blackwell not counter-revolutionary, not spy, but framed by Stalinists."

To this it may be added that Blackwell was never Trotsky's secretary, never even met Trotsky, and is the author of no books.

The American Vice Consul in Barcelona informed the State Department in the early stages of the case that the chief of the secret police there had described Blackwell to him as a "dangerous revolutionary."

Stalinist Slanders
The Stalinist press charged him with being a Fascist spy. In the recent trial of the P.O.U.M. leaders he, together with James Maxton, John McNair, and Fenner Brockway, leaders of the British Independent Labor Party, was accused of being an agent of the Nazi Gestapo and the OVRA, Mussolini's secret service.

"If all the charges against him are combined," said Mrs. Edna Blackwell, his wife, "he is everybody's spy except the G.P.U.'s. This shows clearly who is making the charges."

Washington Delegation
On November 4 the Blackwell Defense Committee sent Liston M. Oak and Edna Blackwell to the State Department in an effort to find out the exact charges against Blackwell and what the Department is doing to obtain his release and repatriation. They learned that a cable had been received on Nov. 3 from the Charge d'Affaires at Barcelona, Walter C.

Spanish Trotskyists Demand Their Trial Be Open

BARCELONA, Oct. 13—The trial of Munis, Carlini, Rodriguez and the other Bolshevik-Leninists scheduled for Oct. 5 was postponed, on the request of their attorneys, to the beginning of November. The two attorneys, obtained finally after much difficulty, were finally permitted to examine the briefs.

At the same time comrades Fernandez and Sans, accused in the same trial, were released. The liberation of these comrades blows up the G.P.U. frame-up against the others still awaiting trial. According to the indictment, Fernandez was accused of having held the alleged victim while Munis shot him.

Below are demands made by Munis, Carlini and Rodriguez, held on charges punishable by death, in an open letter addressed to Gonzalez Pena, Minister of Justice and to the President of the Generality of Catalonia. The letter which exposes the work of Stalinist agents such as Mendez and of police "pressure" which forced a "confession" from Luis Zanon, one of the defendants, ends with the following demands:

Demands of Defendants

- "1. A public trial with the right of participation especially for national and international labor organizations;
- "2. That the conclusions of the prosecutor be submitted to us as soon as possible as well as the points of the indictment so we may be able to refute them and present all the necessary evidence;
- "3. That as a preliminary, Luis Zanon be called upon to make a new and truthful declaration, and a guarantee against any violence against him;
- "4. That the Commissioner General Mendez be summoned to court in order that he may be freely questioned by the defendants;
- "5. The right of a defense for the foreigners, by a foreign attorney who must be given a passport so he can enter Spain and then be guaranteed the right to free examination.

Thurston, to the effect that Minister of State of the Spanish Republic Government, Alvarez del Vayo, and Minister of Justice, Gonzalez Pena, had stated to him that "legal difficulties" were still to be overcome.

Mrs. Blackwell urged the State Department to take more drastic action for her husband's release and stated that she feared delay might be fatal in view of the assassination of Andres Nin, Camillo Berneri and Mark Rein, and the disappearance of Erwin Wolf and others. Mrs. Blackwell pointed out that if del Vayo and Pena favored her husband's release it can only mean that the Communist Party and the G.P.U. are blocking it and trying to frame him.

Telegram to Hull

Simultaneously with Mrs. Blackwell's visit to the State Department, Cordell Hull received a telegram from Norman Thomas, John Dewey, John Dos Passos, Anita Brenner, Max Eastman, James O'Neal, Carlo Tresca, Lewis Corey, Suzanne LaFollette, Gerry Allard, Roy E. Burt and others in which they pointed out the danger to Blackwell's life from the Communist Party and urged the State Department "to take renewed and emphatic action to obtain his release and repatriation." The Veterans of the Spanish Revolution, an organization of men who fought in the Loyalist trenches, sent a similar telegram.

The Blackwell Defense Committee which consists of men and women who are active in almost every tendency of the labor movement is mobilizing support for Blackwell's defense among labor organizations and unions. At present it is appealing for funds which should be sent to the Committee at Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Y.P.S.L. Mass Convention Rally

The Tenth National Convention will open in Chicago on Wednesday evening, Nov. 23 at the Hotel Majestic, 29 W. Quincy, with a monster mass meeting on "What Next—American Youth?" Speakers—James P. Cannon, Martin Abern, Nathan Gould, Hal Draper, Ernest Erber. Chairman—Irving Bern.

Tokyo Hopes For Far Eastern Munich Pact

But Big-Navy Man Roosevelt Prepares Steadily for War as Diplomatic Conflict Grows Acute

Japanese imperialism has declared diplomatic war on its rivals in China, primarily the United States.

Through the Tokyo press and by broad implications in a speech delivered last week by Premier Konoye, Japan has indicated that it intends to junk the Nine-Power Treaty in much the same fashion as Germany has succeeded in junking the Treaty of Versailles.

The result has been an acute sharpening of the Japanese-American antagonism which is destined to flare out into the open in the near future.

What the Pact Is

The Nine-Power pact was concluded in Washington in February, 1922, at the same conference which established the 5-5-3 naval ratio for the United States, Britain, and Japan. The pact represented the diplomatic instrument whereby American and British imperialism restrained the voracious appetite of their younger imperialist rival, Japan. It guaranteed the "territorial integrity and administrative sovereignty of China." It also guaranteed what is called the "Open Door."

Japanese Pressure

In the last seven years Japan has already slashed the provisions of that treaty to pieces. It dismembered China, taking over first Manchuria, then North China, and in the most recent phase of its imperialist expansionist drive, has occupied the entire coast, all the railroads, and principal waterways in Central and South China. This has been accompanied by systematic pressure against rival foreign trade interests and investments. What happened in Manchuria—where rival foreigners were gradually forced out of business altogether—has begun to happen in China proper. Throughout this period the United States has made the diplomatic record with a series of sharp diplomatic protests. The most recent was a note delivered in Tokyo on Oct. 6—published on Oct. 29—detailing Japanese inroads on American business privileges and sharply demanding adjustments. This note Tokyo has taken its own good time in answering. Meanwhile it has made it plain that it considers the "privileges" of other Powers in China quite obsolete and that it expects to substitute for the Nine Power pact a new bloc uniting China, Japan, and Manchukuo, with the benevolent participation of Germany and Italy.

Where We Stand

With this quarrel among thieves, the American workers have nothing in common: Remember that Roosevelt and U. S. imperialism are not one whit interested in liberating China from the imperialist yoke. The conflict toward which this country is heading in the Pacific will be fought to establish American control over markets which will guarantee super-profits to American capitalists, not freedom to the Chinese masses.

We have no interest in fighting our bosses' fight against Japan. The workers and peasants in China, and in Japan, will take care of Japanese imperialism, if we know how to take care of our own class of war-makers, our own bosses who can offer us war as their only way out of the crisis that condemns millions to starve. Our enemy is in our own country!

LIMA CONFERENCE WILL SEAL LATIN AMERICAN PACTS

(Continued from Page 1)

ton considers itself the capital of the entire hemisphere and is making its war plans accordingly. Only recently Admiral William D. Leahy, chief of naval operations, bluntly said that the South American coasts formed a vital element in the plans of the American navy. It is not a question of "good neighborliness." It is a question of maintaining the undisputed hegemony of American capitalism on both continents.

Foreign Trade Convention

This, too, was the principal theme of the annual convention of the National Foreign Trade Convention held in New York City last week. The German, Japanese, and Italian threats to American trade supremacy in Latin America almost entirely dominated the deliberations of the hard-headed business men concerned with expanding their trade and increasing their profits.

James Carson, vice-president of the American and Foreign Power Co., declared that "our country and our commerce with the southern republics is confronted with a new set of conditions which call for energy and resourcefulness if we are to maintain our position of leadership in inter-American affairs." Richard C. Patterson, assistant secretary of Commerce, said: "We are entering a period of intensive competition for the Latin American markets."

Interests Involved

The extent and importance of these interests was emphasized

and that the United States would continue to insist upon its "rights" in China.

New Phase Opens

This marks the beginning of a new phase in the diplomatic preliminaries to the eventual Japanese-American clash in the Pacific. Japanese imperialism considers that its conquest of China has proceeded far enough to force recognition from the other Powers of Japan's "special" (i.e., exclusive) position in the Far East. It is preparing to set up a puppet Central Government in the conquered territory—or rather, along the conquered lines of communication—and is reportedly planning to put Wu Pei-fu, one-time tool of British imperialism in China, at its head. With this government it apparently intends to establish brand new treaty relations which will wipe out the previous treaties imposed upon China by the powers granting the latter economic and political privileges which Japan now expects to preempt for its own exclusive enjoyment.

This Japan is not going to do without meeting strenuous opposition from the Roosevelt administration. The British Empire is in decline and striving desperately to save itself. That is why Chamberlain signed the Munich pact and why he is trying also to come to some terms with the Japanese. But Roosevelt is the spokesman for American imperialism, which is systematically preparing to dominate the Pacific and the entire world. He is not likely to sign a Japanese Munich accord. American resistance to Japanese ambitions in Eastern Asia will eventually lead this country into war with Japan. That is what the U. S. Navy is openly preparing for. Meanwhile on the diplomatic and economic fronts, the early stages of this war are now being fought or anticipated.

Someone in the crowd proposed a procession to the grave of Comrade Dauge's father, at whose knee Dauge had first learned of the workers' struggle for emancipation. Lines spontaneously formed and wended their way through the commune, greeted enthusiastically by workers everywhere. Hundreds joined the march. Large delegations were present from neighboring towns, from Cuesmes, Jemappes, La Bouverie, Quaregnon, Wasmuel, Hornu, Egbes, and Frameries.

Fighting Program

Later a grand meeting was held, presided over by Comrade Fiandroit. Comrade Dauge analyzed the results of the poll, locally and on a national scale. He pointed out that the small successes we had won had been secured in the face of a formidable coalition which used political slander as its chief weapon.

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BELGIAN FOURTH INT'L CANDIDATES SCORE AT POLLS

(Continued from Page 1)

ents against supporting the revolutionists.

Preserved "Peace"

The pro-government parties waged their campaign on the platform of the preservation of "peace." By and large the electorate fell victim to this duplicity. But the significant thing is that the Liberals and the Catholics were the chief gainers and the Labor Party the principal loser. Once more a Labor Party has assumed charge of a bourgeois government in order to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the bourgeoisie! The masses were duped into believing that the national union would save Belgium from the threatening war.

It will be the job of the Revolutionary Socialist Party to show them that this is a vain illusion, that Belgium will not reap peace but war from the rule of its capitalist regime and that the only way out is the revolutionary war, the only way to fight imperialist war is to fight the war-makers, the capitalist class.

The day after the election the workers of the Borinage and surrounding districts staged an enthusiastic demonstration to celebrate the Revolutionary Socialist Party's victories. When Comrade Walter Dauge emerged from the party headquarters he was greeted by a great crowd and literally covered with flowers. A band of local musicians, who had spontaneously offered their services, played the "Internationale" and other workers' songs which were sung lustily. Two young girls, members of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth at Wasmuel, brought congratulations and flowers in the name of their section.

Dauge Honored

The demonstration, Dauge said in reply was "being held simply under the banner of revolutionary socialism and the broadest proletarian united front against capitalism, fascism and war."

Someone in the crowd proposed a procession to the grave of Comrade Dauge's father, at whose knee Dauge had first learned of the workers' struggle for emancipation. Lines spontaneously formed and wended their way through the commune, greeted enthusiastically by workers everywhere. Hundreds joined the march. Large delegations were present from neighboring towns, from Cuesmes, Jemappes, La Bouverie, Quaregnon, Wasmuel, Hornu, Egbes, and Frameries.

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Let's Remember The Armistice!

(Continued from Page 1)

throw of the war-mongers and their social system, capitalism, which breeds war—

REMEMBER that the German ruling class decided to sue for peace only after the millions of German workers and peasants in soldier's uniform resolved to stop murdering their French and English brothers and to turn their guns instead upon their Junker officers and their own ruling class.

And as the new world war threatens—the new war which would be infinitely more horrible and destructive than any in history—

REMEMBER the Armistice,

REMEMBER the lies of capitalism which drove the masses into the war that led to the Armistice,

REMEMBER the frightful "peace" which came after the Armistice,

REMEMBER that only the independent action of the working class, that only the war of the masses upon the war-mongering rulers, can put an end, really and once for all, to wars in general.

In the great class war between the exploited and exploiter, the oppressed and the oppressor, there is neither armistice nor peace.

It is only by our victory, only by smashing capitalism and its ugly offspring, war, that the socialist society can be ushered in, and along with it abundance for all men, freedom from all social iniquity, and a true and lasting peace!

Lovestone Comes Out For Boss Candidates In Poll

In a brazen editorial featured in the November 5th issue of *Workers Age*, the Lovestone group has come out into the open for support not only of the full American Labor Party ticket, but of the Democratic Party's gubernatorial candidates in both Michigan and California.

Support of the full A.L.P. ticket in New York means voting for Lehman, Poletti, Wagner and Mead, as well as for several dozen other lesser Democratic and Republican candidates placed on the A.L.P. slate through the shameful deals of the A.L.P. officials.

This sell-out of the interests of genuinely independent working class politics, hypocritically justified by claiming that a straight A.L.P. vote will help to strengthen and build the party for the future, pales into insignificance, however, beside the policy advocated for Michigan and California.

Support Imperialist Party

In neither of these States is there even the semblance of an existing Labor Party. Murphy and Olson are the candidates of the Democratic Party, the party of Hague and Cotton Ed Smith and Nash and Kelly, the reigning party of American imperialism, and of no other party. Voting for Murphy and Olson is voting for that party, for Hagueism, for Roosevelt's armament program and his approaching war.

Lovestone has been making a

big noise this past year about his opposition to the Popular Front and the Democratic Front. As usual with centrists, this opposition turns out to be nothing but words used as a cover for opportunistic actions. Supporting Murphy and Olson is, in fact, the Democratic Front pushed to an extreme that it seldom reached even in the nations of its original application.

Belly-Scraping Opportunism

Nevertheless, the Lovestone position on Murphy and Olson is not just an editorial accident. It follows logically from the "American approach" line formulated by Herberg for the recent Convention of the Lovestone organization. Here, as everywhere, Lovestone tries to hold on to a little roost for his clique by adapting himself to the current whims of the trade union bureaucracy. It is for Murphy and Olson. By acting as radical office boy, and delivering the good word to the "advanced workers," Lovestone figures he can win tolerance for his followers and perhaps pick up a post or two—as he did for a brief while in his late-lamented experiences in the U.A.W.

By his present action, Lovestone places himself squarely among the enemies of the movement for a genuine and independent party of the workers, and aligns himself with those whose whole aim is to prevent that movement from reaching healthy fruition.

Roosevelt Bids Welcome To Butcher of Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

men had been ripped out by pinners, the bones of their skulls had been crushed by the pressure of a twisted wire, their arms had been broken at the elbows and their legs at the ankles."

"Fifty Spanish-born Cubans were seized en masse in the meeting hall of the Socialist Circle. Cooped up in the Castillo del Principe for more than a month, they were made to sleep on a concrete floor without bedding or cover and were not permitted to communicate with the Spanish consul. Prison officials amused themselves by making them run around and around a narrow room, shouting 'Vive Mussolini' and 'Vive Hitler' until they would drop from exhaustion. Several of the more stubborn were forced to kiss pictures of Mussolini until they fell bleeding."

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imprisoned by Batista in his murderous drive against the Cuban trade union movement. These, Pincus said, were only a fraction of hundreds that could be named. Batista's attack on the unions after the 1935 general strike was described in the following passage:

"Batista's murder gangs physically destroyed all union headquarters, all workers' centers on the heels of the 1935 general strike. Files and correspondence were heaped in the streets and set afire. Windows were smashed, walls leveled, and typewriters and mimeograph machines crumpled by axes. Following Hitler's and Mussolini's example, decrees-law declared all union funds to be state property."

Unions Smashed

This is the record of the "democrat" Batista, the "man of the people" Batista! This is the honored guest of today at Roosevelt's White House. This is the new hero of the Stalinist New Yorker!

We say: Out with Batista! Our solidarity is with the Cuban working masses whom he rules by naked terror, by the gun, the knife, the whip. Let workers who still have illusions about Roosevelt, "friend of the working class," realize that Wall Street dollars in Latin America are Roosevelt's main concern, not the interests of the workers there or at home.

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The "Kingmaker's" Friends

JERSEY CITY, N. J., Nov. 6.—Halling Frank Hague as "your leader and my leader," William H. J. Ely, Democratic candidate for U. S. Senate, told 3,000 persons gathered here today that "he will not find me wanting when he wants me."

"... I think I can say," Mr. Ely continued, "that the people of this state are wholeheartedly behind the greatest humanitarian we have had in the White House—Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I have pledged myself to support the kind of government we have had in the past six years."

At the close of Mr. Ely's address, James A. Hamill, City Corporation Council, who was chairman of the rally, announced:

"The next speaker will be the man who makes United States Senators and other officers, big and small—the kingmaker—our Mayor, Frank Hague."—News Item.

This little incident speaks a mouthful about the catchwords of labor leaders, Stalinists and liberal capitalist politicians: "Roosevelt Against Reaction! Support New Deal Candidates to Defend Democracy!"

The speech of Hague's picked candidate was return payment to Roosevelt for the administration stamp of approval placed upon him by First Secretary of War Woodring and Postmaster Farley. It is the other side of the dirty deal of the New Deal with the Vice-Chairman of the Democratic Party.

"Let me rule Jersey as I please, for the benefit of my machine and Big Business," says the Hudson County Hitler, "and I will deliver you the votes and the candidates in Congress."

Every worker, every militant anti-fascist, who has been taught to rely on the White House in the fight against Hagueism, can now see what the score is:

Roosevelt and his party back Hague. Roosevelt is not against this vicious reactionary but behind him! Hague's gang is not against Roosevelt but behind him! Roosevelt is not with the workers and labor's democratic rights in New Jersey but against them!

Faced with this situation, the officers of Labor's Non-Partisan League half-supported Barbour, the Republican candidate for Senate, who is no less reactionary than his Democratic opponent. Despite this prostration of the C.I.O. leaders before the capitalist parties, the workers of New Jersey have been given the opportunity to vote a genuine labor ticket by the Socialist Worker's Party. With the modest means at their disposal, the candidates of our party through the program published in their paper "The Worker's Voice" have given expression to the desire of the enlightened workers in the state for militant and independent working class action on the political arena.

While the present electoral campaign has shown that the workers cannot struggle against Hagueism politically by relying upon either of the capitalist parties, the recent decision of Federal Judge Clarke in the famous "free-speech" case of the C.I.O. and the American Civil Liberties Union has demonstrated that they cannot conduct an effective fight against Hagueism by relying upon the capitalist courts.

The decision of this "liberal" judge actually legalized a form of modified censorship against free speech in Jersey City!

First, it did not grant the C.I.O. the right to use the streets for meetings, although Hague's henchmen freely enjoy that right.

Second, the decision gives Hague censorship and control over all planned meetings by suggesting that he demand an advance copy of all speeches. This enables him to refuse a permit on the ground that the speaker might provoke a riot.

Finally, the learned jurist left Hague free to coerce private ball-owners and prevent them from renting rooms to any of his enemies.

This decision, hailed as a "victory" by the C.I.O. leaders, the liberals, and Stalinists, was in reality a partial victory for Hague. But Hague is not content with such partial triumphs. This despot will not permit even this concession to

Hague has already shown his respect for the courts and the law by revoking a permit for a Socialist street meeting where Norman Thomas was scheduled to speak. Hague is a realistic representative of reactionary anti-labor interests. He knows that a legal decision is not worth the paper it's written on without the power to enforce it. So long as he retains possession of the police, the city administration, the state courts, and the state government, he is safe. If these agencies fail, he can always call upon his hired mobsters to break up meetings and assault workers.

He is the law because he controls the power of enforcement.

The workers of New Jersey and all their sincere supporters should learn from the conduct of their adversary that laws can be enforced and "liberalism" within his domain. rights defended only by those who depend upon their own strength.

There is only one power in New Jersey capable of enforcing any court decision in favor of free speech—

There is only one force that can undermine and overthrow Hagueism and restore their democratic rights to the people of New Jersey—

That is the power inherent in the working class, mobilized against the bosses in their own party on the political field, organized into their trade-unions on the economic field, and equipped with such a militant program of action as that proposed in "The Worker's Voice."

Duranty Scents the Trail

Preparing the ground for Stalin's attempt to come to an agreement with Hitler, Walter Duranty, unofficial mouthpiece for the Kremlin, has headed east from Paris and is now engaged in broadcasting a series of articles to the world press. From all indications, Duranty is already several laps ahead of the *Daily Worker*, which is still dragging behind it a good share of the pre-Munich baggage.

The most illuminating of Duranty's articles, dated from Warsaw, appeared in the *Times* of November 4. It must have given Earl Browder a sleepless night and a bad case of the jitters.

Lo and behold! Wizard Duranty, in the short space of a month, has discovered—keep a tight grip, children, and don't jump out of your chairs when the gun goes off—that Germany, Hitler's Germany, of course, has become: the great guardian of peace.

But this is a typical, Trotskyist-fascist counter-revolutionary slander! Everybody in the modern world of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern knows that the ultimate conflict in civilization is between fascism, especially Nazism which is the most vicious form of fascism, and democracy; and everybody knows that Nazism is the aggressor and the war-maker, and that the democracies alone want peace.

Sorry! That belongs to another chapter. "Europe . . ." writes Duranty, "still thinks in pre-Munich terms and dreams romantic dreams . . ." Germany is going to correct all this, "because it needs clearance of the post-Versailles rubbish. . . ." "Post-Versailles rubbish"? Yes, Duranty talking.

"By allowing Hungary to recover by the Vienna award such towns and communications as Ruthenia possesses, the Germans have effectively neutralized that potentially trouble-making country. Which is immensely significant because it appears to mean that Germany no longer wishes to make trouble or fish in troubled waters."

"Until Munich, the threat of war and war's alarm and what has now become the 'racket' of stirring up national minorities to seek self-determination were among Chancellor Hitler's major cards in the international game. But Munich changed all that and suddenly transformed Germany from a 'have-not' power, which had nothing to lose by strife and confusion and much to gain, to a 'have' power, which needs time and tranquility to digest and develop not merely what has already been swallowed, but the far greater possibilities that are ahead."

What has happened to Nazism "that meant war"? Nazism, need it be mentioned, is not once referred to in the dispatch. And it is unkind to recall that until a month ago, in the Dimitrov-Litvinov, pre-Munich days, the theory of "have" and "have-not" nations was a heresy sufficient to send a Soviet subject to the firing squad?

Then the summary: "That and no other is the meaning of the Ruthenian settlement. It declares to those who have ears to hear that Germany henceforth wants peace." And Duranty's ears, God knows, are long enough.

Let us hope that the ears of Browder, Hathaway, Foster and Ford and Amter, are equally sensitive. If not, if they persist in keeping their noses down in all that "post-Versailles rubbish" of the Seventh Congress, they may, alas, soon find themselves on the skids where even now Dimitrov and Litvinov are so rapidly sliding.

Reporting For More Duty, Sir!



RECOVERY: Industry Re-Geared Not For Plenty But For War

Government money poured into the drying channels of industry has succeeded in bringing about a brief upturn in the declining curve of American capitalism.

But the "recovery" toward which the Roosevelt administration is heading is not recovery for peace and plenty but recovery for war.

It is on this basis that Roosevelt is coming to satisfactory terms with Big Business.

It is on this basis that the American industrial machine is now being geared for the gigantic effort that will be required or it when the day comes—and it is not far off!—for American imperialism to assert its world supremacy by force of arms.

Arms and Recovery

Henceforth the administration arms program and economic "recovery" will march hand in hand. Capital expenditure on a large scale—\$1,000,000,000 in electric power plants alone—will be devoted almost exclusively to the needs of the war machine.

There has already been ample indication that the army and navy air budget for next year will be the largest in American peacetime history. The outlay for naval construction, for increasing the army to a force of 400,000 men, and for building an air fleet which, it was intimated last week, will be eventually increased to 10,000 planes, will be well over \$1,000,000,000.

But this is only a small fraction of the actual sums that will be applied on the industrial field for direct war purposes. The Associated Press recently issued a study based upon the opinion of business leaders which concluded that the arms budget of \$1,000,000,000 would actually lead to the expenditure of about \$5,000,000,000 on the industrial front during the next 15 months.

Utilities Expansion

This will include unbudgeted Federal loans and private capital applied to the industrial reorganization called for by the President's power plans and by the army survey recently made of 10,000 plants. In many of the latter government funds will be made available for plant transformations for wartime needs.

The first and most grandiose plan under this heading is the expansion of electric power facilities. Following publication of the report of Roosevelt's National Defense Power Committee, it was announced last week that the first stages of the new plan would be carried out at once. The objective is the construction of plants capable of generating 1,000,000 additional kilowatts in 15 "strategic war material centers."

This plan, according to the *Journal of Commerce*, will involve the expenditure of about \$500,000,000 in the next two years. Jesse Jones, chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, announced on Nov. 2 that he was prepared to issue loans immediately for half that amount to get the program started.

Other Lines Affected

This program of course will immediately affect other major

lines of industry. Boiler makers, electrical manufacturing companies, oil companies, and allied lines, will all receive an invigorating shot in the arm. Chicago Edison and Standard Oil both announced vast expansion programs a few days after the publication of the utilities program. The former announced a new capital outlay of \$75,000,000 during the next two years. Standard Oil's expansion will increase its capital expenditure by \$195,000,000 this year. Other lines will shortly be following suit.

The retreat of the railroads from the wage cut proposal was obviously conditioned upon a large scale Government-financing plan for pulling them out of the hole and this, too, is an important part of the war program.

Wall Street Pleased

Wall street has naturally reacted with pleasure to this development over the likelihood that "the Administration's national defense program may lead to an early marked expansion in capital expenditures," the *Journal of Commerce* added that this program, "it is hoped, will lead to the modification of other Government policies that have been regarded as decidedly inimical to business."

This large-scale spending for war can be expected to give an additional spurt to the upswing which began last Spring and Summer as a result of government "pump priming." It is not difficult to demonstrate that government spending was the basis of the turn. It is equally easy to show that the "recovery" thus achieved is temporary and deceptive, that it cannot arrest the declining curve of American capitalism. That is why it is necessary for the ruling class, represented by the Roosevelt Administration in Washington, to prepare for war, war for a re-division of the world's spoils and the world's markets.

Order of Upturn

The most striking feature of the upturn is the fact that it began not in the capital goods industries but in the consumption goods industries. Building construction began to rise out of the depths of the first quarter of 1938 as early as March. Consumption goods industries generally, with textiles as the main sustaining force, began to climb out of the doldrums in April, rising from their low point of that month by 20% in October. While these curves were rising, capital goods industries were still declining, hitting their low in June when the index of capital goods output was 54.6 (1926=100). In that month a general rise in production, stimulated by the upward swing in the consumption lines, began to take place. Steel led the way, steel ingot production rising 26 points between June and September. Automobiles lagged, but finally joined the parade in August and are now booming.

Artificial Stimulation

This order of recovery is extremely illuminating. Previously the capital goods industries had always led the way up from declines, increasing their output first, stimulating purchasing power, and thereby stimulating the consumption goods industries. But that was when American capitalism still had room to grow in. Since 1929 it has had no more room but has been declining steadily.

Election Results Show Need of a Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1) class must hold itself in check, must not put forward its own independent class aims and program, in order "not to alienate the middle classes" is once more disproven by the facts.

The middle classes, seeing the working class wandering along without a program of its own, submitting to the exploded and collapsing demagoguery of the New Deal, pinning all faith in those who for six years have produced nothing but a continuance of 12,000,000 unemployed and plans for a war, draws an appropriate conclusion, and swings to the side which at any rate speaks in a loud and determined voice.

New Deal Explodes

The political prophets of the bourgeois press will interpret the elections as the sign of a great "shift to the right." In this there is at the most half a truth. The full truth is that the masses seek a solution for the impasse into which they have been led. The New Deal promised such a solution. But six years have proved that its promises are false, that poverty, insecurity, unemployment, the threat of war are just as prominent in 1938 as in 1932.

Beginning their disillusionment with the New Deal, the masses now demand another and clearer answer. They turn to the official leadership of labor, and that leadership has no reply: it repeats the promises of 1932, but those promises have already proved their hollowness in action.

The Choice Ahead

Consequently, the only choice left is: to seek in the other camp a road out of the impasse. But the choice is sharper now. It is not to the easy ways of Coolidge and Harding that they can return. Reaction must draw now from

the weapons of barbarism, from anti-unionism as in the West, from anti-Semitism as in New York, from racial chauvinism as in South Carolina and Georgia. Reaction, that is to say, must today head toward the ideology and methods of fascism.

These elections are an omen of vast import for every worker in the United States. The "shift to the right" which they record is the direct consequence of the failure of labor to organize its own forces. And this shift is even greater than it seems, for it is accompanied by the subordination of labor to the politics of its own class enemy.

How can the workers and their allies be drawn into determined struggle when they are corralled into a vote for Lehman, eighteenth in the list of America's sixty families? How can labor take itself seriously when, in Pennsylvania, it is told to send into office the very men who, last Spring in the primaries, were correctly pointed to as the bitter and uncompromising enemies of labor? How, in Minnesota, can labor and its friends be expected to sweep Benson into office when Benson himself spends his time trying to prove that he is as devoted to things as they are as his opponent, Stassen?

The lesson of the elections is plain and unmistakable. The day of the New Deal is drawing to a close in just the same way as in 1929 the Fordist New Era of capitalism departed. But now the time is shorter. The division into the re-formed armies of Right and Left must now take place. Labor must now cast the New Deal from its shoulders; it must proceed independently, audaciously, with its own program, its own organization, its own methods; or it must admit defeat in advance.

Statement on Diego Rivera

In reply to a misunderstanding with respect to the resolution adopted by the Fourth International at its founding conference in September, 1938, on the situation in the Mexican section and the relations of Comrade Diego Rivera thereto, the All-American-Pacific Bureau of the Fourth International makes the following statement:

The decision with regard to Comrade Diego Rivera's membership in the Fourth International was in no sense taken as a sanction against him, for which there was no occasion or justification, since Rivera's devotion and loyalty to the Fourth International and its program have never been brought into question.

The decision on the reorganization of the Mexican section was not calculated to eliminate Comrade Rivera from the Mexican section of the Fourth International, much less to prohibit him from maintaining such membership. Rather, the suggestion made, in full agreement with Comrade Rivera, was that, in view of the exceptional circum-

stances created in the Mexican section, he should have the right not to belong, provisionally—that is, until the life of the section has once more reached a normal stage—into the Mexican section, and devote himself essentially to revolutionary political work on an All-American scale.

It is towards this end that the decision of the International Conference provided that Comrade Rivera's membership and activity be under the direct responsibility and control of the All-American-Pacific Bureau of which he is a member.

Whether Comrade Rivera joins the Mexican section, now in the process of reorganization, immediately or at a later time, has been left entirely in the hands of Comrade Rivera himself, in agreement with the representative of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International assigned to work in Mexico. His full membership in our movement remains, however, fully in effect and unimpaired. Nov. 8, 1938.

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Socialist Workers Party
New International
Socialist Appeal

S. W. P. MEMBERSHIP MEETING

A general membership meeting of the Socialist Workers Party of New York will be held Saturday, Nov. 13, 8:30 p. m. at Irving Plaza Hall, 15th St. and Irving Place. The meeting is called for a discussion of the Jewish question, the problem of organizing a struggle against it. All party members are urged to attend.

MASS MEETING NOVEMBER 13

CELEBRATE

the 21st Anniversary of the ten days that shook the world with the only organization that remains true to the October Revolution

Speakers: Max Shachtman - - Maurice Spector

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13 — at 8 P. M.

Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street

Admission 15¢

Auspices: LOCAL N. Y., S.W.P. (4th International)