

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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LET THE REFUGEES INTO U.S.!

SWP Polls 6700 Votes In Jersey

Outruns S. P. And Comes Close to Stalinists

CREWS LEADS PARTY TICKET

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

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

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

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

Negro Candidate High The high vote of the S.W.P. was obtained by Willis Crews, veteran Negro fighter, candidate for State Assembly. The Stalinist opposing him managed to get a slightly higher vote, 7,409, while the Socialist Party which had so haughtily refused a united front ticket early in the campaign, showed that it was heading for oblivion fast by polling an average of 1,950 votes for its ticket for Assembly.

In the vote for State Senator, the Stalinist polled 2,243 votes; Frank Shapiro of the S.W.P., a W.P.A. laborer, 1,672 votes; the S.P., 1,061 votes.

But it was in the two Congressional Districts where the Stalinists have their chief strength in the state that the most encouraging results were obtained.

Polls More Than Stalinist In the 12th Congressional District, Irving Rosenberg, S.W.P., C.I.O. trade unionist, got 2,020 votes; the Stalinist, 767 votes; the S.P., 460.

In the 11th Congressional District, Reuben Plaskett, militant young unemployed leader, polled 574 votes to the C.P. candidate's 564. This is the district where the C.P. has been working for 15 years to win some foothold among the colored workers! And where the S.P. knew enough not to run anyone.

In the vote for U.S. Senator, where the S.W.P. ran no candidate but gave critical support to the S.P., Palangio, he received 1,653 votes to the Stalinist Norman's 1,380.

Puppet UAW Board Hits Union Rights, Democracy

Bans Auto Workers Paper, Slams Big Tax on Members, Hands Slush Fund to Officers, Hits W.P.A. Auxiliary

By JOHN ADAMSON DETROIT.—The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America, meeting in Washington, D. C., moved to Pittsburgh this week to continue its sessions and to attend the C.I.O. convention.



LAZARO CARDENAS

PRES. CARDENAS RAPS ATTACKS ON TROTSKY ASYLUM

Sharply Repudiates Toledano Charges Against Exile

Special to the Socialist Appeal MEXICO CITY, Nov. 12.—In an interview published exclusively in La Prensa this morning, Lazaro Cardenas, president of Mexico, administered one of the most stinging blows the Stalinists have yet received in their series of campaigns against the asylum of Leon Trotsky.

"It is not true," responded President Cardenas in response to a question concerning recent slanders issued by Stalinist-controlled unions, "that Trotsky is mixing in the politics of our country. This man, since the time he came seeking our country as an asylum and to whom we opened our doors in virtue of a firm declaration which he made not to mix in our politics, is honorable and knows how to keep his promises. In interviews, books, etc., always he has referred only to the situation in his own country, or to themes of world politics; he lives retired in voluntary seclusion, and all that he asks is that Mexico let him work in peace."

Toledano's Slanders President Cardenas' vigorous defense of Trotsky's asylum came as an unexpected counter blast to the latest campaign of the Stalinists, launched on the twenty-first anniversary of the October Revolution by Lombardo Toledano, Mexico's Stalinist union czar. In a speech to a mass meeting broadcast from the National Palace of Fine Arts, Toledano eloquently echoing the amalgams and calumnies against Lenin and Trotsky by the Kerenky regime that was overthrown by the Bolsheviks—attempted to link Trotsky in exile with the most reactionary figures and politics of the country. In the senate a member belonging to the C.T.M. introduced a petition asking the government to expel Trotsky from Mexico, and began circulating it for signatures.

The campaign reached hysterical heights. (Continued on page 4)

Open the Doors To Victims Of Hitler's Nazi Terror!

The entire world has been shocked to the depths by the outburst of a new campaign of brutal violence against the Jews in Germany.

The hideous terror of Hitlerism has never struck with such cruel and merciless force.

Throughout Germany, bands of Nazi gangsters organized and commanded by their leaders, have wrecked and looted stores owned by Jews. Jewish churches—synagogues—have been burned and destroyed by the instructed Fascist mobs. The workers of Germany, who hate and despise Hitlerism with all their strength, were unable to come to the aid of the brutalized Jews because they are themselves still in the straitjacket of the Nazi terror.

The Brown-shirted monsters do not even bother to conceal their aim: the physical extermination of every Jew in Great-Germany.

Already a "fine" has been levied against the Jews which means in effect the complete confiscation of all their property and its distribution among the Nazi sadists.

The regime of the Ghetto is to be restored in Germany by the complete segregation of all Jews into marked-off slums. With this measure, Hitlerism shows again that it means barbarism, the destruction of all civilized progress, the return to the shame and depravity of the Middle Ages.

Why are the Hitlerites increasing their murderous attacks upon the Jews?

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

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

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

If they accomplish their aims, they will encourage the Fascist reaction in every other country of the world to advance more boldly, more insolently, more successfully.

They must not be allowed to succeed! The workers of the United States must take the initiative in a mighty and effective protest against the Hitlerite pogroms.

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

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

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

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

have their unions take the initiative in organizing a half-day stoppage of work so that they may parade in a huge demonstration to the largest halls in the city.

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

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

It is imperative to take action—concrete action—immediate action!

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

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

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

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

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

WE THEREFORE DEMAND:

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

We urge all workers, and all labor organizations: Demand that the American government use its emergency powers to open the doors to the horribly persecuted Jews of Germany!

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

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

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

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

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

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

National Committee of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, Section of the Fourth International

RUBBER UNIONS APPEAL TO NLRB Anti-Nazi Demonstration To Take Place Saturday

But Action, Organization Can Stop Wage Cut

By R. FERGUSON

AKRON, Nov. 14.—Goodyear local of the United Rubber Workers of America today demanded from the N.L.R.B. that it consider at once charges placed against the company months ago for discrimination, financing a company union and other unfair labor practices.

This action by the union came as a response to the filing of a petition by the Akron Goodyear Employees Association, company-stooge outfit, that the N.L.R.B. hold a new election to determine whether the U.R.W.A. should still represent the workers as sole collective bargaining agent.

Since the compromise settlement of the Goodyear strike at Akron, the U.R.W.A. has been in a constant state of agitation. (Continued on Page 2)

NEW YORK.—The Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League swung into action this week in a campaign centered around the demand for opening the doors of this country to the victims of Nazi bestiality in Germany.

On Saturday, Nov. 19, at 10 A. M. there will be a united front demonstration before the German Consulate. The Socialist Workers Party and Y.P.S.L., the Socialist Party, and the Independent Labor League will participate.

Street Meetings Scheduled The same day between noon and 3 P. M. the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. will hold street meetings throughout the city. The main slogans will be "Open the Doors to the Refugees!" "A Home for the Homeless!" and "Restore the Right of Asylum!"

At 6 P. M. there will be a placard parade down Second Avenue in Lower Manhattan. (Continued on Page 2)

The following two Sundays will be Red Sundays, with the entire party and youth organizations mobilized to continue these activities.

Petition Campaign

Through the week there will be a sticker campaign and canvassing with petitions calling upon the Roosevelt administration to let down the bars.

Members and sympathizers of the party have already begun introducing into their unions and other mass organizations the following resolution:

"In view of the unparalleled persecutions now raging in Europe and especially the Nazi drive to exterminate the Jews, we the ———, call upon the President and Congress of the United States to restore the right of asylum and to permit the entry of the persecuted and oppressed into this country by the immediate lifting of all restrictions and quota limitations."

GPU BREWS NEW RUBENS TRIAL

Moscow Links Local Spy Trial to Couple

Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Rubens, prisoners in a G.U.P. prison in Moscow for 11 months, were suddenly brought back into the news last week in circumstances which strongly suggested the imminence of a new frame-up trial linked to the recent Nazi spy trial in New York City.

The "Red Star," organ of the Moscow Defense Commissariat, suddenly came out with an article renewing the charge that the Rubens' (Mrs. Rubens is an American) were spies and linking them indirectly to the spy trial in New York.

A New Trial? These things do not occur in the Soviet press by accident. The (Continued on Page 2)

Labor Unity, Union Democracy Issues Stir CIO Convention

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

STALINISTS LEWIS' CHEERING SQUAD

By B. J. WIDICK Labor Secretary, S.W.P. (Special to the Socialist Appeal)

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

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

Shortly after the tune of "Lewis is our Leader, we shall not be moved," died down, the constitutional committee reported on a proposed constitution for the C.I.O. Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the miners' union, acted as spokesman.

Copies Not Available The C.I.O. top leadership tried to get a constitution passed by a verbal reading of it! No copies were given to delegates. Finally, pressure from the floor succeeded in postponing discussion until copies were printed.

Jeopardizes Political Rights The clause fails to guarantee the right of a C.I.O. unionist to belong to a political party of his own choosing. The absence of this vital safeguard was so obvious that Curran, Bridges and Rathborne urged the reconsideration of this clause privately with the committee.

The Stalinists wanted to make a deal which would guarantee them the right to exist within the C.I.O. Naturally, they weren't concerned about the problem of other political minorities within the C.I.O.

However, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who was acting as chairman, rode rough shod over their opposition.

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

Right to Overthrow Leaders A second dangerous provision, which has not yet been considered, gives the newly-formed C.I.O. executive board the right to intervene anytime in any international union affiliated to the C.I.O., when in the judgment of the board such intervention is necessary!

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

The entire constitution as presented by the committee is a means whereby the Lewis-miners' machine would absolutely control the entire C.I.O. from top to bottom. It remains to be seen if this provision can be defeated. The Lewis forces control the huge majority of votes. The hope of the progressives lies in exposing this (Continued on Page 4)

Left on the Galley One new reason why we need a larger or more frequent Appeal was brought home to us when we saw all the material which had to be held over to next week. Some of the stories are: Ben Stolberg's "Story of the C. I. O.," reviewed by Max Shachtman.

The present drift to reaction in France, as told by our Paris Correspondent, Terence Phelan.

The Massachusetts Elections by William Sherman.

Sidelights on the C.I.O. Convention.

An appraisal of the Illinois Elections by Albert Goldman.

Article on W.P.A. and union struggles in California, on General Motor's new spread-the-misery plan, on the turbulent situation in Chile. And many other interesting features.

Genora and Kermit Johnson, Leading Auto Workers, Quit S.P., Join S.W.P.

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



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

Their resignation comes as a protest to the bankrupt policies of the S. P. now culminating in the planned retirement into the reactionary Old Guard Social Democratic Federation. It comes as a climax to a long, difficult struggle to introduce revolutionary principles into the Socialist Party and revolutionary methods into its trade union work.

Particularly was this the case in Michigan where Walter Reuther, Stalinist stooge, led the party by the nose through the mud of Communist Party wrecking maneuvers in the auto union while the agents of Norman Thomas and the N.E.C. prevented the militant workers in the auto union from flinging Mr. Reuther out on his ear.

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

To Those Still In S. P. The statement of Genora and Kermit Johnson, printed herewith, is especially directed to the automobile workers still in the Socialist Party, to the rank and file S. P. members in the West Side Briggs, Dodge and Hudson locals of the U.A.W. They have had a common experience, with the comrades Johnson in struggling for a clean-cut policy in the union against Walter Reuther, Ben Fisher and Co.

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

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

Following is the text of the statement issued in Flint, Mich., by Genora and Kermit Johnson announcing their adherence to the banner of the Fourth International: The practical experience we gained in the great auto strike made us left-wingers in the Socialist Party. After seeing the party in the east, with its preponderance of right-wingers, we came back to Michigan to build a real left-wing bloc in the state, with a view to taking over, together with New York left-wingers, the machinery of the Socialist Party. But not being well enough equipped to provide leadership at the time, we felt the only alternative was to support the representative of the left-wing who had been sent to Michigan.

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

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Through our investigation of the facts at hand we saw that the Socialist Party must inevitably move to the right, and not to the left, as we and other left-wing comrades had for some time been hoping and pressing for. Later developments in the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party showed our predictions, based on facts, to be true. The Socialist Party with an ever-widening membership—its top leadership jittery

at being left with a party name and no membership—is attempting at this time to effect a deal, a reconciliation with the old guard Social Democratic Federation: not on the basis of a left-wing revolutionary program, but on the basis of uniting all socialists in the country. Hypocritically they add that this will make their fight against capitalism more effective. We know that a party formed on this basis means a party with about twenty different programs, whose effectiveness as a revolutionary organization, if it can be called that, can easily be divided by twice that number.

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

For these reasons we are leaving the Socialist Party and joining the Socialist Workers Party to build the vanguard of the coming revolution unhampered by reformist maneuvers, petty intrigues, opportunists and careerists. This is the job facing any man or woman who sincerely calls himself a real revolutionist; for in the crisis, which must inevitably follow economic conditions under the declining capitalist system, only the genuine vanguard will lead the working class to the victorious consummation of the revolution.

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

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

GENORA AND KERMIT JOHNSON.

Jews, all creeds, any school of thought that maintains respect for our institutions. That is, for all believers in capitalism. Lewis is against democracy within the C.I.O. No radical will be protected by the C.I.O., if he has it his way. Only believers in capitalism can expect support from him!

"The United States may some day face a great external crisis when the bloodthirsty German government, following upon its invasion of Czechoslovakia, incites other attacks on the democracies."

"Possibly we'll have to meet the German dictator as he extends his power to the Western Hemisphere," Lewis declared in another Orson Welles phantasy to frighten the workers. "Who is going to protect the institutions of this country?" Lewis asked. "Labor!"

John L. Lewis has openly announced his intention to assist in recruiting labor, into another world slaughter. Perhaps the C.I.O. rank and file will have a different answer.

ALL SET FOR THE BALL GAME!

The sandlots on New York's lower East Side have been resounding all week long. Jim Farrell, captain and stellar pitcher for the Studs Longan A. C., has been putting his boys through their paces and doing no mean job of it, either! "When my boys get out on that dance floor," says Jim "Studs" Farrell, "we're gonna make those Marxist Maulers look like a bunch of second rate bush-leaguers from the sticks. And my screwball smoking hot these days! I can just see those Marxist fanning the air!"

Puppet UAW Board Hits Union Rights, Democracy

(Continued from page 1) posals of "peace" and reinstated the expelled union officers. "Democracy" In Action Two other major proposals were adopted, it is reported on good authority: first, that the previous practice of sending Executive Board minutes to the local unions be discontinued. (You never hear about Hillman or Murray reporting to the membership what they are going to do; what is good enough for Hillman and Murray, the board members must reason, is good enough for us.) Secondly, four monthly fifty-cent assessments were levied to replenish the bankrupt auto union treasury. (After squandering the money in an unprincipled factional fight, they figured the men in the shops ought to foot the bill.)

However you look at it, it was not a very impressive contribution for a board meeting in session a full week! Thus the new "Neo-Unity" leadership that now controls a majority of the reconstituted National Executive Board launched the auto union for the coming year!

Salaries Voted After these exhaustive deliberations, the board adjourned to reconvene again in Washington, D. C., the beginning of November. As the decisions of the board are, under the new ruling, secrets that cannot be disclosed to the local unions any longer, militants are now forced to scan the columns of the daily capitalist press to learn of the plans and decisions of the leadership.

The leadership upon thinking it over was apparently a bit apprehensive about the effects upon the membership of a sudden announcement of a new \$2 assessment. At the second board session, then, the assessment seems to have been pigeon-holed for the time being. As if to better prove why the membership should not allow themselves to be assessed by these irresponsible spend-thrifts, they then voted to pay back salary to the five officers who were suspended last June, amounting to \$6,200 each. A total expense of \$31,000!

Paper Abolished The board then proceeded, it is reported, to abolish its weekly publication, the "United Auto Worker" and voted the "CIO News" its new official organ. One could write a page full of criticism of the "United Auto Worker," about its timidity, its lack of punch, its lack of program, its uninspiring style and its defense of so many of the rotten, indefensible policies of the famous Martin administration. Still, relatively speaking, it was quite a progressive paper, as union papers go. It bears the honor of having fought the pro-war, collective security policy of the Stalinists and of championing the Ludlow referendum on war.

Precisely because of this the Stalinists vowed to abolish it. Now the auto membership will receive all of its union information from the "CIO News," the journalistic product of the fusion of the Stalinist and the Lewis-Hillman-Murray bureaucracies. WPA Set-up Revised Finally, it is reported, the board decided to revise the existing WPA set-up. The WPA workers, henceforth will be attached to their respective regional organizations, rather than have a national WPA Auxiliary connected with the International Union. This decision amounts in its practical consequences to deliberate, typ-

cal wrecking by the Stalinists. As everyone who has the faintest experience in this field knows, WPA workers cannot be organized except into one organization. To have the auto unions organize its WPA workers, the Steel Union its WPA workers, the Rubber, all the other unions following suit, is to bring back the worst days of the old A.F.L. craft unionism into the WPA field. In effect such a policy excludes the building of any organization of the WPA workers.

Amounts to Liquidation It is to the honor of the Auto Workers Union that it set out and established functioning WPA organizations in Cleveland, Detroit, and several other centers, uniting all the WPA workers, while the C.I.O. was floundering around with no definite policy or program of its own. To turn these WPA organizations, at this late date, back to the regions, means to throw the WPA workers back to the tender mercies of the Stalinists who unfortunately control both the C.I.O. councils and the Auto Councils in many key cities of the Auto union, as in Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, South Bend. It means in effect giving the Stalinists a free hand to wreck these bona-fide WPA organizations attached to the labor movement, in favor of the defunct, Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance. It is very doubtful whether the WPA workers will show much appreciation for this decision.

Score Zero All in all, the labors of the International Executive Board resemble the labors of the mountain that brought forth a mouse. As far as presenting even half a program or solution to the many unresponsible problems which the auto workers face, the score of the board is so far zero. The Stalinist-bureaucratic majority of the National Executive Board has launched its administration by taking away from the Auto Workers Union its paper, its bona-fide WPA organizations, and some of its most important democratic rights.

In the October 8 issue of the Socialist Appeal we stated: "Leave it to the Executive Board to work out a realistic program of action and to carry this program into effect? No! The International Executive Board composed of Stalinists and reactionary bureaucrats has shown that it is worthless in important matters of this kind. If the union is to be saved, the rank and file membership of the locals must save it."

Expect No Miracles The recent Washington sessions further substantiate the truthfulness of this statement. The rank and file cannot afford to wait and hope for miracles. It is up to them to take the initiative now and weld all militants into a new progressive group, work out a sound and realistic program how to launch a new drive to organize the 150,000 unorganized Ford workers, how to organize the unorganized competitive parts plants and standardize wages and working conditions in the parts industry, and how to combat the general offensive of the auto employers against the union and its membership.

Let the progressives espouse a real program of this character and they will arouse the enthusiasm of the membership who will rally to their support and who will back up their fight to put this program across in the union.

GPU BREWS NEW RUBENS TRIAL

(Continued from page 1) appearance of this article may portend a new attempt to stage a trial involving American anti-Stalinists. The attempt was made nearly a year ago but was abandoned when the Socialist Appeal and other newspapers in this country published information linking the Rubens' to the Stalinist party in this country by a dozen threads. The American angle was left abruptly unfinished in the trial of Bukharin and others earlier this year.

This is made the more plausible by the fact that the diplomatic requirements of the Kremlin now center almost exclusively around the necessity for arriving, if possible, at some kind of an understanding with American imperialism. Stalin's way of going about that first would be to attempt to link all anti-Stalinist elements in this country to the German Nazi espionage system. Rubens' "Prepared" For something along these lines, it appeared fairly certain, the Rubens' were being prepared, and they are now apparently "ready" to play their assigned roles. That will be the meaning of a new trial if it comes off this time. Rubens, who by every evidence appeared to have been a G.P.U. agent, will in all probability be made the center of some concocted tale of Japanese-Nazi espionage in this country involving not only American Trotskyists but all sorts of anti-Stalinist anarchists, liberals, Left

Socialists, Lovestonites, and others. The G.P.U. figures that the recent Nazi spy trial will have caused the American public to have forgotten the shelved indictments of Arthur Sharf and Ossip Garber, proved Stalinists, who helped Rubens get his phony American passport.

WEBER TO LECTURE ON MOSCOW FOREIGN POLICY

"Will Stalin Seek An Alliance With Hitler?" will be the subject of a lecture by Jack Weber, expert on foreign affairs, at the Marxist School, 116 University Place, N.Y.C., on Monday, Nov. 21, at 8:45 P. M. The lecture is part of a series of six which offers a Marxist interpretation of current events in the world political arena. Admission is twenty-five cents for the lecture or one dollar for the whole course.

Just Published The Black Jacobins

By C. L. R. JAMES (Author of WORLD REVOLUTION: 1917-1936) Toussaint Louverture and the San Domingo Revolution The story of the only successful slave revolt in history \$3.75 at the LABOR BOOK SHOP 28 East 12th St. N.Y.C.

APPEAL ARMY

... And still letters of praise come in from all over the world about the World-Congress issue! The latest one is from a comrade in London, England, who writes: "I have just received my usual number of Appeals from the Revolutionary Socialist League literature secretary. It is the World Congress issue. The Appeal is always interesting, but this issue is the finest I've yet seen. It is an historical number worthy of the widest distribution. Your efforts must be heartily congratulated in rising to such a tremendous effort. I am sure I could sell 3 dozen of them so I'm enclosing cash for same. As you would say in America, they certainly were the goods! ... And coming nearer home, a comrade in South Bend, Indiana, writes as follows: "My opinion of the APPEAL? It suits me swell. I have found nothing to rival it. I have at least one with me at all times. The tri-weekly anti-war issues more than proved which is the vanguard party of the workers."

How To Sell the Appeal: Everett Washburn, new literature agent of St. Louis, Mo., writes us of his branch's plan to increase its weekly sales quota: "To accomplish this we have decided to concentrate on the sale of the APPEAL at four places. The Liberal Forum which meets every Sunday evening; the C.I.O. Council which meets twice each month—about 100 attend this meeting; the Shop Stewards meeting of the United Auto Workers which about 200 attend, and the Gas House Workers Union."

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

Newsstand Poster Out: The Appeal Poster Shop, ably directed by Comrade R., has just put out an extremely attractive poster for newsstands. They are being mailed to all branches which are listed as covering newsstands in our column. There are some still left and they can be obtained by writing the Appeal. The cost is only 5c each.

Table listing subscription statistics for various states and countries, including New York City, Massachusetts, Illinois, New York State, Indiana, California, Ohio, Montana, Michigan, Foreign, Colorado, and Missouri.

The following is a list of new subscriptions obtained during the week: NEW YORK CITY 16 Massachusetts 4 Illinois 4 New York State 3 Indiana 2 California 2 Ohio 2 Montana 2 Michigan 2 Foreign 2 Colorado 1 Missouri 1 Total 41

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

In addition, the new Flint, Michigan section of the S.W.P., is starting off with an order of 10' per week. Comrade Taylor of Seattle has already increased his order to 30 per week after only a few short weeks of effort. From San Francisco's lit-agent, Art Moore, comes a weekly increase of 40 copies, making a total of 115 handled each week. Attention: Literature Agents: At the end of this week we are mailing out the regular monthly financial statements. We urge prompt attention and even more prompt remittance of payments due. Send all contributions to: SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

RUBBER UNIONS APPEAL TO NLRB.

(Continued from page 1) the end of last May, the company has done nothing but stall the union representatives in negotiations for a signed contract. More than that it has boldly stated that it intends to institute a wage cut and return to the 8-hour day "when the time is ripe."

Meanwhile, the union has done little or nothing in the way of solidifying its strength among the workers and preparing for a showdown with the bosses. As a result, the company union has apparently been able to scratch together sufficient signatures from "red-apple" workers, who think the union is on the run, to enable it to take this new move challenging the U. R. W. A. rights.

Goodyear's anti-labor record is notoriously the most vicious and brutal of all the rubber companies. Every thinking worker has no reason to believe that the company's attitude will change in the future, in spite of pleas to the N.L.R.B. attempt to bring respectable "public opinion" of business men onto the side of the union, etc.

All such methods have been used time and time again in recent months, to no avail. What the situation demands most obviously is that the union itself take decisive, well-planned action in preparing the Gooueyer workers for the struggle that lies ahead. The time for words and "talk" has long since disappeared.

Real militancy and a display of determination to defend the interests of the workers must take the form of concrete preparations to meet the company's offensive. Such action alone will convince the wavering that the union means business this time.

Smash Election Alibi! The election defeat of Sawyer for governor of Ohio by the Republican Bricker must not be utilized successfully by the official leadership and their Communist Party stooges to argue that the union must now refrain from taking concrete preparatory steps. This can mean only retreat in the face of difficulties. On the contrary, the labor movement can advance only by showing a bolder resolution.

Likewise, in answering the lying boss propaganda of Dies committee witnesses who will testify this week in Washington, labor will most effectively make headway by proclaiming its determination to enter upon a course of militant action. To a great extent the result of Goodyear locals coming elections will mean progress or decline for the union in the next year. All weak-kneed leaders who have brought the union to its present position, and all the candidates of the reactionary Communist Party which has been supporting these leaders, will have to be swept aside in favor of those with known records of consistent militancy if the union is to climb back to its old position and influence.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

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

PARTISAN REVIEW

In the Fall Number, now on sale: Ignazio Silone: The School for Dictators Edmund Wilson: The Myth of the Marxist Dialectic (With a reply, "The Devil Theory of the Dialectic," by William Phillips) Andre Breton and Diego Rivera: Towards a New Revolutionary Art Munich and the Intellectuals—and other editorial comments Franz Kafka: An Elderly Bachelor And Work by Robert Fitzgerald, William Troy, Louise Bogan, Lewis Corey, Lionel Trilling, Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, and others. One Year of Partisan Review Costs Only \$1.25!!! Partisan Review Box 30, Station K, New York, N.Y. Enclosed find \$1.25. Please send me one year (four quarterly issues) of PARTISAN REVIEW. (Single copy, 40¢.) (Canada: \$1.35; other foreign countries, \$1.50.) Name: Address:

# Elections Prove Need For Independent Labor Action

## A Pointed Lesson At the Polls

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

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

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

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

### WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

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

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

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

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

### WHAT WILL BE PROPOSED?

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

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

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

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

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

### WHAT MUST THE WORKERS DO?

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

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

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

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

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

## Connecticut Workers Vote Independently

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

By B. HARDE  
(This is the first of two articles on the recent election in Connecticut and its meaning for workers.)

Upsetting all political apple-carts, the refurbished Connecticut Republican machine last week crept back into state power, nosing out by scant pluralities the Democratic apparatus of staunch New Deal Governor Wilbur Cross.

The Republican pluralities, however, spelled victory only in the traditional language of patronage opportunities and control of political plums, rather than in the more satisfying terms of popular support and approval. Victorious Republicans and defeated Democrats alike shook worried heads and pondered pessimistically over the significance of the election returns, which gave evidence that a current of third party sentiment had reared its lusty head throughout the state, under the aegis of Old Guard Socialist Jasper McLevy, mayor of Bridgeport.

**Election Figures**  
The bare election figures are themselves startling enough to seasoned machine politicians of the major parties: rock-ribbed Yankee Democrat Wilbur Cross, darling of lady reformers and professional liberal, polled a mere 225,000 votes; Baldwin, white hope of the new young blood in the Grand Old Party, rolled up only 228,000 votes; while Jasper, the crusading Socialist advocate of clean government and the merit system, and deeply-scarred veteran of reformist political battles since 1900, garnered the neat third-party vote of more than 163,000.

If the mere figures gave the managers of the Republican and Democratic plunderbunds food for much sober thought, their significance, and the facts which emerge once they are broken down, were doubly discomfiting. The Republicans polled only 37% of the total vote, a smaller percentage than they have received in any election since 1930. Their plurality of 2,500 was thrown their way by the few tattered remnants of Father Coughlin's Union party, which threw its support to Baldwin in the gubernatorial race. Had the Democrats won, their plurality amongst the electorate would have been scarcely more complimentary. McLevy increased his vote 400% over that which he rolled up in 1934, when he received 38,000 votes, and 800% over 1936. Dark horse McLevy carried 18 towns, including the cities of Bridgeport, Waterbury and Bristol and the towns of East Hartford, Manchester, Glastonbury, Watertown, Fairfield, Stratfield. He came in second in 20 more towns. Most of his votes came from cities and large towns, from the most heavily industrialized western regions of the state; less than 10% came from the four counties east of the Connecticut river.

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**Industrial Vote**  
The three most populous counties, seats of the chief industries of the state, Hartford, New Haven and Fairfield, gave McLevy 135,000 of his nearly 165,000 votes. The predominantly industrial character of McLevy's support can hardly have been a comforting thought to the old-party chieftains, who made unprecedented bids for labor's vote in the election campaign.

**McLevy could easily have been elected.** Thousands of voters wanted to cast their ballots for McLevy, a state-wide poll by the Bridgeport Herald revealed, and refrained from doing so only because they thought "he didn't have a chance." If the A.F. of L. and Labor's Non-Partisan

League (C.I.O.) had not worked with might and main to stem the drift away from the New Deal candidates toward third-party support, the Socialist candidate might very well have won hands down.

**From Both Parties**  
In most of the eight counties of the state, McLevy drew more votes from the Democrats than from the Republicans. The disaffection which resulted in the staggering Socialist vote was rampant in both parties.

It is clear as daylight that a radical change has come over the Connecticut electorate since the precipitate New Deal land-slides of 1934 and 1936.

The attempt is now being over-enthusiastically made to explain away the McLevy boom on the basis of his "clean government" program, which, it is monotonously repeated, won him a huge "protest vote."

There is, to be sure, a certain garbled truth in the statement. Scandalous revelations of graft and corruption amongst those high in public office have rocked the state in the last year. First the sordid plundering and mismanagement of the Merritt highway affair, under Republican auspices, was brought into the open a year ago. Then, on its heels, came the incredible grand jury discovery of systematic milking of public funds in Waterbury, this time under Democratic auspices (the Democratic Lieutenant-Governor and Mayor of Waterbury were indicted, along with 26 local dignitaries of the Democratic 'old).

**Honor Among Thieves**  
Understandably, neither of the major parties chose to make political capital out of these scandals, for fear of their boomerang effect; there is still a certain honor among thieves. McLevy, therefore, had a beautiful set-up for his honesty-stomping. Parading his relatively clean line in public, he went forth crusading under the slogan: "Don't Let the Raiders Ride Again!" Naturally, more than a few honest, upright and righteous citizens were impressed.

But hardly 165,000 of them. Even the Bridgeport Herald is forced to seek elsewhere for the real significance of McLevy's vote. That muckraking paper knows full well that sober middle-class people do get sufficiently incensed at large-scale grafting to protest with their ballots. But not enough of them to explain the Socialist vote. It is clear that McLevy got a very substantial working class vote—and workers are notoriously caloused to the question of corruption in public office; they rather cynically accept the grafting as a necessary concomitant of the old two-party squabbling for power, and fail to be impressed by "revelations."

**Lessons of Vote**  
The Herald is forced to comment editorially: "McLevy's campaign, attacking Governor Cross for not taking action to prevent the Merritt highway scandal and for not acting sooner regarding the disclosures made about lobbying and corruption in the Waterbury scandal, were credited with diverting thousands of votes from the Democratic ticket to the Socialist ticket, yet it does not appear that this offers a complete explanation of the shift in electoral vote. . . . Besides, the Herald points out, the reaction in Waterbury, the scene of the municipal scandals, was not away from the Democrats alone, although it was under their administration that the plundering took place. In Waterbury McLevy carried with a plurality of 400 over the Democrats, but he took more votes away from the Republicans than from the Democrats!"

The immediate lessons of the election are: (1) The swing to McLevy cut squarely across major party lines, seeming to hit the Democrats more heavily only because the latter had previously been riding the crests of popularity. (2) The swing had far too much of a mass character to be interpreted merely as a protest vote against corrupt government. (3) The bulk of McLevy's votes came from working-class sources, which could not have been very much aroused by the scandals themselves, since those scandals have been an open secret for years. "Revelations" took their toll chiefly among the more innocent pillars of honesty in rural and middle-class circles.

**Some 'Explanations'**  
Commentators are hard put to it to explain away McLevy's impressive labor vote. The best that the liberal Herald could do was to announce, in its post-election headlines, that the returns signified a "Workers' Slap At Democratic Bosses." According to this explanation, Connecticut labor was incensed at the failure of the state Democratic party to run genuinely "liberal" candidates.

Despite Roosevelt's maneuvering, New Deal Congressman Kennepelman failed to receive the senatorial nomination, and Old Guard Democrat Lonergan was run again. Similarly, the Democrats failed to nominate Tone, "liberal" State Labor Commissioner, for Lieutenant-Governor, preferring to run the "reactionary" Hewes.

**The Full Truth**  
The explanation, of course, is intentionally superficial and misleading. It is a half-truth, and, by that token, an untruth. For it fails to explain why the dissatisfaction with the "growing conservatism" of the Democrats did not rebound to the benefit of the Republicans. The Republican machine has been completely overhauled. Now that dictator Borahack, czar of Connecticut utilities and erstwhile power-behind-the-throne of the old G.O.P., has been buried for all time, new and "progressive" leaders have risen in the ranks of the party. These leaders make as fine-sounding and radical promises as the best rabble-rousers of the New Deal.

If, therefore, the laboring electorate is incensed merely because the Democrats were not sufficiently responsive to their dictates, if they wanted a candidate here and there which the Democrats would not give them, why didn't they turn to the Republicans to vent their wrath? They would have received a receptive ear in those circles. No one was ever more solicitous toward labor than the Republican candidates. Baldwin himself, son of an old "crusader for labor's rights" who was for years legal advisor to the A.F. of L., made

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

On both scores, the failure of the A.L.P. is the direct result of the policy which was followed. In New York City a shameless deal was made with Kenneth Simpson's Republican machine, whereby the A.L.P. endorsed a couple of dozen of the Republican candidates. On a State scale, the A.L.P. put up only two of its own candidates, for minor offices, and endorsed the remainder of the Democratic slate—headed by that stalwart trade unionist, Herbert H. Lehman, high on the list of America's Sixty Families.

Judged even by the standard of "practical politics," which was the sole slogan by which Alex Rose and his friends tried to sell the deal to the workers, this policy was proved by the elections to be a total loss.

**The Morning After**  
So resentful were the workers at the deals that on the day after the elections, Antonini, Chairman of the A.L.P.'s State Executive, tried to crawl out of responsibility for them with a statement that he had been out of town when they were made, never approved, and remained silent only in order not to "hurt the party at the polls." A careful reading of Antonini's statement shows that it was only the deals with the Republican Party that he disavowed; he made no criticism of the equally reprehensible coalition with the Democratic Party. Alex Rose meanwhile defended the whole tactic.

The election results in Connecticut provide an instructive and ironic contrast with what happened to the A.L.P. There MacLevy ran for Governor on a completely independent Socialist ticket. It is true that MacLevy rates about zero among the champions of genuine socialism, and that his campaign, conducted chiefly on "good government" issues, was about as empty of militant class content as it could be. Nevertheless the Connecticut workers responded enthusiastically to a candidate freed of the old boss parties and running as a socialist. McLevy finished close behind the Democrat and the Republican, and carried over both of them the largest city in the State and its industrial center—Bridgeport—as well as a dozen other towns and cities.

**Dangers Ahead**  
There is a real danger now that the A.L.P. will collapse. Its present officials, if unchecked, will shrink back toward unadmitted New Dealism in the face of the Republican advance, fearing that otherwise they will lose the favor of the White House, which means more to them than the needs of the workers. They will be stimulated further in this direction by the inroads of the Stalinists, who are now close to control of the A.L.P. local clubs, and who, as proved by the vote for their one independent candidate (Amter), provided more than 100,000 of the A.L.P. ballots. The old-time trade union officials might make the influence of the Stalinists the pretext for pulling out from under, and hopping back into the Democratic Party proper.

The workers themselves have now got to assert their rights and live up to their responsibilities. They have got to take over the A.L.P. from top to bottom and re-make it as their own full and genuine class political instrument. This means absolute independence, an end to all deals of any kind with the boss parties; it means a bold program of workers' demands. And it means a realization that a labor party is not just another vote-getting machine, but primarily a means of organizing the workers for struggle: from which it follows that the A.L.P. must not be allowed to go to sleep now until next election day, but must enter non-parliamentary fields, and must become the leader in the day-to-day battles of the workers.

Progressives throughout the state are prepared to defend the labor movement against any and all blows directed at it under the cover of the Republican administration. Meanwhile, they look forward to the formation of a fighting labor party on a nation-wide basis, that will stop the wave of reaction, and serve as a rallying point for the exploited millions not only of Minnesota, but of the country as a whole.

## MAKE GOOD SHOWING



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

## ALP Pays Price For Sleazy Deals In N.Y.

### Vote Falls Off by 100,000 as Workers See No Difference Between Labor Party and Democratic Machine

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

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

Of the A.L.P.'s five incumbent State Assemblymen, not a single one was returned to office, and only one new candidate (Garcia Rivera) was elected to the Assembly. Of the Congressional candidates, only the Stalinist hack, Vito Marcantonio, running also on the Republican ticket and blessed by LaGuardia, was elected.

**Failure to Lead**  
The setback to the A.L.P. in votes, however, was less decisive, bad as it was, than its failure to lead and organize the workers of New York in independent struggle. The workers were simply not convinced that the A.L.P. was their party; they did not see in practice any sharp line

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## Benson Defeat Shows Disgust For New Deal

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

By JULES GELLER  
MINNEAPOLIS—After an interrupted eight-year reign in the State Capitol, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party was overwhelmingly defeated in last week's elections. It staked everything in the election campaign on identifying itself with the New Deal, and went down with it.

After narrowly defeating Hjalmar Peterson, Farmer-Labor renegade, in the primaries, Governor Benson campaigned for re-election on a pro-New Deal, ineffective and purely defensive program that resulted in his defeat by over 250,000 votes.

**Lost 500,000 Votes**  
While Governor-elect Stassen himself posed as a liberal, the victorious Republican party studied its campaign with Anti-Semite. It carried on an intensive red-baiting barrage. But neither of these methods explain the fact that Benson, elected in 1936 by a plurality of 250,000, lost a half million votes in two short years.

When the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota turned its back on the national labor party movement and proclaimed its servility to Roosevelt politics, workers and farmers by the tens of thousands lost faith in it as their political representative, and they were left in bewilderment, the easy prey of the Republican Party.

Hanging on to Roosevelt's coat-tails, the Farmer-Labor Party brought down upon itself the farmers' hostility to curtailment of crops, and the resentment of W.P.A. and relief workers to their status as second-class citizens.

**Republican Promises**  
Far from being grateful for the relief handouts of the government, the farmers and workers wanted a "normal" status. The Republicans promised it to them by holding out the hope that under their administration, business would spur.

As though in order to doubly seal its fate, the Farmer-Labor party adopted for its 1938 program a watered-down, faintly liberal series of planks that had nothing serious to offer toward a solution or alleviation of the plight of the workers and farmers of the state.

Minneapolis labor leaders months ago demanded that the Farmer-Labor platform be given some teeth. To implement this demand, trade unionists proposed that the labor movement be given its full voice in the Farmer-Labor Party, which has drifted more and more into the hands of small town liberals and Stalinist-controlled paper organizations and sewing societies.

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**Dangers Ahead**  
There is a real danger now that the A.L.P. will collapse. Its present officials, if unchecked, will shrink back toward unadmitted New Dealism in the face of the Republican advance, fearing that otherwise they will lose the favor of the White House, which means more to them than the needs of the workers. They will be stimulated further in this direction by the inroads of the Stalinists, who are now close to control of the A.L.P. local clubs, and who, as proved by the vote for their one independent candidate (Amter), provided more than 100,000 of the A.L.P. ballots. The old-time trade union officials might make the influence of the Stalinists the pretext for pulling out from under, and hopping back into the Democratic Party proper.

The workers themselves have now got to assert their rights and live up to their responsibilities. They have got to take over the A.L.P. from top to bottom and re-make it as their own full and genuine class political instrument. This means absolute independence, an end to all deals of any kind with the boss parties; it means a bold program of workers' demands. And it means a realization that a labor party is not just another vote-getting machine, but primarily a means of organizing the workers for struggle: from which it follows that the A.L.P. must not be allowed to go to sleep now until next election day, but must enter non-parliamentary fields, and must become the leader in the day-to-day battles of the workers.

Progressives throughout the state are prepared to defend the labor movement against any and all blows directed at it under the cover of the Republican administration. Meanwhile, they look forward to the formation of a fighting labor party on a nation-wide basis, that will stop the wave of reaction, and serve as a rallying point for the exploited millions not only of Minnesota, but of the country as a whole.

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

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

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**Open the Doors!**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is only one real answer: **OPEN THE DOORS!**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Who will pay for it?

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

Money for food, homes, and work!

Not a cent for swollen dividends, for battleships and planes!  
Money for Life!  
Not a cent for death!  
**AND OPEN THE DOORS TO ALL REFUGEES FROM FASCIST TERROR!**

**Elections Over . . . WPA Slash!**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The meaning is as clear as a pikestaff: Thousands of workers will be removed from W.P.A. rolls and made jobless because even the most ambitious rearmament program cannot provide work for all.

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

Millions of workers will be engaged in building death-dealing equipment for an army and navy of imperialist conquest, while the poor continue to inhabit disease-infested fire trap slums and their children die from malnutrition.

That is the long and short of Roosevelt's new dish for the unemployed. His program of war is a program of poverty. And his program of poverty is a program of war.

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

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

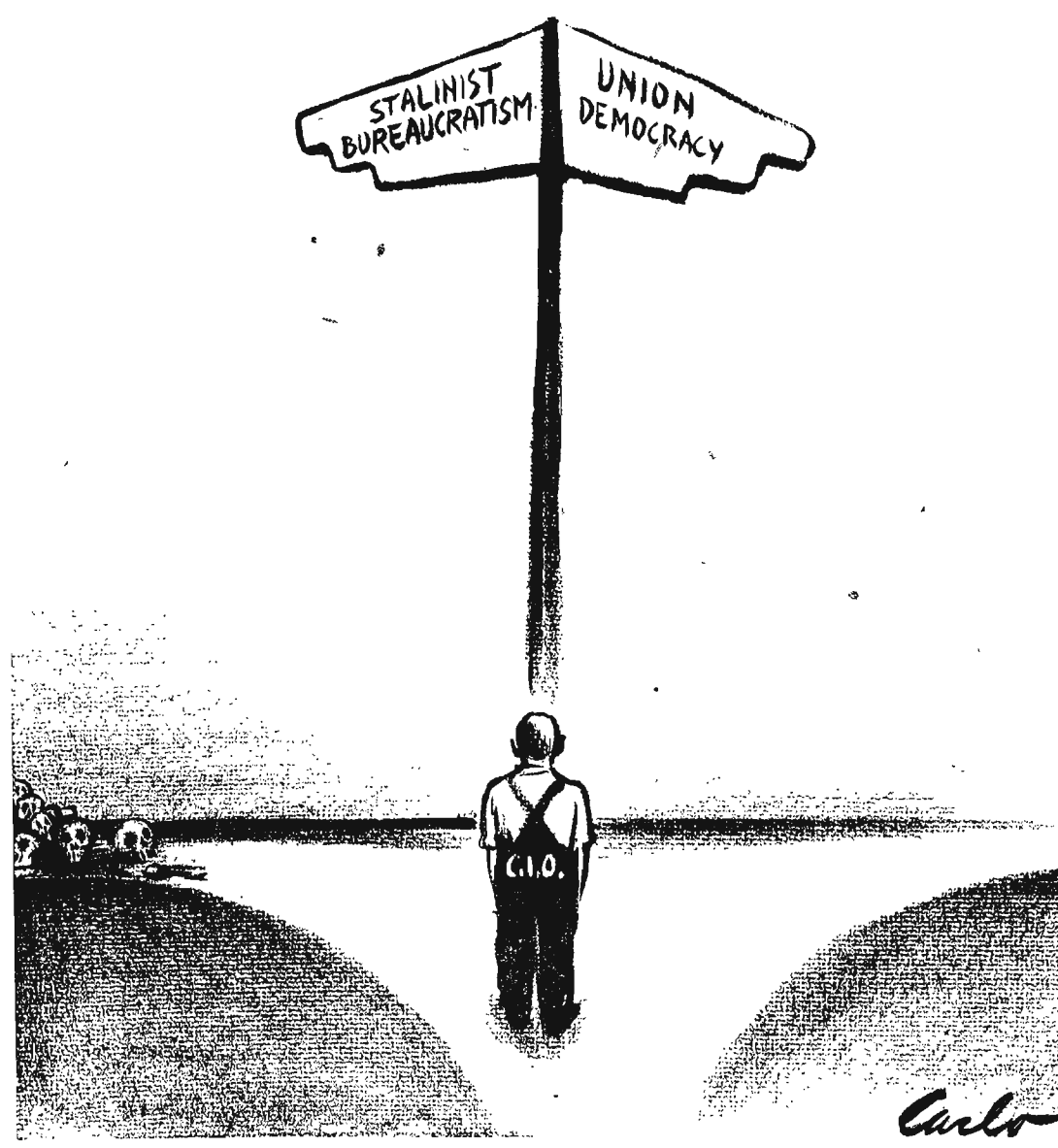
The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. must be roused into action.

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

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

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

**One Road Towards Progress!**



**Trotsky Defends Asylum In Slashing Reply to Toledano**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

**MEXICO CITY, Nov. 12.**—Vigorously defending himself against the latest Stalinist drive to destroy his asylum in the sole country of the globe willing to receive him, Leon Trotsky yesterday tore away the clumsy framework of a typical Lombardo Toledano calumny, exposing the crude lies upon which this Stalinist lackey based himself. Comrade Trotsky's statement is as follows:

In his speech at the Palace of Fine Arts on Nov. 8, Toledano declared: ". . . Something that I have never affirmed, because I am not crack-brained, is to say that Trotsky had proposed a general strike during the petroleum conflict . . ." It is to be presumed that the report of the speech in "El Popular" has been edited by the orator himself with the necessary care. [Lombardo Toledano is editor of El Popular—Ed. Note.] It is not possible to desire anything more categorical than the refutation cited above: "because I am not crack-brained!" Nevertheless we shall try to check what Mr. Toledano says.

In the newspapers of May 31, 1937 ("El Universal," first section, page 8, "Excelsior" first section, page 4, "El Nacional," first section, page 6, "La Prensa," page 6) in the report of Toledano's speech at a meeting held May 30, 1937, in the Theater of the People, it was stated: "We are not going to follow those who label themselves of the extreme left and wish to carry us into a general strike in the Republic. We are not going to follow Trotsky who represents the counter-revolution. The general strike is against the government."

**Cracked Brains**  
In these four newspapers we encounter the same phrase. It is clear that the text has a character if not official, at least not less than authoritative. Neither the discourse as a whole nor the phrase which interests us have ever been disavowed by Mr. Toledano.

In the same newspaper is printed my declaration of June 26, 1937, in which I said: "Mr. Toledano in a series of public declarations attributes to me various acts of intervention in the internal life of Mexico (particularly, for example, a call for . . . a general strike). In such statements there is not one word of truth."

Yet after this, Mr. Toledano

repeats the policy as revealed at Munich has thrown the Stalinists into serious confusion, and for the moment they are waiting on Moscow . . .

American workers who wish to hear a first hand report of the situation in England are urged to attend the meetings which are being arranged for C. L. R. James throughout the country. New Yorkers will have the first opportunity to hear him on November 30th at Irving Plaza. Note the date and be sure to be present.

did not publish a single rectification of his speech. We had to wait a year and a half for Toledano to find it necessary in a new speech to declare that he is not "crack-brained" and that he had not made such statements. He is not correct this time either. The facts and the texts speak in another manner. The refutations of Mr. Toledano, as we see, are distinguished by the same exactitude as his affirmations. But minus times minus equals plus.

Mr. Toledano does not want an investigation of his accusations

made by an impartial commission. In place of this, he has begun to refute them himself. Personally, I do not have any objection to these methods, and accept with gratitude the testimony that the only one able to accuse me of wishing to provoke a general strike against the government of General Cardenas—according to Mr. Toledano—are the crack-brained. I add only that the other accusations launched against me have the same value.

—Leon Trotsky.  
Coyoacan, D. F., November 10, 1938

**Cardenas Raps Attacks On Trotsky's Asylum**

(Continued from page 1)  
ical heights in the Stalinist press, reflecting their fear over the rapidly spreading insurgent movement in the Teachers' Union against their gangster dictatorship, a movement which they fear with only too good reason might spread into other unions where they now enjoy a monopoly over the union treasury and the resolutions committee.

**Unions Revolt**  
In typical G.P.U. fashion, Toledano, Laborer, and their cohorts have labelled this movement "Trotskyite," attempting to link it with all the notorious reactionaries of the country, including sexual perverts discovered and denounced by the G.P.U. for this particular amalgam, and ending with their customary slogan: "Trotsky is mixing in Mexican politics; throw him out."

Actually the movement began spontaneously among the rank and file of the Teachers' Union in protest against a heavy monthly assessment levied against them by the Stalinist bureaucracy and deductible according to Mexican law from their already pitiful pay checks. The movement gained such momentum that at the first session of the union convention yesterday, committees sent by the Stalinists from other unions to block the rank and file opposition were booted off the floor amid demands to proceed to the order of business. Lombardo Toledano, who does not have as much connection with the Teachers' Union as Wm. Green of the A.F. of L. has with the must-

icians, answered the emergency call of his brother Stalinists, and entered the convention hall to take the floor. He could not make himself heard among the hisses and boos. A large banner pinned on the wall of the convention hall by Stalinists reading, "To fight Trotskyism is to work for unity" was torn down. The eight hundred delegates wanted to discuss union business, not the political needs of Joseph Stalin.

**An Expensive Campaign**  
In the very heart of the Stalinist dominated unions of Mexico—those belonging to Toledano's C.T.M.—increasing signs of revolt, almost wholly subterranean until the recent explosion of protest in the Teachers' Union, point to an ominous decline for the Stalinists. That is the real reason for the fantastic fear and hysteria displayed by them in this latest campaign of calumny and slander against the exiled leader of the October Revolution.

According to unimpeachable sources of information, this campaign has been the most expensive so far waged by the G.P.U. in Mexico. In order to whip up any semblance of popular response to their speakers, articles, and slogans, the Stalinist are compelled to spend greater and greater sums of money because of the growing apathy and disgust of the workers. The policy of rule or ruin is beginning to bear its fruit. President Cardenas' well-timed rebuke at the height of the Stalinist howling gives a good indication as to how that fruit will taste.

**LAST WEEK**  
This is the last week 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. National Convention Arrangements Committee.

**Unity, Union Democracy Issues Stir Convention**

(Continued from page 1)  
The question of labor unity was discussed for a half day following the presentation of a special report as a reply to the message of President Roosevelt urging labor peace.

The convention unanimously adopted the policy outlined by the committee. It reads, "The C.I.O. states with finality that there can be no compromise with its fundamental purpose and aim of organizing workers into powerful industrial unions, nor its obligation to fully protect the rights and interests of all its members and affiliated organizations."

"The C.I.O. accepts the goal of unity in the labor movement and declares that any program for the attainment of such goal must embrace as an essential prelude these fundamental purpose and principles."

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

The tremendous applause given the Roosevelt message worried the Lewis clique, primarily because they feared a stampede for peace which would mean a trampling of the C.I.O. principle of industrial unionism for mass production industries.

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

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

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Nov. 14. — How strong the sentiment within C.I.O. ranks is for labor unity was illustrated by the reception given the Roosevelt message urging labor peace. The demonstration that followed the reading of the Roosevelt message was the first real evidence of enthusiasm at the convention.

John L. Lewis immediately appointed a special committee to draft a reply to President Roosevelt. It was headed by Phillip Murray, vice-president of the C.I.O.

Among delegates there was more talk about peace with the A.F. of L. than any other subject. It was generally believed that one of the main purposes of this convention was to put on a show of strength to the A.F. of L. and the public.

**Industrial Workers Convention**  
The C.I.O. convention is a somewhat unusual gathering. Its place in labor history as the first national convention representing mainly the industrial workers is assured. Its record of achievement is obvious. Lewis stated it succinctly when he declared in his 66 page report, "What the A.F. of L. in fifty-four years of existence couldn't accomplish, the C.I.O. did in three years."

There can hardly be any doubt that industrial unionism has been established permanently in the mass production industries. The C.I.O. claims of 4,000,000 members are perhaps a bit high, but it is very significant to hear of the new wave of union spirit growing among mass production workers who have recently been rehired. Undoubtedly, dues-collectors are very low in the C.I.O. but the ideas for which it stands in the minds of the industrial workers are as firmly entrenched as ever.

**Miners' Machine Dominant**  
This convention is being run strictly as a John L. Lewis, miners' union bureaucracy affair. Every important committee has as its key figures, a miners' union official, Murray, Hillman and Lewis are the trimvirate who are determining the destinies of the C.I.O. at this convention.

Because of the firm control of this powerful machine over the convention, it is somewhat listless. Its opening session was presided over by Pat Fagan, miners' union official. He praised John L. Lewis. Then Lewis spoke on "democracy" and made his pledge to support American imperialism during war in return for a few concessions.

For two hours in the afternoon session, Walter Smethurst, another miners' official, and executive assistant to Lewis, read the lengthy report of the C.I.O. chairman to the convention. The day ended with the hearing of the Roosevelt message.

**Stalinists Cheering Squad**  
The role of the Stalinists at the sessions has been to lead the cheering for the Lewis machine. It is quite apparent that Lewis is perfectly agreeable to their support and some of their ideas, but he is going to keep organizational control of the C.I.O. in the hands of his machine.

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

The future program of the C.I.O. as outlined by Lewis in his report which was accepted without any discussion by the convention is merely an extension of that already being carried out. The C.I.O. top leaders are desperately trying to reform capitalism. Legislation for a little more social security, for higher wages, for preservation of the Wagner Act, for a housing program, for a "guarantee" of civil liberties. These are the immediate demands of the C.I.O. All of them deserve critical support, of course.

**Major Issues Evaded**  
But the huge problem of unemployment, which the convention recognized in the report, has not been discussed nor is it likely that any serious discussion will develop.

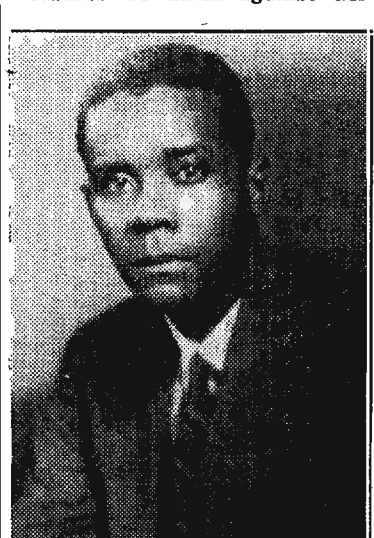
The announcement of General Motors of its "income security" plan caught the C.I.O. leaders flat-footed. Although it is imperative that the convention adopt more progressive proposals for a sliding scale of hours and a rising scale of wages to answer fake company plans of "security" it is improbable that the questions will receive consideration.

On every question facing the workers today, the C.I.O. convention recognizes the problem but has no answer except vague generalizations about the need for adequate legislation, security and other phrases. Civil liberties are being trampled, the Lewis report pointed out. But how the workers can fight for their rights is not shown. How Mayor Frank Hague and other fascist-minded leaders can be stopped is not indicated.

**C. L. R. James, Noted Negro Militant, To Speak on Decline of British Empire**

C. L. R. James, the distinguished British author, whose new book, "The Black Jacobins" will be published in this country this week, has arrived in the United States for a coast to coast lecture tour. His first lecture will be in New York City on November 30th at Irving Plaza, where he will speak on the "Twilight of the British Empire."

Lloyd George and Duff Cooper, have been urging that 'stern measures' be taken against Ger-



C. L. R. JAMES

"The British ruling class," continued James, "it itself split as to exactly how the political crisis should be dealt with. Some, like Winston Churchill,

many at once. By this they do not mean war, but would like to frighten Hitler to the point that whatever steps he takes in

Europe must be taken in collaboration with Great Britain.

**Labor Party Aids Chamberlain**  
"The Labor Party and trade union leadership swung completely behind Chamberlain during the war crisis and showed its ever-readiness to collaborate and do the same devil's work that it did in 1914. So tense is the situation in Britain that they do not even pretend to be anti-war or anti-imperialist, but months ago signified their approval to the rearmament program. This betrayal by the labor leadership has been reinforced by the Stalinists who were among the loudest shouters for war during the crisis. A Stalinist delegation was admitted to 10 Downing Street, showing that the government is quite willing to use them . . ."

"The anti-war sentiments of the politically minded workers have been canalized into 'anti-fascist' feeling by the Stalinists as a means of supporting the rearmament program and ultimately pushing the workers into an imperialist war, but the bank-