MASS MEETING

JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary of the S. W. P., and NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer of the Y.P.S.L., just back from Europe, will speak on the "WAR CRISIS IN EUROPE AND THE MEANING OF THE MUNICH PACT," at the CENTER HOTEL, 108 West 43rd Street, SUNDAY, October 9, at 8 P. M.

Workers Of The World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Watch for the Appeal During Our Anti-War Campaign Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday

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PEOPLE'S FRONTS BANKRUPT!

For a People's Vote on War!

An Editorial

In a copyrighted article released Sunday, October 2nd, the American Institute of Public Opinion ("The Gallup Poll") reports that a recent survey conducted by it shows 68% of the voters of the country in favor of a constitutional amendment to compel submission of any proposal to declare war to direct vote of the people.

This huge majority of over two-thirds is certainly not exaggerated. The statistical methods of the Institute, and more especially the fact that the survey was taken before the recent crisis showed the American people even more clearly the imminence of the war danger, would indicate that in all probability the percentage is conservative.

In the last session of Congress, when the project for such a referendum was embodied, in modified form, in a measure introduced by Representative Ludlow, the entire strength of the Roosevelt machine was mustered to smash it, and to prevent even a vote upon it. The Roosevelt machine succeeded, and the measure was tabled.

What a comment this action was on the "democracy" of the Great Liberal in the White House! And how plainly it exposes the real intentions of his swiftly expanding armament program!

The feeling in the country on the question of the war referendum represents an expression of overwhelming sentiment against the terrible threat of the coming war. We do not ourselves believe that the referendum or any comparable step can of itself remove the threat of the war. We hold that the very system of capitalist-imperialism contains within itself the causes of war, and that therefore peace can be achieved in the end only by overthrowing imperialism. Nevertheless, the popular feeling for the referendum is genuinely progressive in character through its embodiment of sentiments directed against the war and against the war-makers.

The time has certainly come when this great majority must assert itself more firmly, openly and aggressively on this crucial issue. The Administration and Congress, allegedly and by their own boasts representing the people, must be called sternly to account.

A renewed drive to enact the popular referendum on war must be instituted. Such a drive can no longer rest passively on the hopes in Ludlow and the other weak-kneed liberals in Congress. Ludlow himself has sold out the movement for the referendum. He has done so in two ways: First, by adding so many amendments to his original proposal that it no longer means a thing. He not only excepts "the case of invasion"—and every war can be passed off by the General Staff of the Army as a case of invasion, as history so well proves, but he excepts likewise "invasion" of any territory in Central or South America, Hawaii, Alaska, all the islands and possessions owned by the United States or under its "protection." Second, he has sold out the movement by failing to carry the fight for it to the people and thus organizing the popular support for it.

The great majority which stands for the referendum must take the fight into their own hands. They must demand a clear cut measure calling for a popular referendum before the Administration or Congress shall have the right to engage in any military operations of any kind; and they must rule out all exceptions, since any exception whatever will prove merely the loophole which can be used for excuse to suspend the operation of the referendum.

The vote on the referendum, moreover, should be extended to all over the age of 18: these are included among those who would be expected to carry on the war, and therefore should be entitled to a voice in deciding about it. If they are old enough to fight, they are old enough to vote.

The trade unions, unemployed leagues, fraternal organizations, farm organizations, all of whose members are almost solidly in favor of the referendum, should and must undertake the fight for it. In this way, the mass opinion favoring the referendum will be mobilized in a manner to make Congress think twice before casting it aside as it did last winter; and if Congress and the President persist in disregarding so flagrantly the will of the majority, the people themselves will be able to see more clearly who are the enemies in the fight against the war, and upon whom they can rely.

The Fourth International Fights Boss War!

These are some of the papers of European sections of the Fourth International which alone has raised the firm voice of workers internationalist opposition to boss war in the crisis over Czechoslovakia. On the left is the Proletarske Noviny, Bolshevik-Leninist organ in the Czech language. Note the lengthy section cut out by the censors in "democratic" Prague. Next to it is the Banner, illegal organ in the German language of the Fourth Internationalists in Sudetenland. On top is the "Lutte Ouvriere," organ of the P.O.I. (Workers' Internationalist Party), French section of the Fourth International. The banner headline reads: "No New 1914!" and the sub-head: "Down with the sacred union! For Fraternization of the Workers of All Countries!"

In the upper right hand corner is a reproduction of the first page of L'Humanite, the Stalinist party organ, of Aug. 3, 1934—on the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of war, before the days of the People's Front and before the Stalinists became the chief warmongerers in the world—with the same headline: "No New 1914!" and in the sub-head: "Peace by Revolution!" Under a picture of Lenin is the caption: "With Lenin Against the War." It is the Fourth International that today carries forward the internationalist struggle!

In the center is the "Lutte Ouvriere," organ of the Belgian section of the Fourth International, which publishes on its front page an appeal to workers of all countries against imperialist war. Below is "Workers' Fight," organ of the Revolutionary Socialist League, British section, which issued to the British workers the famous slogan of Liebknecht: "The enemy is in your own country!"

Are Leading Toward New Dictatorships

France and Czechoslovakia Turning Authoritarian; Loyalists Prepare For Deal With Fascists

Across Europe this week the profound transformation of the political map of Europe carried out at Munich began to have its first effects.

1. *In France* the People's Front was cut to pieces. Premier Edouard Daladier demanded and secured dictatorial rights which represent the first stride toward an authoritarian regime in France. Daladier made it plain that independent struggle of the workers would henceforth be regarded as "treason."

2. *In Czechoslovakia* the way was rapidly paved toward alignment of the Czech bourgeoisie with the Fascist bloc. President Benes, symbol of the Versailles settlement in Czechoslovakia, was thrust aside. The cabinet was re-vamped to bring in three generals and representatives of the Agrarians and the Slovaks with a view to making a rapid shift into the German orbit. The entire Czech press—only a week ago singing hymns to the "democratic" republic—chorused the demand for immediate adjustment to the new Fascist set-up. The demands of Poland and Hungary are being satisfied to hasten completion of the process.

3. *In the Soviet Union* it was semi-officially recognized that the Franco-Soviet pact was now a dead-letter. Reports that Marshal Vassily Bluecher, commander-in-chief of the Far Eastern Red Army, had been purged, seemed to indicate new internal convulsions reflecting the impasse of Soviet Foreign policy.

4. *In Spain* the Loyalist government—the People's Front—made plain its readiness to come to terms with the Fascists. At the Cortes on Tuesday Premier Juan Negrin called for an "understanding" with the Fascists and gave every indication that negotiations have already been going on toward that end. (See Editorial on page 4.)

Collapse of People's Front

In Paris the People's Front—that proud coalition of the Stalinists, Socialists. and the bourgeois Radical Socialists which was forever to defeat Fascism in France and assure "bread, peace, and freedom" to the masses—was shattered into pieces. Daladier came before the chamber with a demand for immediate approval—with minimum debate—of his foreign policy, i. e., of Munich, and he won it, 535 to 75.

The Socialists, wobbling weakly, voted for the Munich agreement. The Stalinists, in speechless isolation, voted against it. On the demand for special powers in the financial domain to rule by decree, the vote was 331 to 78, the Socialists abstaining—thus making it possible for Daladier to remain in office—and the Stalinists again voting in the negative. These votes marked the official exit of the Stalinists from the ranks of the pro-government parties since Blum took office as first People's Front premier in June, 1936.

A Two-Year Record

Under Stalinist inspiration the People's Front came into being three years ago. It was swept into office in the midst of the gigantic strikes of June, 1936. It adopted, under the pressure of those strikes, the 40-hour week and other sweeping "social" legislation. Meanwhile the People's Front regime permitted French capitalism to re-stabilize itself temporarily and in the last year we have seen all the gains of 1936 successively whittled away, culminating in the brutal military measures taken last month to break the workers' opposition to the abolition of the 40-hour week.

The People's Front that was to assure to the Soviet Union a firm ally against Fascist Germany led directly to—Munich. The People's Front that was to smash Fascism forever in France has

(Continued on page 3)

Trotsky Predicts Stalin Will Now Seek an Understanding With Hitler

By LEON TROSKY

As a military power Czechoslovakia is disappearing from the map of Europe. The loss of three and a half million deeply hostile Germans would be an advantage in the military sense if it did not signify the loss of natural boundaries. The stanchions of the Bohemian fortress are collapsing at the sound of the fascist horn. Germany acquires not only three and a half million Germans, but also a firm boundary. If until now Czechoslovakia was considered a military bridge for the U.S.S.R. into Europe, it now becomes a bridge for Hitler into the Ukraine. The international "guarantee" of the independence of the remnants of Czechoslovakia will signify immeasurably less than the same guarantee for Belgium before the World War..

The collapse of Czechoslovakia is the collapse of Stalin's international policy of the last five years. Moscow's idea of "an alliance of democracies" for a struggle against fascism is a lifeless fiction. No one wants to fight for the sake of an abstract principle of democracy: all are fighting for material interests. England and France prefer to satisfy the appetites of Hitler at the expense of Austria and Czechoslovakia rather than at the expense of their colonies.

The military alliance between France and the U.S.S.R. from now on loses 75% of its value and can easily lose the entire 100%. Mussolini's old idea of a four-power pact of European powers, under the baton of Italy and Germany, has become a reality, at least until a new crisis.

The terrific blow at the international position of the U.S.S.R. is the pay-off for the continuous bloody purge which beheaded the army, disrupted economy and revealed the weakness of the Stalinist regime. The source of the defeatist policy rests in the Kremlin. We may now expect with certainty Soviet diplomacy to attempt rapprochement with Hitler at the cost of new retreats and capitulations which in their turn can only bring nearer the collapse of the Stalinist oligarchy.

The compromise over the corpse of Czechoslovakia does not guarantee peace in the least but only creates a more favorable basis for Hitler in the coming war. Chamberlain's flights in the sky will enter into history as a symbol of those diplomatic convulsions which divided, greedy, and impotent imperialist Europe passed through on the eve of the new slaughter which is about to drench our whole planet in blood.

LABORITES TRAIL BOSS PARTIES

A. L. P. Convention Again Endorses Gov. Lehman

In the midst of elaborate ballyhoo that left no time for serious political discussion, the Convention of the American Labor Party held this week in New York City endorsed the candidates of the Democratic Party for the key State-wide political offices of Governor and Senator and adopted a wishy-washy platform that could have been written by any New Deal liberal.

The Convention, whose delegates had been carefully handpicked by the officials of the A.L.P., themselves not elected but self-appointed at the founding of the party two years ago, was a slap in the face at the desires and needs of the New York workers for a genuinely independent and militant party of their own. Instead of authentic spokesmen for the workers, there paraded across the platform one after another of the Democratic machine-politicians — Lehman, Wagner, Polletti—preceded by none other than His Honor Mayor LaGuardia.

Ironically enough, His Honor did not even promise to go along with the action of the Convention

(Continued on page 4)

DRIVERS POWER IN A.F.L. MEET

Council Straddles on Issue of AFL-CIO Unity

HOUSTON, Texas.—The 58th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor being held here this week reflects the cross-currents in this organization arising under the impact of the social crisis gripping America.

For the first time in years, the executive council took cognizance of the A.F. of L. unemployed members in a supplementary report which said that 1,400,000 of the unionists were out of work.

Growth of the Teamsters Union during the past year was shown in the council's report that over 309,000 truck drivers were paying per capita tax into the federation.

Teamsters A Power

The added power of the Teamsters union was revealed in the fence-straddling position the council report took on the question of unity with the C.I.O. The truck drivers and the railroad brotherhoods represent the largest group within the federation favorable to a more friendly attitude towards the C.I.O.

Wiliam Green, spokesman for the die-hard bureaucrats in the

(Continued on page 3)

Fate of UAW Lies With Rank and File Workers

(Editor's Note: This article was written before the session of the Executive Board of the U.A.W. in Washington, D. C., which reinstated the four expelled officers.)

* * *

By JOHN ADAMSON

The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America meets October 3rd in Washington, D. C., under the watchful eyes of Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman. The C.I.O. chieftains, acting as arbitrators under the recent "peace agreement" concluded in the U.A.W. factional fight, will undoubtedly reinstate the five expelled officers and attempt to unite the board again under the same program to which they finally won a majority in their "peace agreement."

The program is stated very plainly in the joint statement issued by Hillman and Murray and the International Executive Board of the U.A.W. when a settlement was arrived at between a majority of the International Executive Board and the C.I.O. leaders. The statement says in part: "Underlying the agreement is the realization that the factional differences in the U.A.W. are, for the most part, due to outside influences. This agreement is aimed at driving from this union for all time those influences whatever may be their name or whatever their source."

Red-Baiting Program

"Outside influences"—in other words—the militants, the radicals—are responsible for the furious battle that has rent the Auto Workers Union. Let us all agree to kick out these militants from the U.A.W. and peace, harmony and tranquility will be again restored in the organization.

Obviously an authentic, genuine red-baiting program!

This did not hinder the Communist Party from whole-heartedly accepting this program and with choking enthusiasm hailing the restoration of "peace." And why not? Has not the C.P. demonstrated again and again that it is the most reactionary force in the labor movement today? Does not the C.P. attempt to create

(Continued on page 2)

New Unemployed Union Organized In New York

Militant Locals Demand More Relief; Want Idle Factories Opened; Plan Fight on Sales Tax

By GEORGE MILTON

NEW YORK.—Adopting a real class struggle program to meet the needs of the growing army of jobless, 57 delegates, representing a combined membership of more than 5,500 unemployed and W.P.A. workers, met here over the October 1-2 week-end in a truly inspiring conference and founded the city-wide Unemployed and Project Workers Union.

The conference program committee incorporated into the program of the new Unemployed Union a section demanding "that the government take over the idle factories... and run them without profit for the benefit of the unemployed... the products to be distributed among the needy unemployed." This section, patterned after the resolution of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, was hailed by the delegates as one which will gain the respect of the general labor movement "and draw to us the thousands of unemployed who are looking for leadership."

Denounce LaGuardia Tax

Denouncing the infamous LaGuardia sales tax as a means of collecting funds for relief, the program demanded in its stead a "progressive capital levy tax," which would hit the capitalists and not the workers. It also raised the timely slogan: "All war funds to the unemployed."

Full text of the program will be printed in next week's APPEAL.

The program committee was ably chaired by Otto Popovich, president of the powerful and militant Jamaica Unemployed and W.P.A. League who was expelled last week from membership in the Communist Party because he refused to allow his local being used "against the best interests of the unemployed."

New Groups Join

Taking with it a goodly sized slice of the membership of the class-collaboration Alliance, the organizing conference of the U. & P.W.U., before it adjourned at one A. M. Sunday morning, was joined by two strong city-wide W.P.A. groups, the American Structural Iron Workers Union, and the United Physically Handicapped of America. Two other non-Alliance W.P.A. groups sent delegates to the conference, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Association and a Columbia University W.P.A. white collar group. The structural iron workers alone has a membership of more than 450.

When the credentials committee announced late Sunday night that another Alliance unemployed local had "just joined the conference," the delegates applauded enthusiastically. This latest addition was the Russian speaking local, which had been previously visited by a Communist Party "disciplinary committee" and had its leading officers expelled from the C.P. as "Trotskyites."

Others locals represented at the conference, in addition to the original four locals which left the corrupt Browderite W.A., were: Locals 2, 4. 9, 15, 17, 19, 22, and 28. The original four locals were the Mechanic's Union, the Chauffer's Union, the West Side Welfare League and the Jamaica Local, making a total of 17 locals represented.

Militant Keynote Speech

Henry V. Rourke, elected unanimously as General Organizer of the Union, and who was chairman of the conference, sounded a warning note to the assembled delegates when he said in his keynote speech: "...One of the first real tests the new organization will face, comes in November, (after Election Day), when between 40,000 and 60,000 W.P.A. workers will be affected by the administration's new lay-off edict. Our immediate task will be to organize the thousands of W.P.A. workers for the most effective fight against these lay-offs."

"The Workers Alliance, refused to embarrass the administration, and engaged in phoney marches to Washington after Congress adjourned. The last W.P.A. wage cut is still with us," Rourke reminded the delegates.

New Officers Elected

The other officers elected by the conference are: President, James Weeks, secretary of the Mechanic's Union; Vice-Chairman, Neil Harrison, chairman of Local 15; and Secretary - Treasurer, Rhoda Pearson, chairman of Local 4. Pearson was elected unanimously. Weeks was contested by Popovitch, and Harrison was opposed by Milt Cohen, Vice-Chairman of Local 4.

A General Executive Board of 21 was elected, on the basis of one from each local. The G.E.B., in addition to the four officers, are: Fred Harwood, James Clarke, Frank Whitmore, Charles Mack, Larry Selman, Julius Kaplan, Moe Pichkas, Grace McArdle, M. Goldstein, Joe Farber, T. Marks, A. Unifacio, Moe Schlissel and Michael Gunn.

Although the conference was most inspiring and the delegates showed a real desire to go back to their locals and put into action the splendid program adopted, and build a powerful Union, the sessions were far from the "peaceful" and "respectable" rehearsed type generally held by the Stalinist Alliance.

Harrison Contested

In a heated encounter many delegates strenously objected to the brazen display of political discrimination, which they charged to membersof the Socialist Party, who saw to it that Milt Cohen, of Local 4, was kept off the General Executive Board.

Lined up with the S.P.'ers was Neil Harrison, who in a demagogic speech succeeded in confusing the majority of delegates into voting against Cohen.

Said Harrison: "These people, who are strongly opposed to the program... want representation on the Board." According to the chairman of the program committee, Popovitch, both Bauman and Cohen not only were in full agreement with the program adopted, but "assisted the program committee greatly in drafting it."

Denounces Discrimination

Cohen strongly denounced these discriminatory practices on the part of the S.P. and reminded the delegates that at the last city convention of the Alliance in March, Harrison himself was deliberately kept off the Executive Board of that organization, because at that time he was a Trotskyite.

Another controversial point raised at the conference was the recommendation of the constitution committee to adopt clauses barring "officers of the Union from succeeding themselves, after they have served in office one year." This point was referred to the first convention of the Union, which will be held in six months.

Grants Rights to Locals

The conference granted autonomy to the locals to engage in necessary activity at the bureaus without first getting the approval of the Union's officials, a right which the Alliance had long since denied.

Becoming panicky over the unexpected support the Alliance membership had given to the new movement, the Stalinist fakers, who did nothing for the progressive locals except attempt to smash them, sent out a general mailing in which they asked the rank and file "not to go along with this corrupt group of Trotskyites, the agents of Hitler and Mussolini and big business in this country" and to remain faithful to the Alliance which "is recognized and respected by **our President and our Mayor.**"

The conference went on record in favor of setting up a state and national organization at the earliest possible time and to communicate with sympathetic unemployed groups and locals throughout the country.

The last action taken by the conference before adjournment was to endorse the aims of the Unemployed Defense Committee set up last week to provide an adequate defense for Will Lubin and the fifteen others arrested at a Brooklyn relief bureau. Specific organizational steps for furthering the defense of the sixteen were referred to the first meeting of the incoming General Executive Board.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before 6 o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

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

Tickets are for Monday and Tuesday evenings, October 10th and 11th. May be obtained from Lillian Reynolds at National Office, 116 University Place. 65c. Auspices. Downtown Branch of S.W.P.

YOU'VE GOT A DATE TO HAVE THE TIME OF YOUR LIFE this Sat. eve., Oct. 8th. Games galore, dancing, refreshments. 220 W. 98th St., Apt. 4-H. Adm. 25c. Ausp. YPSL national Convention.

ANNOUNCING THE PREMIER DANCE of the year. Check your calendars for the City Convention Bal and get into step with a versatile Swing Band. Sat., Oct. 15. Further details forthcoming.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN No. 68-69, featuring several important articles by Leon Trotsky. Single copy 20c; 1 year $2. Subscriptions and single copies on sale at Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St., N.Y.C.

Mass Sale of N.J. Campaign Paper

NEWARK, N. J.—Five thousand copies of the Workers Voice, four-page paper of the Socialist Workers Party of New Jersey, were sold and distributed this week as a highlight of the independent election campaign being conducted here by the S.W.P.

Among the candidates of the S.W.P. are Irving Rosenberg, for congressman in the 12th district; Reuben Plaskett, for congressman in the 11th district; Frank Shapiro, for state senator, and Willis Crews, for general assembly.

ANTI-UNION PLAN IS DEFEATED BY HOUSTON LABOR

Plan for Managerial Dictatorship Is Spiked

By a Special Correspondent

HOUSTON, Oct. 4.—Once again organized labor showed its power in Houston as a combined offensive of the C.I.O. and the militant A. F. of L. unions defeated the boss-inspired anti-labor Houston Plan at the polls today. The complete returns showed that the powerful unions of the Teamsters' Joint Council of the A. F. of L. and the Harris County Industrial Council succeeded in mobilizing the support of the liberal as well as the labor vote in turning down the 29 proposed amendments to the city charter.

During the month preceding the election, speakers from these two organizations canvassed union locals and public meetings to expose this vicious attack on labor which a Citizens Committee of bankers and big businessmen was trying to put across under the name of "good government."

Bosses Spend Thousands

The employers threw thousands of dollars into the fight and the enthusiastic support of the entire boss press and radio was given. This was part of a long-planned campaign to stop the rapid organization of southern labor, which is becoming more and more confident of its strength. It would also have served as an assurance to the increasing number of northern firms which are looking toward this growing metropolis as a haven of low wages and slave labor conditions.

The result was an exact reversal of their plans; they learned that the working class was keenly alert on the political as well as the economic front.

A Vigilante Plan

The first 23 amendments, which were called the Houston Plan, proposed the installation of a city manager, who was to be given dictatorial powers unequalled in the history of municipal administration. Chief among these was the power to deputize city employees **or anyone else** in case of "emergencies or riots." This was an open assurance to the bosses that they would be given full vigilante protection in case of strikes, and was an invitation to the employment of scab labor.

On the day when the A. F. of L. convention opened in an atmosphere of reactionary C.I.O.-baiting, calculated to insure the disastrous split in the ranks of organized labor, the workers of Houston provided them with a living demonstration that only by joint action can the attacks of the bosses be defeated.

Teamsters in Forefront

The action of the militant Teamsters' Joint Council in joining the C.I.O. in this fight was in marked contrast to the A. F. of L. Central Council which took no active part in the struggle against these measures; and which, in fact, had even voted for some of them in the drafting committees.

That the class lines were drawn in this election in shown by the fact that the returns from Harrisburg and the other working class districts were overwhelmingly against the Plan—and this in spite of the vicious poll tax which is designed solely to disenfranchise the working class voter. The silk stocking residential and business districts voted 11 to 1 for the Plan, showing that they too understood their class interests.

This victory means much to Houston labor and has shown them just how powerful they can be if only they will mobilize their full strength.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

TWO STUDY COURSES:
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Classes held every Monday evening beginning Sept. 26, 8 P. M.

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Every Sunday at 3 P.M. beginning Sept. 25. Dealing with current subjects of local, national and international interest. Good Speakers.
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Fate of UAW Lies With Rank and File Workers

(Continued from page 1)

a lynch spirit in the union against all progressive workers? Does not the C.P. itself organize red-baiting campaigns against all genuine militants? It is only natural that the C.P. hails the reactionary aims of the C.I.O. peace plan!

It need only be added that the Michigan Socialist Party unvaryingly remained the rather timid, protesting yet thoroughly reliable shadow of the C.P. machine. That, however, is no news for those who are acqainted with the fact that the Michigan S.P. is run by the unofficial but highly effective "kitchen cabinet" of Walter Reuther.

Martin's Reactionary Allies

What about the Martin supporters on the Executive Board? How did they respond to the infamous proposals of Hillman-Murray? For three months this group waged a furious fight against the Stalinists in a manner highly bureaucratic and arrogant. Thousands of auto workers were repulsed by the high-handed methods employed and thus fell victim to the Stalinist demagogy. As the zero hour approached in the factional battle, the Auto Workers Union was swaying on the brink of a disastrous split. The C.I.O. leadership stepped in at the eleventh hour and forced the Executive Board to accept a rotten compromise.

Could it be otherwise? You cannot fight a wrecking crew successfully by adopting wrecking methods yourself. You cannot fight union splitters by yourself engineering a union split. You cannot fight bureaucrats by bureaucracy.

The temporary conclusion of the present factional fight has demonstrated with unmistakable clearness that the Martin supporters on the International Executive Board were incapable of leading a fight against the Stalinist menace, of providing leadership for progressive, militant unionism, of building the union and conducting an effective campaign against the automobile manufacturers.

What can be expected of the Stalinists has been stated too many times in the columns of the SOCIALIST APPEAL to need repetition. The program they will follow can be summed up in a minute: The establishment of a dictatorship within the union and a cowardly, weak-kneed policy towards the employers.

The C.I.O. high command has proposed its solution to solve the crisis of the Auto Workers Union:—Drive out the militants, then nobody will squawk and everything will work out alright.

Militants Built the U.A.W.

The auto workers have built their union by unleashing the most aggressive labor tactics known in the American labor movement. The auto workers have learned through their own experience that only by the greatest vigilance and militancy could they preserve their unions and build them in the face of the terror and the resistance of the manufacturers.

Drive out the militants? Will that even begin to solve any one of the dozen major problems facing the automobile workers today? No! That policy is the equivalent of an army command expelling from its ranks its most seasoned veterans before going in to face a ruthless and determined enemy force. The rank and file of the Auto Workers Union, the boldest fighters of all of America's union men, will reject unqualifiedly this suicidal program proposed by Hillman and Murray.

The Union Under Fire

The Washington sessions of the International Executive Board will undoubtedly witness a shift of power over to the side of the Stalinists. What can the auto workers do in this ensuing period? The ravaging economic crisis, which has thrown out of employment thousands of union men and women, has still not appreciably lifted. The automobile manufacturers, keenly aware of the weakened position of the union organization, are attempting a new onslaught to crush the union and bring back the open shop. Strong union locals are being attacked by a flank movement of the manufacturers in decentralizing their plants to small out-of-the-way towns, by shifting parts orders to unorganized competitive plants, by the launching of a propaganda program to poison the minds of the mass production workers against unionism.

The auto workers must act quickly, or they will find their union slowly being crushed under the barrage of the enemy fire. The manufacturers have already begun putting the union to a test in the recent encounters at Briggs Manufacturing Co., at the McCord Radiator Co., at the Champion Spark Plug Co. Both the Plymouth and the G.M. workers at Flint and Pontiac face immediate threats to their local union organizations and may have to embark upon strikes in the near future. What can the auto workers do to mobilize the union membership to a realization of the dangers facing the union and to a campaign for the solution of these momentous problems?

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 have shown that they are 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.

Up to the Membership

The key problems facing the union—of organizing the competitive parts plants, of organizing the one hundred thousand workers of the Ford Motor Co., and of a planned campaign of resistance to the union-busting campaign on the part of the manufacturers—can be successfully met. It is only necessary to arouse the union membership to the conviction that the union is prepared to do the job and welcomes the participation of rank and file union committees to put it across.

Upon whom can the auto workers depend to do this job? Only upon themselves! The burning need in the auto workers union is for all the genuine militants to get together; to work together; to work out a program for the realization of these main points in its practical details and for the immediate launching of a great drive throughout the auto union for the adoption of these policies.

The auto workers will then be infused with new hope, new enthusiasm and new life. Thousands of militants will again come forward volunteering their aid. Dozens of rank and file committees can be established to help in its realization. The rank and file can again be reawakened for the great tasks ahead. The auto union can again become the great powerful giant it was over a year ago, marching forward with bold majestic steps, leading the progressive movement of organized labor in America.

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Fascism and Big Business

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IRT THREATENS TO CUT WAGES

Transport Workers Prepare to Fight Transit Bosses

NEW YORK, Oct. 5.—The 14,000 workers on the Interborough Rapid Transit Lines who belong to the Transport Workers Union, have been presented with a request from the company to accept a 10 per cent pay cut on December 31 when the union contract expires. The company claims losses in revenue and threatens to suspend activity unless the wage reduction is accepted.

This action is to be followed by similar requests by the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation and several other large-scale transportation companies. Most of the lines are already in receivership and in the event they close down the City of New York will be forced to take over and operate them as it now operates the Independent Subway System.

The letter announcing the intention to reduce wages was timed by Thomas E. Murray, Federal receiver for the I.R.T., to reach the workers a full two months before the negotiation of the 1939 contract. The employers are taking advantage of the recent red-baiting campaign of the Dies Committee which labelled Mr. Mike Quill, International President of the Transport Workers Union, a member of the Communist Party. This was denied by Mr. Quill and the officials of the Union. But it may very well indicate an attempt to build up another "Bridges" case in order to lend a militant air to the expected settlement on the bosses terms.

What Will Quill Do?

The workers are also watching with interest to see what role Mr. Quill will play in the City Council, of which he is a member, when this question of taking over the subway and bus lines comes up for discussion. Will he act as president of the union—or will he play along with the LaGuardia administration and its line of keeping the already bankrupt transit lines in the hands of the bankers?

The latter means acceptance of the pay-cut since the companies cannot meet obligations and it further means the continuance of the ever increasing wrecks and accidents which are mounting as a result of the failure to make necessary repairs and replacement of rusty, obsolete machinery. Hundreds of workers have been injured and many killed in subway wrecks in the past several months due to the City's failure to enforce safety regulations.

Since all the unions contracts expire at the same time—on December 31—now is the time for the membership to realize that a fight with the companies and a determined struggle against the proposed wage cut is the only way out and that only through a militant fight will the union win any worth while concessions.

Repulse Hoodlum Attack on Meeting

Sympathizers and comrades repulsed the attacks of a reactionary mob of hoodlums last Tuesday night at an outdoor meeting of the S.W.P. & Y.P.S.L. at the corner of Tremont & Prospect Avenues, Bronx.

For this meeting the comrades had come prepared to defend themselves against the familiar Stalinist hoodlums who had disrupted our past meetings at the corner. Instead they encountered continuous provocations from a gang of street hoodlums. Barrages of rotten tomatoes were answered by the comrades with an organized counter-attack which effectively dispersed the reactionery mobsters.

It is becoming increasingly necessary for comrades to prepare for attacks at all street meetings against both Stalinist and Fascist disrupters. Forward to Party and League Defense Guards!

U.A.W. WINS TWO INDIANA STRIKES

Demands Granted In Plymouth And Briggs Plant

EVANSVILLE, Ind. — A strike here last week closed both the local Plymouth assembly plant and the Briggs body plant. The two are interdependent. After a brief period the strike came to an end with a complete victory and 100 per cent unionization.

The management had allowed grievances to go unsettled since the big strikes of '37. Both plants had been closed for several months and were just resuming production. The assembly plant normally employs about 1800 men but only some 800 were working at the time. A ten per cent preferred employee list was used to discriminate against union men. Those on the list had been selected by the management and were rehired first. Older men were shuttled around to various kinds of work they were unable to perform, thereby making their discharge for poor workmanship possible.

100 Per Cent Walkout

The grievance committee worked doggedly, seeking a peaceful settlement. The bosses stalled or dodged the issue. The U.A.W. locals voted to strike. Negotiations continued but when the committee was told point-blank that certain older men would not be rehired, every worker walked out—with the exception of two who were subsequently "persuaded" to join. Only four men now employed are not union men.

The strike was well planned and well conducted. No violence occurred, as the police stayed away from the strike. The restaurants and gas stations in the vicinity refused service to non-union men. Even the plant guards urged scabs to join the union.

Labor relations men, attorneys, executives, etc., were immediately wired and came from Chicago, Detroit and New York by airplane. The union committee worked overtime, stenographers worked in shifts. Meetings lasted all night and into the early hours of the morning.

Negotiations came to an end, and the men returned to work after all demands were granted. In the matter of the preferred employee list, the union was allowed to remove those they found objectionable. All future appointments will hereafter be okayed by the union before appointments become effective.

In all it was the finest work of organizing achieved in Evansville.

Champ' Salesman!

At deadline time Ted Bekos, demon salesman of the Socialist Appeal in New York, had sold his 1,047th copy of the extra editions of this week. His record on the sidewalks of New York, from Union Square to Times Square and beyond, is way out in front. Here are a few lines from Ted on how he does it:

By TED BEKOS

It's really easy to sell the Appeal, but you've got to get the tempo. It is absolutely necessary to give our prospective reader the impression that they are spending their penny to read a working class newspaper which gives them an answer to the world problems that are worrying them today as never before.

One of my slogans was, "Hear all about the four power pact against the Soviet Union." The four power pact was the most burning issue of the day, and every worker had it on his mind.

Make Them Buy!!

When selling the paper it is absolutely necessary for the comrade to go to it with all he has in him. We must impress the passerby, so that he reaizes that our paper has something extra, something different and something he wants.

The other half of the work is to collect the money. Besides those who are willing to buy the paper a good section of people must be helped to buy the **Appeal.** Everyone is a possible **Socialist Appeal** reader. Place a copy in a worker's hand, but do it in a polite way. You will find that almost everyone has his penny ready.

If we are on a street corner we must let those coming from the other side of the street know what we are selling so that they have their penny ready by the time they pass us. It is a good thing to walk alongside of a customer instead of walking against traffic.

When a Stalinist comes along place a copy of the **Appeal** in his hands with a smile. If he is unwilling to buy a copy, assure him that you read the Daily Worker every day, and that he should not be afraid to hear what we have to say. Nine times out of ten they buy a copy of the **Appeal.**

If someone has no change, give him a copy free. There are always enough sympathizers who offer nickels and dimes to permit us to give free copies to interested readers who have no money. Do not lose a customer.

Posters Useful

The attractive picket signs that we wear announcing the penny **Appeal** do half the job for us. Peoples' attention is drawn to the sign, so do not hide it with your papers. Remember, our signs are almost as effective as our shouting.

And let every one know the price of the paper. "One Cent," **"Socialist Appeal,"** and the leading headline must be shouted out constantly.

If you begin your sales full of life, you will find yourself selling more than you can possible distribute in the same length of time. The **Appeal** will sell like hot cakes if you just put a little effort into what you are doing.

Appeal Army

Second Anti-War Issue of APPEAL Has Great Success!

We can report once again that the second special issue of the APPEAL directed at the war-makers has had an overwhelming success. Reports from our street salesmen in New York City and letters coming in from all over the country indicate that the issue has again been completely sold out!

Everything indicates that thousands of workers and members of the Communist Party have become aware of the fact that the American Fourth Internationalists are the only serious opponents of war in America and that our message is reaching new and hitherto untouched layers of workers. In future issues we intend to give more examples and specific cases of this.

In the meantime, there are more special issues to come out and we urge branches to rush special orders for them. Funds have been coming in too slowly. In order to guarantee the completion of our undertaking, we must have an influx of good, solid cash at once. Branch litagents, please notice this and get to work on it!

* * *

World-Congress Issue to appear in approximately three weeks!

WORLD CONGRESS ISSUE

We are glad to announce that preparations are now being made to issue the special World-Congress APPEAL. This issue will be in conjunction with the 10th Anniversary of the founding of the Trotskyist "Left Opposition" in America. It will be the largest and easily the best issue of the APPEAL to date. More details will be announced next week, but those branches which have not yet placed their orders are urged to do so with a rush! We have had thousands of extra orders already, but there are still some branches that have failed to respond. Remember! The World-Congress issue will be out in about three weeks. Prepare for it now!

* * *

Karl Shier of Chicago, Ill., has won the APPEAL sub-contest with a total of 23 subscriptions! Grace Carlson of St. Paul was second. Congratulations to both, and we'll be sending them their prizes shortly.

* * *

Send all contributions and subs to:

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116 University Place
New York, N. Y.

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SAN DIEGO, Calif.
Universal News Co., 242 B'way
Sweet Shop, 2526 Brooklyn Ave.

People's Fronts Lead to Dictatorships in Europe

France and Czechs Turn Authoritarian

(Continued from page 1)

led directly to—the authoritarian regime of Daladier. In his speech before the chamber on Tuesday Daladier made his new course plain: "Everything that incites hate, everything that makes Frenchmen oppose Frenchmen, cannot constitute anything but treason!" This might have appeared a few weeks ago in **Humanité**, the Stalinist paper. Today it is Daladier's warning to the workers, whom he called upon to expect a "permanent mobilization" for "peace."

He made it plain that the workers would be expected to bear all the new burdens and to meet with the harsh hand of police rule if they protest. With the French economic crisis aggravated, the bottom dropping again out of the franc, France is heading swifty toward an open dictatorship. These are the fruits of the People's Front!

The Czech Turn

In Czechoslovakia the "democratic" bourgeoisie made haste to reconcile itself to its new master in Berlin. It dropped Benes and formed a government more palatable to the Fascist overlord. An accompanying article by W. Keller in these columns explains why this shift could so easily be made. Always vassals, they are simply changing masters.

In these weeks we have heard a lot of piteous dribble about the gallant "little democracy" of Czechoslovakia. This week the rulers in Prague gave a real demonstration of just how much "democracy" means to them.

With cold cruelty the Prague government put up barriers against the thousands of German Social Democrats and other anti-Fascists, of anti-Nazi Czechs, who sought to flee from the Sudeten areas in the path of the advancing armies of the Fuehrer. Prague will soon be crushing anti-Fascists in its own territory. Why let them escape the lashes of the Fuehrer in Sudetenland? The "little Czech democrats" are well on the way to becoming "little Czech fascists."

Time Is Short!

In other words in France, in Czechoslovakia, in Spain, the three lands where the policy of the People's Front reached fullest fruition, the result has been disaster for the working class and for the Soviet Union. The events leading up to Munich were the culmination of a process which has been underway for three years. Thanks to the People's Front, the revolutionary upsurge of the French and Spanish workers and the opportunity to weld the workers of all the races of Czechoslovakia into a powerful revolutionary anti-Fascist bloc have been frittered away. German Fascism has taken long strides toward the dominant position in Central Europe it needs as a jumping-off place for an attack on the Soviet Union. Never has the peril of Fascism been greater than now. That is the net result of the theory and practice of the People's Front.

Munich has fed fuel to the fires of war and fascism. But it has also provided a brief respite for the re-marshalling of the divided and demoralized ranks of the workers in all countries. That task, based upon the firm and undeviating policy of class struggle against all bosses in all countries and a steel-welded unity among the workers of all countries, is the task imposed in this critical hour upon all revolutionists, upon all militants of the working class.

PREPARES SELL-OUT

PREMIER NEGRIN

'Fight Imperialism To Fight Fascism,' Trotsky Tells Cuban Press

By LEON TROTSKY

Sept. 21, 1938

The most important and the most difficult thing in politics, in my opinion, is to define on one hand the **general** laws which determine the life-and-death struggle of all countries of the modern world; on the other hand to discover the **special combination** of these laws for each single country. Modern humanity without exception, from British workers to Abyssinian nomads, lives under the yoke of imperialism. This must not be forgotten for a single minute. But this does not at all mean that imperialism manifests itself equally in all countries. No. Some countries are the carriers of imperialism, others—its victims. This is the main dividing line between modern nations and states . From this, and only from this viewpoint should the very pressing problem of **fascism** and **democracy** be considered.

Democracy for Mexico, for instance, signifies the desire of a semi-colonial country to escape from bonded dependence, to give land to the peasants, to lift the Indians to a higher level of culture, and so on. In other words, the democratic problems of Mexico have no progressive and revolutionary character. And what does democracy signify in Great Britain? The maintenance of what exists, that is, above all the maintenance of the rule of the metropolis over the colonies. The same is true in relation to France. The banner of democracy covers here the imperialist hegemony of the privileged minority over the oppressed majority.

Fascism and Imperialism

In the same manner we cannot speak of fascism "in general." In Germany, Italy, and Japan, fascism and militarism are the weapons of a greedy, hungry, and therefore aggressive imperialism. In the Latin-American countries fascism is the expression of the most slavish dependence on foreign imperialism. We must be able to discover under the political form the economic and social content.

In certain circles of the intelligentsia at present the idea of the "unification of all democratic states" against fascism enjoys popularity. I consider this idea fantastic, chimerical, capable only of deceiving the masses, especially of the weak and oppressed peoples. Really, can one believe for even a single moment that Chamberlain, Daladier, or Roosevelt are capable of carrying on a war for the sake of the abstract principle of "democracy"? Had the British government loved democracy so, it would have given freedom to India. The same is true of France. Great Britain prefers the dictatorship of Franco in Spain to the political rule of the workers and peasants, because Franco would be a much more pliant and reliable agent of British imperialism. England and France have given Austria to Hitler without resistance although war would be inevitable if he so much as dared touch their colonies.

The conclusion is that it is impossible to fight against fascism without fighting imperialism. The colonial and semi-colonial countries must fight first of all against that imperialist country which directly oppresses them, irrespective of whether it bears the mask of fascism or democracy.

In the countries of Latin America the best and surest method of struggle against fascism is the agrarian revolution. Because Mexico had made important steps on this road the uprising of General Cedillo was left suspended in air. On the contrary, the cruel defeats of the republicans in Spain are due to the fact that the Azana government in alliance with Stalin suppressed the agrarian revolution and the independent movement of the workers. A conservative and even more a reactionary social policy in weak and semi-colonial countries means in the full sense of the word betrayal of national independence.

Stalin—World Gendarme

You will ask me how it can be explained that the Soviet government which issued from the October Revolution suppresses the revolutionary movement in Spain? The answer is simple: a new privileged bureaucratic caste, very conservative, greedy, and tyrannical has succeeded in raising itself over the Soviets. This bureaucracy does not trust the masses but fears them. It seeks rapprochement with the ruling classes, especially with "democratic" imperialists. To prove his reliability, Stalin is ready to play the role of Gendarme throughout the entire world. The Stalinist bureaucracy and its agency the Comintern, now represent the greatest danger to the independence and progress of weak and colonial peoples.

I know Cuba too little to permit myself an independent judgment on your fatherland. You can judge better than I which of the above expressed opinions is applicable to the situation in Cuba. So far as I personally am concerned I hope that I shall be able to visit the Pearl of the Antillian islands and become more closely acquainted with your people to whom through your newspaper I send my warmest and sincerest greetings.

Coyoacan, D. F.

LaGuardia Beats the Legion's War Drums

Swallows 10-Point Anti-Labor Program

THE "LITTLE FLOWER"

Amidst the feverish atmosphere created by the European war crisis last week, the American Legion held its annual convention at Los Angeles. It was interesting to note how this precursor of a native American fascism would react under such circumstances. Marxists, naturally, were not to be very much surprised at the way the Legion stood the test of such a crisis.

But what has the so-called Communist Party, whose Leader, Earl Browder, proudly exclaimed only a few short months ago that "the Communist Party is the only one which does not have a major difference with the Legion," have to say about the ten-point program adopted by this "consistently liberal and democratic" outfit last week? Why is the **Daily Worker silent?** Hasn't it read the "ten points"?

Legion Beats the Drums

That the American Legion, under the pressure of a war fever, should beat the drums loudly for such war preparations as the creation of an anti-alien spirit ("that all immigration be curtailed" says one point in the program), the work of the Dies Committee, the deportation of "alien" labor leaders (they mention Harry Bridges as an example!) etc,. is to be taken for granted and was taken for granted by all in labor's ranks, all but the Stalinists and some Stalinized liberals.

That New York's Little Flower and "labor's friend," Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, should join with the rest of the Legionnaires in whooping it for the old war spirit, probably took more people by surprise, including, we know, the Lovestoneites, who argue with His Honor on this very matter editorially in the current issue of their paper—always with sweet reasonableness. After all, he is a liberal—and wasn't he elected with labor votes?

For revolutionists it is axiomatic that in a crisis every labor-faking liberal politician will do his duty for Wall Street—whatever the political stripe of its prevailing administration. Mr. LaGuardia did not disappoint us either. Taking advantage of the occasion, he pronounced himself as follows before the assembled Legionnaires:

Back War Program

"Whenever our national government takes its position on foreign affairs (sic), that is the position of the American people. We may differ among ourselves, but I know that the American Legion will say: "Mr. President, whatever our government decided for the defense of our country and the protection of its peace, we stand behind our government one hundred per cent strong!"

All of the Mayor's palaver about the sovereignty of the people, etc., etc., reduces itself here, in a critical moment, to a simple admonition: "When the government decides to go to war, it is up to the 'socereign' people to follow." That's all. And, in case of any reluctance on the "peepul's" part, there is always the American Legion, which he "knows" will say: "We stand behind our government one hundred per cent strong." The Mayor, obviously, is no great exponent of a popular referendum on war.

Time for Accounting

The Mayor only does what is to be expected of a boss politician. His long years in the Republican Party and his known aspiration to the Republican presidential nomination for 1940 vouch for him as a "safe" man for Wall Street in the coming war, if his record in the past holocaust is not sufficient. But what are "labor leaders" doing who support such a man as the Labor Party's candidate for public office? Why do "labor leaders" refer to him as a "labor" mayor? Why doesn't some official of the American Labor Party ask the Mayor for an explanation about his conduct at the Los Angeles convention of the American Legion? Why doesn't the A.L.P. leadership ask LaGuardia what his attitude is toward the infamous "ten-point" program adopted by the Legion?

The members of the A.L.P. and of the unions affiliated with it have the right to ask for an explanation. Mr. LaGuardia cannot serve both the Anti-Labor American Legion and the Labor Party. No man can serve two masters. Before the calamity of another war—which threatened so ominously last week — overtakes them, the workers ought to know who is really with them and who against them.

ARMY RULE FOR LABOR IN WAR

Make Plans to Hog-Tie Unions When U. S. Fights

What will be the lot of American labor in event of another world war?

This question was asked by thousands of workers during the past few weeks in the midst of the war crisis.

Here is what the U.S. Army officials—who will run the country during a war period—have to say.

"More stringent control of the civil population than **ever conceived of previously**—at least by democratic people—is involved," writes Major R. Ernest Dupuy, of the U.S. Army, in his recently published book, "If War Comes."

Army in Complete Control

In case a worker has any doubt of what this means in practice, Major Dupuy adds, "This control must reach not only in commerce, industry and alimenation, but even into the most trivial of personal interests."

And that is exactly what the workers suffer from under Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy. Even the most trivial of personal interests must be controlled in war-time, says the U.S. Army.

A totalitarian regime is all planned for America in event of war. Major Dupuy, a spokesman for the U.S. Army, admits it in so many words.

Is it a wonder that advanced workers and revolutionaries scoff at the slogan "democracy vs. fascism," when all capitalist countries have dictatorships now and during war-time all of them will be ruthless totalitarian states?

Labor Movement Hog-Tied

Both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. are doomed to be hog-tied in event of war. The army will control industry. Speed-up, longer working hours, lower wages, and discrimination against union men is what the bosses always want. During war-time, they have the army to back them against any protests by the workers. Strikes, according to militarists, are "treason" in war-time.

But do you think the army will stop Tom Girdler or Henry Ford from making profit from exploiting the workers in war-time? It is highly significant that the Army journals always talk about drafting labor, and taking some control over industry, but never a word is spoken about profit.

Army Will Break Strikes

Even during the so-called "peace-times" the National Guard is used to break strikes like the "Little Steel" strike in 1937. Imagine how the extra hundreds of thousands of National Guardsmen will act towards labor if any strikes are called during war?

Suppression of labor newspapers was one of the first steps taken in the last world war. It will come quicker this time.

War will furnish the bosses their biggest opportunity for a nation-wide union-busting campaign because the bosses will have the U. S. Army as its force of armed strikebreakers.

Preservation of unions as instruments of workers against the oppressive conditions in industry today means, above all, to fight against the war-mongering political parties, against all moves to drag the American workers into another world war.

C.I.O. TO SET UP JERSEY COUNCIL

NEWARK, N. J.—Hundreds of delegates representing the C.I.O. unions in this state are expected to attend a convention this weekend to set up a state council, W. J. Carney, C.I.O. regional director, announced.

The burning issue before the delegates will be the organization of an effective struggle against the menace of Mayor Frank Hague, Jersey political Czar, whose anti-union activities have made him a notorious national figure.

Progressive Action

Unionists predict that two main lines of division in discussion will appear on this question. The Stalinist delegates will propose a program which calls for reliance on Roosevelt and other government agents, even though Hague is one of Roosevelt's props in democratic circles. Progressives are reported to be seeking adoption of a program calling for more self-reliance on the part of the workers in fighting Hague.

Since Hague controls the democratic party and has allies in the republican party, C.I.O. leaders have not been able to take a stand on the current election because the rank and file workers are dead set against the major parties.

Labor Party Sentiment

It is expected that the sentiment for a labor party and independent candidates will be revealed at the convention, and resolutions calling for a labor party introduced.

Last winter, the C.I.O. unions tentatively set up a labor party but this was channelized into support of Labor's Non-Partisan League by the top leadership.

The usual run of resolutions on "collective security" Roosevelt's "peace" policy, etc. are expected to be debated at the gathering, with keener interest than in previous times in view of the debacle of the Stalinist international policy.

S.W.P. OPENS BIG OFFICES IN MPLS

Minneapolis, Sept. 26. — Several hundred members and sympathizers of the Fourth International gathered Saturday night at a Night Club party to celebrate the formal opening of the new headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis, at 919 Marquette.

The new quarters, located in the center of the city, is said to be the finest home belonging to any section of the revolutionary movement.

The S.W.P. occupies the entire second floor of the large building. An auditorium at the front, newly decorated and well-lighted and ventilated, seats about 200. This is used for party meetings and open forums.

Library, Bookshop, Kitchen

Across the hall is a large amusement room comfortably furnished, used as a library and classroom.

Opening off the hall is the well-stocked Labor Book Store, selling all books, papers and periodicals of the labor movement. Behind the book store is a large and pleasant office with desks for the organizer and secretary. This office is used for board meetings.

An ample kitchen, equipped with a large stove and all necessary culinary supplies, is used to provide meals during party affairs. A coatroom and two washrooms complete the party home.

The Saturday "Night Club", held September 24, attracted scores of Twin City union militants and their wives. With Miles Dunne as master-of-ceremonies, an enjoyable oor show entertained the guests for several hours, after which the floor was cleared for dancing.

Established in their new headquarters, the Minneapolis branches of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League are looking forward to the busiest and most fruitful period of activity for the revolutionary movement in this area.

Article on Painters Union in Next Issue Will Expose Plans of Stalinist 'Fraction'

Due to pressure of space, we have been forced to leave on the slab a sensational article exposing the very latest maneuvers of the C. P. fraction in the Painters Union. It will appear in the next issue of the **Socialist Appeal.**

ASU Conducts Jingo Drive While YPSL Fights War

As the American Student Union, Stalinist organization among the students, was taking advantage of the Czech crisis to stage a series of pro-war recruiting rallies last week, the Young People's Socialist League called upon all students to break with and boycott this war-mongering organization.

The A.S.U. rallies took place around the slogan of "Save Czechoslovakia," with the auxiliary slogan of "Save the United States." Not a word about "defending the Soviet Union." Only the "Trotskyites" in the schools raised this slogan in response to the steps toward the four-power pact concluded by the "democratic" and fascist imperialists and aimed at the Soviet Union.

Save "Our" Trade!

One of the main demands raised by the Stalinists, intended to "save" both Czechoslovakia and the United States both in one brilliant stroke, was for the government to slap an embargo on Germany—not because it was attacking Czechoslovakia—but because of its "economic aggression against us in South America." In other words, Germany is taking away "our" trade in South America, by methods which American imperialism considers to be its own property; this is "fascist aggression" when Germany plays at the game; therefore—"Save Czechoslovakia," and Rockefeller oil.

This is not the last time when we will have occasion to say that the A.S.U. reached a high-water mark in open war-mongering under cover of its pretty phrases about peace. The period when the A.S.U. leadership exercised caution and restraint in putting forward the line of the Young Communist League is definitely over; its role and position are out in the clear after some years of hedging. This is the significance of the A.S.U.'s week of activity.

The public pronouncements, leaflets, etc. of the A.S.U. were hysterical appeals for a "firm stand against Hitler." Who is to take a "firm stand?" The same people they denounce as "tories" and sell-out artists, Chamberlain and Daladier. These gentlemen are to be convinced to change their spots, by "mass pressure" from the people. The futility of the A.S.U.'s collective-security policy could not have been more completely exposed.

Openly For War

The A.S.U. spokesmen made it sufficiently clear that they were not calling merely for "moral" pressure, whatever that may mean. At Brooklyn College Evening, Joe Lash, national secretary of the A.S.U., was asked what in his opinion the powers should actually have done in order to stop Germany. His answer was that he did not want to commit the A.S.U. to calling for war against Germany by his own say-so . . . but anyway they shouldn't have backed down.

He added that he was not in favor of wasting time answering the arguments of the "radicals" who call for abolition of the R.O.T.C. and are against the billion-dollar navy budget here in the United States. The American people, he said, feel that these battleships are their protection against Hitler, and it would be going against this "anti-fascist sentiment" to oppose it.

Beating the Drums

At the Great Hall of City College and broadcast over the radio, the A.S.U. held a mass meeting in cooperation with the faculty, whose spirit can only be compared with that of the drum-beating patriotic rallies used to whip up mass hysteria when the U.S. entered the World War. Dean Turner, opening the affair for the college administration, drew the moral that the meeting augured well for faculty student relations in the future—that is, the City College administration, which has probably been developing its own little M-day plan to suppress student demonstrations in case of war, now feels somewhat reassured. Stanley M. Isaacs, borough president of Manhattan, joined the People's Front with an attack from the pro-war angle on "peace at any price." He was for peace, naturally, but there were some things more important than peace . . .

The brother of the Czech President, Sen. Benes, gave a tearful account of "poor bleeding Czechoslovakia." We can report that so far, pretty co-eds wrapped in the American flag and singing the Star-Spangled Banner have not yet been introduced at A.S.U. meetings.

Y.P.S.L. Drive Planned

In response to this splurge of the war-mongers, the Y.P.S.L. is planning a show-down drive on the campus between the anti-war and pro-war forces. As the only force in the schools pointing the road for workers, action to stop war and defend the Soviet Union, the Y.P.S.L. will undertake a campaign to cinch the recent demonstration in life of what collective security means, and mobilize the students for real anti-imperialist action. As for the A.S.U., the Y.P.S.L. statement declared that "between it and the anti-war students is a No-Man's Land."

It characterized the A.S.U. as an "aggressive pro-war movement" which is the agency of the Stalinists and the right hand of the administrations in selling out the anti-war movement, concluding:

"Which side do you choose?

"The Young People's Socialist League declares that membership in the A.S.U. is incompatible with the fight against imperialist war.

"If you are really sincere in your opposition to imperialist war, then avoid the A.S.U. and its recruiting sergeants as you would a plague.

"Discourage your fellow students from joining the A.S.U. as you would their joining the R.O.T.C.

"Join the Young People's Socialist League as the only organization capable of carrying on a relentless struggle against boss war!"

SWP Hits at War Meet in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS.—"In a war against Fascism twelve million men look good to me whether they wear red or khaki uniforms," Julius Klyman of the St. Louis Newspaper Guild and first vice-president of the local C.I.O. Council said at a rally here last Friday. This hosanna to imperialist war was the main theme of the meeting held under the auspices of the Czechoslovakian National Alliance, a non-Stalinist group, and the American League for Peace and democracy.

Robert Logsden of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America expressed the same idea when he said the "Fascists must be met with a firm hand. May that day come soon. And may the democracies be on the right side." He attacked Premier Daladier of France for giving way to Fascism without mentioning, however, that Daladier was, until last week, the premier and one of the chief leaders of the French People's Front.

The Socialist Workers Party distributed a leaflet at the meeting which was read with avid interest by the workers. It explained why workers cannot depend on capitalist governments to fight Fascism. It called for unity of the workers of all countries against the imperialist governments, "democratic" and Fascist, and pointed out that war and fascism are bred by capitalism.

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International Come to Ad Of Striking Omaha Drivers

OMAHA, Neb.—The strike of sters' International, every big over-the-road drivers remained 100 per cent effective this week, as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters come to the assistance of the Omaha General Drivers Union, Local 544, in an effort to force the owners to respect the 11-state area agreement signed in Chicago a few weeks ago.

With the over-the-road trucks tied up in all important terminals, and with the knowledge that the 175 teamsters locals in the North Central Area Negotiating Committee are behind the strike, over 60 owners have thus far broken away from the bosses' Nebraska Commercial Truckers' Association which refuses to sign a contract, and have signed individual agreements with Local 544.

International Backs Strike

Edward F. Murphy, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, arrived in Omaha, bringing with him funds of the International to finance the strike. He pledged his word that whatever other assistance was necessary from the International to assure victory, will be forthcoming.

The pledge of financial assistance from the International put an end to the malicious attempts of the truck owners to frighten the drivers and their families with the prospect of starvation. While the strike kitchen has been feeding the strikers and their families, agents of the owners have been busy all week telephoning to the homes of the strikers, trying to fool the men into believing that the union and the rest of the drivers' movement was ready to desert the strike front and leave the "544" men in the lurch. In addition to the support of the Teamsters' union in the North Central area has pledged financial assistance.

Solidarity with Farmers

The solidarity between the farmers and the striking teamsters was further demonstrated this week, when farm leaders throughout Nebraska voiced their support of the strike. The drivers have an agreement with the farmers to permit them to bring their produce to the Omaha market.

The drivers maintain a 24 hour picket line every day, and are determined to keep the trucks off the highways until the strike is won.

DRIVERS POWER IN A.F.L. MEET

(Continued from page 1)

Executive Council, in his report to the convention engaged in a red-baiting orgy, and generally talked along the lines of John P. Frey and other reactionaries.

Yet the pre-convention talk of "war to death" against the C.I.O. was not contained in the executive council's report.

The message of President Roosevelt to the convention in which he urged labor unity put the die-hard clique on the spot. How far the sentiment of the A.F. of L. rank and file on its desire for unity with the C.I.O. will be expressed at the convention remained to be seen at this writing.

One of the ironic twists of William Green's report was that he took a position in regard to Czechoslovakia which was completely Stalinist, and which obtained for him the praise of the Daily Worker.

The bitter attack of the Executive Council against the National Labor Relations Board and the Wagner Labor Disputes Act marked the trend of reactionary influence in the leadership of the A.F. of L. Instead of blaming the N.L.R.B. for not doing more in favor of the unions, Green and company object to the fact that it was utilized by the C.I.O. primarily in the mass production industries against the bosses.

Amendments to the Wagner Act at this time can only be in the direction of hog-tieing the American Labor movement along the lines of the British Labor Disputes Act or the Swedish laws which crippled all militant action by the unions for self-preservation and organization.

Fight on Printers' Delegates

One of the bitter fights coming before the convention this week is the question of seating the delegates from the typographical union. This union at its recent conventin refused to endorse a resolution calling for an A.F. of L. war chest to fight the C.I.O. Its friendly attitude towards industrial unionism has earned it the undying hatred of the craft-union clique headed by William Hutcheson of the Carpenters.

Despite the blows of the crisis reflected in mass lay-offs the A.F. of L. has a reported dues-paying membership of over 3,600,000, according to the executive council. It's total is estimated at nearly 5,000,000.

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Associate Editors
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Ths Judas Kiss for Spain

One more bitter fruit from the rotten tree of "faith in democracy" is now ready to be flung in the face of the workers.

Recent dispatches from Europe are disclosing, as long ago predicted in our columns, the emergence of a carefully premeditated plan for the liquidation of the Spanish Civil War, a plan prepared under the combined auspices of Franco, Negrin, and the British and French foreign offices.

It is altogether clear that this plan it *not* the result of a "capitulation to the dictatorships," but is in the first instance sponsored by Great Britain and France. Even apart from the fact that Great Britain has stood for such a solution from the first, this is shown by the steps taken weeks and months ago, long before any thought of the Munich Conference.

Twice during the summer, Negrin made trips to Switzerland during which it is authoritatively reported that he held long interviews with representatives of Franco. The dismissal of the international volunteers from the Loyalist Army, a necessary pre-condition for liquidation of the war, began as is now known at least six weeks in advance of the recent public announcement. During the same time there have evidently been large withdrawals of Italian forces from Franco's army.

For the past month, the war itself has been virtually at a stalemate, with no large-scale military operations.

What is the plan that has been cooked up in the offices of Chamberlain and Daladier, with the acquiescence of Negrin and Franco? What will be the content of their new "peace with honor?"

They are making ready to complete the smashing of all the conquests of the Spanish workers and peasants. That, and that only, is their plan.

They visualize a provisional Spanish regime which will be, whatever name is given to it, simply an iron-clad military dictatorship. Its function will be to root out everything left of workers' control and workers' ownership, to break up the remaining peasants' collectives, and to smash all resistance from the workers' organizations. Administrative details—what formula to use, what territorial divisions, what kind of a possible "plebiscite"—are evidently left for later agreement, but the main outline of the plan is already apparent.

This, then, is the reward for "reliance on democracy": more than two and a half of incomparably heroic secrifice and courage to end in utter and absolute betrayal.

To put faith, in the struggle against fascism, on bourgeois democracy—on their own bourgeois government, on England and France—this was what the socialists and the Stalinists told the Spanish workers and peasants. Bourgeois democracy now gives its answer.

No event in history is more tragic than the struggle in Spain. Never have workers and peasants fought more magnificently; never have they been betrayed more basely.

We must resolve that these workers and peasants have not died in vain. Their sacrifice, heavy and terrible as it is, can yet be turned toward victory if—and only if—it can be made to teach the workers its lesson, which is at the same time the lesson of every great event of our time: *Bourgeois democracy cannot, will not, stand against fascism. Support of bourgeois democracy prepares the way for fascism. Only the workers, breaking from the illusions of bourgeois democracy, uniting their class ranks in independent struggle for their own class aim of the socialist revolution, can defeat fascism.*

Let the working class mark its enemies well! When the plan for liquidating the Spanish Civil War is published in full and open enormity by its distinguished democratic sponsors, let the workers remember who told them to trust those sponsors. Stalin, Blum, Citrine, Prieto, Negrin: it is *their* plan, for it is *their* policy which has produced *it*.

Greetings to "Workers Voice"

Good work, Jersey!

The first issue of the "Workers Voice," campaign organ of the New Jersey Socialist Workers Party, has just appeared. It is a full-sized four page tabloid. A hard-hitting paper, it squares off with "I am the Law" Hague right in his own bailiwick.

The New Jersey comrades are running a full slate of candidates against the stooges of Hague—and Roosevelt. Their election ticket is significant not alone for the revolutionary program on which they stand—but for the fact that the candidates are all workers. Not professional politicians—professional betrayers to be more accurate—but workers from the unemployed movement and the trade unions, negro and white: these are the representatives of the Socialist Workers Party for political office.

The "Workers Voice" is blazing a trail for our party branches throughout the country. The "Voice" is a campaign paper. But it is more than that: it is a direct intervention of the party in local politics and in the daily life of the workers.

Good Luck, Jersey! And here's to more issues of the "Voice"!

Czech Bourgeoisie Prepares For Turn To Fascist Regime

This is the second of a series of articles on future developments in Czechoslovakia resulting from the partition at the Munich conference and the invasion by Germany and Poland.—Ed.

By W. KELLER

Czechoslovakia is now economically and militarily caught on the hooks of the swastika. The brutal treatment meted out by the Czech "democratic" bourgeoisie to German anti-Nazi refugees from the Sudeten areas is already sufficient sign that it is already beginning to re-orient itself politically as well.

Authoritarian Poland has also suddenly discovered her sympathies for her follow-Slavs, the Czechs. The latter may well rise to the bait and try to maneuver between Hitler and the Poles. But the Poles are themselves dependent upon Germany. How Poland will stand if the Anglo-French bloc should finally decide to take up arms, in alliance with Russia against Germany, is a question for the future. But even then it would be doubtful whether the Czech bourgeoisie, having already burned its fingers, would once more risk annihilation by Germany's war machine.

Even should Czech foreign policy return to the now extinct French alliance, this would not permit reconciliation with the Stalinist myth of "democracy" vs. Fascism. For the Czech bourgeoisie will in the meantime have learned new tunes. It will march better to the rhythms of national socialism than to the psalms of the People's Front.

Czech "Democracy"

Czechoslovakia was "democratic" for the same reason that the Versailles Treaty appeared to be "democratic." The victors, having humiliated and disarmed their adversaries, could enforce the new order by pacific means. The new impoverished Czechoslovakia will have to move toward Fascism for the same reasons that starved Germany, Italy, Hungary and Poland had to choose open dictatorships.

This prognosis can seem incredible only to those who allow themselves to be fooled by the social patriotic campaign of Stalinism about the "liberty-loving" Czech bourgeoisie.

However, the list alone of economic losses (see our article last week) which the Czechs are suffering as a result of the Munich deal is enough to indicate the real nature of Czech democracy. Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland are democratic at home while grinding their vast colonies under a black dictatorship. American democracy keeps the whole world cowering under its economic lash. In Czechoslovakia for each inhabitant of the Czech nation there was one colonial slave of German, Slovak, Hungarian, Ruthenian, Polish, or Jewish nationality

A Slave Regime

Like a parasite, the Czech bourgeoisie lived on the wealth of Sudetenland that Hitler has now taken for his own. But more than this, it kept its eastern provinces—Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia—in permanent misery, establishing there a dictatorship which can be compared only to the rule of Czarist absolutism. Czech democracy spelt economic pauperism, political and cultural enslavement for more than one-half the total population comprising the six non-Czech nationalities living in the country.

For the Czech masses likewise, democracy was a meager quantity. It came into existence in a period quite different from that in which the French or American republics were created. In these instances the bourgeois revolutions were led by a class which saw the future as a broad avenue of uninterrupted progress. Reluctantly, but with self-confidence, it granted democratic rights to the exploited masses who grew only slowly to their political majority. If these rights limited somewhat the freedom of action of the ruling classes, they were far from threatening the social domination of these classes.

Post-War Revolutions

The post-war democracies of Europe, however, arose in completely different circumstances. The motive forces of the revolutions against the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs were no longer the bourgeois classes but a modern industrial proletariat. Numerous and united in great organizations, the workers surged ahead of their partly reactionary, partly inexperienced leaders. The strength of their offensive was so great that the German and Austrian bourgeoisies were able to keep power only with the help of the Social Democracy, the Second International. The "democracies" of the new German and Austrian republics were nothing but a refined variety of bourgeois counter-revolution. In the end the German and Austrian workers had scarcely more right than they had wrested from the monarchies of Berlin and Vienna in long years of struggle.

GETS THE SKIDS

EDUARD BENES

Even more false and ridiculous is the legend of a historically rooted Czech democracy and its prophet Masaryk. Up to the last war, Masaryk and Benes together with the bulk of the Czech bourgeoisie were faithfully devoted to the Habsburg monarchy. Their ideal was a cultural and provincial autonomy under the rule of Francis Joseph I. A People's Front did not exist at that time. But there was a "Kaiser Front." Even during the war, in 1916, all the Czech deputies in the Vienna parliament made a joint declaration of allegiance and fealty to the Emperor. Among the signers was none other than Mr. Smeral, then the leader of the Czech social democrats, later founder of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and today the real boss of the People's Front in Prague.

Masaryk himself had already at that time turned his back on the Habsburgs, but only in order to make a pilgrimage to Russia to beg the Czar to put a Romanoff on the throne of the future Czech kingdom.

Faithful to the Emperor under the Habsburgs, Czarist under the slogan of Pan-Slavism, "democratic" as French vassals, the Czech bourgeoisie changed its "ideals" like a courtesan changes her lovers. Indeed, it will find no difficulty in acquiring a new authoritarian philosophy.

Workers' Struggle

As in the German and Austrian revolutions, the workers were the chief driving force in the Czech national revolution. Inspired by the Russian October revolution, they attempted again and again to conquer social along with national freedom. In its distress, the Czech bourgeoisie urgently called Masaryk from abroad. Just as Fascism looks for popular leaders whose social origin appeals to the masses, the Czech manufacturers and landowners had to find a national hero.

Masaryk was "a man of the people." He stood "above the parties." Assisted by the Czech social democracy, he used the same methods which defeated the workers' revolutions in Germany and Austria. "Bolshevism must be destroyed by reforms" was his slogan. Rebellious Czech legionnaires secured land and posts in the new state apparatus. The workers were promised broad reform legislation, including socialization of industry.

While the new president spoke in factories and mines to striking workers, Czech police murdered hundreds of revolutionists. While he spoke of reconciliation with the Sudeten Germans, Czech troops drowned their demand for the right of self-determination in blood. Masaryk promised the Slovaks and the Ruthenians full autonomy. Instead they were given the brutal regime of the Czech gendarmerie.

Applied Democracy

Thus the Czech bourgeoisie had scarcely come to power when it was tormented by the nightmare of social and political collapse. In order to protect itself from the menace of the revolutionary workers, in order to stifle the rebellion of the oppressed nationalities, and in preparation for the inevitable revenge—now realized—of Germany, Poland, and Hungary, it had to put dictatorial fetters every year on the democratic constitution.

A "Law for the Protection of the Republic" was adopted in 1921 in which, among many other restrictions on civil rights, the written and spoken word was placed under preventive censorship and made subject to the criminal code. Even the Austria of Dollfuss did not have so far-reaching a check on the freedom of the press.

Since 1933 the government has had full power to dissolve by simple administrative order any party or trade union, and to send its leaders and members to prison and concentration camps by simple police action. This law was invoked against two German National Socialist Parties. It hung as a permanent threat over the Communist Party and all the organizations of the nationalities. Under this terror the Czech parliamentary machine could work in peace.

In 1936 the government obtained through the "Law for the Defense of the State" the right to abolish at choice the last constitutional rights of the population and to hand power to a military dictatorship.

Dictatorship Established

In the frontier border districts this law was put into effect immediately, with its accompanying spy scares, economic persecution, and police terror.

When Czech imperialism prepared to launch the long-promised crusade of world democracies against fascism, i. e., to defend its Sudeten colonies by armed force, its first act was the establishment of a blunt military dictatorship throughout the country. The Stalinists shouted loudest for Sirovy, the man on a white horse, who on the first day of his rule gagged the workers' press and the workers' organizations.

Meanwhile the democratic "crusade" has been called off. But the military dictatorship remains. The preparations for the reorganization of the government, a cabinet of "reconciliation" with Germany, are well under way. Sirovy may stay or go. But the "constitutional" regime of martial law against the working class will stay. Holding the Czech workers by the throat, Prague will now proceed to a simultaneous foreign and internal political re-orientation.

A. L. P. Trails Capitalist Parties in N. Y. Convention

(Continued from page 1)

may declare for the new white-haired boy of the Republicans, Tom Dewey.

Not a Word on War

In the midst of the gravest war crisis since 1917, not one word was spoken and not one line inserted into the Platform on the war question. Perhaps Alex Rose, Dubinsky and Antonini felt that mention of the war would have proved embarassing to LaGuardia, who had just returned from his trip to Los Angeles as the reigning Lion of the American Legion's war-mongering and fascist-tending recent convention.

Featured at the head of a paragraph near the beginning of the Platform appears the sentence: "The American Labor Party affirms its faith in our great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Roosevelt and Reaction

This sentence was adopted at the very time when Roosevelt was issuing orders for a re-doubling of the rate of armament building, when he and his machine were standing four-square behind Hague in New Jersey and making peace with all of the rotten bosses involved in the Primary struggles, and when preparations are already under way for cutting the relief program drastically as soon as the elections are over with.

The A.L.P. has unquestionably advanced toward independent political action during the past two years, but it must be said that every step in this advance has taken place only as a result of the growing pressure of the rank and file of the workers themselves and against the sustained resistance of the trade union officials, who are the present leadership of the Party, and their capitalist politician friends.

Force Independent Nominees

Even in this caricature of a Convention, the pressure of the rank and file was felt: in spite of the wish of the officials to go along 100 percent with the Democrats on the State-wide candidates, they were compelled to make the independent nominations of Langdon Post and Joseph V. O'Leary in place of the notorious labor-baiters named by the Democrats for Controller and Attorney General.

The Road Forward

The Convention made clear the problem faced by the workers of New York. They have got to take control of the A.L.P. into their own hands, and make it their own political instrument. To do this, they must repudiate all deals with the old capitalist parties and refuse to permit or go along with the endorsement of any candidates of the capitalist parties.

And they must put forward a **workers' program** for their own party, not a re-hash of the tripe of New Dealism. This program has got to answer in bold and clear terms the problems of the workers: war, unemployment, democratic rights, decent wages and hours, the defense against Hague and vigilantism.

Break with Roosevelt

Such a party with such a program is inconceivable without a complete break from Roosevelt: it is after all Roosevelt who is leading the preparations for the war, who has directed the country into the current crisis and unemployment, who stands back of Hague. How then can you fight war and unemployment and Hague by a declaration of "faith" in the man under whose active leadership they flourish?

Unless the ranks of the A.L.P. undertake a determined struggle along such a course — toward wholly independent working class politics and a bold, fighting worker's program—the A.L.P. itself is certain to be swallowed up in a re-organize Democratic Party or a new capitalist third party. If this result is not allowed to come by default, the workers themselves will have to take charge.

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Greet the Y.P.S.L. Convention

The Tenth National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League, American Youth Section of the Fourth International, will be held in Chicago, November 24-27. What promises to be the most important youth convention in the history of the international labor movement needs and deserves the support of the readers of Socialist Appeal.

The Y.P.S.L. is printing a program book dedicated to the heroic martyrs of the Fourth International (Klement, Sedoff, Wolf, Reiss, Moulin and the hundreds of others who have laid down their lives in the struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind). The dedication article is written by Max Shachtman. Outstanding among the other features of the program book are greetings from Leon Trotsky, in the form of an article entitled, "The Role of Revolutionary Youth," and greetings from our various youth sections in Europe now engaged in the daily life-and-death struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

You can do your bit in assuring the success of our all-important convention by sending in ads containing your personal greetings. Prices for ads are: Full page, $10; half page, $5; quarter page, $3. Send all greetings to: National Convention Arrangements Committee, 160 N. Wells St., Rm. 308, Chicago, Illinois.

The National Convention Arrangements Committee.

Refugees Turned Back To Hitler

G. E. R. Gedye, the New York Times correspondent at Prague who transformed himself into the most fervid propagandist for the "gallant little Czechs" and for a holy war against Germany found himself last week compelled to report the following picture of Czech "democracy" in action after the German Army started moving into Sudetenland:

"Last night the writer saw motor cars and trucks held up to prevent refugees (from the Sudeten areas) from getting into the city, which does not want their numbers increased. Refugees from Komotau said today that measures were being taken by Czechs to prevent democratic German refugees in that area from escaping into the interior.

"A whole trainload of them arrived at Kladno en route to Prague but here, to the refugees' consternation, they discovered that their train was being dicerted and moving slowly back to Sudeten territory. Frantic passengers pulled the alarm cord and demanded to be sent to Prague. Railway authorities refused to comply and a Social Democratic party secretary named Haas temporarily lost his reason and was taken to Bodice asylum."

Members of the Republican defense corps were finally permitted to go to Prague "but military authorities said they could do nothing for the others, all of whom, including many functionaries of Left parties, were sent back to Komotau and deadly danger."

Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

THE BLIGHT OF HITLERISM

Hitlerism must be smashed!

Greed, robbery, persecution, concentration camps, destruction of life at the altar of profits—this is the creed of Hitlerism. Hitlerism is beating down, starving, subjecting to savage tortures the Jewish minority within Germany's borders. Hitlerism is working its toilers day and night for the manufacture of more guns and airplanes in the imperialist battles for more markets.

Hitlerism is reaching out for more and more people to enslave, more and more lands to exploit, for more and ever greater conquests. Hitlerism, in its inherent economic and political nature, is ruthless, barbarous, insensible to the killing and maiming by shel and gas waves, innocent and defenseless men, women and children. Hitlerism, fattening from the blood and sweat of labor, is never satisfied. Hitlerism must be smashed.

Workers everywhere will agree that the human race, if it is to continue to move forward to a brighter and finer life, must rid itself of Hitlerism—of his odious and poisonous growth before it overwhelms and consumes what is left of this civilization.

Not so many days ago, the representatives of England, France, Italy and Germany met at Munich. Ostensibly that meeting was called in the interests of Europe's masses and to avert an international conflagration. Ostensibly the premiers of the four Powers convened to bring peace to a waiting, terror-stricken world.

TRADERS IN HUMAN FLESH

What transpired at that conference is now another shady chapter in the annals of imperialistic diplomacy — a chapter, which, instead of assuring peace, sealed the guarantee of a new world slaughter within a year or two.

But what transpired at Munich was entirely inevitable. For the conferees were not spokesmen of Europe's toilers but, rather, the mouthpieces of their respective imperialisms. They were traders in human flesh, assembled to drive home a bargain. And to gain their ends, they were prepared to go the limit—their imperialisms were ready to lay cities and countrysides in waste and snuff out millions of human lives.

Of course, the world will remember much talk about the future of Czechoslovakia, about "democracy," and about "justice for the minorities." Yet all these sham discussions, elaborated upon by the reactionaries and their allies, were merely a smoke-screen for the basic question of which imperialist grouping was to emerge as the economic oppressor of the Czech workers and peasants.

For an explanation of the recent imperialist negotiations and the whole Czech issue, let us take for our witness none other than Marcel Cachin, leader of the French Communist Party. In an analysis of the festering European disputes, given in a lengthy report to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, before the Stalin regime entered into People's Front alliances with the imperialist robbers, Cachin said in part:

CACHIN EXPOSES CACHIN

"The crisis which is engulfing the world in its depths accentuates the contradictions between the various imperialisms. Vital antagonism of interest bring them into violent opposition. Never has peace been so gravely threatened.

"Nevertheless all imperialist contradictions, deep and serious as they are, give way before another antagonism which is sharper and more fundamental—that which exists between the capitalist system undermined by crisis, and the land where Socialism is growing."

Turning to the war preparations of the French imperialists, Cachin touched on the genesis of the recent upheaval over Czechoslovakia. He emphasized that the Czech masses were merely pawns in the deals between the Paris and Berlin bankers and industrialists.

Said the leader of the French Communist Party;

"France is closely bound to Czechoslovakia by a double interest. Czechoslovakia defends the Versailles and subsidiary treaties under which she is the beneficiary. Besides, she furnishes arms and munitions to the States bordering the U.S.S.R. **The close connection between the Czechoslovakian and French war industry is well known.** (Emphasis by J. C.)

"The Skoda workers are financially united with the Schneider of Creusot and with the Banque de L'Union Parisienne, which actually controls them. Skoda has established branches in Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Skoda produces from 500,000 to 600,000 artillery shells per month."

Further, in denouncing those who would defend the aims of the French imperialists (as the Stalinists have been doing with the greatest gusto), the Communist leader, in his report, declared:

"We must react with great energy against the propaganda of the Social-Fascists. The leaders of social-fascism stand at Geneva at the side of the imperialist leaders in order to maintain the contemptible Treaty of Versailles, to oppress national minorities, and to crush down the German proletariat with the burdens of the Young plan.

"Similarly in the internal affairs of each country, the Social-Fascist leaders support their governments and their capitalists in the work of dictatorship and robbing the working class, in strike-breaking, in violence against the revolutionary organizations." (While the theory of "Social-Fascists" has been revealed by history to have been monstrously false, disruptive and misleading, Cachin's description of the role of the Social-Democracy is nonetheless accurate—J. C.)

And still further, the Communist leader said:

"It is our duty to launch a mighty movement against imperialism, the murderer and devastator: against the unprecedented bestiality of chemical warfare, of gas, of bacteria; against the mass assassination which is being organized and which will once more drown humanity in blood."

The above report was delivered by Cachin at the nineteenth session of the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. at Moscow in April, 1931.

Little did Cachin imagine at the time he exposed the maneuvers of the war-mongers, that he and Stalin and Earl Browder were to stand before the world in 1938, championing the cause of one group of imperialist robbers as against another. Little did Cachin imagine, then, that he and Browder, carrying out the Stalinist line, were themselves to play "the role of Social-Fascists," goading the workers to fight for the British and French ruling classes, under the slogans of "Save Czechoslovakia!" and "Save Democracy!"

Little did Cachin imagine that in 1938 Browder would be urging the reactionary Dies Committee to "investigate the Trotskyites," because the Socialist Workers Party is exposing the machinations of the imperialists and uncompromisingly raising the voice of Revolutionary Socialism above the din of Stalinist rationalizations and treachery.

Hitlerism must be smashed.

Hitlerism is capitalism in its last, decadent stages—in violent dictatorship form. But Hitlerism will no more be destroyed by its sister imperialisms than was Russia's Czarism by its World War allies. At the crucial hour, the allies joined with the Czarist white guards against the Russian masses.

So, too, will the "democracies" of the imperialists join with fascist rulers everywhere to protect Hitlerism in the final life-and-death struggle.

SLANDER CANNOT HIDE THE TRUTH

The Stalinist press will continue to divert the attention of its readers from the crushing repudiation of the People's Front by Chamberlain and Daladier, with streams of invective against the **Socialist Appeal**, as did the **Daily Worker** on Sept. 24 and on numerous preceding dates. The Stalinist journals will continue to conceal the collapse of People's Frontism and the criminal failure of Stalin and the Comintern to appeal to the masses over the heads of the imperialists during the Czech crisis, with new slanders against militant workers and distortions of the facts about the international situation.

Hitlerism—fascism everywhere—will be smashed, as will also the "democratic" imperialisms. They will be smashed by the toilers fighting not against one another, but together against the common enemy and its People's Frontist apologists.

Against their alliances with the bourgeoisie, their calumnies and terror, the S.W.P. and the Fourth International will intensify the fight for Socialism—for the the final triumph of the toilers of all lands.