

Workers Of The
World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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WILL STALIN BOW TO HITLER?

ROOSEVELT SEEKS
NATIONAL UNITY
IN JOINT APPEALS

Wants to Put House
In Order Before
War Comes

With his timing obviously dictated by the war crisis, Roosevelt released on the same day last week two closely connected statements. One was the record of an interview in which the President asked for an end of "economic saber-rattling" by business and its place a partnership of business with government as essential to "the nation's progress."

The second was a communication addressed to the A.F. of L. Convention and calling for "peace between the various opinions and factions" of labor, that is, for reunification of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.

Smile on Both Houses
Roosevelt has always, of course, been careful to picture himself to the public as superior to the claims of either business or labor.

This is necessary in order to hide the real function of the government he leads as the political representative of business against labor. In this sense, this recent double pronouncement is only another variation of the "plague on both your houses" theme which Roosevelt employed a year and a half ago. This time it is a smile for both houses instead of a pretended threat.

Nevertheless, the very language which Roosevelt used last week shows that he has now specifically in mind the war crisis, and the needs of American imperialism as it makes ready for the war.

Roosevelt is preparing, in his own way, for the "national unity" which is absolutely essential to the successful conduct of the war from the point of view of the interests of imperialism. He invites business to a partnership; that is, he asks that all secondary differences be put aside so that the nation may get ready unitedly for the war which soon will have to be fought.

Industrial Survey Made

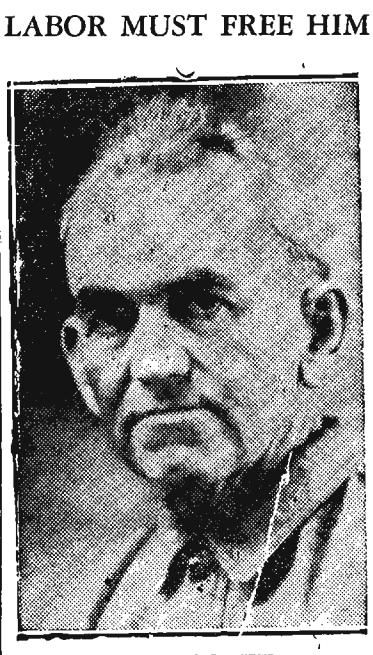
The War Department is even now completing its survey covering the terms of this cooperation, has been listing and classifying every industrial establishment in the country, and arranging the method for their coordination into the structure of the war-time economy.

Business naturally expects and will get its own terms in the "partnership." Charles R. Hock, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, made this clear in his speedy reply to the President's suggestion. Denying any "saber-rattling" by business, Hock insisted that the partnership would have to be based on "industrial peace" (i. e., no strikes). "Business men," he wrote, "and investors have been worried by fears of excessive regulation and taxation" (i. e., reduce these if you want us to be quiet). Some of the "emergency legislation of the past few years" must be submitted to "careful revision" (i. e., repeat or amend to death all progressive features of laws now on the books).

In conclusion, he charmingly observes that "business men are by nature optimists." Well they might be on the problem of government: they know that in the last analysis their government, whether run ostensibly by Old Deals or New Deals, will always do their bidding.

Unity For War

The crucial problem in achieving national unity, however, is the integration of the labor movement into the war machine. Roosevelt believes that this is seriously handicapped by the division in labor's ranks. He is afraid that one or the other part of the dual labor movement will break away from subjection to the war, and will become the vehicle for the expression of the actual anti-war sentiments of the workers. Relying, and with good reason, on the devoted social-patriotism of the officialdom of both sections of the labor movement, he be-



TOM MOONEY

**SUPREME COURT
DENIES REVIEW
OF MOONEY CASE**

**Fight for Freedom
Goes On After
New Setback**

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The refusal of the Supreme Court to review a decision to free Tom Mooney, class-war prisoner since 1914, is a telling blow to attempts to secure a pardon for this veteran of organized labor by depending upon "liberals" and "progressive" politicians. This cynical refusal will come as no surprise to the militant workers who long ago realized that only the united and determined pressure of the labor movement will force Mooney's release from San Quentin prison.

Even though two justices dissent in the opinion, no new hearing will be held. This is an unprecedented action which clearly indicates the attitude of the Court towards the worker who was framed up by the California bosses twenty years ago.

Dependence upon the Court or even upon the so-called liberal justices on the Court has continually met with defeat. In 1917 a review was refused. In January, 1935, the Court told Mooney he had not exhausted his remedies in the California state. He went back to the State tribunals, but the California Supreme Court decided against him 5 to 1.

Now John F. Finerty, his attorney, has moved for permission to renew a three-year-old application for an original writ of habeas corpus.

The Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee has announced that a pardon would be sought from the Governor of California.

**NEW JERSEY C.I.O.
CALLS FOR UNITY**

**Convention Draws
Plans for Anti-
Hague Fight**

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

NEWARK, N. J.—A strong desire for unity with the A.F. of L. was the outstanding sentiment at the two-day convention of C.I.O. unions here that set up a state-council.

A spirited demonstration followed the unanimous approval of a resolution calling for unity, and the delegates instructed the newly-formed state executive committee to attempt to coordinate the activities of the C.I.O., the A.F. of L., and the railroad brotherhoods in the state.

Plan Fight on Hague

The fight against Mayor Hague was another main theme of the convention. The Steel lodges introduced a very good resolution on how to struggle properly against the Hague machine. It emphasized the need for more independent action and self-reliance by the labor movement. The struggle against Hague was a major topic in Carney's report

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2)

Tobin Move Aid To Union Unity

**Proposal Puts AFL
Bureaucrats On
Hot Spots**

HOUSTON, Texas.—Over-
shadowing in importance any
other development at the Amer-
ican Federation of Labor 58th
annual convention here was the
powerful plea of Dan Tobin,
teamsters international union
president, for resumption of ne-
gotiations with the C.I.O. to
bring labor unity.

His first plea caused William
Green, A. F. of L. president, to
adjourn the convention while the
"diehard" clique on the executive
council planned further strat-
egy.

Despite all efforts of the reactionaries on the council to win
Tobin to supporting a fight
against the C.I.O., Tobin again
blasted away at a recommendation
of the council which pre-
cluded negotiations with the C.I.
O. and declared there could never
be peace until John L. Lewis,
C.I.O. chairman, was removed.

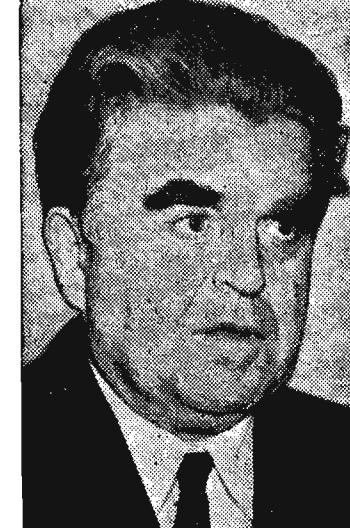
Lewis Offers to Resign

No sooner had the A. F. of L.
convention adopted the council
report with many abstentions
and objections, than Lewis an-
nounced he would resign as C.I.O. chairman on the very day
Green resigned from the A. F. of L. Coming right after Tobin's de-
claration that the teamsters union
would pull out of the A. F. of L. if necessary to obtain unity,
the Lewis move caused conster-
nation in top A. F. of L. circles.

Prospects for labor unity soared
this week in view of these swift
developments.

The stand Tobin took in be-
half of the 350,000 organized truck
drivers carries tremendous weight
not only because the teamsters are
the largest international union
affiliated to the A. F. of L., but also
because the truck drivers
occupy a strategic position in
industrial life. Any serious "war-
fare" against the C.I.O. is impos-
(Continued on page 2)

FIGHT FOR PRESTIGE, NOT FOR UNITY



JOHN L. LEWIS
(above)

WILLIAM GREEN
(right)

Sailors Slated To Get National AFL Charter

Observers at the A.F. of L. con-
vention in Houston reported this
week that delegates there are
sympathetic to the request of the
Sailors Union of the Pacific for
a national charter covering all
American seamen in all Pacific
coast, Gulf and Atlantic waters.

Whether or not the three Bol-
shevik-Leninist leaders impris-
oned for more than a year and
accused along with the P.O.U.M.
leaders were actually among the
defendants in Barcelona was not
indicated. Previous reports said
that the Loyalist government was
asking the death sentence for
these three alone.

Protests Multiplied

Protests against this frame-up
of revolutionary militants in
Spain have been multiplying here
and in Europe. A delegation of
the American Fund for Political
Prisoners and Refugees protested
to Gonzales Pena, Loyalist min-
ister of justice, when he was
here last month. A resolution of
protest was adopted by 1,000
workers at the Socialist Work-
(Continued on page 2)

Background of Conflict

At present the majority of At-
lantic and Gulf seamen are orga-
nized in the National Maritime
Union. This organization was
formed in 1937, after the old Inter-
national Seamen's Union lost
the support of the seamen by
(Continued on page 2)

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And S.U.P. secretary Lundeberg
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**This announcement comes on
the heels of a series of defeats
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Wrecking Crew Regime Tottering In Painters Union

Clique Admits Bankruptcy; Asks For Opposition's Aid

At End of Their Rope, Weinstock & Co. Try to Trick Opponents Into Okay of New Tax

NEW YORK.—In complete disarray as a result of the severe trouncing they received in the recent referendum on the "\$5 Work Tax," the Stalinist administration of the New York Painters Union, District Council No. 9, is grasping at straws to save its hold upon the union. According to spokesmen of the Progressives in New York, nothing can save them, however. The membership, they say, is thoroughly fed up with the misrule of Chief Stooge Louis Weinstock and his crowd.

The Weinstock strategy, if it may be dignified as such, of saving control of the union for the G.P.U. was revealed at what purported to be a caucus of administration supporters but really was a plain and simple "faction" meeting of Communist Party members in Painters District Council No. 9. The meeting was held on Wednesday Sept. 14, at Irving Plaza.

Administration Bankrupt
At this "faction" meeting, the Thirteenth Street boys openly admitted that the union was in a state of bankruptcy. An accounting of their squandering of painters' monies disclosed that they could not, even by illegal methods, divert \$5,000 from the treasury of the Council to pay the "legal" expenses for their deal with the General Executive Board of the union, by means of which the expulsion of Weinstock was repealed.

Weinstock had been expelled by the G.E.B. two days before the last general elections in New York. At that time, we reported that this "expulsion" in actuality served to help bring about the narrowly squeezed-out election victory of the Stalinists by giving the latter a chance to appeal to the membership on the slogan that they were being martyred. Rumors, still persistent, have maintained that the original "expulsion" was a cooked-up affair between the G.E.B. and the Weinstock gang.

Want Payment For Deal
In any case, \$5,000 is now being demanded of the District Council in payment for Weinstock's reinstatement, an unheard-of arrangement for such a procedure. Naturally, the whole thing smells to high heaven and the members are not in a mood to pay even a plug nickel for the reinstatement of the Stalinist worthy, as evidenced by their reaction to the latest referendum.

Having maneuvered themselves into such a tight spot by draining the treasury of the union for all kinds of phoney "party" racketts and for the upkeep of scores of appointed stooges on the payroll, the Thirteenth Street boys now find that they are not in a position to run the union even if they should get the most optimistic yield in dues, initiation fees, etc. during the coming year.

Defeated in the referendum for a work tax which was to rook the membership for the sum the administration needs, the Stalinists at the "faction" meeting decided to call upon the progressive opposition to "join" with them in a conference to save the union. Naturally, this appeal for "unity" was to be carried out in the usual Thirteenth Street manner—a cheap maneuver.

How Deal Was "Planned"
The "unity" maneuver was to consist in a deal with the opposition leaders for the putting over of a new tax under the camouflage of another of the administration's famous "organizing drives." In return for okaying the tax, opposition leaders were to be given half of the 24 organizers' jobs at \$40 per week. At the "faction" meeting referred to it was claimed that some of the opposition leaders were ready to accept such a "deal." Of course, as we shall show later, they were only deceiving themselves. By this means, they hoped to divide the opposition forces and break up the progressives. They prepared to do so at a joint meeting of administration and opposition forces held a week ago last Tuesday.

At that Tuesday meeting they threatened and cajoled and in general used every conceivable method in an attempt to baffle the opposition into accepting their trick. The opposition, firmly organized, had selected Lewis J. Stevens, progressive candidate for Secretary-Treasurer in the last general elections, as their spokesman. The Weinstock crowd heaped abuse on Stevens and appealed to other leaders of the opposition. Not one of the latter, however, failed to make it clear that they would reject any kind of a phoney deal.

Expose C.P. Hand
At one point, a Weinstock henchman by the name of Jacobs, after a lot of froth and fury wound up: "Let's let by-gones be by-gones and get together to put over the tax." A big heehaw arose

Jamaica Militant Hits C.P. Lies

JAMAICA, L. I.—Hurling the lies of the *Daily Worker* back into the teeth of the Stalinists, Otto Popovich, leader of the Jamaica Unemployed and Relief Workers League, stated that the local had retained almost its complete membership after the split with the Workers Alliance and that its meetings were better attended than ever.

In reply to a news story printed in the *Daily Worker*, Popovich stated: "There were 84 and not 18 members at the last meeting of our local. We do not have time to fight with the leaders of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party. All I have to say to them is that if they really have a membership of 400,000 in the Workers Alliance as Lasser claims there must be something vitally wrong if they cannot harness that power to get clothes and more relief for the unemployed. Lasser says that the Workers Alliance is in politics with both feet. We of the new and militant organization of the unemployed are marching, as Lenin said, with both feet for bread."

SUBWAY UNION HITS WAGE CUT

Demand Increase In Counter Proposal

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Transport Workers Union, representing 55,000 workers on every major subway, elevated, trolley and bus line in the city except the Independent Subway—where Mayor LaGuardia refuses to allow civil service workers the right to organize—announced yesterday that it would not only resist any attempt to reduce wages for transit employees, but would insist upon an "appreciable" increase for 1939.

This statement was issued in reply to the announcement by Thomas E. Murray Jr., Federal receiver for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, that the wages of its 14,000 workers would be reduced to the May 1937 level. At that time the company signed an agreement with the union granting a 10 percent wage increase and many improved working conditions.

This contract expires December 31, 1938, along with similar contracts with other New York transit lines. Now the transit bosses are preparing to "gang-up" on the union. The first attack comes in the form of this announcement which is made public full two months before negotiations are scheduled.

The stockholders of the I.R.T. have bled the company dry. They invested a little over \$21,000,000 and in fifteen years have received from the treasury more than \$65,000,000 in dividends. This generosity on the part of the officials was not extended to the workers of the company. On the contrary, wages were kept at the lowest possible levels, even in the most prosperous years. Conditions for workers were notoriously bad and the whole transit system in constant need of repair. The present wages, hours and conditions for employees are still far below what they should be.

But the members of the Painters Union know who has really played into the hands of the bosses, they have read Weinstock's yellow dog contract and they know of every dirty little deal with the bosses. And they are just about ready to do something about it.

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For Independent Labor Politics in Elections

(Continued from page 1)

We have, ourselves, the sharpest disagreements with the present programs, leaders and methods of these organizations. With the aim of supporting and furthering every *actual* step toward independent labor politics, we nevertheless believe that the genuinely independent candidates of these organizations should be supported on Election Day.

But such support on the part of militant workers would be nothing less than sabotage of the movement for independent labor political action if it were not accompanied by the sternest *criticism* of the errors of the leaders of these organizations, the demand for an end to all deals with boss parties and boss candidates, and the call for a fighting program instead of the liberal and New Deal muddle of their present platforms.

Such support cannot extend to the candidates of boss parties which have been endorsed by these organizations. On the contrary, workers must show their protest against the deals with the boss parties by refusing to go along with the endorsements of Democrats and Republicans, and by writing-in the names of genuine worker-candidates.

In particular the workers must register their protest against the shameful deal whereby the A. L. P. has endorsed the leading Democratic candidates for State-wide office. Since no independent candidates for Governor and Senator supported by the organized labor movement will appear on the New York ballot, we propose to accomplish this by writing-in the names of James P. Cannon for Governor and of Ernest R. McKinney for the regular-term Senator. No self-respecting and class-conscious worker should permit himself to vote for Lehman and Wagner, the nominees of the party of Boss Crump, Cotton Ed Smith, and Mayor Frank Hague.

The problems of the workers are not solved by what happens on this or any other Election Day. But if this campaign period sees a real advance in the extent and clarity with which the need for genuine, fighting, independent working-class political activity is understood by the workers themselves, it will be a victory, and a lasting one.

Sailors Slated To Get National AFL Charter

(Continued from page 1)

default. After formal establishment of the N.M.U. and the affiliation of that organization to the C.I.O., the A.F. of L. began a new set-up under a federal charter. For the past year discredited representatives of the former I.S.U. have been attempting to garner seamen into the A.F. of L. Seamen's Union. They have had a limited success, organized about 7,500 men in the deck, engine-room and steward's departments. The N.M.U. boasts 30,000 members in these three divisions.

It is a program for war. And to assure the complete docility of the unions—if a trace of one is left—the Government has gone into the business of hiring seamen. The government fink halls complete with union hiring halls, threaten the life of the union.

Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, before resigning as chairman of the Commission to become Ambassador to the court of St. James, clearly and succinctly set forth the program and motives of his government: "When the U.S. has been embroiled in war, we have invariably turned to offense as the best means of defense. The same would undoubtedly be true again were we to be forced into another conflict. The merchant marine is an essential part of naval operations."

Immediately after the 1936-37 strike which was fought on both coasts, and out of which grew the N.M.U., shipping commissioners in every American port demanded that seamen signing articles produce a continuous discharge cog in that machine, west coast sailors and firemen supported by the I.W.W. established picket line around the government hiring hall in New York City. Under pressure from the Government, Joseph Curran—then C.P.-appointed leader of East Coast seamen—told his followers: "Take the Fink book! We'll burn it or May day!"

But not on the west coast. Union men there gave a different answer to the Shipping Commissioners. Every vessel under west coast agreement was tied up until cleared and permitted to sail with full crews who had remained true to their pledge and refused to carry Discharge Books. Subsequently the newly-created Maritime Commission made the Continuous Discharge Book optional, but only after the united resistance of west coast seamen.

Training Ships
Part of the Copeland Act was a provision for the establishment of training ships for seamen. All seamen have condemned these training ships. They see no reason why men who have been following the sea for ten and twelve years and more, must be trained. And they see no reason for training more men for the sea when there is at present a serious unemployment problem in the industry. And even if there were no unemployment, seamen contend that the best place for a man to learn seamanship is on the job—not in a "school." But while answering these superficial excuses offered by the Maritime Commission for its training ship program, organized seamen have demonstrated that they are well aware of the real reason for the training ships.

Deal With Admiral
Last week Joseph Curran and Jerome King for the N.M.U. met with Rear Admiral Wiley and an agreement was reached on the training ship program. The union officials endorsed it. They also agreed to outlaw all "job action" or so-called "quicksie" strikes. On these basic issues King and Curran find themselves in perfect agreement, even though they are respective spokesmen for the Marines' Club and the C.P. which two factions have been engaged in a sharp fight over jobs and control within the National Maritime Union.

The struggle between the Mariners' Club and the C.P. within the Union culminated last night in the trial of Ferdinand Smith, vice-president of the N.M.U. He was charged by Mariners' Club members with fining in the 1934 strike on the west coast. Although the charges were proven correct, the C.P. faction so cleverly out-maneuvered its opponents that Smith was "cleared."

The Hiring Hall
As if afraid there would be some mistake about its true pur-

NEW JERSEY C.I.O. CALLS FOR UNITY

(Continued from page 1)

The long-awaited special issue of the Socialist Appeal devoted to the founding Congress of the Fourth International and the 10th anniversary of the American Trotsky movement will be of the press next week. We have decided to increase the size of this issue from the original 8 pages to 12 pages. There will be feature articles by comrades describing the history of the Trotsky movement in America, in addition to the most important resolutions adopted at the recently held World Congress. No comrade, sympathizer or friend will want to miss this extraordinary issue of the Appeal—not only the largest, but the most significant ever published by us.

The confidence of the workers in the battle to organize Jersey City, Hague's strong-hold, was strikingly revealed in the action to hold the next convention in that city.

W. J. Carney, New Jersey C.I.O. director, was unanimously elected president of the state organization.

Using the provision that all international unions at the convention be represented on the executive board, the Stalinists were able to pack a majority on that body through inclusion of men from unions like the architects, office workers etc. However, the executive officers are nearly all non-Stalinist.

Real power in the new set-up is the Hillman group from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the national C.I.O. through W. J. Carney.

The main line of division in the convention came over the question of either appointing or electing an executive secretary who will naturally head the work of the state organization.

A bloc between the progressive steel workers and the delegates from the Dyers Federation ably led by Joseph Knapick, their president, fought for election of that officer. The Stalinists wanted appointment since they hoped to squeeze in Len Goldsmith, of the Newspaper Guild, who had acted as convention secretary.

The Amalgamated delegates wanted appointment because they know that Hillman has a candidate in mind.

Force Apology

After a stupid and provocative speech by Al Barkin, Stalinist from the textile workers, that turned the convention into an uproar when he hinted that the steel-dyers bloc was using "Hague arguments about democracy," quiet was restored and a good discussion followed with a majority voting for appointment. The Stalinists were forced to apologize.

It remains to be seen if a qualified unionist will obtain the post or if the Stalinists will put in a stooge.

Although two unions presented resolutions calling for the transformation of Labor's Non-Partisan League into a Labor party now, parliamentary rules were used to break off serious discussion and a resolution endorsing the present League policy passed by a large majority.

Dismiss War Question

Lengthiest discussion came on the war question. The resolutions committee recommended a Stalinist "Endorse the Kellogg-Peace pact" resolution. Two unions introduced an anti-imperialist war resolution that also called for a popular referendum on war.

Attempts of the Stalinists to heckle and boo the opposition were quickly stopped by Carney who insisted on democratic discussion, and debate followed. The Stalinists had a large majority in the vote.

Soon after the convention opened and a progressive delegate fought against a Stalinist measure, the credentials committee, under their guidance, voted to unseat him. The bloc of steel and dyers delegates along with all other non-Stalinists got ready to expose this maneuver if the credentials committee went through with its plan, so Carney and other top C.I.O. officials squelched the C.P. move.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEW YORK

HERE'S A CHANCE to demonstrate your ingenuity. City-wide Masquerade Ball at Irving Plaza on November 5th. Prizes for the most original and beautiful costumes. Start planning your costume now—those without costume will pay more admission. Watch the paper for further details. Meanwhile hold the date open . . . Swing band, entertainment, competition and prizes. Note: October 15th dance called off.

Signal
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icy pursued by the officialdom of the union against the threat of government legislation as well as against constant encroachments on living and working conditions by the shipowners, many east coast seamen are reported to favor a new organization here. A.F. of L. representatives believe that Harry Lundeberg, because of his aggressive attitude toward the boss and government interference, has the answer east coast seamen have been seeking. With the 7,500 A.F. of L. seamen here will have a good start.

Appeal Army

World Congress Issue Appears Next Week!

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New York City Shows the Way!

We want to take this opportunity to offer our special thanks and congratulations to the New York section of the Party. Not only did they do a splendid job of distributing and selling the anti-war Appeals, but they provided the entire financial backing to our undertaking! The N. Y. party and Y.P.S.L. turned in \$200 in cold cash and made it possible for us to carry on. For special mention we select Abe Miller who directed distribution work; Ted Bekos who was the super-star salesman for Appeals; Comrade (Mac) McKinney who was instrumental in raising the money; Comrade R. Hartford, Louisville, Baltimore, Lynn, Minneapolis, Rochester, Akron, Youngstown, Allentown, Philadelphia and Reading. These branches must be heard from immediately! If they wait until after publication of the World Congress issue, they will be too late.

There are still some branches that have failed to send in their extra orders to us. They must act now because our press-run will be based solely on extra orders received prior to publication. We have already received orders for thousands of extra copies, but the following branches are still silent:

Oakland, San Francisco, Hartford, Louisville, Baltimore, Lynn, Minneapolis, Rochester, Akron, Youngstown, Allentown, Philadelphia and Reading. These branches must be heard from immediately! If they wait until after publication of the World Congress issue, they will be too late.

But now that the special drive is over, New York City is not letting up in its activity. Abe Miller, New York's literature director, is launching a subscription drive

Duranty Sees Stalin Turning Toward Deal With Hitler

DURANTY ARTICLE LAWS DOWN NEW LINE OF KREMLIN

(Continued from page 1)
bureaucracy could somehow be preserved.

Thus the broad lines of post-Munich diplomacy begin to take shape. Britain and France met Hitler's terms in Central Europe to avert, or at least postpone, an inter-imperialist war. By this they hoped to turn the sharp edge of the Nazi sword toward the east, against the Soviet Union.

After Munich

This obvious fact is admitted now by Augur, semi-official spokesman for the British Foreign Office, who wrote in the New York Times on Tuesday that Germany's eastward drive would bring the Nazi Reich "face to face with Russia" and added: "While the Russian-German conflict is in the period of preparation, the powers of Western Europe may hope to remain unmolested, provided they remain neutral."

His policy of the last five years shattered by a single blow at Munich, stripped of the Western alliances with France and Czechoslovakia, for which he sacrificed the workers' revolutionary movement, for which he helped crush the Spanish and French revolutions, Stalin is confronted with the choice of fighting Hitler unaided by any other powers, or coming to terms with Hitler. If Duranty is still a reliable barometer of the Kremlin climate, it is the latter idea which is now making headway.

Parties Mark Time

While the initial maneuvers begin, the Communist Parties, converted by Stalin into flaccid instruments of his policies, are marking time. At Paris the little Stalins of 11 countries, headed by Browder and Thorez, met to consider their dilemma and issued a "Manifesto to World Labor" in which they succeeded in nearly 3,000 words in leaving all doors open under a veritable cloud of meaningless phrases about "unity" and the necessity for preventing Chamberlain (how? how?) from handing Spain over to the same fate meted out to Czechoslovakia.

In this country Foster and Hathaway, deputizing for Browder, attempted in speeches at Pittsburgh to assert "the greater need now than ever before to cement and develop further the policy of collective security." But the Fosters and Hathaways are a little behind Duranty, whose ear is closer to the Kremlin's inside doors: "Russia," he wrote, "must recognize the failure of its League of Nations and collective security policy."

TOBIN MOVE AID TO UNION UNITY

(Continued from page 1)
sible without the truck drivers support, and they are flatly on record against such a disastrous policy.

Tobin Gets Big Backing

The truck drivers' stand was emphasized in the plain language Tobin used to refute the arguments of Green, speaking for the council's report. He pointed out that over 2,000 telegrams came congratulating him for his first plea and that unless the convention really left the door open to negotiations with the C.I.O., the "teamsters would build their own house."

Already in many important labor centers, Akron, Cleveland, Minneapolis, San Francisco and Seattle, and others, the truck drivers are the predominant force in the central labor unions, and this means that Tobin's peace policy will carry great weight to the advantage of the entire labor movement.

Strong Peace Sentiment in C.I.O.

The Lewis gesture and the fact that most C.I.O. unions have continually gone on record for unity with the A. F. of L. indicate how strong sentiment is for labor unity. Reports in high C.I.O. circles persist that the A. F. of L. is going to find a more flexible attitude from Lewis on peace negotiations. Recognition of industrial unionism in mass production industries—a decisive issue—will be the main demand of the C.I.O.

A formula for unity negotiations was advanced by Tobin that the A. F. of L. executive council found impossible to refute. He suggested that if there were any points on which the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. committees could not agree, "to leave those points to some unselfish, unprejudiced body or board to decide."

Read the
**SOCIALIST
APPEAL**

FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Following is a partial text of the speech delivered by Comrade James P. Cannon at the Hotel Center, New York, last Sunday, on "The war crisis in Europe and the meaning of the Munich pact."

We've always known and we've always said that the capitalist system, sinking ever deeper in decline and decay, is moving steadily by its own inner logic to a new world war. During the recent crisis of European diplomacy we saw this conception come perilously close to concrete realization. During those days the world stood in the very shadow of catastrophe. If the masses of the world receded in horror and grasped at a postponement at any price, if the hands of the imperialists at the last moment trembled—nevertheless, everybody knew the Munich pact was not a solution; everybody realized now that it was not salvation, but only reprieve.

The diplomatic crisis around the war that was for the moment averted was only a rehearsal—and so the world understands it—of another crisis soon to come which will herald the inevitable outbreak of war. The horrifying experience of the past days is fraught with menace and warning for all the people of our planet. The spectacle of the doomed millions, waiting in agonizing fear for the decision of four diplomats at Munich—waiting to hear their fate—is symbolic of their helplessness in the face of unprecedented deception and betrayal.

A LESSON IN REALISM

The capitalist statesmen met in a closed room. They, the realists of imperialist politics, were not in the least concerned with senseless abstractions about peace, honor, justice, democracy, etc. They discussed the revision of the world from a point of view that was exclusively materialistic. They weighed and measured the prospect of spilling oceans of blood with as much concern for the victims as four master-of-fact butchers in a slaughter-house. The only friend of the masses in that room, the only warning voice that spoke for peace, was that of a uninvited and invisible guest—the specter of revolution which could not be exorcised. That is the only real force for peace, for delay, for postponement of war that is left in this mad capitalist world.

The inevitable war that may be postponed but not avoided is the price humanity must pay for the failure of the workers, the progressive class in society, to fulfill their historic mission, for their failure to overthrow the decayed and outworn social system and replace it by socialism. If the coming war is, by all signs, to begin as a new senseless imperialist slaughter, with reactionary fascism on the offensive, it is the result in the first place—and let us never forget it—it is the result of the betrayal of the proletariat by the Social Democracy in the last war and in the revolutionary struggle which followed it. In the second place it is the result of the capitulation and betrayal of the German proletariat by the two partners in historic crime, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists.

MASSES ARE AGAINST WAR

It is important for us, I think, to take note of the main features of the war-shaking crisis which culminated in the Munich pact. The main outlines are clear enough. The most positive feature of the whole experience was the indubitable opposition of the masses to a new war. This sentiment, as all observers testify, was virtually universal. It manifested itself everywhere in every way that was open to the bewildered masses to express themselves. Even in Germany, where we have been falsely told so often that the fascist war lords rule with the enthusiastic consent of the masses, the newspaper correspondents testify to the profound dread of war which seized the people and their unrestrained joy when it seemed to have been beaten.

The spontaneous rejoicing of the masses in all countries was only superficially expressed in homage to the statesmen who had condoned to postpone the conflict. At bottom it was an expression of the profound opposition of the masses of all countries to another war. The terrible experience of the holocaust of 1914-18 with its more than ten million dead and more than twenty million wounded and crippled and maimed, with its hunger and starvation, its innumerable infant victims of malnutrition, its epidemics—the whole horrifying mess of bloody death and destruction—all this still lives in the memory of the present generation of humans. How many lives will a new war cost, now

that the instruments of death have been tremendously increased with multiplied efficiency?—that is the fearful question which was uppermost in the minds of all the inhabitants of our planet as they swayed on the brink of another war. No! It is impossible to arouse any popular enthusiasm for another military adventure. And in the face of this universal sentiment the imperialist masters dread the social consequences of a plunge into the dark unknown.

THE REAL FACE OF DEMOCRACY

The second feature of the crisis which came to a point at Munich, which ought to enlighten millions who have been duped and doped by false prophets, was the attitude displayed throughout the entire affair, consistently, up to the very end, by the authentic spokesmen of the capitalist democracies. With their own hands they stripped away the veil of illusion and deceit and showed their real class face at Munich. They demonstrated clearly and with brutal cynicism the fact that there is no fundamental difference between democratic and fascist capitalism. The agreements they signed at Munich, and especially the amiable protocol of amity and good will signed by Chamberlain and Hitler gave a crushing refutation to the liars and deceivers who have taught the masses to stake their heads on British democracy in their struggle against fascism.

The two imperialist camps represented at Munich—the democratic and the fascist—showed a common antagonism to the Soviet Union, antagonism to the state that was raised up by the October Revolution; with a gesture of contempt they thrust aside the Stalinist traitors who have served them so well. Yet long now, Stalin has courted the favor of the imperialist masters assembled at Munich, but this could not win for him at the decisive moment a nod of recognition or an invitation to the conference. The miserable propaganda of Stalin and his prostituted henchmen in those days amounted to nothing but a whining protest at this ingratitude.

NOT ENOUGH YET!

"Look," they said in effect—"Look, what we've done for you. We killed a whole generation of revolutionaries in Russia; we destroyed the Comintern; we butchered the red generals and demoralized the Red Army."

And the cold-blooded imperialist masters answered by their actions: "you haven't done enough yet. You haven't restored the system of private property. That is our real objective. You, by killing the Bolsheviks, by assassinating the red generals, by disorganizing Soviet economy and demoralizing the Red Army—by all this you have only made it easier for us to attack the Soviet Union together with Hitler."

The third feature of the diplomatic crisis was the diplomats' fear of the masses, that unknown quantity, that algebraic "X" which cast its menacing shadow over their conference.

The profound anti-war sentiment was known to them. They also have memories of the past war and its unforeseen consequences. They recall that it began with England as the dominant world power, buttressed on the east by the empire of the Czar, that historic "mainstay of European reaction." Within two and a half years after the war began, the whole structure of Czarism was in the dust and the mighty upsurge of the Russian Revolution had upset the world balance. In the west the United States, profiting by the dislocation and exhaustion of the European nations, emerged from the war as the first power of the world, relegating England to second place and starting the world-wide empire on the road to dissolution.

What will be the consequences of the next war?—that is the question which paralyzed the hands of the diplomats and disturbed their dreams. Will we lose the war if we win it as before? Will the multiplied efficiency of the war weapons bring crisis and revolution in six months instead of two and a half years? Will the American colossus extend and strengthen its hegemony still more? The ineluctable contradictions of all the capitalist nations and of the world-system as a whole push them relentlessly to war and yet the statesmen falter and tremble in fear of the unknown.

"But Chamberlain and Daladier are betrayers," write the Stalinists, who taught the masses to trust the capitalist democracies and their authentic leaders. What a puerile explanation of the collapse of their own policy! Chamberlain and Daladier never promised to defend anything except the imperialist interest of their class. They remained faithful to their class. It is the snivel-

supplies against any possible emergency and is unceasingly pressing for big harvests." (N.Y. TIMES, Oct. 8.)

Nobody "believes" in a possibility of bread shortage, but the government is "understood" to be taking the past in the Soviet Union, liquidated forever by Stalin's policy of collectivization, the world was told. It is explained away, of course, by "natural causes," the summer's drought, etc. But conditions last year were far worse, and yet the yield was far greater. Some other causes must have operated to reduce the crops. Prior to Stalin's forced collectivization, it was no secret that poor crops were due to the fact that the government refused to plant more than would suffice for their own needs. Soviet industry at that

time could not supply the village with goods and the peasant in return sabotaged his production.

Are the collectives today, in which the kulaks of yesterday have entrenched themselves, pursuing the same policy, for the self-same reasons? Upon this point, Denny's dispatch provides us with a categorical answer. Yes!

Not only have the collectives failed to plant as much as they did last year, but they are neglecting the harvests wherever they have been abundant.

Denny reports: "In much of the best grain country millions of acres of grain have been cut, but this is still standing in the fields unthreshed and suffering daily loss and deterioration. Until the crops are actually harvested the government cannot get its share."

Recurrences of Grain Strikes

In every respect we have here a recurrence of the grave situation created by the "grain strike" of the original kulak years ago. The collectives are sabotaging government grain deliveries!

If years ago the Stalin clique

was able to meet the crisis by a sharp shift in its economic policy, the purge continue "until the last

many and the monstrous military aggression of Hitler. Every scribbler, these days, writes about the war spirit of the German masses, their love of obedience, their stupidity, etc. Base calumny! The German proletariat was the most advanced, the strongest, and best organized in Europe. They did not embrace fascism. They were not defeated by it in battle. They were abandoned and betrayed. The jingo nationalist policy of Stalinism in France, in England and the other countries of democratic capitalism, left the German workers speechless and helpless to combat the nationalistic spirit propagated by Hitler.

STALIN'S NEXT STEP

What, in the post-Munich world situation, can be the next steps of Stalin? Some naive people—including some superficial newspaper correspondents and columnists—predict a new turn to revolutionary policy on the world arena. Some Stalinist workers, I have no doubt some of them are sitting in this hall tonight, cherish this hope of a return to revolutionary activity. They see what they want to see. Many of them are so sick of waving the American flag, and are so hoarse from singing the Star Spangled Banner, that they want to believe it was all a super-clever revolutionary maneuver to deceive the capitalists. Now that the policy has failed so miserably, so catastrophically, they want to believe that there will be a return to revolutionary activity on the part of Stalin and his clique.

Illusion! These people have long since passed over to the other side of the barricades, their hands are red with the blood of innumerable revolutionaries. In Russia, in Spain, in France, in Switzerland, in China, in the United States—on a world-wide scale, they have established themselves irrevocably as the hangmen of the revolution.

The French section of the Fourth International, the Internationalist Workers Party, reacted to the crisis with terrific energy under the slogan:

"The only voice raised for a proletarian policy in the European war crisis was the voice of the Fourth International and its sections—our comrades in Czechoslovakia—including the Sudeten areas—with unexampled courage, raised the slogan of reason in the mad welter of capitalist nationalism. In the midst of the crisis, confronted on one side by the Nazi offensive, and on the other by the brutal persecution of the Czechoslovakian police state, they raised the slogan: 'Neither German nor Czech capitalist nationalism, but the Soviet United States of Europe.'

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MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor
HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE
Associate Editors
S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Free Tom Mooney!

Tom Mooney has eight new turnkeys. They
don't live in the shadow of San Quentin but
they banged the prison gates like any jailer
would have done.

After twenty years, during which time mountains of evidence have been accumulated to prove Mooney's innocence, to prove that the trial was a frame-up, to prove that the gamblers, pimps and prostitutes who testified were paid perjurers; after twenty years there is not a solitary sane person who dares to contend that Mooney is guilty of the charges on which he was convicted—the Supreme Court could not find a technicality on which to release labor's celebrated prisoner.

The Supreme Court could not find a technicality because it was not rendering a decision on the Mooney Case. It was taking its stand in the class war. It was proving that capitalist democracy must have prison walls and iron bars to preserve its tyranny over the working class. Mooney is a symbol of the cause of working class liberation. The eight old men hate this cause with every fiber of their doddering being. That's why they are keeping Mooney in prison.

The eight old men, the Supreme Court of California, the Governor of California and all the rest of the watchdogs of capital will never release Mooney of their own accord.

The keys to Mooney's cell must be wrested from the hands of his jailers by the might of the organized labor movement.

Until that time Tom Mooney's continued imprisonment remains a black stain on the working class.

There can be no freedom for America's toilers while Mooney is still in jail.

Tobin's Bombshell

Dan Tobin's dramatic appeal for the re-unification of the labor movement brought the inciting struggle between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. a long way on the road to solution.

Tobin was indubitably speaking the thoughts of the strongest and most militant union in the A. F. of L. and voicing the hopes of millions of organized workers in both camps of the trade union movement. Tobin's speech was a bombshell because it tore a hole in the fabric of lies used to explain the split. The masses want peace in the labor movement, and now they know that self-seeking leaders alone have been the obstacle.

There are no longer any fundamental reasons that justify the separation of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. The original differences over the question of industrial unionism is no longer at issue. The march of developments compelled craft union after craft union in the A. F. of L. to organize on a vertical basis. The speech of Tobin, as representative of the teamsters union, is the most convincing proof of this fact. The organized masses know this to be true, and they are refusing to allow personal ambitions to stand as an impediment to peace. The leaders of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are on the spot; now they must act.

Tobin's speech to the Houston convention came on the heels of a special plea by Roosevelt for unity. If and when unity is established, there will be those who will rush forward to bestow praise and blessing upon the President. But it will soon become clear that Roosevelt's reasons

for unity are directly contrary to those of the workers.

Roosevelt is priming the war machine and directing U. S. foreign politics towards an early participation in imperialist war. If Roosevelt can dictate the terms of labor's peace, then Roosevelt will hope to dictate the terms of labor's regimentation during the war.

The workers on the contrary want peace in their own house in order to organize the remaining unorganized millions, in order to counter-act the bosses offensive, in order to withstand the blows of depression. The interests and aims of Roosevelt and of the workers are diametrically opposed. But the kind of unity and the type of organization that emerges from the peace fortunately rests first of all with the workers and not with Mr. Roosevelt. The leadership of the new organization may become partners to Roosevelt's labor-throttling war plans. But a powerful militant and progressive movement among the rank and file can sweep this conspiracy aside.

A united labor movement, however it comes into being, will provide a broad arena for progressives to go to work for a program of class action and conflict with the misrulers of America's industry and wealth. Unity will brush aside the secondary issues and the squabbles that arise from rival unions; it will put the real issues on the order of the day.

Moreover, we have every reason to believe that unity will have another salutary effect. It will deliver a smashing blow to that disruptive gang that passes by the name of the Communist Party. The Stalinists through their compact with John Lewis have been able to run riot in the unions; the C.I.O. was a free field for their operations. In the united unions, the Stalinist power will be seriously curbed. Their paper unions will be thrown into the waste-basket, where they properly belong. The compact with Lewis, who practically handed the wreckers the United Automobile Workers, will come to an end, or failing that, its influence will be seriously undermined.

It is too early to predict whether the move of Tobin, Lewis and Roosevelt will result in unity. But certain it is that the pressure from below, from the rank and file, has grown to irresistible proportions. That is the great lesson of the recent history of the labor movement. The workers forced the drive to industrial unionism. The workers forced the A. F. of L. off its craft basis. Now they are moving for unity. The pressure must continue until it becomes a fact. And then it must be resumed for a resurgent development of the American trade unions along militant and progressive lines.

Sliding Scale of Hours

The moderate resumption of production in Michigan's automobile plants has brought with it the first storm signals of what promises to be a veritable whirlwind of strikes. The season had hardly begun when strike fireworks flared up at the Briggs, McCord Radiator, Champion Spark Plug and Plymouth plants—Involving a possible total of 40,000 workers. And now there is strike talk in the entire General Motors Corporation with its hundreds of thousands of workers.

What is the principal issue of these actions? It is the issue that stands uppermost in the mind of every worker: how shall work be found for the thousands of unemployed when the parasitic masters of industry begin their layoffs?

The Plymouth walkout was designed to cope with this problem and now negotiations with G. M. are moving in the same direction. The Plymouth workers demanded a reduction of hours from 40 to 32 hours a week before any layoffs took place. They wanted to spread the work to as large a group of men as possible before any workers were forced on the relief rolls.

The demand for the thirty-two hour week in the automobile industry marks a tremendous forward step for the labor movement. The Plymouth workers made a beginning by demanding a thirty-two-hour week. The next step, pointed by the logic of the unemployed problem, is for a thirty-two-hour week at forty hours of pay. In short, make the bosses pay for the depression.

The Socialist Workers Party greets the action of the automobile workers and calls on the labor movement to raise the slogan of the sliding scale of hours at the same weekly wage!

New International Offers November Highlights

a copy of the November issue to place their order or subscription immediately. Address:

Alliance 'Friend' Denounces Strikes

The editors of the NEW INTERNATIONAL announce an excellent array of articles for the November number of the magazine. Variety of contents is indicated by comprehensive reviews on the American and world scene.

1. "The C.I.O. and A.F. of L. Struggle: A 'new' Stage" is the subject of a thorough analysis by E. J. Widick on the trade union situation in the United States.

2. Felix Morrow contributes an article "Spain—The Final Betrayal," a lively article on latter-day developments in Spain.

3. An important review on the "Four Power Pact—Whither Europe?" will be an outstanding feature. All aspects of the recent developments in Czechoslovakia and Europe leading to the Munich agreement will be reviewed.

4. A complete article giving the accomplishment of the first congress of the Fourth International is also contained in this issue. The article will specifically concern itself with "Prospects of the Fourth International."

5. L. Rock, the writer from Jerusalem who contributed an article

on the situation in Palestine to the October issue, will have a special article in the November number entitled, "Arab Nationalism in Palestine."

6. Greece and the Dictatorship on Metaxas.

7. "Stalinism and Fascism in Italy" by "Z" represents a thorough-going expose of the Stalinist's United Front proposals to the Italian Fascists; their role in the Ethiopian War and the link to Italian Imperialism.

Among the book reviews are John Strathey's "What is to be Done?"; Thomas Mann's "The Coming Victory of Democracy"; and Benjamin Stolberg's "Story of the C.I.O.," to be reviewed respectively by Maurice Spector, Arthur Pincus and B. J. Widick.

The October number, now on sale, has been extremely well received. The management announces that the entire edition of 4,300 copies is exhausted at the NEW INTERNATIONAL office.

It is still on sale at the newsstands and by agents, however. We offer the suggestion to all who want to be sure of obtaining

features in the picture. This working class knows how to fight. Its history is rich in courageous battles. Up to the test, this "great liberal," "friend of the unemployed," flaunts his true colors and goes the way of all "liberals" into the camp of reaction.

"We Wuz Robbed!"



Czech Labor Movement Now Faces Fight Against Fascism

(Below is the concluding article of the series on Czechoslovakia.—Ed)

By W. KELLER

The drive against the labor movement has already started. The new Slovak government has outlawed the Communist Party which was at one time the dominant revolutionary force in Slovakia. Among Hitler's conditions for a truce with the Czechs figures the demand for the proscription of the Communist Party in all Czech territory as well. No doubt Prague will agree to meet this demand with great pleasure. Only the proper moment remains to be chosen.

These blows, however, are only preparatory steps for a general offensive against Czech labor. The question now arises: Is the situation of the workers in Czechoslovakia hopeless? Are there any chances of bringing the steamroller of Fascism to a stop?

A Grave Moment

It is impossible to answer this question with a simple yes or no. One thing is certain: it would be criminal lightmindedness to deny the gravity of the present situation. The Czechoslovak workers have suffered their first great defeat since the world war—a defeat without a struggle. Through the proclamation of the military dictatorship by the Benes-Stalin front and the subsequent Munich deal, they have been brought, overnight, to the same point where the German proletariat stood on January 30, 1933, when Field Marshal Hindenburg, who had been elected President with the support of the trusting Social Democrats, called Hitler to the helm of the Weimar republic.

Now the question is: Will the Czech labor movement steer just as fatally toward a helpless collapse like its German counterpart which, in March, 1933, after Hitler's landslide in the elections, looked on passively while its organizations were destroyed?

It is impossible to deny that the distribution of the figures on the chess board of the class struggle is extremely unfavorable for the workers. Guided by the criminal hand of the social patriots, they have abandoned to Fascism their defensive outposts: the Sudeten German, Polish and Hungarian workers and peasants. They have lost the Slovak and Ruthenian peasants—eternal rebels, because they live in eternal misery—to clerical Fascism. They have repelled Czech peasants who were seeking liberation from the big landowners. They have voluntarily surrendered their democratic rights to the "Friend of the Soviets," General Syrový. They are now encircled on all sides by Fascism. They are divided among themselves by privileges hitherto granted to a labor aristocracy by Czech imperialism, by increasing unemployment, by national prejudices and anti-semitism.

Traditions of Struggle

But there are also positive features in the picture. This working class knows how to fight. Its history is rich in courageous battles. Up to the test, this "great liberal," "friend of the unemployed," flaunts his true colors and goes the way of all "liberals" into the camp of reaction. Put to the test, this "great liberal," "friend of the unemployed," flaunts his true colors and goes the way of all "liberals" into the camp of reaction.

proletarian combatants. But will its forces suffice for victory? Will it rid itself in ample time of its bankrupt leadership? Nobody can foretell. It may be said without unwarranted optimism, however, that the Czech working class will not be clamped passively in the straight-jacket of Fascism.

Already the Czech workers are making a mighty effort to coordinate their resistance against the class enemy. The long-restrained differentiation within the social democracy is coming out into the open. The demand for unity of action, for the fusion of the trade union movement, which is numerically strong but divided into several national federations, is more powerful than ever before. The desire for a unified workers party is also widespread, nourished in part by Stalinist propaganda.

Important Distinction

Once again the counter-revolutionary leadership, above all the Stalinists, bars the road to these confused but progressive tendencies. Proving that they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, the Stalinists are trying to patch up, on a new and narrower basis, that same "Democratic Front" which has only just collapsed. The special conditions that exist are such that any such move may well succeed in once more confusing the already-confused workers.

For, in contradistinction to France, there has never been a formal "People's Front" in Czechoslovakia. The Stalinists acted in the democratic orchestra as noisy and stubborn intruders. Only in the short-lived interim between Godesberg and Munich, when all seemed set for war, were they permitted to appear on the platform of the official patriots.

If the French workers are now about to draw the balance sheet of "organic unity" under the banner of class collaboration, for the Czech workers this unknown kind of unity must still appear as somewhat of a panacea. All the more so, because the Social Democratic (Benes) party leaders have abandoned to Fascism their defensive outposts: the Sudeten German, Polish and Hungarian workers and peasants.

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On the other hand, it is possible that, as in Spain, the fighting spirit of the workers will succeed in establishing, over the heads of the Stalinists and the reformists, a wide net of local action committees. But in contradistinction to Spain, this would lead to a quick showdown. Hitler now offers a protecting hand to the Czech Fascists. War has been postponed, but a new outbreak is close. The class struggle in France, to a lesser extent in Great Britain, will now develop at a speedy rate. The capitalists of both countries are desperately determined to continue the armament race. They have before their eyes the example of the successful military regimentation of the working class by their Fascist rivals. On the other hand, the workers of France and Great Britain have just received a lesson in democracy which greatly reduces their spirit of sacrifice for the Fatherland.

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Events in France and Great Britain will in the end determine the destiny of the Czech working class. Only a swift and radical turn toward a revolutionary upsurge in these countries could bring it relief, reviving and stimulating the opposition forces in Fascist countries as was the case in Italy during the Abyssinian war.

In either case, the Czech working class will disappear from the scene without fighting. Remembering the words of Engels that defeat in a hard struggle is worth more than an easy victory, the Fourth International clapped into concentration camps.

Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

LOVE FEAST WITH ECONOMIC ROYALISTS

Big Business and the New Deal administration have just dedicated themselves to a new and vigorous offensive against Labor.

The latest love-feast between the money-lords and their governing board in Washington was distinctive for a theme that had been scrupulously avoided, so far as the public was concerned, during all the six years of the Roosevelt regime. For the first time since moving into the White House, the Great Liberal, in issuing a long public statement several days ago, omitted the demagogic jibes against the economic royalists coupled with burning expressions of affection for the "forgotten man."

Instead, the President offered up a prayer for industrial peace—for harmony, tranquility, serenity on the whole industrial front. With a display of beautiful precision, his supplications were touchingly endorsed and re-echoed by Big Business, through the voice of Charles R. Hook, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. And with equal promptness, Acting Administrator Aubrey Williams served an injunction to WPA workers against any strikes on Federal projects.

At last Mr. Roosevelt discarded his repertoire of platitudes and spoke out what was on his mind. Roosevelt's call for peace on all home fronts (by government, capital and labor, as he puts it) is precisely what American capitalism desires. As a substitute to demands for better working conditions, increases in pay and the constant vigilance on the part of Labor against speed-up, the capitalists want "harmony and tranquility" and predominance of the Rotarian spirit, with all its verbal baloney designed to serve the interests of Finance Capital.

In place of strikes, the capitalists favor arbitration boards with their habitual sellouts of the workers. The less industrial strife, the bigger the profits for the bosses. Thus Roosevelt sang his little piece and the Wall Streeters at once chorused their approbation. The public performance, however, can hold only one meaning for America's workers and farmers.

Price-boosting, a drive to cut wages and a nation-wide movement for production speed-up can now be expected by industrialists and manufacturers. On its own part, the government will drop thousands more from WPA projects, as well as prune down relief expenditures.

At a stroke a politician that he is Mr. Roosevelt bided his time to choose the opportune moment for insistence against hostilities on the industrial front. Supplied on by the counsel of Bernard M. Baruch and other Wall Street wizards, he has rallied around him the American Labor Party, the Workers Alliance and "progressive" groupies in many sections of the land.

Then, too, one cannot overlook the exuberant enthusiasm, the pious love and the fanatical loyalty of the Stalinists for everything that smacks of Rooseveltiality.

That the "progressives" have encouraged Roosevelt and capital in their new offensive is beyond dispute. But they have done more; they have sown the seeds for creation of "welfare" committees or councils that act against Labor and, especially, against the jobless millions.

THE "BETTERMENT" DIET

A typical example of the progressive offsprings is the New York City Budget Council, made up of "civic" leaders pledged "to the betterment of the community." What the council means by "betterment" is amply illustrated in a report just published "on the needs of a working class family."

After a long and supposedly thorough survey, the council has found that \$8.37 is a sum sufficient to supply a family of four with food for a week. Such a report, issued by "civic" leaders about the time of Roosevelt's call can only be calculated to set a new minimum for home relief, provide an alibi for pay-slashing and lowering of the workers' living standard.

In view of its patent infant, the council's findings deserve an examination, even if a brief one.

The council would have a working-class family of four spend \$1.10 for their daily food. Since the New York Board of Education holds it is necessary for a pupil to consume a quart of milk daily, it should be assumed that two children in the family of four must spend twenty cents for that vital nourishment. A platter for the family of four sitting down to dinner must involve the cost of at least fifty