

All War  
Funds To the  
Unemployed!

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

Open the Doors  
To Europe's  
Refugees!

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# BUILD LABOR'S OWN PARTY!

## Let's Remember The Armistice!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## BELGIAN FOURTH INT'L CANDIDATES SCORE AT POLLS

Secure 7,000 Votes  
And Eight Seats  
in Communes

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

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

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

Fought Coalition

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

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

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

P.O.B. Losses

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

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

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## Out With Batista!

### Roosevelt Bids Welcome To Butcher of Workers

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



COL. FULGENCIO BATISTA

### LIMA CONFERENCE WILL SEAL LATIN AMERICAN PACTS

### U. S. Is Seeking to Consolidate Its Hegemony

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

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

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

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

This was a diplomatic way of saying once more that Washington

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

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

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

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

ta's one-man rule. The same story of persecution and terror could be compiled for the two years that have since elapsed.

How does the terror operate in Cuba? Torture, plus murder, is its chief stock in trade. Batista has adopted methods made infamous in Nazi Germany and added a few of his own invention. In all, about 400 workers, students, professors, labor leaders, editors, lawyers, and doctors have met death in the past two years at the hands of his army and military police—an average of about 18 a month, about five a week, about one every two days."

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

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### Indochinese Authorities Close Trotskyist Journal

(Fourth International Press  
Service)

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

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

This decree is obviously an experiment designed to facilitate the efforts of the petty bourgeois constitutionalists and Stalinists to win the masses over to support of French imperialism in case of war. The authorities want to experiment with the possibility of conducting a campaign, aided by the Stalinists and the bourgeois parties, which will rally the Annamite workers to the imperialist banner.

To be sure, the revolutionists

will take full advantage of this on their part. *La Lutte*, central organ of the Fourth Internationalists, published in French at Saigon, will probably be issued shortly in Annamite. Its purpose

will be to see to it that the masses resist any attempt to herd them into a new slaughter on behalf of the French masters and to

conduct the broadest campaign for real democratic rights won by the open struggle of the workers.

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

### NEW UPSWING; NEW TASKS

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

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

With its prestige heavily shattered by the ignominious defeat

### EDITOR'S NOTE

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

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

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

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

and significance is the organization of the 150,000 automobile workers employed at the Ford Motor Co.

Ford remains the only manufacturer of a union among his workers, who recognizes and deals with no committees and has

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## Organize the Ford Motor Co.!

By JOHN ADAMSON

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

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

DEFEAT IN "LITTLE STEEL"

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

## Poll Shows Drift From New Deal

Labor Party Alone  
Can Stem March  
of Reaction

## WORKERS MUST TAKE OWN PATH

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

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

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

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

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

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

The key role of the shift in the middle class allegiance was indicated in a dozen ways throughout the course of the campaign. On the one hand was witnessed the flourishing of middle-class panaceas for the solution of the economic crisis: above all, the various pension plans which became issued especially in New England and the West, espoused in many cases by the eager Republicans. On the other hand, the campaign in several bitterly fought States saw the entry of tendencies far more reactionary than any which have heretofore played a part in American politics, which in their own way were equally designed for the attraction of middle-class support. In the Far West there were the anti-union bills placed on the ballot. In up-state New York the main burden of the campaign against Lehman was carried by anti-Semitism. In every village, town, and hamlet, huge posters called on the citizens to "Vote American," and no one had the slightest doubt about the meaning of the slogan.

American Popular Frontism

The election thus serves as a judgment on the American, New Deal form of Popular Frontism. The argument that the working class

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# Organize Henry Ford's Open Shop!

Successful Drive Will Put Labor on Offensive



HENRY FORD

(Continued from Page 1) signed no agreement with the union. Ford stands today as the factor of automobiles who has successfully obstructed the form-symbo of reaction, industrial autocracy and the open shop. His anti-union utterances have attracted nation-wide and worldwide attention. Almost naturally, the organization of the Ford plants stands as the necessary next step in labor's program of action.

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

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

## THE GREAT JOB AT FORD'S

Organize the Ford workers, sign a good union contract with the company!—and the G.M. victory will pale by comparison.

The G.M. strike occurred when the mass production industries were still largely unorganized and the mass movement for labor political action almost non-existent.

That strike electrified the workers sufficiently to call forth millions of them out of indifference and timidity to economic and political life. A successful Ford drive, would grip America's organized millions and hurl them in new attack against the citadels of capitalism in a more profound manner than ever before. The threatened reaction on the part of the manufacturers would be abruptly stopped and the labor movement, more resolute and self-confident, would launch an offensive all along the line.

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

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

## WORKERS WANT UNION

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

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

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

Incompetence Stymied Previous UAW Efforts

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

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

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

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

## PUT FORD ON CIO AGENDA

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

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

## A PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

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

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

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

## HIGH POINT MISSED

The high point of the drive, such as it was, was reached when the U.A.W. representatives were mercilessly beaten by Ford service men at the gates of the River Rouge plant, in open sight of newspaper photographers and reporters. That day thousands of Detroit automobile workers were aroused to a white fury at the Ford empire.

What is important, however, beyond this or that detail, is to overcome the handicap of the unsuccessful first drive and the discouragement and moods of pessimism engendered thereby. What is important is that the Ford workers be impressed that this is not just another petty ineffectual stab but a bona fide large scale campaign, behind which all organized labor has pledged its unstinting support. If a drive of this character is launched, and properly carried through, it has every chance of success. The Ford workers can be organized.

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

## JOHNSON FREED IN BILL BROWN MURDER TRIAL

Union Enemies Slander 544 as Organizer Is Absolved

(Reprinted from Northwest Organizer)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 3.—Arnold Johnson was found guilty of the murder of the late Bill Brown (former President of General Drivers Local 544).

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

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

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

## KILLERS AT LARGE

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

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

Rumors were current that enemies of the Minneapolis labor movement, frustrated in their attempts to use Arnold Johnson's

to smear organized labor, were seeking ways and means to launch a new attack on the unions.

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

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

## READERS COMMEMORATE BULLETIN ANNIVERSARY

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued from Page 1) the problem of the present C.I.O. convention.

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

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

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

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

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

## Unions Condemn WPA Labor Camps

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

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

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

SHACHTMAN TO REVIEW STOLBERG BOOK NEXT WEEK

The next issue of the Socialist Appeal will contain a review of Ben Stolberg's book, "The Story of the C. I. O." by Max Shachtman.

## READ

The New International

## DAVEY BREAKS OHIO TOBACCO PLANT STRIKE

Threatens Workers With National Guard Terror

MIDDLETOWN, Ohio.—The strike of 1000 tobacco workers at the P. Lorillard Co. plant was smashed here last week when democratic Governor Davey of Ohio announced that he was sending the state militia to this city to open the struck plant by force.

When the announcement was made that the troops were ready to open the plant and bathe the strikers in their own blood, the workers, all members of the Pioneer Tobacco Workers Union, C.I.O., voted to return to work.

During the strike the plant was kept shut tight, in spite of the boss-sponsored "back to work movement," which fizzled out in face of the unity displayed by the strikers.

The workers were unprepared for the bosses' attack. In voting to return to work, every union member was conscious of the fact that he was returning to work at the point of a gun. The union had no defense guard of their own to protect the picketline. Every soldier at the final strike meeting told how he was 100 percent for the continuation of the strike, but that he was appalled at the thought of bloodshed.

The state proved to be the ace strikebreaker for the company. The workers have learned that they must create their own defense organs against the government's terror.

## NEW YORK WORKERS VOTE ANTI-WAR STAND

The Minneapolis anti-war resolution was passed by the membership of three branches of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund this week at the regular monthly meetings of the branches.

Branch 394, Jamaica, Branch 298, Long Island City and Branch 314 of Flushing voted unanimously to support a militant struggle against imperialist war, following the lead taken by Branch 294 of Detroit at a previous meeting.

The delegates of these branches to the Brooklyn and Queens Agitation Committee which represents over twenty branches in the society are prepared to carry their resolution into the higher body and struggle for its acceptance there.

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## Marxist School Opens; Lists Important Classes

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

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

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

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

The courses are as follows:

I. The American Trade Unions 6 sessions \$1.00 B. J. Widick

Mondays, 7-8:30 P. M.

classes begin Nov. 14th

II. After the Munich Conference 6 sessions \$1.00 Jack Weber

Mondays, 8:45-10:15 P. M.

classes begin Nov. 14th

III. Living Marxism—First Principles 6 sessions \$1.00 J. G. Wright

Tuesdays, 8:45-10:15 P. M.

classes begin Nov. 15th

IV. The Bridge To Revolutionary Action 6 sessions \$1.00 James P. Cannon

James Burnham

Max Shachtman

Tuesdays, 8:45-10:15 P. M.

classes begin Nov. 15th

V. Labor Journalism—James Casey

Wednesdays 7-8:30 P. M.

6 sessions \$1.00

VI. Three American Revolutions 4 sessions \$1.00 George Novack

Wednesdays, 8:45-10:15 P. M.

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

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

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

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

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

Below we reprint a statement issued by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International at the opening of the P.O.U.M. trial in Barcelona. It is more imperative than ever before that we follow the advice of this appeal and organize international pressure strong enough to obtain the release of the framed P.O.U.M. leaders.

Statement of I.S.

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

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

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

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

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

"Secretariat of the Fourth International."

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

## ATTENTION-READERS OF THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

National Convention  
Arrangements Committee

## VETERANS PICKET FOR BLACKWELL

### Spanish Trotskyists Demand Their Trial Be Open

Members of the Veterans of the Spanish Revolution, newly-organized body of returned veterans from the Spanish war front, scheduled for Oct. 5 was postponed, on the request of their attorneys, to the beginning of November. The two attorneys, obtained after much difficulty, were finally permitted to examine the briefs.

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

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

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

## C.N.T. DELEGATE SUPPORTS AID TO BLACKWELL

### Demands of Defendants

"1. A public trial with the right of participation especially for national and international labor organizations;

"2. That the conclusions of the prosecutor be submitted to us as soon as possible as well as the points of the indictment so we may be able to refute them and present all the necessary evidence;

"3. That as a preliminary, Luis Zanon be called upon to make a new and truthful declaration and a guarantee against any violence against him;

"4. That the Commissioner General Mendez be summoned to court in order that he may be freely questioned by the defendants;

"5. The right of a defense for the foreigners, by a foreign attorney who must be given a passport so he can enter Spain and then be guaranteed the right to free examination.

### Fresh Charges

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

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

Secretary Inigo wrote that the Military Investigation Service was still to be overcome.

### Agent 29"

that Blackwell was Trotsky's secretary;

that he was the author of various books of "Trotskyite tendency";

that he was "sent to Spain to promote the counter-revolution in combination with United States authorities, to whose espionage service he belonged as Number 29.

The C.N.T. secretary said that these charges were false in that it could continue with its efforts in Blackwell's behalf.

### Olay's Cable

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

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

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

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

## Y.P.S.L. Mass Convention Rally

The Tenth National Convention will open in Chicago on Wednesday evening, Nov. 23 at the Hotel Majestic, 29 W. Quincy, with a monster mass meeting on "What Next—American Youth?"

Speakers—James P. Cannon, Martin Abern, Nathan Gould, Hal Draper, Ernest Erber.

Chairman—Irv Bern.

## Tokyo Hopes For Far Eastern Munich Pact

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

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

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

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

### What the Pact Is

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

This means, in effect, that the pact was designed to preserve and safeguard American interests in China and to protect them from Japanese inroads.

### Japanese Pressure

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

In reply Secretary of State Cordell Hull issued a statement to the press on Nov. 4 asserting that as far as this country is concerned, the treaty position in the Far East remains unchanged

## LIMA CONFERENCE WILL SEAL LATIN AMERICAN PACTS

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

**Interests Involved**  
The extent and importance of these interests was emphasized

## BELGIAN FOURTH INT'L CANDIDATES SCORE AT POLLS

(Continued from Page 1)

ents against supporting the revolutionists.

### Preserved "Peace"

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

This marks the beginning of a new phase in the diplomatic preliminaries to the eventual Japanese-American clash in the Pacific. Japanese imperialism considers that its conquest of China has proceeded far enough to force recognition from the other Powers of Japan's "special" (i.e., exclusive) position in the Far East. It is preparing to set up a puppet Central Government in the conquered territory—or rather, along the conquered lines of communication—and that the United States would continue to insist upon its "rights" in China.

### New Phase Opens

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### Where We Stand

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

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

### Fighting Program

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

"Flenu," he said, "will be a beacon for all the communists.

We shall do everything to realize our program." He told them the Revolutionary Socialist Party would lead the fight for the 40-hour week, two-week paid vacations, reduction of the age for pension eligibility, etc.

He said that workers would be able to depend upon Fourth Internationalist representatives not to betray their interests as the reformists and Stalinists had repeatedly done.

He concluded by reaffirming the party's struggle for revolutionary socialism and calling upon the workers to join the party's forces. The meeting ended with the singing of the "Internationale."

The United States in 1937 was also Latin America's chief customer, taking 31 percent of the aggregate exports of the 20 southern republics. U.S. trade with Latin America has been increasing faster since 1932 than with any other section of the world. Latin America now absorbs no less than 20 percent of this country's total exports. Add to this long term United States investments in the Latin American republics totalling more than \$4,000,000,000, or more than 37 percent of this country's total of more than \$11,000,000,000 in foreign investment, and one gets some idea of the enormous material stake that lies behind the thin fiction of the "good neighbor principle." But Vargas himself rules a government that did exist in Brazil. This does not disqualify him, however, as a supporter of the Rooseveltian united front in the Americas!

No, it is not for "democracy" or "good neighborliness" that United States imperialism is marshalling its power in the Western hemisphere. The dollars still decide. At Lima the representatives of the Roosevelt government will seek to create a solid bloc in this hemisphere under American domination not only to safeguard and extend trade and investments, but to strengthen the foundations for the world empire which American capitalism expects eventually to control.

## Let's Remember The Armistice!

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

REMEMBER the Armistice,

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

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

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

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

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

## Lovestone Comes Out For Boss Candidates In Poll

In a brazen editorial featured in the November 5th issue of his opposition to the Popular Front and the Democratic Front. As usual with centrists, this opposition turns out to be nothing but words used as a cover for opportunistic actions. Supporting Murphy and Olson is, in fact, the Democratic Front pushed to an extreme that it seldom reached even in the nations of its original application.

**Belly-Scraping Opportunism**  
Nevertheless, the Lovestone position on Murphy and Olson is not just an editorial accident. It follows logically from the "American approach" line formulated by Herberg for the recent Convention of the Lovestone organization. Here, as everywhere, Lovestone tries to hold on to a little roost for his clique by adapting himself to the current whims of the trade union bureaucracy. It is for Murphy and Olson. By acting as radical office boy, and delivering the good word to the "advanced workers," Lovestone figures he can win tolerance for his followers and perhaps pick

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## The "Kingmaker's" Friends

JERSEY CITY, N. J., Nov. 6.—Hailing  
Frank Hague as "your leader and my leader,"  
William H. J. Ely, Democratic candidate for  
U. S. Senate, told 3,000 persons gathered  
here today that "he will not find me  
wanting when he wants me.""I think I can say," Mr. Ely continued,  
"that the people of this state are whole-  
heartedly behind the greatest humanitarian  
we have had in the White House—Franklin  
Delano Roosevelt. I have pledged myself to  
support the kind of government we have  
had in the past six years."At the close of Mr. Ely's address, James  
A. Hamill, City Corporation Council, who  
was chairman of the rally, announced:"The next speaker will be the man who  
makes United States Senators and other offi-  
cials big and small—the kingmaker—our  
Mayor, Frank Hague."—News Item.This little incident speaks a mouthful about  
the catchwords of labor leaders, Stalinists and  
liberal capitalist politicians: "Roosevelt Against  
Reaction! Support New Deal Candidates to De-  
fend Democracy!"The speech of Hague's picked candidate was  
return payment to Roosevelt for the adminis-  
tration stamp of approval placed upon him by  
First Secretary of War Woodring and Post-  
master Farley. It is the other side of the dirty  
deal of the New Deal with the Vice-Chairman  
of the Democratic Party."Let me rule Jersey as I please, for the benefit  
of my machine and Big Business," says the Hud-  
son County Hitler, "and I will deliver you the  
voters and the candidates in Congress."Every worker, every militant anti-fascist, who  
has been taught to rely on the White House in  
the fight against Hagueism, can now see what  
the score is:Roosevelt and his party back Hague. Roose-  
velt is not against this vicious reactionary but  
behind him! Hague's gang is not against Roose-  
velt but behind him! Roosevelt is not with the  
workers and labor's democratic rights in New  
Jersey but against them!

\* \* \*

Faced with this situation, the officers of  
Labor's Non-Partisan League half-supported Bar-  
bour, the Republican candidate for Senate, who  
is no less reactionary than his Democratic oppo-  
nent. Despite this prostration of the C.I.O. lead-  
ers before the capitalist parties, the workers of  
New Jersey have been given the opportunity to  
vote a genuine labor ticket by the Socialist  
Worker's Party. With the modest means at their  
disposal, the candidates of our party through  
the program published in their paper "The  
Worker's Voice" have given expression to the  
desire of the enlightened workers in the state  
for militant and independent working class ac-  
tion on the political arena.While the present electoral campaign has  
shown that the workers cannot struggle against  
Hagueism politically by relying upon either of  
the capitalist parties, the recent decision of Fed-  
eral Judge Clarke in the famous "free-speech"  
case of the C.I.O. and the American Civil Lib-  
erties Union has demonstrated that they cannot  
conduct an effective fight against Hagueism by  
relying upon the capitalist courts.The decision of this "liberal" judge actu-  
ally legalized a form of modified censorship a-  
gainst free speech in Jersey City!First, it did not grant the C.I.O. the right to  
use the streets for meetings, although Hague's  
benchmen freely enjoy that right.Second, the decision gives Hague censorship  
and control over all planned meetings by sug-  
gesting that he demand an advance copy of all  
speeches. This enables him to refuse a permit  
on the ground that the speaker might provoke a  
riot.Finally, the learned jurist left Hague free to  
coerce private hall-owners and prevent them  
from renting rooms to any of his enemies.This decision, hailed as a "victory" by the  
C.I.O. leaders, the liberals, and Stalinists, was  
in reality a partial victory for Hague. But Hague  
is not content with such partial triumphs. This  
despot will not permit even this concession to

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Duranty Scents the Trail

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MASS MEETING NOVEMBER 13  
CELEBRATE

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

Speakers: Max Shachtman - Maurice Spector

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13 — at 8 P. M.

Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street

Admission 15¢

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

## Reporting For More Duty, Sir!

Election Results Show  
Need of a Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)  
the weapons of barbarism, from  
anti-unionism as in the West,  
from anti-Semitism as in New  
York, from racial chauvinism as  
in South Carolina and Georgia.  
Reaction, that is to say, must to-  
day head toward the ideology and  
methods of fascism.

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

New Deal Explodes

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

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

The Choice Ahead

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

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

## Statement on Diego Rivera

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

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

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was no occasion or justification,  
since Rivera's devotion and loyalty  
to the Fourth International and its program have never been  
brought into question.

The decision on the reorganization  
of the Mexican section was not  
calculated to eliminate Comrade  
Rivera from the Mexican section of the Fourth Interna-  
tional, much less to prohibit him  
from maintaining such membership.

Rather, the suggestion made,  
in full agreement with Comrade  
Rivera, was that, in view of the exceptional circum-

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

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

Whether Comrade Rivera joins the  
Mexican section, now in the process of reorganization, im-  
mediately or at a later time, has  
been left entirely in the hands of  
Comrade Rivera himself, in  
agreement with the representative  
of the Executive Committee of the  
Fourth International assigned to  
work in Mexico. His full mem-  
bership in our movement remains,  
however, fully in effect and un-  
impaired.

Nov. 8, 1938.

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Socialist Workers Party  
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MEETING

A general membership meet-  
ing of the Socialist Workers  
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p. m. at Irving Plaza Hall, 15th  
St. and Irving Place. The meet-  
ing is called for a discussion of  
the Jewish question, the rise  
of anti-Semitism and the prob-  
lem of organizing a struggle  
against it. All party members  
are urged to attend.