

All War
Funds To the
Unemployed!

Socialist Appeal

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

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375

Open the Doors
To Europe's
Refugees!

Five Cents per Copy

LET THE REFUGEES INTO U.S.!

**SWP Polls
6700 Votes
In Jersey**

Outranks S. P. And
Comes Close to
Stalinists

**CREWS LEADS
PARTY TICKET**

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

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



LAZARO CARDENAS

**PRES. CARDENAS
RAPPS ATTACKS ON
TROTsky ASYLUM**

**Sharply Repudiates
Toledano Charges
Against Exile**

See page 8 for full page of analysis of election returns.

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

Negro Candidate High

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

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

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

Polls More Than Stalinist

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

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

In the vote for U.S. Senator, where the S.W.P. ran no candidate but gave critical support to the S.P., Palangio, he received 1,653 votes to the Stalinist Norman's 1,360.

In spite of the fact that the Republicans swept the county here as they did generally elsewhere, the vote of the S.W.P. indicates the willingness of the workers to listen to and support an independent fighting program and an independent, aggressive workers' party. This is the first step!

(Continued on page 4)

**Puppet UAW Board Hits
Union Rights, Democracy**

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

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

From the beginning of October, the board members seem to have been constantly commuting between Detroit and Washington, holding sessions day on end. It will be recalled that the October 3 session adopted the C.I.O. program.

(Continued on page 2)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For two reasons:

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

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

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

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

They must not be allowed to succeed!

The workers of the United States must take the initiative in a mighty and effective protest against the Hitlerite pogroms.

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

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

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

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

**RUBBER UNIONS
APPEAL TO NLRB**

**But Action, Organi-
zation Can Stop
Wage Cut**

By R. FERGUSON

AKRON, Nov. 14.—Goodyear local of the United Rubber Workers of America today demanded from the N.L.R.B. that it consider at once charges placed against the company months ago for discrimination, financing a company union and other unfair labor practices. This action by the union came as a response to the filing of a petition by the Akron Goodyear Employees Association, company-stooge outfit, that the N.L.R.B. hold a new election to determine whether the U.R.W.A. should still represent the workers as sole collective bargaining agent.

Since the compromise settlement of the Goodyear strike at 6 P. M. there will be a placard parade down Second Avenue in lower Manhattan.

**Anti-Nazi Demonstration
To Take Place Saturday**

**NEW YORK.—The Socialist
Workers Party and the Young
People's Socialist League have
joined in action this week in a cam-
paign centered around the de-
mand for opening the doors of**

**this country to the victims of
Nazism.**

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

Street Meetings Scheduled

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

At 6 P. M. there will be a placard parade down Second Avenue in lower Manhattan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WE THEREFORE DEMAND:

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

We urge all workers, and all labor organizations:

**Demand that the American government use its emer-
gency powers to open the doors to the horribly perse-
cuted Jews of Germany!**

**The right of asylum is an old, a traditional, a re-
spected right in this country.**

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

Workers!

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

Unite! Join hands!

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

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

**Show the victims of the Fascist terror that you mean
it seriously, by stretching out to them the hand of frater-
nality, by demanding of the American govern-
ment the free and unrestricted right of asylum for
the Jewish scapegoats of Fascist barbarism!**

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

**GPU BREWS NEW
RUBENS TRIAL**

**Moscow Links Local
Spy Trial to
Couple**

Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Rubens,

prisoners in a G.U.P. prison in
Moscow for 11 months, were sud-
denly brought back into the news
last week in circumstances which

strongly suggested the immin-
ence of a new frame-up trial
linked to the recent Nazi spy
trial in New York City.

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

A New Trial?

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

**Labor Unity, Union
Democracy Issues
Stir C.I.O. Convention**

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

STALINISTS LEWIS' CHEERING SQUAD

By B. J. WIDICK

Labor Secretary, S.W.P.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

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

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

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

Copies Not Available

The C.I.O. top leadership tried to get a constitution passed by a verbal reading of it! No copies were given to delegates. Finally, pressure from the floor succeeded in postponing discussion until copies were printed.

Meanwhile, a dangerous clause was adopted in the constitution that gives Lewis a legal weapon for a possible purge of the political groups within the C.I.O., despite the weak-hearted opposition of Bridges and the others.

The clause reads, "to bring about the effective organization of the working men and women of America, regardless of race, creed, color or nationality, and to unite them for common action into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection."

Jeopardizes Political Rights

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

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

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

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

Right to Overthrow Leaders

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

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

By GEORGE CLARKE

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

Their resignation comes as a protest to the bankrupt policies of the S.P. now culminating in the planned retirement into the reactionary Old Guard Social Democratic Federation.

It comes as a climax to a long, difficult struggle to introduce revolutionary principles into the Socialist Party and revolutionary methods into its trade union work. At every stage, these militants were obstructed in their efforts by the opportunist and careerist leaders at the top of the party.

Significant Act

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

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

To Those Still In S.P.

The statement of Genora and Kermit Johnson, printed here with, is especially directed to the automobile workers still in the Socialist Party, to the rank and file S.P. members in the West Side Briggs, Dodge and Hudson locals of the U.A.W. They have had a common experience with the comrades Johnson in struggling for a clean-cut policy in the union against Walter Reuther, Ben Fisher and Co. It is now obvious that from the situation in the U.A.W. and from the condition of the S.P. nationally that these efforts have run headlong into a brick wall. Intelligent revolutionaries will draw the necessary conclusions — conclusions which we are convinced can be no different than those drawn by Kermit and Genora Johnson.

Kermit Johnson was the leader of the successful Chevrolet strike during the famous Flint sit-downs early in 1937; he was formerly chairman of Local 158 (Flint) of the U.A.W. In the recent gubernatorial elections in Michigan he ran for Lieutenant-Governor on the S.P. ticket. He was also a member of the State Executive Committee and the National Labor Committee of the S.P.

Organized Emergency Brigade
Genora Johnson was the organizer of the Woman's Emergency Brigade in Flint, which was a potent factor in mobilizing the women and in winning the famous sit-down in 1937. Prior to her recent illness she took a prominent part in the national work of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the auto union.

The Socialist Appeal and the Socialist Workers Party extends a full and hearty welcome to Genora and Kermit Johnson into the ranks of the party and bids all other S.P. militants to follow their example.

THE TRUTH AT LAST!

Secretary of War Woodring, speaking in Akron Nov. 1 in behalf of labor-supported Dow Harter, candidate for Congress and member of House Military Affairs Committee, dropped New Deal demagogery for a moment to reveal how class-conscious the bourgeoisie really is! Said war-monger Woodring, ". . . Franklin Roosevelt has the toughest job any man ever had in his efforts to keep the confidence of the great bulk of the people in the profit system. He is the strongest protection for that way of life that we have."

The Publication Of
FASCISM AND
BIG BUSINESS

By Daniel Guerin

has been postponed until December 15th. Several hundred dollars are still required to cover the cost of publication. Everyone interested in assuring the publication of this important book without further delay is urged to send a contribution for this purpose to

Pioneer Publishers

100 Fifth Ave., New York City
Advance Orders still accepted at \$1.50. Price on Publication
\$2.00.



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

Following is the text of the statement issued in Flint, Mich., by Genora and Kermit Johnson announcing their adherence to the banner of the Fourth International:

The practical experience we gained in the great auto strike made us left-wingers in the Socialist Party. After seeing the party in the east, with its preponderance of right-wingers, we came back to Michigan to build a real left-wing bloc in the state, with a view to taking over, together with New York left-wingers, the machinery of the Socialist Party. But not being well enough equipped to provide leadership at the time, we felt the only alternative was to support the representative of the left-wing who had been sent to Michigan.

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

DEALING WITH OLD GUARD

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

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

at being left with a party name and no membership—is attempting at this time to effect a deal, a reconciliation with the old guard Social Democratic Federation: not on the basis of a left-wing revolutionary program, but on the basis of uniting all socialists in the country.

Hypocritically they add that this will make their fight against capitalism more effective. We know that party formed on this basis means a party with about twenty different programs, whose effectiveness as a revolutionary organization, if it can be called that, can easily be divided by twice that number.

JOINING THE S.W.P.

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

For these reasons we are leaving the Socialist Party and joining the Socialist Workers Party to build the vanguard of the coming revolution unhampered by reformist maneuvers, petty intrigues, opportunists and careerists.

This is the job facing any man or woman who sincerely calls himself a real revolutionist; for in the crisis which must inevitably follow economic conditions under the declining capitalist system, only the genuine vanguard will lead the working class to the victorious consummation of the revolution.

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

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

GENORA and KERMIT JOHNSON.

NEW INT'L HAS LIVELY FEATURES

LEWIS 'PLEDGES' C.I.O. WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

give proper treatment to ourselves," he added, making a bid for his place in a Roosevelt war cabinet.

It was tragic to hear the applause of the delegates to that war-mongering speech. It was horrible to watch the Stalinist glow in pride over the adoption of their pro-war line.

"Democracy is in peril," Lewis said. "And in the United States we want to preserve democracy." He blasted at Hitler for destroying the German labor movement but didn't make one word of criticism of Mayor Frank Hague, or other fascist minded American politicians because he didn't want to expose the fraud of democracy in this country.

Protection for Capitalism
"The C.I.O. stands for protection of all Americans—Gentiles,

Jews, all creeds, any school of thought that maintains respect for our institutions." That is, for all believers in capitalism.

Lewis is against democracy within the C.I.O. No radical will be protected by the C.I.O., if he has it his way. Only believers in capitalism can expect support from him!

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

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

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

ALL SET FOR THE BALL GAME!

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

The day of the big game is drawing near. Don't forget: it's next Wednesday—Thanksgiving eve—at the Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City.

Frida Rivera, wife of artist Diego Rivera, will be on hand to throw out the first ball. The contest will be umpired by the veteran Carlo Tresca, whose extended lack of acquaintance with the rules ensures scrupulous fair-

ness to all.

And it's all for the benefit of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees!

Here's the line-up for the big game. Who you betting on?

Marxist Maulers

George Novack . . . Capt. & pitcher

Max Shachtman . . . Right field

James Burnham . . . 2nd base

George Clarke . . . 3rd base

B. J. Widick . . . Center field

Lyman Paine . . . Left field

Frank Lovell Catcher

S. Stanley . . . 1st base

J. Wasserman . . . Shortstop

Felix Morrow (mascot)

Stude Longian A. C.

James T. Farrell . . . Capt. & pitcher

Max Eastman . . . Center field

Sidney Hook . . . Shortstop

James Rorty . . . Catcher

Dwight MacDonald . . . 2nd base

Arthur Pincus . . . 1st base

David Glusker . . . Right field

Eliot E. Cohen . . . 3rd base

John McDonald . . . Left field

Al Margolies (mascot)

Puppet UA W Board Hits Union Rights, Democracy

(Continued from page 1)

posals for "peace" and reinstated the expelled union officers.

"Democracy" In Action

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

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

is to bring back the worst diseases of the old AFL craft unionism into the WPA field. In effect such a policy excludes the building of any organization of the WPA workers.

Amounts to Liquidation

It is to the honor of the Auto Workers Union that it set out and established functioning WPA organizations in Cleveland, Detroit, and several other centers, uniting all the WPA workers, while the C.I.O. was floundering around with no definite policy or program of its own.

To turn these WPA organizations, at this late date, back to the regions, means to throw the WPA workers back to the tender mercies of the Stalinists who unfortunately control both the C.I.O. councils and the Auto Councils in many key cities of the Auto union, as in Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, South Bend. It means in effect giving the Stalinists a free hand to wreck these bona-fide WPA organizations attached to the labor movement, in favor of the defunct, Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance. It is very doubtful whether the WPA workers will show much appreciation for this decision.

Salaries Voted

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

The leadership upon thinking it over was apparently a bit apprehensive about the effects upon the membership of a sudden announcement of new \$2 assessments. At the second board session, then, the assessment seems to have been pigeon-holed for the time being. As if to better prove why the membership should not allow themselves to be assessed by these irresponsible spendthrifts, they then voted to pay back salary to the five officers who were suspended last June, amounting to \$1,200 each. A total expense of \$6,000!

Paper Abolished

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

Precisely because of this the Stalinists vowed to abolish it. Now the auto membership will receive all of its union information from the "CIO News," the journalistic product of the fusion of the Stalinist and the Lewis-Hillman-Murray bureaucracies.

WPA Set-up Revised

Finally, it is reported, the board decided to revise the existing WPA set-up. The WPA workers, henceforth will be attached to their respective regional organizations, rather than have a national WPA Auxiliary connected with the International Union. This decision amounts in its practical consequences to a deliberate, typi-

cal wrecking by the Stalinists.

As everyone who has the faintest experience in this field knows, WPA workers cannot be organized except into one organization.

To have the auto unions organize its WPA workers, the Steel Union its WPA workers, the Rubber, all the other unions following suit, is to bring back the worst diseases of the old AFL craft unionism into the WPA field. In effect such a policy excludes the building of any organization of the WPA workers.

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... And coming nearer home, a comrade in South Bend, Indiana, writes as follows: "My opinion of the APPEAL? It suits me swell. I have found nothing to rival it. I have at least one with me at all times. The tri-weekly anti-war issues are more than proved which is the vanguard party of the workers.

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Elections Prove Need For Independent Labor Action

A Pointed Lesson At the Polls

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

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

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

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

WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

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

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

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

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

WHAT WILL BE PROPOSED?

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

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

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

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

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

WHAT MUST THE WORKERS DO?

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

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

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

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

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

Connecticut Workers Vote Independently

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

By B. HARDE

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

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

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

Election Figures

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

If the mere figures gave the managers of the Republican and Democratic plunderbunds food for much sober thought, their significance, and the facts which emerge once they are broken down, were doubly disconcerting.

Revealing Percentages

The Republicans polled only 37% of the total vote, a smaller percentage than they have received in any election since 1930. Their plurality of 2,500 was thrown their way by the few tattered remnants of Father Coughlin's Union party, which threw its support to Baldwin in the gubernatorial race. Had the Democrats won, their plurality amongst the electorate would have been scarcely more com-pimentary.

McLevy increased his vote 400% over that which he rolled up in 1934, when he received 38,000 votes, and 800% over 1936.

Dark horse McLevy carried 18 towns, including the cities of Bridgeport, Waterbury and Bristol, and the towns of East Hartford, Manchester, Glastonbury, Watertown, Fairfield, Stratford. He came in second in 20 more towns. Most of his votes came from cities and large towns, from the most heavily industrialized western regions of the state; less than 10% came from the four counties east of the Connecticut river.

Industrial Vote

The three most populous counties, seats of the chief industries of the state, Hartford, New Haven and Fairfield, gave McLevy 135,000 of his nearly 185,000 votes. The predominantly industrial character of McLevy's support can hardly have been a comforting thought to the old-party chieftains, who made unprecedented bids for labor's vote in the election campaign.

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

disclosures made about lobbying and corruption in the Waterbury scandal, were credited with diverting thousands of votes from the Democratic ticket to the Socialist ticket, yet it does not appear that this offers a complete explanation of the shift in electoral vote Besides, the Herald points out, the reaction in Waterbury, the scene of the municipal scandals, was not away from the Democrats alone, although it was under their administration that the plundering took place. In Waterbury McLevy carried with a plurality of 400 over the Democrats, but he took more votes away from the Republicans than from the Democrats!

The immediate lessons of the

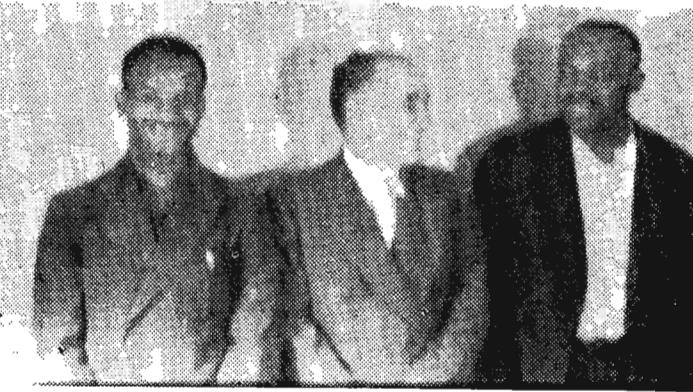
It can be successful only if labor displays its independent class strength.

The workers must understand that the first and primary object of labor in politics is not the immediate election of an illusory majority to office, but the organization of the working class for struggle. Only this makes labor strong; without this, elections can win exactly nothing.

Finally, the workers must set for themselves new and bolder and wider aims. If they turn now in fear, and remain content with scraps from the bosses' tables, labor will sink into passivity and despair and the middle class will continue their rush toward reaction. Only a perspective which openly and audaciously asserts the rights and claims and ideals of the workers can rouse the enthusiasm and courage of labor for the struggle ahead, and can draw along with labor the great majority from the middle classes who share with labor the oppression and exploitation of a declining society and who with labor seek a way out of the crisis.

This perspective—the bold, independent class action of the workers on both the economic and political fronts—is the way and the only way to stop reaction, and to move ahead.

MAKE GOOD SHOWING



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

ALP Pays Price For Sleazy Deals In N.Y.

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

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

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

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

Failure to Lead

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

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

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

Some 'Explanations'

Commentators are hard put to it to explain away McLevy's impressive labor vote. The best that the liberal Herald could do was

to announce in its post-election headlines that the returns signified a "Workers' Slap At Democratic Bosses." According to this explanation, Connecticut labor for not taking action to prevent the Merritt parkway scandal and for not acting sooner regarding the disclosures made about lobbying and corruption in the Waterbury scandal, was forced to seek elsewhere for the real significance of McLevy's vote. That muckraking paper knows full well that sober middle-class people do get sufficiently incensed at large-scale grafting to protest with their ballots. But not enough of them to explain the Socialist vote. It is clear that McLevy got a very substantial working class vote—and workers are notoriously callous to the question of corruption in public office; they rather cynically accept the grafting as a necessary concomitant of the old two-party squabbling for power, and fail to be impressed by "revelations."

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

Open the Doors!

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

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

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

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

They need a refuge.

They need asylum from the Nazi terror.

To this need there is one answer that can be made right now:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is only one real answer: OPEN THE DOORS!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Who will pay for it?

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

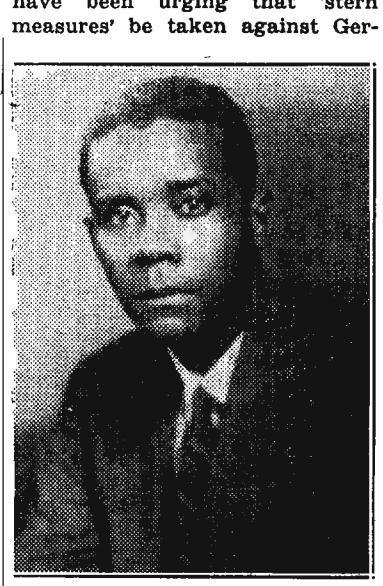
Money for food, homes, and work!

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

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

In an interview with the Socialist Appeal on the effects of the Munich Pact James said that the fear of war dominates everything in England. "The English people have received a great shock. The idea of Chamberlain going to see Hitler so often has brought home to them that Great Britain is no longer the dominant power it has been in past years. On the other hand the great masses of people feel that there is nothing to be gained from war."

"The British ruling class," continued James, "it itself split many at once. By this they do not mean war, but would like to as to exactly how the political crisis should be dealt with. Frighten Hitler to the point that some, like Winston Churchill, whatever steps he takes in



C. L. R. JAMES

Not a cent for swollen dividends, for battleships and planes!

Money for Life!

Not a cent for death!

AND OPEN THE DOORS TO ALL REFUGEES FROM FASCIST TERROR!

Elections Over . . . WPA Slash!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The meaning is as clear as a pikestaff:

Thousands of workers will be removed from W.P.A. rolls and made jobless because even the most ambitious rearmament program cannot provide work for all.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Europe must be taken in collaboration with Great Britain.

Labor Party Aids Chamberlain

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

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

One Road Towards Progress!



Trotsky Defends Asylum In Slashing Reply to Toledano

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

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

In his speech at the Palace of Fine Arts on Nov. 8, Toledano declared: ". . . Something that I have never affirmed, because I am not crack-brained, is to say that Trotsky had proposed a general strike during the petroleum conflict . . ." It is to be presumed that the report of the speech in "El Popular" has been edited by the orator himself with the necessary care. (Lombardo Toledano is editor of "El Popular"—Ed. Note.) It is not possible to desire anything more categorical than the refutation of Mr. Toledano, as we see, are distinguished by the same exactitude as his affirmations. But minus times minus equals plus.

Mr. Toledano does not want an investigation of his accusations

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

—Leon Trotsky.

Coyoacan, D. F.

November 10, 1938

Cardenas Raps Attacks

On Trotsky's Asylum

(Continued from page 1)

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

Union Revolt

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

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

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

An Expensive Campaign

In the very heart of the Stalinist press, reflecting their fear over the rapidly spreading insurgent movement in the Teachers' Union against their gangster dictatorship, a movement which they fear with only too good reason might spread into other unions where they now enjoy a monopoly over the union treasury and the resolutions committee.

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

Miners' Machine Dominant

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

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

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

Stalinists Cheering Squad

The role of the Stalinists at

Unity, Union Democracy Issues Stir Convention

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

The future program of the C.I.O. as outlined by Lewis in his report which was accepted without any discussion by the convention is merely an extension of that already being carried out.

The C.I.O. top leaders are desperately trying to reform capitalism. Legislation for a little more social security, for higher wages, for preservation of the Wagner Act, for a housing program, for a "guaranteed" of civil liberties. These are the "immediate demands of the C.I.O. All of them deserve critical support, of

Major Issues Evaded

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

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

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

The "swing to the right" in the recent elections worries the C.I.O. leaders. They know that even the program of mild reform legislation which they want stands little chance of passing under the present relationship of forces. However, they are afraid to take steps which would arouse the militancy of the workers and through class action force Congress to give concessions to the labor movement.

"Honeymoon" Days Over

It is this dilemma which they cannot answer. The "honeymoon" days of the C.I.O. are over. Bitter opposition to every move of the C.I.O. is admitted by all. The Lewis report said "it (the opposition) was not understandable." This is so only because he refuses to recognize the existence of the class struggle. He fails to understand that industrial unionism has been established permanently in the mass production industries.

The Lewis report said "it (the opposition) was not understandable." This is so only because he refuses to recognize the existence of the class struggle. He fails to understand that industrial unionism has been established permanently in the mass production industries. The C.I.O. claims of 4,000,000 members are perhaps a bit high, but it is very significant to hear of the new wave of union spirit growing among mass production workers who have recently been rehired. Undoubtedly, dues-collections are very low in the C.I.O. but the ideas for which it stands in the minds of the industrial workers are as firmly entrenched as ever.

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