

National Plenum Votes To Issue Appeal Twice Weekly

Launch Campaign For \$3,000 Fund

(Resolution of Plenum of the National Committee)

For some time the party has been considering the problem of expanding our press to meet the requirements of intensified political work projected in our transitional program. The heavy tasks imposed upon us by the general situation necessitate, and the resources of our growing movement make possible, a decisive strengthening of our most important weapon—the *Socialist Appeal*. The time has come for a bold step forward.

Therefore, after due consideration of the matter, and after consultation with the party branches, the Plenum of the National Committee decides:

1. To publish the *Socialist Appeal*, in its present size, twice a week!

2. To raise a twice-a-week *Appeal* fund of \$3,000 to meet the doubled publication costs and provide a reserve fund to guarantee its maintenance during the first months. Proportionate quotas are to be assigned to all party units and the campaign for this fund is to begin at once and be completed within 60 days. The first number of the twice-weekly *Appeal* is to appear about February 1st, or sooner if the fund is on hand before that time.

Plenary Session of N. C. Adopts Program of Action

Party To Be Geared To New Tempo To Apply Transitional Program In Trade Union Activity

NEW YORK, Nov. 20.—The momentous decision to launch a drive to expand the *Socialist Appeal* into a twice-weekly newspaper marked the high point of the second full meeting (Plenum) of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party held here on Nov. 19-20.

Turning its face to the gigantic problems created by the developing crisis in this country, the turbulent labor struggles clearly on the horizon and the impending approach of a new war, the Nation-

'TREASON' COUNTS COLLAPSE DURING TRIAL OF P.O.U.M.

Militants Sentenced Only For Part In May Days

The leaders of the P.O.U.M. sentenced to 15-year terms recently in Barcelona were found guilty only of being opponents of the bourgeois regime and of participating in the May uprising of the Barcelona workers, according to fresh information arriving only now from abroad.

All the slanderous accusations that they were traitors, that they had connections with the Fascists in Spain, Italy, and Germany, fell through completely at the trial and were abandoned by the prosecution with a fighting, labor movement with a constructive revolutionary program.

Watchword Is Forward!

The watchword of the Plenum, which will be carried into every part of the organization from coast to coast, was FORWARD! With this aim in mind, the National Committee carried through its sessions in a serious, business-like fashion, grappling with the problems before the party and elaborating a practical program of action.

The two principal points on the order of business were the twice-weekly *Appeal* and the problem of organizing our party work.

Discussion on Semi-Weekly

The Plenum had before it a census of opinion of the party branches—in the form of replies to a questionnaire sent out by the national office—on the twice-weekly *Appeal*. The report of comrade Cannon revealed that the overwhelming majority of the party branches were enthusiastically in favor of the two-a-week paper.

In a lengthy discussion which ensued, the relative merits of the twice-weekly paper as against increasing the present weekly to eight pages was soberly debated with practically every member of the committee participating. The arguments weighed strongly for the twice-weekly. It was felt that the striking power of the party and its organizational effectiveness would be tremendously enhanced by two Appeals each week. The Plenum decided 3-1 for the twice-weekly.

Re-shapes Party Work

In line with the decision on the paper, the Plenum went to work to re-shape the party organization to enable it to apply the revolutionary program of transitional demands. In order to gear the organization to its new tasks, the Plenum decided to place the party on a campaign footing. Over specified periods of time, the entire membership will be engaged in promoting some special action planned by the Political Committee. All party work, all agitation, all activity in the branches, in mass organizations will be focused on these campaigns.

The campaigns will revolve around the program of transitional demands and intense efforts will be made to popularize this program in the press, through leaflets and in internal education meetings and bulletins.

To carry through this plan, the Plenum gave the Political Committee power to raise a special fund to increase its staff of full

(Continued on page 6)

BRUSSELS—Comrade Philibert Bouillon, member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (Fourth International) of Jemappes was cited to appear before the Correctional Court at Mons on Nov. 16 for slugging Leon Degrelle, leader of the Belgian Fascist Rexists, and Degrelle's Lieutenant, Vandorne, when the latter tried to hold a meeting at Wasmuel on June 26 last.

That day Degrelle and the

Plenum gave the Political Committee power to raise a special fund to increase its staff of full

(Continued on page 6)

great counter-demonstration. Degrelle demanded and got police protection. But the workers had their way and Degrelle and his man Friday got it in the neck.

The citation before the court, which was regarded as something of a citation of honor, charged Bouillon with "wilfully striking blows and inflicting injury upon Leon Degrelle and Valentin Vandorne, from which the latter was incapacitated for work."

Two other comrades of the P.S.R., Emile Barbeaux and Alfred Petiau were also indicted for resisting police officers at the same

demonstration.

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375

Open the Doors To Europe's Refugees!

One Cent per Copy

ENOUGH PIUS TEARS: ADMIT THE REFUGEES!

CIO CONVENTION RUBBER STAMPS LEWIS MACHINE

Mine Leader Rides Roughshod To Full Control

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

(Special to *Socialist Appeal*)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—John L. Lewis took undisputed control over the entire Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.) following the first national convention held by the industrial unions affiliated to that organization.

His election as president, and the heavy predominance of his personal supporters on the newly-constituted executive board of the C.I.O. assures Lewis of greater personal power than ever achieved by a single trade union leader in this country.

After the shadow-boxing between Lewis and the Stalinists over one clause in the constitution for the C.I.O. (described in last week's *Socialist Appeal*) the convention was smoother than a session of Stalin's central committee meeting. There simply wasn't any opposition on any question of importance.

Stalinists Roughly Handled
The C.I.O. constitution doesn't guarantee the right of political affiliation for members. However, Lewis was able to cut off any discussion on this question.

Lewis called Harry Bridges and Joe Curran, the big-guns of the Stalinists to the stage after they mildly protested against the constitution provisions.

"I don't like you and your gang around here. You can go to hell, as far as I'm concerned, and if you want to get licked, start something at this convention," Lewis privately told Bridges and Curran.

Whereupon, the Stalinists returned to their places and kept as silent as a couple of children just spanked by their father. In order that no one else get any ideas of trying to discuss the constitution seriously, Lewis took the floor before the committee on this subject made its report.

"This is a simple and democratic constitution," he explained to the doubters. "It isn't going to be amended. You are going to vote on the committee recommendations" Lewis gently explained. Everybody got the hint. Outside of a mild discussion on per capita tax, the constitution was adopted without a murmur.

Weapon Against Autonomy
Under the provisions of the constitution, the executive board can investigate any international or local affiliate and make a report to the convention, anytime it thinks an international union is not carrying out C.I.O. policies.

Thus two legal weapons have been given Lewis for a possible purge of political minorities. The first is the lack of a guarantee on political affiliation rights, the second in this clause which allows offensive in an entirely different manner!

Charges Collapse
The indictment on which Julian Gorkin, Juan Andrade, the murdered Andres Nin, and others, were brought to trial included charges of connections with the Fascists, of "desertion" from the front, and espionage on behalf of Italy and Germany. One by one

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YPSL Convention Opens in Chicago

CHICAGO—The Tenth National convention of the Young People's Socialist League opened here on Thanksgiving Day. Delegates who have come by bus, freight-cars, by the hitch-hiking route, from all corners of the country gathered to hammer out a program of action based on their own experiences in the trade unions, unemployed organizations and in the student field. Subsequent issues will report the proceedings and the results.

UAW AUTONOMY ENDANGERED BY DETROIT MOVE

G.M. Loses No Time In Seizing Its Opportunity

DETROIT, Mich.—Continuing its attempts to build up a machine in the automobile workers' union, the International Executive Board announced from Pittsburgh that it had voted to abolish the Detroit District Auto Council, on the grounds that it was "Com-munist dominated."

This latest autocratic act is a shameless violation of the union constitution, which specifically makes it mandatory for all unions of any locality to set up district councils and provides for their powers and jurisdictions.

It is indeed true that the Detroit District Auto Council is dominated by stooges of the Communist Party, and therefore has been a worthless body as far as solving any of the union problems was concerned. But the previous attempts of the Martin Administration to bureaucratically suppress the Detroit District Auto Council is dominated by stooges of the Communist Party, and therefore has been a worthless body as far as solving any of the union problems was concerned. But the previous attempts of the Martin Administration to bureaucratically suppress the Detroit District Auto Council is dominated by stooges of the Communist Party, and therefore has been a worthless body as far as solving any of the union problems was concerned. But the previous attempts of the Martin Administration to bureaucratically suppress the Detroit District Auto Council is dominated by stooges of the Communist Party, and therefore has been a worthless body as far as solving any of the union problems was concerned. 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Review of the Mid-Term Elections

CORRUPT NEW DEALER BEATEN AT MASS. POLLS

Labor Refuses Curley Backing Despite Fanfare

By WILLIAM SHERMAN

BOSTON—James Michael Curley—"labor's friend"—a professed admirer of Mussolini, with a record of graft and worse which stand to high heaven, went down to defeat and oblivion in a storm of ballots that swept a "young Republican" slate, headed by Everett Saitonstall, into office in Massachusetts.

Curley had the endorsement of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Federation of Labor, and the blessings of Stalin's gift to Massachusetts, the self-styled "intelligent voter's guide," Phil Frankfeld.

Backed Wrong Horse

The leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League woke up the morning after with a bad taste in the mouth and a pile of unpaid bills. They had gambled on the wrong horse. They not only supported a capitalist candidate, but a grafting faker as well. But—and here is what really hurt—they had backed a man who was beaten, not by his opponent, but by his own record.

Labor's Non-Partisan League put on a campaign and succeeded in hitching the bulk of organized labor to the fortunes of a grifter whose sun had already set.

A number of progressive unions including the Food Workers in Lynn, repudiated the endorsement of Curley and called for Independent Labor Action.

Curley's Campaign

Curley's own campaign consisted of boasting that while his one time buddy, Graves, was in jail, he was out running for governor. He made childish attacks on the facial appearance of his opponent and pulled all the old clownish tricks that went down well in the era of prohibition and prosperity. At one meeting, reported in a small town paper, Curley promised to plant 2,000,000 trees, a vaudeville troupe performed, and a Lovestone, Sam Sandburg, appealed for votes for Curley, Casey and Kelly on their records. Such was the campaign!

The Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Socialist Labor Party had candidates. The Socialist Workers Party, nominated no candidates, but used the campaign to put forward our program and sell our literature. In this we were fairly successful.

The Communist Party put on a big campaign. Their largest rally in Boston Arena brought out more than 10,000 persons. And yet they polled only 961 votes in Boston. Their campaign was similar to Browder's in the 1936 presidential elections, "Defeat Saltonstall—Elect Real Liberals."

However, they did appeal to some people to vote for their candidates. Wrote Phil Frankfeld in "The Intelligent Voter's Guide," a 16 page pamphlet: "There are many intelligent voters who cannot stomach the Republican party and refuse to vote for James M. Curley. We appeal to these independent voters to vote Communist."

Frankfeld on Curley

Of Curley, who supported the Teacher's Oath Bill, opposed the Child Labor Amendment Bill, praised Mussolini repeatedly and gave the Fascist salute in public, who called for the use of forceful measures to curb radicals, and whose "honesty" in office is on a par with that of Tammany Hall in N. Y., or Bill Thompson in Chicago, Phil Frankfeld said:

"Ex-Governor Curley is by no means a paragon of political virtue or steadfast representative of progressive principles and ideals"—and then went on to speak of Curley's "excellent labor record."

The Socialist Party had a place on the ballot and 679 citizens of Boston, out of force of habit, voted for what may be the last gubernatorial candidate of the Socialist Party in Massachusetts.

NOTICE

Because of the Thanksgiving Day holiday, the Socialist Appeal will reach Subscribers and newsstands one day late.

McLevy Has No Labor Program But Workers Vote Slams Old Parties

By B. HARDE

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

No Labor Program

Further, the bald fact is that McLevy did everything possible to assure his own defeat. He certainly did not make any efforts to gain labor's favor. He took the same do-nothing attitude toward labor that he assumed in years gone past in the Socialist party, when he argued eloquently against party work in the trade unions, against a party policy for union activity and discipline in carrying it out—on the miserable basis that the labor movement is something distinct from the Socialist party, another planet entirely, as remote as Mars, which politicians, even of a mild socialist stripe, must never invade, at risk of life and limb!

And, indeed, what more positive attitude toward the unions could McLevy take? It is incredible but true that he offered the workers and poor farmers not one whit more than did the other parties! Not a word about collective bargaining in his program! Not a sentence about unemployment! Not a phrase about social security, the debt-structures oppressing the farmers, old-age pensions, an extension of work relief at adequate wage levels, wages-and-hours legislation, etc! Only an exhortation not to let the raiders ride again, a few generalities about clean government and the merit system, and a pious phrase or two, couched in conveniently abstract terms, about the "ultimate solution," the "cooperative commonwealth!"

Unsavory Record

And as against his hollow program there stood McLevy's quite concrete record: A touching solicitude about lowering taxes, an advocacy of the state-wide sales tax, a none-too-savory attitude towards a strike of municipal workers only last year. In McLevy's own Bridgeport you will find the most continuous depression, against widespread unemployment, against low wages, long hours, the control of their destinies, and as a portent of their readiness to turn leftwards, that fact is of tremendous import.

Voted Against Old Parties

They were voting against the two parties whose economic and social scheme of things is beginning to lose its glamor and even its credibility as a rational system capable of providing some minimum of security to the laboring people.

The Herald's survey of public opinion indicated that sentiment beyond a shadow of a doubt. The sentiment was not organized, not very vocal, not well-formulated nor thought-out to its logical conclusions. But that it existed is beyond doubt. No other reading of the election returns makes any sense.

And it must be borne in mind that this sentiment succeeded in manifesting itself against all odds. Every conceivable effort was made by the capitalist parties, and their representatives within labor's ranks, to turn the tide of popular dissatisfaction into the traditional two-party channels. McLevy would have run up a considerably higher vote. He would, indeed, in all probability, have been elected. And yet, despite his empty program and do-nothing past, he received the impressive vote he did! That is the marvel.

The Communist Party, stunned at first by the election returns, at last recovered enough presence of mind to issue a face-saving statement. The results, say the seers of the Communist State committee, "should weigh heavily on the conscience" of Mayor McLevy. By running his Socialist ticket, it seems, he has accomplished nothing less than the defeat of "real progressives" and supporters of President Roosevelt, while contributing to the election of "reactionaries."

Of Curley, who supported the Teacher's Oath Bill, opposed the Child Labor Amendment Bill, praised Mussolini repeatedly and gave the Fascist salute in public, who called for the use of forceful measures to curb radicals, and whose "honesty" in office is on a par with that of Tammany Hall in N. Y., or Bill Thompson in Chicago, Phil Frankfeld said:

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The Socialist Party had a place on the ballot and 679 citizens of Boston, out of force of habit, voted for what may be the last gubernatorial candidate of the Socialist Party in Massachusetts.

LOS ANGELES.—The workers of California gave a smashing reply at the polls last week to the attempt of the bosses to foist on the state one of the most vicious anti-labor statutes ever drafted.

While the powerful employers staged one of the most extensive, best-financed, and aggressive campaigns in the history of California on behalf of the notorious Proposition No. 1, the anti-plebiscite measure, labor united its forces and succeeded in winning a victory by 1,359,963 to 982,908.

Unfortunately labor failed to do as well in Oregon where a similar proposal was voted into law. There labor will have to mobilize all its forces to fight

the \$30-a-week pension plan which was defeated by a decisive vote but the vote of nearly 1,000,000

and gaudy election posters, the industrial workers still turned out in impressive numbers to pull the third lever.

Further, the bald fact is that McLevy did everything possible to assure his own defeat. He certainly did not make any efforts to gain labor's favor. He took the same do-nothing attitude toward labor that he assumed in years gone past in the Socialist party, when he argued eloquently against party work in the trade unions, against a party policy for union activity and discipline in carrying it out—on the miserable basis that the labor movement is something distinct from the Socialist party, another planet entirely, as remote as Mars, which politicians, even of a mild socialist stripe, must never invade, at risk of life and limb!

But—for the first time the working people of Connecticut began to see through the game. As the first step in their political maturation, they turned to the third party in the field to give vent to their indignation and scepticism. And they were not repelled by the Socialist label which that party wore.

"Socialist" Label Doesn't Scare That is a fact of tremendous significance. More sophisticated people realize that the Old Guard Socialist party is socialist in name alone—but the average worker just beginning to stir politically, does not know that. And still believing that the party they were voting for was a socialist party, substantial numbers of workers were nevertheless not afraid to vote for it. As an index of their dissatisfaction with the old parties, and as a portent of their readiness to turn leftwards, that fact is of tremendous import.

For revolutionaries, the Connecticut elections are full of significance as indices of current trends and as guides for future action. Connecticut, long a focal center of hidebound Yankee conservatism, has given birth almost overnight to independent political currents, however uncertain and fumbling, among the working class. The elections signify above all that growing numbers of workers are bursting out of the chains of the two-party capitalist system and groping toward independent political action. That is the whole meaning of McLevy's vote.

If revolutionists support such a development, it is not because McLevy or his cohorts are in any fundamental way better than the old capitalist candidates, with any more satisfactory palliatives within a decaying capitalism. On the contrary, it is because labor's breaking away from the capitalist parties is thoroughly progressive, a necessary preliminary to further education, the first step in a leftward development. For that reason alone, revolutionists must everywhere encourage movements in the direction of support of independent candidates, must agitate within the ranks of the unions and L.N.P.L. for such independent action, must constantly facilitate every groping move away from the traditional capitalist parties.

It would have been far more progressive for the Connecticut L.N.P.L. to advance its own candidates. Failing that, critical support of McLevy would have been the next best step. But, despite deliberate false counsel from its Stalinist and trade-union bureaucracies, Connecticut labor was sufficiently propelled by basic economic and social stimuli to take a great step forward. That is the tremendously encouraging sign of the times contained in the state elections.

The Communist Party, stunned at first by the election returns, at last recovered enough presence of mind to issue a face-saving statement. The results, say the seers of the Communist State committee, "should weigh heavily on the conscience" of Mayor McLevy. By running his Socialist ticket, it seems, he has accomplished nothing less than the defeat of "real progressives" and supporters of President Roosevelt, while contributing to the election of "reactionaries."

And it must be borne in mind that this sentiment succeeded in manifesting itself against all odds. Every conceivable effort was made by the capitalist parties, and their representatives within labor's ranks, to turn the tide of popular dissatisfaction into the traditional two-party channels.

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LOS ANGELES.—The workers of California gave a smashing reply at the polls last week to the attempt of the bosses to foist on the state one of the most vicious anti-labor statutes ever drafted.

While the powerful employers staged one of the most extensive, best-financed, and aggressive campaigns in the history of California on behalf of the notorious Proposition No. 1, the anti-plebiscite measure, labor united its forces and succeeded in winning a victory by 1,359,963 to 982,908.

Unfortunately labor failed to do as well in Oregon where a similar proposal was voted into law.

There labor will have to mobilize all its forces to fight

the \$30-a-week pension plan which was defeated by a decisive vote but the vote of nearly 1,000,000

ILLINOIS POLL SHOWS NEED FOR LABOR PARTY

Workers Corralled In Voting For Crooked Gang

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

CHICAGO—What was obviously a middle-class revolt against the New Deal throughout the country hit Illinois as well. The sharp drop in the price of corn and wheat created resentment amongst the farmers; the generally bad business conditions for the lower middle class of the cities engendered dissatisfaction in the ranks of that class. The result was a loss of faith by those two elements of the population in the ability of the Roosevelt New Deal to solve their problems and the only place they had to turn was to the Republican party. This once more illustrated the Marxian maxim that if the middle class gets no decisive leadership from the right to the left.

The Republican sweep did not, however, succeed in winning the important contest for the United States Senate. The Republicans recaptured four seats in the House of Representatives but the lower middle class of the cities gained control of the State Legislature. But their march to victory was stopped by the powerful Democratic machine of Chicago.

Lessons of Election

For revolutionaries, the Connecticut elections are full of significance as indices of current trends and as guides for future action. Connecticut, long a focal center of hidebound Yankee conservatism, has given birth almost overnight to independent political currents, however uncertain and fumbling, among the working class. The elections signify above all that growing numbers of workers are bursting out of the chains of the two-party capitalist system and groping toward independent political action. That is the whole meaning of McLevy's vote.

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and gaudy election posters, the industrial workers still turned out in impressive numbers to pull the third lever.

Further, the bald fact is that McLevy did everything possible to assure his own defeat. He certainly did not make any efforts to gain labor's favor. He took the same do-nothing attitude toward labor that he assumed in years gone past in the Socialist party, when he argued eloquently against party work in the trade unions, against a party policy for union activity and discipline in carrying it out—on the miserable basis that the labor movement is something distinct from the Socialist party, another planet entirely, as remote as Mars, which politicians, even of a mild socialist stripe, must never invade, at risk of life and limb!

But—for the first time the working people of Connecticut began to see through the game. As the first step in their political maturation, they turned to the third party in the field to give vent to their indignation and scepticism. And they were not repelled by the Socialist label which that party wore.

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Anti-Semitic Pogroms Are By-Product of Capitalism

Stem From Same Roots As Lynchings of Negroes Here

By JAMES BURNHAM

The wave of shame and horror that has swept the world at the spectacle of the latest Nazi anti-Semitic bestialities gives witness once again to a depth of noble feeling that promises well for the future of mankind, whatever the darkness of the present.

But shame and horror are not enough, and reaction is always awake and ready to harness the noblest feelings to its own bitter shafts. We must also understand; and if we do not understand the meaning of what is now happening, our very indignation will be turned into a further instrument of our own destruction.

Why does this monstrosity in Germany take place? What makes the rulers of Germany scourge an entire people with such animal-like ferocity, hound them in public and in private, drive them from every refuge, seek to deprive them not only of every human comfort and decency but, apparently, of life itself? Who and what are responsible?

Masked Hypocrisy

The Roosevelts and Al Smiths and Hoovers and Dorothy Thompsons, quick to exploit the popular response for their own prestige and aims, tell us that this persecution is "unbelievable" and "unprecedented in history," that it is the work of "madmen" cut off from all connection with the glories of "western civilization."

When they tell us this, and use their words to justify the imperialist war that they are preparing, they lie. In reality, these Nazi persecutions are the natural and normal harvest of the social system which these pious hypocrites, the Roosevelts and Smiths and Hoovers and Thompsons, spend their days in defending. It is only a festering sore, present always and everywhere in capitalism, breaking open as disease and rotteness spread more widely throughout the whole social organism.

Capitalist-Bred

Are these persecutions truly "unbelievable" and "unprecedented"? Not in the least. All that is unprecedented is their openness and cold ruthlessness, and even these are by no means unexampled. From its beginnings capitalism has bred on the fanning of the most frightful and hideous racial and religious hatreds—the means whereby capitalism keeps its exploited slaves divided, by which it re-doubles oppression of subject races, and provides scapegoats to turn away wrath from its own head.

Do we in the United States need to be reminded that in this country thirteen million Negroes live in precisely those conditions which Hitler today proposes for the Jews? In Ghettos, in squalor and disease and poverty, deprived of adequate medical care, shut out from all the cultural institutions of the dominant race, prevented from exercising political rights, barred from all dignified or lucrative employment? Does an Englishman need to be reminded how Chamberlain today in Palestine pits Arab and Jew savagely against each other for the safety of British imperialism rule or how he sweeps the natives in the gold mines of South Africa? Does a Frenchman have to be told what happens in the Sudan or in Indo-China?

Get at Roots!

The blood of the German Jews, dripping from the hands of Goebbels and Goering and their gangs of maddened sadists, drips also from the white hands of Chamberlain and Roosevelt and from the whole international association of cut-throats and murderers who sustain in life a system whose price for humanity is now measured only in a daily and continuous increase of torment and death.

Hitler launches his thugs against the Jews because, in his desperation, he has no other recourse. Perhaps the expropriation will patch up the cracks in his shattering economy. Even more, he must try to whip the German masses into insane and futile frenzy against the Jews so that they will forget their own chains and their own human dignity. And on the other side of the medal the Roosevelts and Hoovers seek to turn the popular fury against the persecutions from its only genuine and effective outlet in a drive against capitalism itself, the source of the persecutions, to their own ends.

An African "Homeland" For the Jewish Refugees?

New "Panacea" Put Forward by World Imperialists Full of Pitfalls—Only Solution Is "Open Doors" Right Here

By C. L. R. JAMES

Among Africans, as all over the world, there is wide-spread sympathy for the Jews and detestation of this latest brutality of the Nazis. Africans, more than most other social groups, can understand what it is that the Jews are being subjected to. They are ready to take common action against the imperialists, Fascists and "democrats" who have for generations subjected them to similar persecution in their own country. But the land situation in South and East Africa makes inevitable a wide-spread resentment among Africans at any proposal to send Jews there.

Wherever whites have been able to live in large numbers in Africa, there exists an economic, political and social situation of the most acute tension. The accepted policy is to take the best land for the whites and to segregate the Africans in areas too small for them. This is one of the means by which black labor is assured. Unable to earn a living and money for the Government tax in the restricted areas assigned to him, the African must go to the settler and seek employment at whatever terms the settler offers.

Natives Need Land

This, in Kenya for instance, is the foundation of the conflict between blacks and whites. There are less than 20,000 whites in Kenya. They cannot use all the land they have stolen. But they resist the increasing demand of over two millions African for more land.

To settle thirty or forty thousand Jews in Kenya will be for the native African almost a death-blow. He will see, he sees already, in all who support this, an enemy to his most fundamental need.

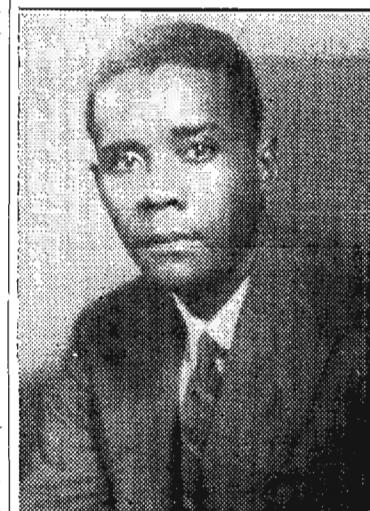
Furthermore, the social and political situation will be aggravated. The European in South or East Africa, surrounded by blacks, can maintain his position only by a regime approximating to Fascism.

Racism in Africa

There is no form of racial discrimination practiced by the Nazis against the Jews, that is not practiced by the Europeans in Kenya against the Africans. Any Jew who attempted to be in a manner different from the ordinary English settler would forthwith be deported from the country. The economic relationship between European and African makes this social system inevitable, and European imperialism will not tolerate any individual departures from it.

The transference of Jews from Germany to Africa means the extension of the Palestine policy to Africa, the strengthening of European imperialism in Africa, with the additional crime that the emigrant Jews will be forced to occupy the position in Africa in regard to the Africans that the Nazis occupy in regard to the Jews in Germany. That is how the ordinary African will see it. He could not help seeing it otherwise.

The more politically-minded Africans have reacted already. The International African Service Bureau, a London organization, issued a statement on the deliberations of the Evian Conference in its organ *International African Opinion*. The Bureau attacked Nazism for its persecution of the defense of the most mighty and sinister of all the sectors of capitalism—American imperialism and its schemes for world-wide conquest.



C. L. R. JAMES

In the recent Munich crisis the Bureau stood in a united front with the Revolutionary Socialist League (the British section of the Fourth International), the Militant Labor League, the Independent Labour Party, etc., for the revolutionary struggle against war. The millions of Africans will rally to this policy only on the basis of their struggle against world imperialism for national independence.

Support of the imperialist policy of sending Jews to Africa would create a gulf between the potentially powerful African revolutionary movement and revolutionary socialism. It would assist the British and French imperialists who, by sending Jews to African colonies, would be able to use that, if need be, as an argument for defending these colonies against German "aggression."

Afforded the Jews everywhere must struggle, but they must be on guard against being used as pawns by British or French imperialism in the bloody and cynical game of imperialist rivalries.

Already *L'Ere Nouvelle*, the paper of Daladier, the French Premier—who was until yesterday supported by the whole Popular Front of France—proposed the restriction of the Jews in the government service of France. Yesterday's

NEW YORK PARTY AROUSES MASSES ON ASYLUM ISSUE

Workers Respond To Vigorous Drive By Locals

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party—to aid the victims of Fascist persecution in Europe and especially the victims of the Nazi drive to exterminate the Jews—is gathering momentum. Meetings and demonstrations, locally and on a city-wide scale, have been held or are scheduled for the duration of this campaign. Resolutions and petitions are being circulated. Around the main slogan of "Open the Doors to the Refugees!" militant workers of all races and creeds are rallying in an enthusiastic and aggressive demand for action.

At street meetings and demonstrations in every borough of the city the response of the workers has been unmistakable. In the Bronx, for example, 500 to 600 people gathered last Friday at Tremont and Prospect Ave. More than 100 Socialist Appeals were sold. One thousand manifestos were distributed.

Hundreds of workers on the East Side responded similarly.

In the short period of the campaign 15,000 manifestos calling upon the workers to act against the Nazi pogroms and to demand that the American government let in the refugees have been distributed. 25,000 stickers have been pasted all over the city. 10,000 copies of this penny issue of the Socialist Appeal are on sale. In the garment Center, in the Bronx, on the Lower East Side workers have not only listened to our party speakers, but have themselves helped to distribute the manifestos. Attempts of the Stalinists to disrupt local placard parades and street meetings were squelched by indignant workers.

Thousands of copies of a resolution (printed elsewhere in this issue) for introduction into all unions and mass organizations have been distributed. Already this resolution, calling for the opening of the doors has been passed by a number of locals in New York City. To the Communist Party has been put the question, "What will you do for the refugees now?", "Why does not the Kremlin open the doors?"

Among the youth of the city, in clubs, in the high schools and in the colleges the campaign is being pushed by the Young People's Socialist League. Already thousands of signatures have been secured to the petition to Roosevelt. The City College unit of the American Student Union, which is controlled by the Communist Party, has joined in the call to let down the bars.

As the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party reaches its peak it will try to impress upon every one that the only way to give real aid to the refugees is to abolish all numerical quotas as well as all financial, racial and political restrictions. The success of the campaign depends upon the push of the working class and the minorities already in this country.

"democrats" in Czechoslovakia are today campaigning against the Jews in Germany. That is how the ordinary African will see it. He could not help seeing it otherwise.

The more politically-minded Africans have reacted already. The International African Service Bureau, a London organization, issued a statement on the deliberations of the Evian Conference in its organ *International African Opinion*. The Bureau attacked Nazism for its persecution of the defense of the most mighty and sinister of all the sectors of capitalism—American imperialism and its schemes for world-wide conquest.

On the contrary, mass agitation of the workers against the capitalist governments for the right of asylum to the persecuted Jews could help to draw into the struggle against capitalism millions of Africans. The stronger this agitation by the workers and oppressed colonials on a national and international scale the greater the safeguard of the minority of the Jews. The basis of the approach to the Jewish question, here, as always, is the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, or in other words, the road of the Fourth International.

THE CASE OF GRYNSZPAN

By ART PREIS

A pistol shot has torn open the abscess of Fascism. Herschel Grynszpan, homeless 17-year-old Polish Jew, in a gesture of defiance and despair, shot a secretary of the Nazi embassy in Paris. This act has served as the pretext for abominable reprisals against 600,000 defenseless individuals, the whole of German Jewry. Thus, the inner poison of Fascism bursts forth to disgust the world.

WHAT IS GRYNSZPAN'S FATE?

Today Herschel Grynszpan lies a pathetic and broken figure in a French prison waiting for the law to move its course to the guillotine. Starting as the central figure of a tragedy still in its opening act, Grynszpan has already become submerged under developing events of such tremendous and shocking character as to divert the world attention from his own fate.

But Herschel Grynszpan must not be forgotten. He is both a portent and a lesson. As a portent, he reflects the growing feeling amongst the masses that fascism can never be curbed by simply bowing to its deadly advance, by servility and meekness, by reliance on sentiment and indignation alone. Fascism can be destroyed only by the most unyielding and courageous resistance on the part of victims and potential

lust. For Grynszpan's individualistic action was merely the reflection of the ideas pumped into him by these very gentlemen, the very basis of whose system is in the crowning of the individual over the masses.

These sounders "denounce" in the same breath, and to the same degree, both Hitler and Fascism as the crime of an entire ruling class which degrades millions upon millions of Grynszpan into servile existence.

MUST NOT BE VICTIMIZED

We must not permit the spokesmen of capitalist "democracy" to portray the act of a Grynszpan in the same light as they do the acts of a Hitler. We dare not permit these gentlemen, whose own hands drip with the blood of millions of exploited workers and colonial slaves, to sanctimoniously offer the body of Grynszpan as tribute to Hitler.

Herschel Grynszpan has already paid for his folly a thousand times over—with the terrible realization of the consequences of his false method of fighting fascism. Far from aiding his people and weakening Hitlerism, which was his honest desire, his act served as the pretext for more bloody repressions. For fascism can be destroyed only by the mass revolutionary action of the workers stamping out the entire system of capitalism which breeds anti-Semitism and fascism.

His own words after his arrest attest to this, as an object lesson, however, this pitiable boy demonstrates, as never before in history, the falseness and futility of acts of individual terror as means of fighting the oppression of a whole social system. Individual terrorist acts, striking at single representatives of an entire class, are a reflection only of weakness, disorganization, and lack of understanding of the real forces that keep political systems like Fascism in power. Indeed, individual terrorism only re-enforces those ideas which fascism itself employs to gain and hold power. Whoever thinks that by wiping out certain individuals he can cripple an entire regime thereby lends weight to the Fascist ideology, the "Leader" principle, which builds up the need for a Dictator.

FASCISM IS CAPITALISM

But fascism is not the product of the Hitlers and Mussolinis. They themselves are rather the products of fascism, the off-spring of a decaying capitalist order. It is decaying capitalism that breeds Fascism.

The "democratic" capitalists, and their agents—who are themselves prepared, when they feel the need, to push forward their own particular brands of "Fuehrers" in America, Great Britain and France—do not want the true nature of fascism exposed, because in the exposure its very roots will be traced directly into the soil of the capitalist system itself. This is the fundamental fact which Grynszpan did not understand. That is why he made a futile gesture against one individual instead of fighting politically against the system which breeds such individuals.

GRYNSZPAN IS VICTIM

The real responsibility for Grynszpan's act does not lie with this half-crazed immature boy himself. In reality, it lies with the "democratic" capitalists and their agents, who raise their hands in horror at this hapless victim and are preparing to offer him as a sop to Nazi blood-

thirsty. If Grynszpan dies, it will be only as another victim of the yielding to the fascist demands. The liberals and the "democrats" plan to offer his life as another appeal to insatiable fascism. But the workers must cry "Halt!" to this submission to Nazi blackmail. This is the same sort of blackmail that Hitler has been using on the Jew of the world! But the more you yield to a blackmailer, the more he demands!

Workers of all races, religions and colors! Unite against the taking of Grynszpan's life as payment for the Nazi blackmailing threats!

I OUGHT TO KNOW...

By MIKE GOLD

... it isn't always easy to be honest. The worst moment comes when you find people whom you trusted as comrades and fellow-workers selling out to the enemy. Sometimes it is done for greed and sometimes out of confusion or fear. Often it is done merely because the deserter is tired of being broke. Always there is an elaborate mechanism of self-defense—a new "philosophy," or a new cynicism.

But it is very painful to witness and a bit demoralizing. I have seen at first hand some scores of cases and have become accustomed to it as a human phenomenon. What I say is that it doesn't pay. The man thinks he has sold out only his brothers. But he has really sold out the best part of himself, and for a mess of pottage. And there always comes a bitter and lonely night when he wakes up and realizes it. That was the story of Judas. He too earned some "easy money" but came to a bad end. It is the universal story.

"No, I think it is better to be loyal and truthful. In the last analysis, a man has to live with himself, and even a gangster like Dutch Schultz raved on his deathbed, in the agony of a bad conscience. And even if there is no bad conscience, such people are always caught up with in time by society." —From the *Daily Worker*, Nov. 22.

HEAR THE EXCITING LECTURE BY

C. L. R. JAMES

World-Famous Journalist and Labor Leader; author of "World Revolution," "A History of Negro Revolt," "The Black Jacobins."

on

Twilight of the British Empire

Now on a speaking tour in this country, C. L. R. James will speak for the FIRST time in New York City.

WORKERS PICKET NAZI CONSULATE

United Front Demonstrates Labor Strength

Shouting the slogans "Open the Doors to the Refugees!" and "Only Working Class Action Can Smash Fascism!" over 400 workers joined in a united front picket line last Saturday morning at the German Consulate in New York City in protest against the Nazi pogroms against the Jews.

The demonstration started at 10 a.m. when members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) marched into Battery Place, where the Consulate is located, and flung a picket line in front of it. Soon they were joined by members of the Socialist Party and of the Independent Labor League who participated in the united front.

Under the watchful eye of a special detail of police the picket line marched, shouting slogans and bearing placards. Three thousand manifestos setting forth the party position on aid to the victims of Fascist terror were distributed by S.W.P. members to the crowd continually collecting, and continually shooed away by the mounted cops.

A large group of reporters and cameramen from the Metropolitan press were on hand.

After the picket line had been marching for some time the Progressive Women's Council, a Stalinist-influenced organization, showed up with its own placards protesting the Nazi pogroms. Sensing the stupidity of refusing to march with the united front picket line already in action this group, after considerable hesitation, joined the line. Despite the exhortations of their leader not to shout any slogans at all many of the women could not restrict themselves to such passivity and joined in some of the shouted slogans, especially those calling upon Roosevelt to open the doors to the refugees.

Through an intermittent rain the line kept marching, adding the cry, "We fight Fascism, rain or shine!" Only after two hours of steady picketing did the line break up in an orderly fashion.

Every local paper and some of the evening radio broadcasts reported this protest march.

AMERICAN FUND CALLS FOR AID

Petition lists calling upon Congress of the United States to "Open All Doors to the Refugees" are to be circulated on a national scale according to an announcement of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This campaign, already begun in New York, is being conducted by the National Campaign Committee for the Right of Asylum of the above-named organization.

The Socialist Workers Party enthusiastically endorses this campaign and call on all workers to give it their support, not only by signing the petition themselves but by circulating them in their unions and other organizations. Only by reinforcing, through such means among others, an irresistible mass pressure upon Congress, can the immigration restrictions which amount to virtual exclusion of all refugees be removed, and this country, the richest in the world, become again a haven for the oppressed and persecuted workers of the world.

All contributions to cover the cost of this specific campaign, as well as contributions to the regular work of the Fund, should be sent in to the Fund at the address given above. In the months of its existence hundreds of dollars have been sent abroad to aid the most persecuted people of Europe, the militant fighters who have been carrying on an open and unrelenting struggle against Fascism from years past right up to the present and have earned thereby the hostility of every government in Europe.

MARK OFF THIS DATE AS A MUST!

NEWARK JOBLESS DEMAND ASYLUM FOR NAZI VICTIMS

Call Upon Roosevelt to Open Doors of America

NEWARK, N. J.—The Joint Executive Committee of the Essex County Workers Alliance, representing the thousands of jobless in this area, have refused to swallow the misleading propaganda of the American bosses that letting down the immigration bars to the victims of Nazi terror will take jobs away from American workers.

In a resolution, unanimously endorsed by the board last Thursday night, these representatives of the organized jobless called upon the U. S. Congress and Roosevelt to open the doors of America to the refugees from Nazism. The resolution demanded that all quota restrictions be lifted for all refugees from fascist countries.

Wise to Boss Agitation

This action, introduced by George Breitman, a leading member of the Essex County W. A., demonstrates that the jobless are becoming increasingly wise to the fact that it is capitalism and the capitalists who are responsible for taking the jobs away from millions of American workers, and not other workers. Barring the refugees from America will not give the unemployed jobs.

Organizing the workers to fight for the opening of the shut down factories, for huge public works, for housing projects, for the reduction of the work-day and work-week with no reductions in weekly earnings—these are the things which will provide jobs for American jobless and the refugees as well.

GREEN AND WOLF DODGE ISSUE OF ASYLUM FOR JEWS

Falling in line with the wave of public indignation, William Green and Matthew Wolf made radio denunciations of Hitler last Friday evening. After saying correctly that a "strong, free and independent labor movement is the greatest protection any country can have for the protection of its freedom and civil liberties," Green ended in a conclusion that an intensification of the consumer's boycott of German goods would alleviate the plight of the Jews. Experience has proved that a boycott is only a partial measure. A consumer's boycott has been in effect since 1933. Yet Hitler continues to rule supreme and persecutions reach new pitches of frenzy. Green also said that he would "support any 'practical' plan" for the release of the persecuted. Why then not support OPENING THE DOORS OF THE U. S., the only practical plan?

Prayers But No Refuge

Green and Wolf refuse openly to advocate opening the doors because they have pledged themselves to Roosevelt, who is "horified" by the Nazi pogroms and willing to offer a prayer but not a haven. Such "pledges" are a mockery of the sufferings of the tortured. Organized labor cannot rest content with the extension of visas for 12,000 German "visitors" in this country.

Matthew Wolf is also ready, on his part, to relieve the despair of the Jews with "a moral ring around Germany." Pious indignation is hardly an answer to a plea for life. That cannot be the complete answer of a strong, free and independent labor movement.

Serious persons will reject half-measures; they demand a HOME for the Jews in AMERICA.

This week at

THE MARXIST SCHOOL

116 University Pl., N. Y. C.

Monday, Nov. 28th at 7 P.M.

B. J. WIDICE speaks on American Trade Unionism.

Monday, Nov. 28th at 8:30 P.M.

JACK WEBER continues his lectures on world politics with a discussion on events in Spain.

Tuesday, Nov. 29th at 7 P.M.

J. G. WRIGHT on Marxist Fundamentals.

Tuesday, Nov. 29th at 8:45 P.M.

JAMES BURNHAM lectures on "The Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours and Worker's Control of Production."

Wednesday, Nov. 30th at 7 P.M.

JAMES CASEY speaks on Labor and Journalism.

Friday, Dec. 2nd at 7 P.M.

DAVE COWLES on The Capitalist Crisis and the Farmer.

Friday, Dec. 2nd at 8:30 P.M.

GEORGE NOVACK speaks on "The Third American Revolution."

Admission is 25 cents per lecture.

Union Leader Demands Open Door for Refugees

That organized labor must take the lead in securing sanctuary in America for victims of Nazi persecution, and that trade unionists here must prepare to prevent a repetition of Nazism here, were the outstanding statements made by Carl Skoglund, President of General Drivers Union, Local 544, in an interview with a *Socialist Appeal* reporter today.

"I am fully in accord with your demand that America's doors be opened to these victims of race hatred," declared President Skoglund.

"As the workers increasingly engage in struggles against the employing class, there will undoubtedly be a systematic attempt made to incite racial hatred. Anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism will be part of the arsenal of American fascism. We see this already in Minneapolis, where the Silver Shirts are organizing, combining anti-Semitism with anti-unionism. Our union is ready to fight this reactionary movement with every means at our command. We have organized a Union Defense Guard for this purpose, which is engaged in rooting out fascist activities wherever they can be unearthed."

ZIONISM PROVES TO BE A BLIND ALLEY FOR THE JEWS

By BEN HERMAN

The Zionists in the United States have been conducting a whirlwind campaign demanding that Roosevelt fight for the open door . . . in Palestine!

Our worthy President has been only too glad to comply. He immediately expressed his most tender sympathies for the Jews and was all in favor of their transportation to the holy land. Roosevelt, together with most of our liberal friends, seeks out all sorts of places for the Jews to go except one . . . the United States. The Zionist movement is playing directly into the hands of these fakers of sentimentality by turning the attention of the Jewish masses away from their only salvation . . . the fight for the open door in the United States . . . and directing it to Palestine.

UAW AUTONOMY ENDANGERED BY DETROIT MOVE

(Continued from page 1)

As was to be expected the International Representative began apologizing for the General Motors Corporation, called for caution, inaction, and ended up by an appeal to allow him personally to handle the situation. The delegates, however, have had too much experience with the weak-kneed leadership, or more correctly, misleadership of the Auto Union. They therefore voted unanimously to hold a meeting with President Martin to demand strike authorization for the Fisher locals to back up their demands in negotiations with General Motors.

The door to Palestine is opened and shut periodically in order to open permanently the faucet of the Arab chauvinism. Anybody who still is so foolish as to believe that Britain is motivated by a consideration for the interests of minority peoples need only look to Czechoslovakia, where she delivered thousands of Jews and anti-fascists over to the executioners of Hitler because this was in the interests of British imperialism.

Britain's Game

What is the position of Palestine in the world today? It is merely a tiny pawn in the hands of an imperialist giant. Palestine guards Britain's route to India. It protects the Suez canal and the gateway to England's African empire. Oil pipe lines from Iraq terminate at Haifa, the most important port of the Near East and a proposed refueling naval base for British warships. In brief, Palestine is a key point of strategic importance to imperialist Great Britain.

Some Jews believe that Britain will permit them to establish a homeland in Palestine. This is a fatal error. Every new experience proves that Britain will never tolerate this. In order for Palestine to become the homeland for the Jews, the country would have to be built up by the most modern machinery. The latest and best type of factory would have to be established. But England does not, cannot, and will not let this happen. Such a development would mean the growth of a huge modern working class movement inside Palestine which would be a permanent threat to British interests.

That is why England refuses to allow the growth of industry in Palestine. That is why she stirs up riots between Arabs and Jews. That is why she encourages Arab terror against the Jews. The Jews in Palestine like those in Czechoslovakia are being sacrificed to the interests of England.

The latest proposal of the British hypocrites is to offer British Guiana and parts of Rhodesia as places of refuge for the Jews. Why, of all the vast territories of the British Empire, have these places been singled out? Up till now these territories have remained undeveloped because they were unprofitable. England hopes to capitalize upon the blood and misery of the Jewish people in

Des Moines Drivers Win New Contract

DES MOINES, Iowa—An iron-clad union contract, including substantial wage increases and improved working conditions, marked the end of the strike of the fighting Des Moines Drivers Union Local 90. This contract marks another milestone in the clean-up drive of the organized truck drivers and helpers to pull into line hold-out operators in the 11-state area who have been attempting to buck the terms of the great area pact. The strike was won only after an extended struggle against bitter opposition.

The contract brings wage increases of five cents hourly to drivers and 7½ cents to dockmen and warehousemen, the new hourly rates being respectively 57½ cents and 55 cents. The local agreement extends for two years and the area pact will expire October 31, 1939.

C.P. HOOTIES CONNECTICUT CIO

Capture Convention In Absence Of Major Unions

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—In a convention during which the "party line" ran riot while vital organizational problems confronting the C.I.O. were buried or ignored, the Stalinists seized the helm of the newly formed Connecticut state organization of the C.I.O. Employing a mechanical 3-2 majority in steam-roller style, a majority gained in part by the failure of large and outstanding progressive locals of textile, rubber, auto and steel workers to send delegates, the Stalinists turned the convention over to their "liberal" and lawyer "fellow-travelers" who proceeded to dump the entire war-mongering program of the Communist Party on the defenseless heads of the delegates.

No resolutions were permitted to come before the rank-and-file delegates except those embodying the undiluted reactionary and pro-imperialist policies of Stalinism, support of Roosevelt's war foreign policies, uncritical support of New Deal agencies such as the National Youth Administration, Federal Housing Authority, the National Labor Relations Board, and joining with such Stalinist stooge outfits as the American League for Peace and Democracy. There was no discussion from the floor on any resolution.

Auto Workers Resist

Delegates from Local 505 of the Auto Workers offered the only opposition in the convention to the Stalinists. They attempted to introduce several significant resolutions condemning collective security, for independent working-class action against war, for a popular referendum before any war and for a Labor Party. These were immediately buried by a resolutions committee composed all but one of Stalinists. Delegates from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, who were opposed to the Stalinists, failed to support Local 505 and fight the Stalinists as they should have.

Cut off from an executive board of 15 elected by the convention, eight posts including the presidency went to party members, two to "followers" of the line, and five to non-Stalinists. With this organizational hand-cuff on the state C.I.O. apparatus, the C.I.O. members in Connecticut will have to fight the stranglehold of bureaucracy and anti-militancy from within, as well as the aggressions of the employers from without.

Must Organize Fight

Under the handicap of the Stalinist control, the locals and membership, if further organizational growth and gains from the employers are to be won, will have to start an uncompromising fight. The threats of many leading locals to withdraw from the state body must be discontinued. It is not the job of honest and militant workers to run away from the battle leaving the organization, which they have helped build, as the undisputed property and playground of those whose only real interests are to turn the workers over to the Roosevelt war machine as docile cannon fodder.

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U.S. Prepares To Fight From Arctic To South America

(Continued from page 1) the perspective of intensified conflict between the two powers leading to the ultimate struggle between them for domination of the Pacific area.

It is in preparation for this greater struggle that Roosevelt is now, spectacularly lacing the entire Western hemisphere into a unified war machine for Wall Street and American capitalism. LaGuardia Holds a Coat

The immediate focus of these plans is the forthcoming Pan-American conference at Lima on Dec. 9. For this a whole series of preliminary maneuvers have been carried out. Col. Batista, the butcher of the Cuban workers and the latest recruit to the "democratic front" was brought here, wined, dined, flattered and bootlicked.

After being proudly photographed holding an overcoat for the Cuban dictator, our little flower of a Mayor, LaGuardia, flew down to Havana and there made a stump speech against "foreign" dictators.

Batista was of course "won over" completely to the Roosevelt program. This means that Cuba more than ever before will become a major strategic base for the U. S. Navy and air force and the Cuban workers lashed more tightly than ever before to the American imperialist machine. Woe to those who fight for Cuba's freedom! The "democrat" Batista, with the approval of the "democrat" Roosevelt will shoot, torture, and butcher them as he has ever since he came to power.

No sooner did he finish than S. H. Dalrymple, president of the United Rubber Workers of America rose to expose the lies in Bridges' statements by making a staunch defense for his west coast organizer.

Dalrymple Attacks

"I've known my organizer for years. He's been with us from the start and he's done a good job," Dalrymple declared for George B. Roberts, U.R.W.A. organizer in California, and then he told how he knew the rubber workers on the west coast were against Bridges.

Powers Hapgood, president of the Shoe Workers union, took the same stand as Dalrymple, adding to the setback of Bridges. But the real attack was yet to come. Michael Padgett, shoe workers' organizer on the west coast, and a well-known militant, told the conference he had a few words to say.

Blistering Attack

Padgett began by describing how Bridges had wrecked the furniture workers' union.

He told Bridges, "You want the auto workers union to join your council. Yet you had the nerve to tell them to crawl back on their bellies to work when

Bridges' Dictatorship Drubbed By CIO Leaders

Rubber And Shoe Worker Delegates To CIO Convention Defy Machine; Back Fight For Democracy

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The growing opposition to Harry Bridges, Stalinist west coast C.I.O. dictator, and his rule or ruin policies, that developed at the C.I.O. convention here scored a signal victory despite a last minute intervention by John L. Lewis in behalf of Bridges.

An attempt by the Bridges forces from the west coast to get an endorsement of his policies at a private meeting of leading international union presidents who have local unions on the west coast failed dismally.

The meeting was called by the president of the Stalinist-controlled California C.I.O. council. Its purpose became apparent immediately when all international presidents except Homer Martin, of the auto workers, were invited.

Bridges "Defends" himself

Bridges opened the meeting with a smooth speech in defense of his policies and he urged the international union presidents to force their west coast locals into his councils. He tried to blame "a few disgruntled leaders" for the attacks on himself, and said the "rank and file is with me."

No sooner did he finish than S. H. Dalrymple, president of the United Rubber Workers of America rose to expose the lies in Bridges' statements by making a staunch defense for his west coast organizer.

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New Revolutionary Organ Published By Peru Group

The appearance of *Izquierdo Roja* (Red Left), an underground paper published in Peru, reveals for the first time the existence of an organized revolutionary socialist movement in that dictator-ruled country. The paper, several issues of which have already appeared, is the organ of the Liga de Trabajadores Revolucionarios (League of Revolutionary Workers). The L.T.R. was organized by Peruvian workers and students who were repelled by the anti-revolutionary and pro-imperialist nature of Stalinism and the petty-bourgeois "simple" nationalism of the A.P.R.A., spontaneously developed by the Stalinist turn to open support of Yankee imperialism, the L.T.R. is quite obviously the only organization that fights for the national and social liberation of the Peruvian masses.

As was to be expected, the Stalinists are already spreading their usual insidious rumors about "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyites, but with little success. The L.T.R. has already won many members from the Stalinists, and will undoubtedly win many more. This is especially true since, with the Stalinist turn to open support of Yankee imperialism, the L.T.R. is quite obviously the only organization that fights for the national and social liberation of the Peruvian masses.

In the meantime, our revolutionary "Salud!" to *Izquierdo Roja* and the comrades of the L.T.R.

NICOS PANAYIOTIDIS

Our comrade Nicos Panayiotidis, member of the Central Committee of the former International Communist League, died a few weeks ago in the fortress of Acronopolis, where he has been imprisoned since the summer of 1937.

A working class militant since his early youth, Comrade Panayiotidis received his training as the leader of many strikes among the shoe workers of Piraeus, from whose ranks he emerged. Arrested and jailed repeatedly, he displayed unshakable courage in the face of unceasing persecution.

In the last letter he managed to get out, he wrote: "We know that we are all going to die. But our deaths will not be in vain. Our corpses will become banners for the proletariat. Sign statements of capitulation in order to get out of prison? Then what would we do with our dishonored lives? If it is not possible to be free to work for the revolution, then it is better to die in a concentration camp."

Together with all the comrades of the Fourth International we salute Nicos Panayiotidis, victim of capitalist oppression, soldier of the revolution.

FORWARD to the TWICE-A-WEEK APPEAL

On the Road to the DAILY

TRUCE DECLARED IN CHILE WHEN WORKERS ARM</h

Resolutions Adopted by National Committee Plenum

Trade Union Resolution Points Road to Unity, Progressive Work

(Resolution of the Plenum of the National Committee)

Political Committee Rapped on Election

(Resolution of the Plenum)

1. A marked trend towards unity has been an outstanding feature of the developments in the American labor movement in the recent period. It was expressed clearly in the events of the A.F. of L. convention where the progressive revolt of a large section of the membership, especially the Teamsters Union, against the reactionary policies of the "diehard" clique in the executive council was revealed. The action of international unions of the C.I.O., of state C.I.O. councils, and Local unions, calling for unity with the A.F. of L. was another manifestation of this trend. Roosevelt administration pressure for unity, as part of his strategy of achieving national unity in war-time has increased tremendously following the September war crisis. The swing to the right in the off-year elections has further served to strengthen sentiment for the unification of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.; both organizations feel themselves to be in greater jeopardy from reactionary forces consolidated in Congress seeking to foist union-smashing legislation on the divided labor movement.

The hegemony of the industrial workers in the American labor movement as reflected in the increase in industrial unions within the A.F. of L., the growth of power of the large truck drivers international union with its pro-unity sympathies, and the permanence of the C.I.O. has served to aid the shift in the direction of unity, because of the vital needs of this decisive force in the labor movement.

Labor Unity

In light of these developments, we strongly reiterate our unequivocal support of unity in the labor movement, and reiterate the following considerations from our National Convention Trade Union Resolution:

Although it is impossible for us at the present time to influence decisively the course of events, or to determine the pace and method of trade union unity, we are nevertheless bound to concentrate our propaganda and agitational activity among the workers in favor of the most desirable basis for unity, that is, democratic organization and a wide measure of autonomy for the affiliated unions, especially such a measure as would facilitate the organization of the basic industries into industrial unions and preserve the integrity of those already in existence. Every attempt to carve up the industrial unions into craft formations must be stubbornly resisted as thoroughly reactionary."

Pro-C. I. O. Direction

2. Basing itself on the numerically greater dues-paying A.F. of L. membership in comparison to the C.I.O., and the increase of Stalinist influence in alliance with John L. Lewis, there has arisen a certain tendency within our own ranks which can best be described as "pro-A.F. of L-ism." It has appeared in some of the trade union publications influenced by our comrades and in some policy proposals in certain instances. This attitude is false. In spite of specific tactics in separate union situations, dictated by exceptional circumstances, and though avoiding any "organizational fetishism," we have been, and remain, pro-C.I.O.

The key to a thorough understanding of and support for the C.I.O. lies in recognizing that it is primarily a social movement reflecting the needs, desires and aspirations (even if often in distorted form) of the most decisive sections of the industrial proletariat. Historically, it remains a progressive break from the conservative and antiquated traditions of the A.F. of L. The future of the American labor movement depends on the success of this mass movement of industrial unionism in the economic field, and its development on the political field as the leading force in an independent working class political party.

Transitional Program

3. While our propaganda and agitation for the creation of a labor party is a very important task of the Party primarily in the trade unions, it must be accompanied by the equally important struggle for the popularization of our program of transitional demands as a vital part of our strategy of rallying the workers against the blows on the economic and political fields of the social crisis. The inescapable contradictions of the present policies of the trade union movement in seeking to alleviate the miseries inherent in a decaying capitalist society within the frame-work of that re-

preserve the unions—which are their own sole base—from actual destruction, and a united front with them on this basis is correct. But in the political field, we have no interest in preserving capitalism and its state. Quite the contrary, we seek to destroy it through revolutionary action.

Our action, for example, in supporting the Martin administration, as against the Stalinists, in the auto workers union was based on these considerations. It was correct to seek to preserve that union from the Stalinist disrupters. In our failure to give sufficiently clear criticism of certain reactionary maneuvers of the Martin forces, we did not, however, draw a sharp enough line between our program and the limited program of Martin and his allies. Our role in the auto struggle was tactically sound but incomplete as a result.

6. Nevertheless, in combatting Stalinism in blocs with other tendencies, we must resist the swing of the workers, disillusioned by their experiences of Stalinism, toward syndicalist conceptions and against "politics" and political parties in general. These reactionary tendencies, which only disarm the workers in the struggle against capitalism, must be fought by the Marxist party.

7. While the most important and largest field of our trade union activity remains at present in the dead alliance of John L. Lewis and other C.I.O. bureaucrats with the reactionary Stalinist machine. Despite protests of an ever increasing section of the C.I.O. movement, the criminal and irresponsible policies of the Stalinists were forced down the throats of important unions with the aid of John L. Lewis. The ruinous practices of Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. director, brought a spontaneous revolt of progressive unionists which was temporally defeated only by drastic intervention of John Brophy, Stalinist C.I.O. director. The autonomy of the auto workers union has been seriously jeopardized and all progressive tendencies within that union badly crippled by the infamous bloc of Lewis and the Stalinists.

Everywhere within the C.I.O. and other unions, the Stalinists hound and seek to destroy genuine progressive and revolutionary workers who resist their "rule or ruin" policy with its war-mongering dictated by the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, which seeks to tie the American labor movement to the Roosevelt war machine in return for a Stalin-Roosevelt bloc. Ruthless disregard of vital union democracy, slandering and framing of progressives, creation of a dictatorial-bureaucratic structure for the C.I.O.; these are the methods of the Stalinist agents within the labor movement.

National Labor Secretary

9. There has been an improved coordination of national trade union work in the past period despite the big obstacle presented by lack of finances for the trade union department which made it impossible for the labor secretary to function for four months during the summer in New York. A national steel fraction, covering New Jersey, Ohio, East Chicago and Connecticut has begun to function. Maritime work has been improved somewhat on a national scale. Exchange of information, advice and policy have been given in the field, to a greater or lesser degree. However, any really satisfactory trade union work on a national scale must be based on adequate support of this department. Means must be found to place the party labor secretary on a full-time basis.

10. Our advances in trade union work are reflected in the Party press. The increasing news and attention given to labor events in the Socialist Appeal are one manifestation of the progress made in the direction of a trade union orientation. Even greater attention of the Party must be devoted to this question. Activizing the non-trade union comrades around this work; giving the Party a much stronger proletarian character; recruiting in the unions through the good work of the fractions; these are the problems which the Party must solve in the coming period.

NO MORE PIOUS TEARS!

(Continued from page 1)

it is aroused. This will be democracy and anti-fascism in action, not mere democratic, "anti-fascist" phrase-mongering.

Our job is to raise this demand in every organization which we can reach, to bring it before every individual with whom we can come into contact, to circulate petitions embodying it, to make it the central focus of mass meetings and demonstrations everywhere.

Down with the attempt to pervert anti-Nazism into the band-maiden of imperialist war and the war-mongers!

Grant asylum to the refugees!

Lift the quotas! Abolish the financial restrictions, the means test, and the red tape!

Welcome our persecuted brothers into the United States! Open the doors to the German Jews!

Plenum Endorses World Congress Decisions

The Plenary Session of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, having heard the report of its delegation to the World Conference of the Fourth International, declares its endorsement and approval of the theses and resolutions adopted by the Conference.

The National Committee considers the decision adopted by the Conference to found and organize the Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution) as an indispensable step of the highest political and historic significance for the revolutionary and labor movements of the world.

The National Committee further reaffirms its adherence to

the Fourth International and to the Executive Committee and Secretariat elected at the Conference, and declares formally that the Socialist Workers Party is the United States section of the Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution).

The National Committee declares, finally, in favor of the continuation of the maximum amount of support, financial, political and moral, and the closest collaboration in the regular work of the Executive Committee and Secretariat of the Fourth International and instructs the Political Committee to take all the necessary steps to realize this support and collaboration.

Plenary Session of N. C. Adopts Program of Action

Party To Be Geared To New Tempo To Apply Transitional Program In Trade Union Activity

(Continued from page 1)

time party workers. The goal was set to have at least one full-time party organizer in every district of the party before the next S.W.P. convention in the Spring of 1939.

The Plenum took note of the failure of the Party to put up candidates in the recent elections—excluding Newark—and rapped the Political Committee for neglecting to provide any directives for effective participation in the state and local contests.

Report on C. I. O.

Significant in the changed orientation of the party was the opening of the Plenum with a report on the C.I.O. convention by comrade B. J. Widick, supplemented by two delegates to the Pittsburgh gathering. The report on the C.I.O. introduced the discussion on the trade union question, also led by comrade Widick. The experiences of six months' activity in the unions and the burning issue of unity occupied the center of discussion.

The new direction of the party in its practical activity was strikingly indicated in the discussion

on the Young People's Socialist League and its 10th National Convention to be held in Chicago this weekend. It was remarked by members of the Committee, that this Plenum marked the first time in years that the leading party committee gave serious consideration to the Youth question.

Endorse Change

The Plenum heartily endorsed the proposed change contemplated by the Y.P.S.L. leadership in the character and outlook of the youth organization, i.e., a broad mass youth movement rather than a "youth" political party. Martin Avern was the reporter on the youth question.

Max Schachman reported for the International Delegation on the World Congress of the Fourth International and a resolution was adopted approving the decisions of the conference.

The Plenum adjourned on a note of well-founded optimism. Its members are returning home to marshall the party forces in a determined drive to make the Socialist Workers Party the recognized revolutionary leadership of the American working class.

CIO Convention Rubber- Stamps Lewis Machine

(Continued from page 1)

Lewis to investigate unions, in the manner he did in auto. These are dangerous precedents for the labor or movement.

Of course, a broader and more flexible interpretation of these vital clauses depends entirely on how much pressure the rank and file places on the executive board. It becomes a question of relationship of forces.

Stalinists Get Posts

Because the constitution provides for the executive board of the C.I.O. to be composed of one member from each affiliated national and international union and organizing committee—and Lewis insisted that the nominees be the president of each of the affiliates—fifteen Stalinists are on the board!

Joe Curran, of the National Maritime Union, was elected despite opposition from his own delegates, because Lewis personally interceded.

Bridges, Mervin Rathborne, Michael Quill, Lewis Merrill, are among the leading Stalinists who are on the board which is composed of 42 members.

But Lewis Controls

However, voting on the Board is on the basis of per capita payments of the union which the board member represents. This provision gives Lewis absolute control of the Board. He and Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, alone have a majority of votes from coal, steel and textile and clothing! Besides, they are the executive officers whose actions are subject to review only twice a year by the Board which they don't want to discuss politics.

Only one resolution endorsing the League was introduced. Before it was introduced, Eli L. Oliver, executive vice-president of the League spoke on the resolution, and was followed by Michael Quill. No discussion was called for, although various delegates wanted to speak, and the resolution was endorsed.

John Brophy, C.I.O. director, was dumped from the post of secretary which he temporarily occupied since the death of Charles P. Howard. James Carey, of the electrical and radio workers, was elected since he is considered "safer" than Brophy by the C.I.O. leaders. Carey is known as a "fellow traveller" of the Stalinist line. C.I.O. leaders expect to "win him over."

"Love-Feast" with Martin

In an effort to impress the public, Lewis approached Homer Martin, auto workers president, and

urged him to participate actively in the convention, to show that the C.I.O. was united.

So Martin spoke on the resolution for observing collective bargaining agreements. He blamed the employers for the sit-downs but was far too sharp in his own criticism of sit-downs. Later on, Martin talked on the resolution to organize Ford.

The final touch was a charming love feast arranged by the auto workers executive board which saw Martin presenting Murray, Hillman and Lewis with watches for their "great services to the auto workers," while the Stalinists cheered. Actually, neither Martin, nor Lewis nor the Stalinists believed the talk of unity and peace and the struggle behind the scenes is more bitter than ever.

This remarkable performance was followed by another event which, to put it mildly, was unusual. On a point of special privilege, Joe Curran arose and read a little speech prepared for him by Thomas Ray and Roy Hudson, the steel workers' president of the U.M.W.A. Many of the District Officers are still appointed by Lewis. The rank and file wants to elect their own.

After Lewis' plea for democracy and the bill of rights a rank and file member of the miners union told some visitors that his union had been trying to get that for fifteen years within the U.M.W.A. Many of the District Officers are still appointed by Lewis. The rank and file wants to elect their own.

A little taste of what price the so-called socialists are going to pay for supporting the Stalinist-Lewis bloc in gaining control of the auto workers' union was given to none other than Walter Reuther, international executive board member, and president of the West Side Local. He was NOT elected a delegate by the executive board.

And you can imagine how much sympathy he will get

left high and dry.

Participation in another "war for democracy" was pledged in a resolution adopted by the convention.

A series of reports on organizing drives in the South, and elsewhere were approved and the C.I.O. executive board urged to plan a large campaign for new members.

Support of Roosevelt's war program was given in a special resolution. In fact, all political resolutions gave a pledge to American capitalism.

Organization to Be Re-Shaped On Fighting Campaign Lines

(Resolution of the Plenum of the National Committee)

work. A party functionaries' wage fund, provided by special contributions from better-paid party members and sympathizers must be established to assure professional party workers a reliable minimum of support in their work. The party must come to its next convention with an increase in the number of full-time party workers in general, and at least one full-time party organizer in each district.

4. The party work in the trade unions, which has recorded a modest improvement since the party convention, must be organized more systematically. The work on a national scale must be directed and coordinated by a full time labor secretary. A part of the APPEAL staff should specialize in trade union matters. In general the convention orientation toward concentration on trade union work must be re-enforced by the necessary organizational and literary measures.

THE PARTY PRESS

5. Since the convention big strides have been made toward the financial stabilization of the party press, the prerequisite for its further expansion. The crux of this problem is the prompt payment of bundle order accounts by the branches. Carelessness and negligence in this respect, still prevailing in sections of the party, are the chief factors undermining the foundation of the APPEAL and the NEW INTERNATIONAL and, at times, threatening their existence. These intolerable practices must be ended, by drastic measures if necessary.

A workers' party, operating without subsidy, can publish papers only if they are paid for. Those who take a light-hearted attitude toward this question act as disorganizers of the party press. Particularly now, with the party steering toward a twice-a-week publication of the APPEAL, with its consequent doubled expense of production, the party must insist on a strict and responsible payment for bundle orders. The plenum endorses the previous decision of the Political Committee instructing the business managers of the party publications to cut off the bundle orders of branches violating this rule regardless of which branch may be effected or what excuses are offered. The party is determined to stabilize the financial structure of its press and to permit no disruption of it.

At least two national tours of prominent party speakers are to be organized before the Spring convention.

Sidelights on C.I.O. Convention

By B. J. W.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—What is Homer Martin going to do at the convention? This was one of the most frequently asked questions. Best answer was that the auto workers' president was an unpredictable man. It was generally agreed, however, that if anyone would create a stir at the convention, Martin was the man. Perhaps on the war referendum issue.

John Brophy, C.I.O. director, pulled the first boomer of the convention. He announced there would be a meeting of the "paper industrial unions" Monday night. Whereupon a newspaperman asked, "did he mean the Stalinist-controlled unions?"

John L. Lewis looked perplexed and tired during his opening remarks. Even his denunciation of the Nazi persecution of Jews was delivered in a mild tone.

The Star-Spangled Banner was played for an introduction to the sessions. Nothing like trying to whip up patriotism before a pro-war policy is announced.

The International Woodworkers paper, passed out to all delegates, carried an interesting story about the charges placed against George H. Arms, treasurer of Harry Bridges' longshoremen's union. It was claimed he was a "red-baiter." The story revealed that Arms was recently re-elected to that post despite Bridges' opposition.

The official explanation for the 4,000,000 membership figure given in the Lewis report was that "of course, it means both employed and unemployed."

It was considered very unlikely that the Workers Alliance would be given a C.I.O. charter, despite the frantic under-cover efforts of the Stalinists who want to save themselves from complete exposure and bankruptcy in the unemployed field.

The notable absence of "outside" speakers of the LaGuardia, Murphy, and other "friends of labor" variety was explained by the desire of the C.I.O. top leadership to have less said about the bankruptcy of their "realistic" policy of working with the democratic and republican "progressives."

Mr. John Strachey, "the big shot from England" (a Stalinist explained) was hanging around the convention autographing copies of his latest piece of Stalinist propaganda. Apparently the Stalinists had to go to England to get a "literary" name to impress their stooges at the C.I.O. convention.

Chief topic around the press was "will the Stalinists take over the C.I.O.," and "why don't they pep this convention up so I have a hot story?"

Only Postal Telegraph messengers were allowed in the convention. Brophy explaining that C.I.O. contract had been signed with that company while Western Union was fighting the C.I.O.

The importance of this convention was illustrated in one way by the presence of every well-known labor reporter. Over 50 journalists representing the world, labor and radical press were covering the sessions.

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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Two Times Every Week!

The revolutionary party moves forward in
the United States!With reaction and fascism on every hand,
with the old parties of labor collapsing before
our eyes, the National Committee of the Social-
ist Workers Party steps on the accelerator: a
drive is launched for a twice-weekly *Socialist
Appeal*.The decrepit Socialist Party issues a miserable
tiny tabloid, anxiously awaiting only the final
rites. The pretentious Lovestoneites are visibly
stagnating. The Communist Party shudders in
its patriotic orgy. Only the Fourth International
shows real revolutionary vitality—courage, aud-
acity and self-confidence.The strength of "Trotskyism" has always re-
posed in its program. We have held firmly to
this program throughout the years. Now our
faith in the great ideas of Marxism is begin-
ning to pay its dividends. The Fourth Interna-
tional prepares to move ahead with a semi-
weekly paper the heavy artillery of the new of-
fensive.The significance of the semi-weekly will be
clear from the appearance of the very first issue.
The squeals of our enemies will testify to the
power of the paper. The influence of the Party
carrying its revolutionary message to thousands
of awakening workers will be speeded up by the
more frequent paper.Our weekly paper spread the propaganda of
revolutionary Marxism to the advanced work-
ers.Our semi-weekly *Appeal* will sink its roots
in the broader masses.The watchword is FORWARD! Forward to
the twice weekly *Appeal* on the road to the
Daily!

What's the Difference?

Wilder McGowan, 24-year-old Negro, is
lynched by a Mississippi mob on the hoary pre-
text of having attacked a 74-year-old white
woman.Thousands of Jews—the Negroes of Ger-
many—are tormented and persecuted by Nazi
mobs in Berlin.The pretenses are similar, the mobs are alike,
the tortures differ only in degree. What's the
difference?Germany is a (capitalist) dictatorship: Hitler
admits his vicious intentions. He frankly wants
to drive the Jews out of Germany and to per-
secute the miserable victims in their flight.The United States is a (capitalist) "democ-
racy". Roosevelt fills the air with twaddle about
"equality," but his eyes are closed to the barba-
rian treatment of the Negroes which goes the
Nazis one better.Roosevelt and his friends, from Al Smith to
Herbert Hoover shed bitter tears of compassion
for the suffering Jews of Germany. Crocodile
tears! The difference between Wilder McGowan
and Solomon Levine lies only in the color of
their skin and the sound of their name.The same beast attacks them. Its name is
capitalism.DALADIER LASHES
FRENCH WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

stration camp faces the workers
was eloquently forecast in the
Daladier decrees which provided
for drastic fines and imprison-
ment for workers who refuse to
accept the extra hours of work
demanded.The anger of the workers over
these decrees, which are designed
to bring about a return of "lib-
eral" economy—i.e., to give the
bosses free rein and make the
workers pay the whole whack,
was so strong that the General
Confederation of Labor was com-
pelled to take a strong stand, at
least verbally against them.At the C.G.T. conference last
week Jouhaux, the French Bill
Green, succeeded only with great
effort in sidetracking demands
for a demonstrative general strike
of protest. This was canalized
into a resolution of a general
protest and a proposal for protest
demonstrations on Nov. 26.Meanwhile opposition to the
decrees laws piled up on all sides.
Having been left out in the cold
by their ally Daladier, the Social-
ist and Communist parties both
expressed opposition, and the

Spiked Slanders

Pres. Cardenas last week dealt a body blow to the Stalinist campaign to force Trotsky's expulsion from Mexico.

In a few blunt words he brushed aside the slanders of Lombardo Toledano and all the other Stalinist stooges and indirectly at the same time made an answer to the stupid accusations of some American capitalist papers concerning Trotsky.

The Stalinists have tried to smear Trotsky by linking him, in their familiar style, with reactionaries in Mexico. The Daily News and other capitalist papers in this country have, on the other hand, tried to see Trotsky's hand in the policy of oil and land expropriation pursued by the Cardenas government.

Cardenas declared all these charges to be untrue. He said that Trotsky has honorably kept his pledge not to intervene in the internal affairs of the country. And Cardenas should know better than anyone else.

The Stalinists "support" Cardenas. Cardenas supports Trotsky's right to asylum. To put it mildly, this is somewhat embarrassing for the Kremlin stooges.

But we know that the Stalinists will not stop here. If their incredibly base campaign of slander does not work because Cardenas happens to be an honest democrat, we can be sure they will attempt to resort again to the only real weapon they have—the knife or the bullet of the assassin.

But that will not avail them either. We and our comrades all over the world stand vigilant guard over the safety of the foremost living exponent of authentic revolutionary Marxism. More than ever now, safeguard Trotsky's right of asylum! Safeguard Trotsky's life!

The People Want No War

Buried away in the inside pages of the N. Y.
Times is an inconspicuous news item reporting
a tremendous vote in Chicago in favor of a
referendum calling on the Illinois congressional
delegation to say "no" on all legislation drafting
American boys to fight on foreign soil.It is not surprising that the *Times*, consistent
drum-major for Roosevelt's war drive, printed
the item in an obscure corner and disparagingly
attributed the huge favorable poll to the "vote-
getting abilities of its sponsor 'Big Bill the
Builder'." The bill received 1,025,801 votes for
and 572,646 against. Not even the high-powered
William Hale Thompson, with all his
vote-catching proclivities, could have mustered
so large turnout unless there was real popular
sentiment for the referendum.The plain fact is: the sentiment was genuine
and widespread. The people of Chicago and the
people of the entire nation do not want to fight
any war for Morgan, Rockefeller and DuPont
whether it be on the soil of Asia, Europe or
even Latin America. That a demagogue like
"Big Bill" Thompson should initiate such a
measure is irrefutable proof that anti-war senti-
ment is firmly imbedded among the millions of
America's masses.That Thompson should exploit this deep-
seated feeling for his own crooked political am-
bitions, that he should blunt its force by making
the referendum "advisory," is no cause for
wonder.Our candle of indignation will burn at both
ends at the unconscionable tricks of crooked
politicians until we learn what they so clearly
understand now:The masses do not want war—no kind of
war regardless of imperialist pretenses.The masses want to participate in an anti-
war movement. They want a referendum on war.
They do not trust the politicians.Let us harness this sentiment to a revolution-
ary anti-war campaign. One million Chicago
votes will be expanded to thirty or forty mil-
lions throughout the nation. The masses will
only begin by votes...'TREASON' COUNTS
COLLAPSE DURING
TRIAL OF P.O.U.M.

(Continued from page 1)

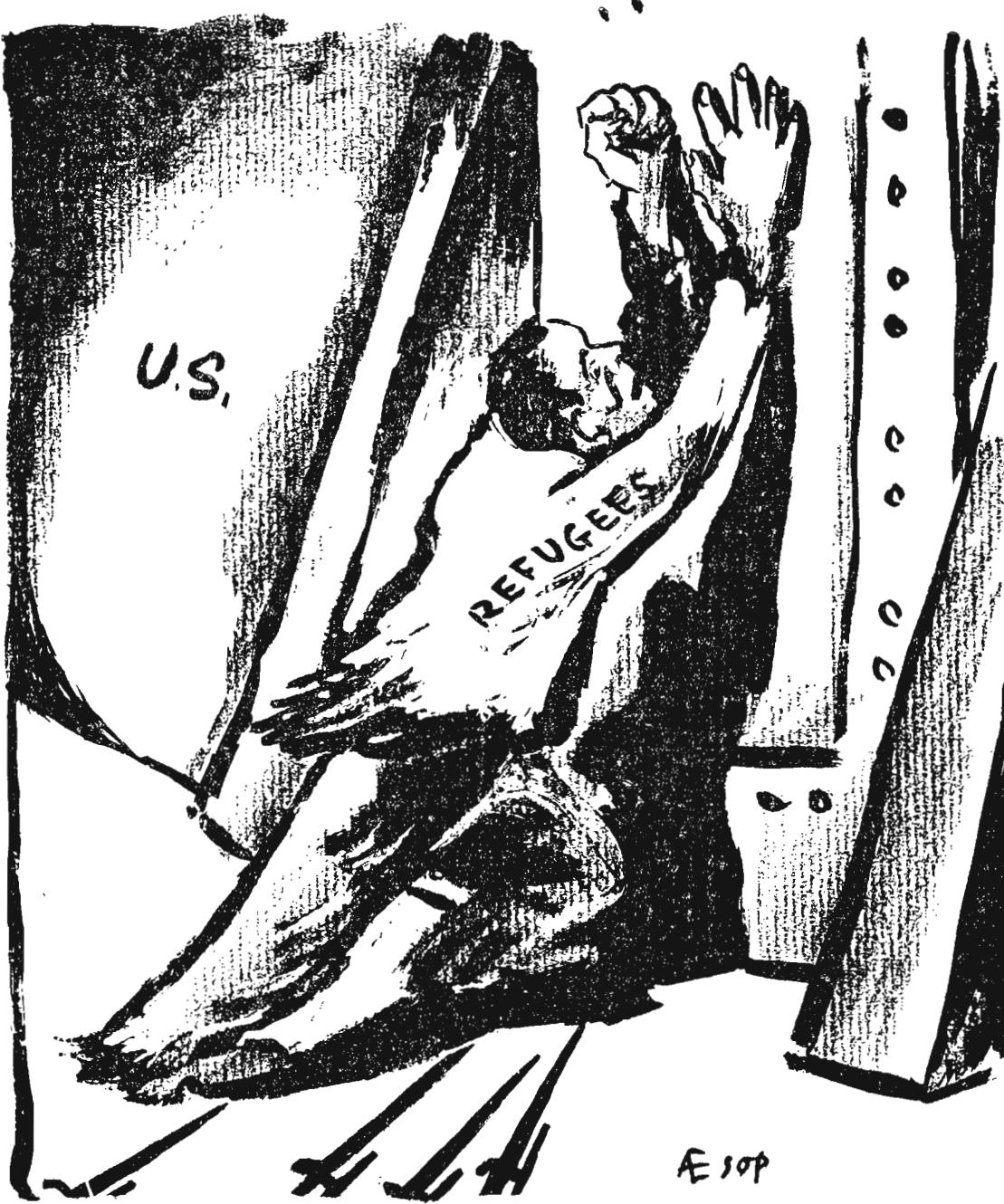
these charges fell to pieces in
court.Experts examined the famous
"N" document supposedly estab-
lishing the Fascist connection
and unanimously declared it to
be a crude forgery.This is the net result of the
two years of People's Frontism in
France. The forces of the workers
have been dispersed and de-
moralized. The Communist Party
has lost heavily in influence be-
cause it was so openly the only
pro-imperialist war party in
France during the recent crisis.At the C.G.T. conference last
week the rank and file delegates
by secret ballot voted all the
Stalinist members off the Executive
Committee of the Confederation.Whether the workers will now
resume the offensive, knit their
ranks together and produce fresh,
unsolved leadership ready to take
a bold course of struggle against
the threat of open dictatorship is
now the major question for
France.

One Charge Left

The G.P.U. frame-up fell to
pieces. The P.O.U.M. leaders were
convicted only of the honorable
"crime" of having solidarized
themselves with the Barcelona
workers in the May struggles
against the Stalinist-bourgeois re-

SOCIALIST APPEAL

LET ME IN!

DALADIER REGIME IS LEADING
FRANCE SWIFTLY TO FASCISMBy TERENCE PHELAN
(Special to Socialist Appeal)PARIS, Nov. 9—French reaction
pushes steadily on toward Fas-
cism through the Bonapartism of
Daladier.French capitalism is determined
to compete with fascist Germany's
"efficiency," i.e., its ability to
drive its workers a practically un-
limited number of hours a week.It can do so, it claims, only by
having an equally free hand in ex-
tending production hours. And
that means it must once and for
all smash the last remaining
workers' gains won in the great
1936 strikes and half lost already
to the treachery of People's
Frontism.The question of fascism in
France is no longer "Whether"
but "How soon?" For how long a
time still will Daladier's Bonapar-
tism be sufficient?

Daladier Declares War

Last month at the Marseille
Congress of his Radical Socialist
Party, Daladier, with hypocrisy
rivaling that of Roosevelt, "defend-
ed" the social legislation in
words and actually declared im-
plicable war on the gains won by
the workers in June, 1936.This was Stalinism's reward for
its years of support to French im-
perialism, for its frenzied propa-
gation of the slogan, "Daladier to
Power!"Daladier made savagely ironic
use of the demagogic of the Stalinists
of the past few years, with
which they held the workers' sup-
port by pretending to be concerned
for their demands, while actu-
ally enslaving them to the French
war machine which the Stalinists
regarded as a firm ally.actionaries whose only aim was
the repression of the working
class movement.Experts examined the famous
"N" document supposedly estab-
lishing the Fascist connection
and unanimously declared it to
be a crude forgery.The charge of desertion col-
lapsed when it was shown that
the 29th Division, the P.O.U.M.
unit involved, was actually
praised by the Stalinist General
Pozas for its part in the fighting
around Huesca in June, 1937, at
the time when it was supposed
to have "deserted."Finally, Jose Rovira, the P.O.U.M.
commander whom the Stalinists
charged had gone over to Fascist
territory, created a sensation by
appearing personally in court to
refute the charge.

One Charge Left

The G.P.U. frame-up fell to
pieces. The P.O.U.M. leaders were
convicted only of the honorable
"crime" of having solidarized
themselves with the Barcelona
workers in the May struggles
against the Stalinist-bourgeois re-of the Stalinist bureaucracy in
Russia.

Stalinists Kicked Downstairs

Daladier repaid them with the
Munich pact and at the congress
he sarcastically asked the Stalinists
why, if they preferred war to the
"diktat" of Munich, they could
not get the workers under their
influence to work more than 45
hours a week for the national de-
fense!French capitalism no longer
needs the People's Front and with
loud guffaws simply has kicked it
downstairs. The Stalinists them-
selves have been among the first
to feel the impact of the new situa-
tion. Two important Stalinist
mass meetings have been flatly
prohibited and broken up by police.French capitalism no longer
needs the People's Front and with
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downstairs. The Stalinists them-
selves have been among the first
to feel the impact of the new situa-
tion. Two important Stalinist
mass meetings have been flatly
prohibited and broken up by police.Fascism's path to power has
differed in each country. In Italy
it was gangsterism, in Germany
the parliamentary road, in Spain,
revolt by the army. Bonapartism
is a French invention and it may
be very well hand power over to
Fascism more smoothly than
Bruening cleared the way for Hitler
in Germany.

Comrades Imprisoned

But French Bonapartism al-
ready yields little to Fascism in
the mounting brutality of its re-
pressions. It has already sentenced
to one year in prison our comrade
S. Charpy, editor of *Révolution*,
the Fourth Internationalist Youth
paper, for "provoking the military
to disobedience." It is bringing
Duvernet and Jourdain to trial
for articles appearing in the trade-
union paper *Rebel Syndicaliste*;as well as the anarchist comrades
Scheff (already imprisoned in the
Sante) and Leclerc; and others.During the great building-trades
strike at Lyon, which has just
gone down to bitter defeat, the
government imprisoned 80 workers
for picketing, 20 of whom it has
already sentenced to from three
months to a year. For mere
picketing, these crushing senten-
ces! Among the last arrests
was Labrousse himself, Federal
Secretary of the Building Trades
Union. And this government pre-
tends to be impartial.

To Resist Is "Treason"

Daladier frankly threatens the
militants workers that any strug-
gle to retain the 40-hour week will
render them liable not only to be-
ing fired, but to undergoing crimi-
nal prosecution. Workers' rights are
being redefined as treason.Meanwhile the radical Mistler,
that one-time stalwart of the Peo-
ple's Front, calls for the forma-
tion of "semi-voluntary" labor-
camps and the muzzling of "demag-
ogues" (i.e. protesting workers).Now come home to roost the
compulsory-arbitration and strike-
illegality laws which the workers
let the People's Front put over on

them in late '36 and early '37.

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Socialist Appeal

These "legalities" provide Daladier
and the bosses with perfect pre-
texts for their increasingly smash-
ing counter-attack. Lockouts, small
and isolated strikes deliberately
provoked by the bosses the more
surely and finally to smash them,
become the order of the day. With increasing
intensity and thoroughness the daily police
roundups drag into jail anti-fascist
refugees whose "papers" are
not in order. Only last week, under
pretense of sanitary regulations,
a hospital train of wounded
international anti-fascist fighters
was turned back at the French-Spanish
border by the government of this
"great democracy."

Creeping Technique

Noticeable is the creeping tech-
nique of Daladier Bonapartism.
With each new repression it has
skillfully taken the workers' tem-
perature, watched hawk-eyed for
a real mass counter-attack. And
then smashed on another repression.

And again watched.

And how do the workers an-
swer? What is their spirit? How
are they fighting against this
creeping fascization?

An off-hand answer is difficult.

The Communist Party is undergo-
ing a fierce internal crisis. Not
only rank-and-file but district
and regional leaders are tearing
up their party cards in disgust
and rage. Munich was the last
straw. Throughout the working-
class spreads a black brood-
ing anger; but also a discouragement,
puzzlement, depression. But if they
can find the way, they will fight
with a fierce courage.

Our Tasks

The Fourth International in
France is faced with an immense
opportunity and an immense task.
The workers are ready. Sympto-
matic was the war-crisis action of
the Lille District Central Local of
the General Confederation of Labor,
representing 250,000 militant
workers; not under telegraphed
warning from the C.G.T. Paris
Headquarters, nor under threats
of mass arrests by the "socialist"
mayor of Lille, would they take
down their smashing anti-war
posters. Such incidents are significant.The P.O.I., French section of
the Fourth International isutilizing every opportunity for
powerful united-front action.

A constantly rising cost-of-living

creeps desperately; fascism

creeps on; will the French work-
ers find the only way in time?