

Widick Begins Labor Tour At Boston, Lynn

Finds Comrades Active In New England Key Unions

"The Boston and Lynn branches are coming along in fine shape and both are certainly putting the steam on in the anti-war campaign," B.J. Widick, Socialist Workers Party labor secretary, writes of the first leg of his tour.

"A four hour meeting with the district trade union committee began my activities in the New England area. Our comrades are very active in key unions in Lynn, and the Boston unionists are functioning well.

"The internal party meetings in Lynn and Boston were very well attended and the discussion which took place over my report on how the party functions in the war crisis showed that our party is cognizant of the serious and difficult tasks before it.

"Sixty steel workers attended a meeting at Worcester where I spoke on the lessons of the Crucible steel strike.

"A party branch is being formed there.

"About 40 comrades attended the district trade union conference held in Boston last Sunday.

"Chief problems discussed were the shoe workers strike in Lynn, in which our people are involved, and the question of Labor's Non-Partisan League.

"The Foodworkers union in Lynn had its first social while I happened to be there. Over 600 were present, and believe it or not, the labor secretary was one of the guests of honor!

"Boston increased its bundle of Appeals, after selling 30 of them at outside meetings.

"Seventy-five people were at the Sunday night lecture, on will the C.I.O. and A.F.L. unite? That concluded the trip to New England."

N. Y. Painters Get Taste of Stalinism

Weinstock Imports C. P. Gangsterism To Gag Militants

NEW YORK—Praising the murderous methods of Stalin in destroying the "Trotskyites", Louis Weinstock, Secretary-Treasurer of the New York District of the Painters Union, speaking to a regular meeting on February 25, called for the use of similar means against all who dare oppose the Stalinist regime within the Painters Union.

Weinstock reported on his recent visit to the Soviet Union and devoted most of the meeting to defending the frame-up Moscow trials and the bloody purges. At the conclusion of the tirade, in which he labelled every honest militant and progressive unionist as a "counter-revolutionist", the chairman ruled that questions and discussion were out of order.

Vigorous Protests

Only the vigorous protests of a large section of the 450 members present forced the chairman to allow questions to be put to Weinstock. Faced with a demand from the floor to debate the whole question, Weinstock attempted the old Stalinist dodge of "refusing to debate with a counter-revolutionist".

This, however, was successful among the puppets of the Communist Party, produced a roar of indignation from the union members. Weinstock then offered to debate if formally asked by the local. As the Stalinists have acquired control of Local 51, the offer was an empty gesture.

Riot Prevented

Throughout the question period Weinstock's supporters tried to create a disturbance, thus to enable the chairman to adjourn the meeting. The determination of the progressives not to be provoked prevented an open riot from breaking out.

Rioting, as a tactic to prevent democratic expression at union meetings, is becoming common in the Painters Union. At a recent meeting of Local 848, where the opposition to the Stalinists was becoming strong, deliberate and planned assault was used against the progressives.

When a member rose on a point of order to protest the voting of non-members, furnished by the Stalinists for the occasion, the speaker and his friends were attacked with knives, bats and

Goshen Rubber Workers Kill Fake Union Move

GOSHEN, Ind. — Countering the management's attempt to build a company union at the Mogul Rubber Company, Local 161 of the United Rubber Workers brought production to a standstill on February 25 in a three-day strike which brought an agreement granting recognition of the local as sole bargaining agency, seniority rights, substantial wage increases, and recognition of a shop committee.

Previously a notorious open-shop town, Goshen has in the last six months given rise to an organized labor movement which now embraces over 750 workers in the C.I.O. and about 400 in the A.F.L. The Mogul victory brings the number of C.I.O. agreements in this town of 12,000 population up to four.

Coming on the heels of a lock-out of woodworkers in December which was turned into a union victory, the quick and satisfactory Mogul settlement is expected to spur the organizing movement considerably, and to encourage unionization in many of the small sweatshops located here.

Fighting Platform Unfolded by Geller

Anti-War Stand Stressed By S.W.P. Candidate In St. Paul

ST. PAUL — The Socialist Workers Party of St. Paul is running an active campaign in the municipal elections soon to be held here with Jules Geller, militant member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and youth organizer for the S.W.P., as its independent candidate for mayor.

In its recently issued campaign platform the S.W.P. declares that McDonough, member of the Young Democrats who has been endorsed by the Farmer-Labor Association for the post of mayor, is unacceptable to any class-conscious workers' organization because of his acknowledged capitalist connections and program. McDonough has never been, and is not now, a member of the F.L.P. On the contrary, he was opposed by the Labor Progressive Association in the 1936 campaign, and an independent candidate was run against him in that election.

Critical Support

In calling upon the workers of St. Paul to vote for the five Labor-Progressive councilman candidates, together with the Labor-Progressive comptroller, the S. W. P. platform explains that "having to depend upon the organized workers at the polls, and due to some measure of discipline within the Farmer-Labor Association, the above candidates if elected will under pressure occasionally act in the interest of the masses, and keep the most reactionary forces from office."

However, the platform continues, "the S.W.P. can be responsible only for members of its own organization, that is, for Socialists who accept the revolutionary program and are disciplined fighters in the every day struggles of the toilers. Thus we accept no responsibility for those elected on the F. L. P. ticket."

Anti-War Fight

According to the platform, the paramount question for the workers, which overshadows even the most important local issues, is the fight against war. In this connection the S.W.P. urges all workers of St. Paul to vote for Geller as a protest against the war budget, the jingoistic spirit now in process of creation by the government, Wall Street, and the Communist Party, and as a token of their determination to fight to the last ditch for all those workers' rights which are endangered by the war-mongers.

While reiterating its stand for "the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist class," and its conviction that "only the establishment in America of a Workers and Farmers government, and the establishment of like governments throughout the world, can do away with the evils which are a necessary part of capitalism: war, unemployment, wage slavery, fascism, etc.," the S.W.P. has elaborated a series of immediate demands. These include demands for unrestricted workers' civil rights, for further organization of the unorganized, for militancy and unity in the labor movement, for higher relief standards, and the transference of all war funds to the unemployed, and for an extensive housing project.

ANTI-WAR MASS-MEETING

March 18 - 8 P. M. MANHATTAN PLAZA 6 E. 4th St.

Stalinist Moves Against Defense of Beal Crumble

Socialist Party Bares Falsity of Lawrence Letter Effort

The attempts of the Stalinists to disrupt and smash the movement for the defense of Fred E. Beal, leader of the 1929 textile strike in Gastonia, North Carolina, who is now in jail and facing a 20-year term, are breaking down.

Beal is in disfavor with the Stalinists because after a period spent in the Soviet Union he became an opponent of the Stalin regime. Although he was arrested, framed-up and sentenced by the southern Bourbon court while working for the Communist Party—facts which the Stalinists cannot and do not deny—they want him incarcerated.

Liars Exposed

In the campaign against Beal and the Non-Partisan Committee which is fighting for his freedom, the Daily Worker printed on February 24 a letter signed by a group of alleged Socialists in Lawrence, Mass. (Beal's native town) attacking the class-war prisoner as a fascist.

The Socialist Appeal, in its last issue, showed that the signers of this letter are not Socialists at all. Now comes Roy E. But, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, to back us up. In a letter addressed to the Non-Partisan Committee on February 28, But writes:

"We have made inquiry and find that there is only one of the signers of that letter who can lay claim to being a member of the Socialist Party. If you will note, in the letter there is no claim that they are Socialists. Rather that claim is made by the Daily Worker, in line with their usual policy of falsification and misrepresentation."

Any comment would be superfluous.

Handicapped Form New Trade Union

Old Organization Found Utterly Incapable Of Struggle

NEW YORK—A new organization, the United Handicapped Workers of America, created to embrace workers who to one degree or another suffer from physical handicaps and disabilities, has entered the fighting field of the militant labor movement. The program of the new organization and its plan of campaign were unfolded at its first public meeting held recently in Damazek's Manor, 12 St. Mark's Place.

In a circular calling for enrollments, Harry Friedman, provisional secretary, proclaims the new body "a fighting democratic organization . . . formed to fight for jobs for all handicapped workers."

League Degenerates

While frankly admitting that the organization has entered the field against the League of Physically Handicapped the circular declares that it is pursuing a policy of dual unionism, pointing out that the League, which did good work for its members in the past, has become a bureaucratically-controlled body utterly incapable of advancing the interests of its members.

The League, says the circular, is tied through its leadership to "a political party" (not specified) and this leadership is placing the interests of that party before the interests of the handicapped. "Since the program of the political party called for making friends with the administration which has been slashing the W.P.A. payrolls, the leadership of the League . . . refused to fight the administration and instead called for a fight against the so-called reactionaries."

"This is the policy which has reduced the League to a handful, results at every meeting in a spectacle of 6 or 7 delegations being elected to take up problems with the administration, while the 6 or 7 delegations at the previous meeting come back with reports of one failure after another."

Plight of Handicapped

Pointed questions are asked in the circular: "How many times have you been turned away from a job because of your handicap? How many years of training have you received only to find yourself denied the right to use this training? How do you feel about being forced to be dependent upon your family for support? What future do you face?"

"For years the handicapped have been asking themselves

Roosevelt Price Policy Shows Economic Drop

By DAVE COWLES

The Roosevelt statement asking increased prices which was printed in the New York Times of February 9, 1938, emphasized anew the following facts: American capitalism is on the decline and needs government aid to make profits. The continued existence of capitalism means the destruction of the living standards of the workers, farmers, and middle class.

No matter what its intentions, the politics of liberalism and reform work only to maintain capitalism. The latest addition to the mountain of evidence showing the bankruptcy of reform politics is the price policy of the "liberal" Roosevelt, composed and signed by such progressives as Secretary of Labor Perkins and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace.

Not All To Rise

The policy is that "in the present situation a moderate rise in the general price level is desirable." However, this does not mean that all prices should rise. The graph which accompanies the statement shows that some prices which are under monopoly controls are almost as high as they were in 1929, while others have fallen far below. The rise which it proposes "must be confined to classes of commodities whose prices are too low. These include most of the raw materials and finished products which are produced and sold under highly competitive conditions."

The reasons given for the policy are that it "will promote a balanced expansion in production. Our goal is a constantly increasing national income through increasing production and employment. This is the way to increase the real income of consumers."

Sharp Depression

What is the "present situation"? It is one of depression whose sharpness is unprecedented in American economic history, causing wide-spread unemployment and falling wages. In a statement issued last week the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that in the three months between October 15 and January 15, 2,800,000 workers lost their jobs. The usual fall in employment in the same period is about one-fourth as much.

Wages, as usual, fell far faster than employment, being driven down by the employers who took advantage of the depression to launch a concerted drive on the labor movement. In the period mid-December to mid-January, employment fell almost seven per cent compared to the usual drop of only two per cent. But the drop in wages was twice as sharp as in employment. The result was a drop of more than one-eighth in the purchasing power of the workers in one month.

Part of Permanent Crisis

The "present situation" is part of the permanent crisis of capitalism which is disintegrating the workers from production and employment, and cutting them off from wages, and the purchasing power that wages give them. For instance, the years 1923-1925 were only the beginning of the prosperity period 1923-1929 and the number of workers looking for jobs then was millions less than now.

But the number of jobs which private industry gave then was almost twenty percent more than now. The continuing crisis of capitalism will cut production still further, cut employment still further, and amidst an increasing population that needs increasing purchasing power if it is to maintain its standard of living, will cut wages and purchasing power.

Effect of Falling Wages

The connection between falling wages and Roosevelt's price policy is this: Falling wages mean these questions and the answer continues to be—flop-houses, begging in the streets, run-arounds from one charitable organization to another, continued discrimination in private industry, inability to lead a normal married life because of insufficient financial means, inability to secure crutches, braces and other orthopedic appliances, while each one struggles along upon the small allowances doled out to them by their parents.

"The handicapped have learned through experience that the betterment of their conditions has been secured through organization and militant action. It is only because no organization exists today which is carrying on a militant organized fight for security for the handicapped that the United Handicapped Workers of America has been formed."

to fly first of all to the C.P. with its horde of servile camp-followers, blind devotees and sycophantic yes-men.

A few days ago the writer spoke to a friend, a former member of the S.P., of the unity and spirit of solidarity that characterized the S.W.P. convention. The friend inquired seriously: "But isn't this theoretical agreement and general conformity a bad sign, an unhealthy condition?" This will probably seem a simple question to most of us but, because many prospective members have had only the S.P. and C.P. from which to judge, I believe it is one that we will increasingly need to meet.

My own answer was that "party unity" may be either a healthy or unhealthy condition, depending wholly upon how it is established. Unhealthy, certainly, if the decrees are simply handed down from the top and accepted by a docile and uncritical membership; but the most healthy condition imaginable when the unity is arrived at by the free and open discussion of an intelligent, alert and aggressive membership to whom revolutionary principles mean much more than a blind devotion to any Messiah, revolutionary or otherwise.

No Rubber Stamp

And, to any serious observer, it was evident that this S.W.P. convention was in no sense a "rubber-stamp," a gathering of mere yes-men assembled for the purpose of having a few "leaders" tell them what to do and how to do it. The common bond that firmly cemented the delegates, from the "party tops" to the rank-and-file, was their mutual allegiance to the principles and program of revolutionary Marxism, an independently arrived-at conviction that only such program and principles provide a base upon which a revolutionary party can be built and from which the capitalist system can be overthrown.

In spite of the rumors, slanders, distortions and misrepresentations which had been continuously dinned into our ears by the Thomases, Tylers and McDowells of the Socialist Party, and which could hardly help creating in the minds of many of us a feeling of distrust and suspicion toward the "terrific Trotskyites," the realistic "native socialist" learned at the convention (if he had not before) just how much reliance should be placed in these lurid "arguments." As a result, even as his faith in his former "leaders" sank still lower, his respect for the Trotskyites generally, and the Trotskyite leaders in particular, increased.

Vigilant Rank-and-File

We found, not a dictatorial and bureaucratic clique running the movement in its own interests, but a vigilant and capable rank-and-file itself issuing orders and directives to its democratically elected leaders. And though as a matter of course the leaders were permitted wide authority and freedom of action within the limits of convention decisions, it was unmistakable that the members reserved to themselves, as the real "dictators" of the new party, both the unquestioned right and the obligation of holding these leaders strictly accountable for their political activity and the conduct of party affairs.

Know What They Want

Here was a group of capable, hard-headed and practical revolutionists, firmly united almost to a man in knowing exactly what they wanted and how to go about getting it, and who, without minimizing in the least the obstacles in the way, were nevertheless determined to build a Marxist party and movement powerful enough to insure the victory of the proletarian revolution. It was universally recognized that each of the manifold problems of the socialist movement must be posed squarely, analyzed concretely, and attacked vigorously with the method and weapons of revolutionary Marxism.

Whereas the political cowardice of the S.P. had caused its convention to avoid completely any consideration of either the Spanish or the Russian questions, and in fact to dodge every international aspect of the movement, the convention of the S.W.P. courageously faced not only these supremely important questions but almost every other problem of the working class, both national and international. The conviction of the delegates that a genuine socialist movement is, and can only be, an international one was conclusively demonstrated when affiliation with the Fourth International was voted without a single dissenting voice. The fact is, of course, that every delegate was aware in advance that the new party could not do otherwise if it were to establish itself as a truly revolutionary organization.

It is extremely difficult to convey to a "native socialist" who has always lived in the "all-inclusive" party of Thomas & Co. a clear understanding of the almost complete solidarity and feeling of "oneness" that pervaded the convention of the S.W.P. Unless he was himself at the convention, his thoughts are apt

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

MINNEAPOLIS

SOCIALIST PUBLIC FORUM
Mar. 12: ALFRED R. DUNN, "Will Be A.P.C. and C.I.O. Party?"
Mar. 20: GRACE CARLSON, "What Will Happen to the Workers in the Next War?"
Mar. 27: PETER MOHR, "Is America Ripe for Revolution?"
Sundays, 2 P.M., Socialist Workers Party Hall, 66 Second Ave. North. Admission 10 cents.

BOSTON

PUBLIC FORUM, SUNDAYS, at 8 P.M., Workers Center, 16 La Grange Street.
Mar. 12: GRACE CARLSON, "Wage Slaves and Cannon Fodder—Our Educational System."
Mar. 19: ANNE BETTE KONIG-KOW, "Is Stalinism Practical?"

NEW YORK

PARIS COMMUNE ANNIVERSARY
Celebrate at the Boro Park Labor Center, 445 Av. and 2nd Street, Brooklyn, on Mar. 12, 2:30 P.M.
MARX SHACHTMAN, speaker for the evening. Dancing, Recital and Refreshments.

EARFUL, EYEFUL, MOUTHFUL.
Toeful, Arful, Social, at Washington Heights Branch, at Washington Avenue (at 142 Street), Mar. 19. Admission 25 cents.

WHICH ROAD TO WORLD PEACE?
MAX SHACHTMAN speaks at the Front Discussion Group meeting, Cooper's Cafeteria, 54 Irving Place, Friday, Mar. 11, 8 P.M. promptly.

increased employment," and less, not "more continuous income."

The consumption goods industries will need less machinery and plant equipment, they will reduce their demand for capital goods, and steel, machinery, lumber, transportation equipment, in fact all the capital goods industries which are the basis of any sustained prosperity will produce less, employ less and disburse less wages. A deep depression will grow deeper, because of Roosevelt's price policy.

Would Have Lowered Prices

Had Roosevelt really wanted to bring economic recovery, he would have lowered prices, not raised them. He would have balanced the high monopoly prices downward to the low prices, and he would have balanced both down faster than the falling wages. This would have increased the purchasing power of the great masses, increased their purchasing of consumption goods, increased the demand of the consumption goods industries for capital goods and set the country on the road to "business recovery."

Raising Basic Prices

Roosevelt's price policy is intended to raise the prices of the very commodities which the workers must buy to balance these upward to the level of monopoly prices. The effects upon their living standards will be disastrous. Those who are employed are getting less wages. But the drop in the cost of living has been insignificant and real wages have fallen. Raising prices as Roosevelt would do, will increase the cost of living further, and cut real wages even more. This is bad enough for those who have jobs. It will be far worse for those who are unemployed and on relief, who not only have little or no money income, but who will have to pay more for the little food and clothing that they do get. While wages are dropping, unemployed increasing by the millions, and relief decreasing, Roosevelt's policy would raise prices and starve profits out of the hides of the workers.

Roosevelt and his aides admit that their price policy will cut the living standards immediately. However, they try to spread the illusion that it will also bring "business recovery" in the future, of course, and without any specific dates given. "The average family will benefit from the business recovery which a balanced price structure will foster. Increased employment and more continuous income should much more than offset any increase in the cost of living."

Recovery In Profits

The price policy will not bring "business recovery" but recovery in profits. Keeping prices up while wages are falling will raise profits in the consumption goods industries temporarily. However, less goods will be sold at the higher price, production of consumption goods will be cut down, and the outcome will be less, not "increased employment," and less, not "more continuous income."

Actions Louder Than Words

Roosevelt and his aides may repeat as often as they like that their "is not a policy of restriction"; it is a policy of abundance. Their actions speak louder than their words. Their agricultural policy is one of restricting production. Their industrial policy is one of raising prices, cutting consumption, and cutting production. All their actions belie their words, and their words are mere smokescreens to hide their actions.

The decline of capitalism is shown in this: whereas in its progressive state, profits for capitalists and low-priced abundance went hand in hand, today conditions have changed. Abundance and low prices cannot exist alongside of profits. Either capitalism will destroy the workers in order to save profits or the workers destroy capitalism to save abundance. Roosevelt's price policies, like all his major policies, are those of capitalism—aimed to destroy abundance in order to save profits. They are at once evidence of the decline of American capitalism and the effectiveness of "reform" politics as an instrument of capitalism against the workers.

Local Graft Uncovered

At the same time, the rottenness of the whole capitalist system has been uncovered here in the revelation of official corruption throughout the state governmental and administrative machine in the classic foulness, arrogance, and crudity of the Tweed era. Nothing is lacking: the shakedown, nepotism, graft, padded accounts, favoritism, the whole gamut of capitalist corruption. Revealed through the inner contradictions in the state legislature, the whole putrescent anatomy of capitalist government is being bared for every worker to see and profit from. It is plain that the doom of governor Davey, "labor's friend" (ah, yesterday!) is sealed.

Let every worker profit and not campaign for a new "labor's friend," but throw his energies into the Socialist Workers Party, which aims not to remove a man and leave the system, but to abolish the system itself.

Plant Conditions

The actions were hastened by the conditions inside the plants. At Goodyear, in certain divisions where a fifteen-minute lunch period, formerly figured within the six-hour shift, has been placed outside the shift, the company has begun its campaign for the eight-hour day. Protests of the union were sharply rebuffed.

Layoffs continue, reaching men with 10, 15, 20, and in some cases even more years of service. Because of the large inventories and the demoralization induced by the layoffs the companies are able to take a granite stand.

Another factor which has buttressed their position is that even though the profits of last year were double that of 1936, the

OLD SOCIALIST VIEWS CONVENTION OF S. W. P.

Found Source of Inspiration In New Year Gathering Of Militants At Chicago

BY GEORGE M. WHITESIDE

To a "native socialist" who had known no political home in the past other than the Socialist Party, the recent Left Wing convention in Chicago which launched the Socialist Workers Party was both an inspiration and an education. Especially was this true in the case of one, like the writer, whose actual experience within the S.P. had been confined almost wholly to a state organization completely dominated by a sterile and confused hodge-podge of petty bourgeois-liberal-reformist ideology.

The reaction of one who had spent years in the S.P. struggling for a Marxist program and a revolutionary party can best be described, perhaps, by contrasting the S.W.P. convention's entire "tone" of intense seriousness, realistic approach, and revolutionary determination with the atmosphere of muddled helplessness and political cowardice that pervaded the S.P. convention in March, 1937. At the last S.P. convention in March, one felt as if he were riding behind a six or eight-horse team, with all of them pulling stubbornly in different directions. On the other hand at the S.W.P. convention there was no confused and divided allegiance, no running around after this, that, and the other panacea in the vain hope of discovering some "easy road" to socialism.

Know What They Want

Here was a group of capable, hard-headed and practical revolutionists, firmly united almost to a man in knowing exactly what they wanted and how to go about getting it, and who, without minimizing in the least the obstacles in the way, were nevertheless determined to build a Marxist party and movement powerful enough to insure the victory of the proletarian revolution. It was universally recognized that each of the manifold problems of the socialist movement must be posed squarely, analyzed concretely, and attacked vigorously with the method and weapons of revolutionary Marxism.

Whereas the political cowardice of the S.P. had caused its convention to avoid completely any consideration of either the Spanish or the Russian questions, and in fact to dodge every international aspect of the movement, the convention of the S.W.P. courageously faced not only these supremely important questions but almost every other problem of the working class, both national and international. The conviction of the delegates that a genuine socialist movement is, and can only be, an international one was conclusively demonstrated when affiliation with the Fourth International was voted without a single dissenting voice. The fact is, of course, that every delegate was aware in advance that the new party could not do otherwise if it were to establish itself as a truly revolutionary organization.

It is extremely difficult to convey to a "native socialist" who has always lived in the "all-inclusive" party of Thomas & Co. a clear understanding of the almost complete solidarity and feeling of "oneness" that pervaded the convention of the S.W.P. Unless he was himself at the convention, his thoughts are apt

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

MINNEAPOLIS

SOCIALIST PUBLIC FORUM
Mar. 12: ALFRED R. DUNN, "Will Be A.P.C. and C.I.O. Party?"
Mar. 20: GRACE CARLSON, "What Will Happen to the Workers in the Next War?"
Mar. 27: PETER MOHR, "Is America Ripe for Revolution?"
Sundays, 2 P.M., Socialist Workers Party Hall, 66 Second Ave. North. Admission 10 cents.

BOSTON

PUBLIC FORUM, SUNDAYS, at 8 P.M., Workers Center, 16 La Grange Street.
Mar. 12: GRACE CARLSON, "Wage Slaves and Cannon Fodder—Our Educational System."
Mar. 19: ANNE BETTE KONIG-KOW, "Is Stalinism Practical?"

NEW YORK

PARIS COMMUNE ANNIVERSARY
Celebrate at the Boro Park Labor Center, 445 Av. and 2nd Street, Brooklyn, on Mar. 12, 2:30 P.M.
MARX SHACHTMAN, speaker for the evening. Dancing, Recital and Refreshments.

NEW YORK

EARFUL, EYEFUL, MOUTHFUL.
Toeful, Arful, Social, at Washington Heights Branch, at Washington Avenue (at 142 Street), Mar. 19. Admission 25 cents.

WHICH ROAD TO WORLD PEACE?
MAX SHACHTMAN speaks at the Front Discussion Group meeting, Cooper's Cafeteria, 54 Irving Place, Friday, Mar. 11, 8 P.M. promptly.

to fly first of all to the C.P. with its horde of servile camp-followers, blind devotees and sycophantic yes-men.

A few days ago the writer spoke to a friend, a former member of the S.P., of the unity and spirit of solidarity that characterized the S.W.P. convention. The friend inquired seriously: "But isn't this theoretical agreement and general conformity a bad sign, an unhealthy condition?" This will probably seem a simple question to most of us but, because many prospective members have had only the S.P. and C.P. from which to judge, I believe it is one that we will increasingly need to meet.

My own answer was that "party unity" may be either a healthy or unhealthy condition, depending wholly upon how it is established. Unhealthy, certainly, if the decrees are simply handed down from the top and accepted by a docile and uncritical membership; but the most healthy condition imaginable when the unity is arrived at by the free and open discussion of an intelligent, alert and aggressive membership to whom revolutionary principles mean much more than a blind devotion to any Messiah, revolutionary or otherwise.

No Rubber Stamp

And, to any serious observer, it was evident that this S.W.P. convention was in no sense a "rubber-stamp," a gathering of mere yes-men assembled for the purpose of having a few "leaders" tell them what to do and how to do it. The common bond that firmly cemented the delegates, from the "party tops" to the rank-and-file, was their mutual allegiance to the principles and program of revolutionary Marxism, an independently arrived-at conviction that only such program and principles provide a base upon which a revolutionary party can be built and from which the capitalist system can be overthrown.

In spite of the rumors, slanders, distortions and misrepresentations which had been continuously dinned into our ears by the Thomases, Tylers and McDowells of the Socialist Party, and which could hardly help creating in the minds of many of us a feeling of distrust and suspicion toward the "terrific Trotskyites," the realistic "native socialist" learned at the convention (if he had not before) just how much reliance should be placed in these lurid "arguments." As a result, even as his faith in his former "leaders" sank still lower, his respect for the Trotskyites generally, and the Trotskyite leaders in particular, increased.

Vigilant Rank-and-File

We found, not a dictatorial and bureaucratic clique running the movement in its own interests, but a vigilant and capable rank-and-file itself issuing orders and directives to its democratically elected leaders. And though as a matter of course the leaders were permitted wide authority and freedom of action within the limits of convention decisions, it was unmistakable that the members reserved to themselves, as the real "dictators" of the new party, both the unquestioned right and the obligation of holding these leaders strictly accountable for their political activity and the conduct of party affairs.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

MINNEAPOLIS