

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

Vol. II—No. 39 Saturday, September 24, 1938

Published every week by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 118 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.  
All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937, at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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

**A Bona Fide Strike!**

New York's 100 per cent effective drivers' strike is added testimony to the fact that the men rolling the nation's commerce over the highways and in the cities are leading the labor movement in organization and militancy.

Within a few days after negotiations with employers for a revision of the present agreement bogged down, strikers went into action and tied up the city's traffic tighter than a drum. The strike has been called "wild cat" because it was called into being by a ground-swell of rank and file pressure.

This description of the strike is entirely misleading and calculated only to break it up. The overwhelming majority of Locals 807, 282 and 816 have voted for the strike. The unanimity of the walkout has compelled city officials to formally request of the union that it allow delivery of newsprint. Few if any cases of scabbing by union men have thus far been reported.

Only the failure of Cashal, International Vice-President, and Devery, president of Local 807, to give formal sanction is used by enemies of the drivers in declaring the strike "wild-cat." Yet neither Cashal nor Devery have dared to "outlaw" the walkout, despite their known opposition. That fact alone should prove that the strike is genuinely representative of the sentiment of New York's teamsters.

If ever there was a bona fide strike—this is it! The principal demand of the strikers is justified beyond the question of a doubt. The drivers want a reduction of hours from 48 to 40 at the prevailing basic wage. The shortening of the work week will mean an increase in wages for the men now employed. Above all it will mean work, badly needed work, for some if not all of the 4,000 drivers now unemployed.

Unemployment is the obsession problem of the American labor movement today. One of the few effective solutions to cope with this problem, under the present system, is a division of work through reduction of hours without reduction of wages. The drivers are to be congratulated and supported for taking the bull by the horns. Their strike is therefore not only legitimate; it is progressive in every sense of the word and deserves the backing of every good union man.

Up to the present there has been little violence attending the walkout. New York's police force, usually rough and vicious with strikers, have not attempted to interfere with pickets or attack strikers. For one thing, they have been overwhelmed by the scope of the walkout and the grim determination of the men to see that no freight moves without authorization of the strike committee.

For another, LaGuardia and Acting Mayor Newbold Morris have been attempting to talk the men back to work. They have palavered about "disunity" in the ranks of the workers as the cause of the strike. But anyone who has seen the wonderful solidarity of the striking drivers knows that talk of disunity in the ranks is so much hogwash. These "friends" are hanging their hat on the fact that the strike has not yet been "authorized."

But the bosses now say that they will refuse to negotiate even if the strike had legal sanction. If LaGuardia and Morris are really serious about wanting to help the drivers, let them prove it by forcing the bosses to resume immediate negotiations with the union!

The drivers have confidence in the LaGuardia administration. We don't. We have seen LaGuardia smash relief demonstrations and strikes too many times to have any confidence in his "friendship for labor." We take this occasion to warn the drivers not to relax their vigilance because of confidence in the "Little Flower." Already you can hear Newbold Morris talking about "protecting" the "public," about not causing the city any "embarrassment," etc., etc.

Judging by past experience, talk of this kind is usually a prelude to hostile, strikebreaking action. Unless we are badly mistaken, if the strike continues, it will not be many days before hell begins to pop on the streets of New York with cops and strikebreakers manning scab trucks. It is the strikers' right to believe as they will, but they will do well to watch Mr. LaGuardia's every motion and to rely solely on their own strength.

The strike is spreading rapidly now. That is good. The only chance the workers have for victory is in the tie-up of everything on wheels in the trucking industry with the exception of trucks authorized by the committee for hospitals and sanitation. The tighter the stranglehold the sooner the settlement. The Minneapolis drivers, famed for their success throughout the Teamsters International—won their strikes precisely that way.

The strike committee was prevailed upon to service the big city dailies with newsprint. The reward for this leniency, with the possible exception of one or two papers, was a slashing,

reactionary attack on the strike branding it as "rebel," "outlaw," "illegal." The papers received a special dispensation from the committee and in return they spat out their full venom upon the strike. This is a fact the strikers should bear in mind for future reference.

"Perishables" are still moving with the permission of the committee. But as long as they move, the strike has a big dent in its armor. No doubt a big howl will go up about "starving the public." The strikers will let the gentlemen, who don't give a hoot whether the "public" starves the year around, keep howling while they go about their business winning the strike.

Who said the public will starve? The union can very well go to the farm organizations and cooperatives up-state, who are being ground down by the milk trust and a half dozen other monopolies and make an arrangement with them. They will supply the city with all the perishables it requires and at the same time, the strikers will be building up the confidence and support of the farmers. Such an arrangement is operative at this very moment in the strike of General Drivers' Local 554 of Omaha, Nebraska (reported elsewhere in this issue). The same kind of cooperation was an outstanding factor in feeding the men during the long drawn out 1934 strike in Minneapolis and in helping them win. New York's drivers can profit by this example.

The rank and file committee appears to enjoy the complete confidence of the men and to be wide awake as to its job. A good omen for the strike! Now it is necessary for every union man to exert the utmost vigilance in guarding the pitfalls that lie in the path. Phoney "labor leaders" and smooth talking, politician "friends of labor" will not miss a trick to break the strike. Watch their fingers! A good eye is as necessary as a strong hand to win a strike.

**Patriot's Progress**

The patriotic bandwagon of the Communist Party is swinging into high gear. Throughout the United States the loyal followers of Stalin are lustily singing the Star Spangled Banner at a hundred mass meetings; a hundred speakers proclaim their willingness to lick the boots of their capitalist masters.

On the Pacific Coast the tour of Earl Browder and William Z. Foster became a veritable orgy of flag-waving, unprecedented in the history of the Communist movement and comparable only to one of Wilson's Liberty Loan drives.

This national campaign is not a haphazard affair but a vigorous reply by the "Twentieth Century Americans" to those who would sully the reputation of the Communist Party as the ace defender of American capitalist institutions. From the Dies Committee hearings have come weird tales of "plots" and "revolutionary strategy" which, though laughed at by the nation's press, disturb the patriotic sensibilities of Browder and his minions.

True, Mr. Dies is somewhat of a patriot himself, and hasn't a disagreeable "third period" lurking in his closet, but Mr. Browder and his party are willing to give him cards and spades and still beat him in the game of ferreting out "enemies of the people."

They are even willing to give Mr. Dies lessons in uncovering subversive activities, as a current series of articles in the *Daily Worker* by John L. Spivak demonstrates. Mr. Spivak, who may not be a full-blooded ferret, but surely qualifies as a member of the rodent species, in his first article takes the Senate committee to task for not protecting "our" Brooklyn Navy Yard. Nazi spies, Mr. Spivak infers, are stealing "our" naval secrets, are copying "our" blueprints and are hindering the building of "our" navy, yet "our" Dies Committee does nothing to prevent it.

At this writing, Mr. Spivak has not yet exposed the subversive activities of working-class revolutionists, but that is certain to come. Already his leader, Mr. Browder, speaking in Oakland on August 25, publicly called on the Dies Committee to investigate "Trotskyites." The zealous Browder knows full well that from the ranks of the working class comes the real danger to American capitalism, and that the true patriot must not shirk the duties of an informer.

The Communist Party will make capital of the ludicrous blunders of the Dies Committee. There will yet be a place for Browder, along with McDonald in England and Thomas in France, on the roster of eminent "defenders of democracy."

The bosses can always use a smart stoolpigeon.

**None So Blind**

Komsomol Pravda, organ of the Russian Young Communist League, complained last week that the British Conservatives, blinded by their class interests, are paving the way for German Fascist aggression in Europe.

Stalin's young gentlemen so long ago abandoned the class interests of the proletariat that it is difficult for them now to grasp the fact that the class struggle does exist and that class interests do now—as always—determine the action of the capitalist class in every country.

Confronted with this in the action of the British last week in giving way before Hitler, the young worthies at Stalin's coat tails could do no better than attribute it to some sudden stroke of blindness assailing the British bosses.

What they refuse to admit is that the British bourgeoisie, and the French bourgeoisie likewise, fears not the war itself but the specter of revolutionary upheavals that will inevitably come in the wake of a new imperialist war. That is why, in full accordance with their class interests, the Anglo-French bourgeoisie is indeed "paving the way for German Fascist aggression in Europe"—but aggression which shall be directed against the Soviet Union!

**Imperialist Smokescreen At Latin American Congress**

By GARCIA CESTERO

MEXICO, D. F. — The Pan-American Trade Union Congress, called by the Mexican Workers' Confederation (C. T. M.) took place here from Sept. 6 to Sept. 8. The Congress was attended by delegates from most of the Latin American countries, by John L. Lewis, representing the C. I. O., Leon Jouhaux, of the French General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.), and Gonzales Pena, the Spanish Minister of Justice (the "Justice" so well known to revolutionists in Catalonia).

With its pompous and empty speeches, the Congress was scarcely distinguishable from the parade-like demonstrations of recent years. It concluded with the creation of a Latin American Workers Confederation, with headquarters in Mexico City, and the presidency in the hands of Lombardo Toledano. The only concrete product of the Congress was a declaration of principles forming the basis of the newly-created confederation.

This declaration of principles consists exclusively of vague and hollow phrases, bombastic circumlocutions, all covering the crassest of reformist ideas.

**Pious Hopes**

1. The declaration avoids the use of even the word proletariat and speaks of "manual and intellectual workers." It proclaims the necessity for changing "the social regime which now governs the majority of the countries of the earth." This regime is capitalism. Why not call it by its name? For the quite simple reason that the regime that the declaration proposes to substitute for it is also capitalism, only a capitalism arranged and sweetened according to pious hopes. The world in 1938 gives us some idea of the extent to which these hopes can be realized.)

The lines that follow define the system that must prevail in Latin America. We are told that it must be based on "the abolition of exploitation of man by man." This is the only "socialist" sentence in the declaration. It comes first and is followed by details on the regime that is desired, which is disclosed as capitalism pure and simple, an ideal capitalism, serenely democratic and from which all wars of aggression are proscribed. To spread such pipe-dreams today, in September, 1938, can only be a conscious, shameful, arrant fraud.

**Unty for What?**

2. The second paragraph of the declaration speaks, or means to speak, of the means to be employed in arriving at the desired end. In one word, it is "unity," national, international, and in

every other sense. Unity for what? The unity of forces finds its justification only in the action of these forces. Of that there is not the slightest question. For the revolutionary and real means for the emancipation of the Latin American workers through the taking of political power by the proletariat, the declaration does not even substitute any defined and consequent reformist perspective. Abstract "unity" becomes an end in itself. Beyond that there is no perspective at all.

3. The next paragraph indicates the task of "obtaining" (?) full economic and political autonomy for the Latin American nations and the liquidation of feudal survivals. All this with the aim of "elevating the economic, social, and moral conditions" of the masses. With what jealous care the declaration avoids speaking of political power! This is precisely the nub of the question. Only the taking of political power by the proletariat will free the Latin American nations from the yoke of imperialism, purge them of feudal survivals, lead the peasant masses out of barbarism, and open a new road to all of society.

**Reduced to Absurdity**

Let us note in passing how the anxiety to remain vague leads to absurdities. The resolution speaks of the "economic autonomy" of the Latin American nations. Does this mean seeking some kind of autarchy ala Hitler? No, it is a question of defeating foreign imperialism. But that the resolution does not want to say. It covers itself with a formula that is vague—and absurd.

4. A further paragraph demands democratic rights for the workers of Latin America. It is careful not to indicate the means of securing them and not to indicate how they are related to the present world. In this domain also, in the decline of imperialism, a purely trade unionist struggle cannot but lead to failure. Important successes cannot be won except through revolutionary struggle, with the perspective of overthrowing the social regime. A true workers democracy can be assured only through the establishment of a Workers' State.

5. Then, finally, comes the paragraph on Fascism. Confusion here achieves its height. The struggle against Fascism consists in "denunciations" and, always, "unity." Here too, a real struggle against Fascism can be only a revolutionary struggle forming an integral part of the proletarian movement of the proletariat toward power.

**Silence on Imperialism**

6. Let us note that we are told nothing about Imperialism. To

judge from the declaration, it is a thing that scarcely exists for Latin America. The word is mentioned once, in the appendix, with out explanation. Actually, it is around the struggle against imperialism that all the fundamental problems of Latin America revolve. Behind the theoretical void of the declaration, it is in this that its consciously fraudulent character emerges most clearly: The new Confederation is not a weapon for the struggle of the Latin American workers for emancipation, but an instrument to chain these workers to an imperialist grouping) the "democratic" imperialism — what irony that this resolution was voted on in Mexico!!) against another grouping ("Fascism").

If one leaves the written text aside for a moment to consider the discussions at the congress, no doubt remains. Lewis acted solely as an instrument of Roosevelt in furthering North American penetration into the rest of the continent. Leon Jouhaux, who played an important role in the discussions and in the lobbies of the congress, is the conscious and cynical agent of French imperialism — Lenin denounced him for it nearly 25 years ago.

The aim of the operation was clear: to make the new Confederation an instrument for the penetration and strengthening of the "democratic" imperialism in Latin America against Italian and German influence. This struggle is assuming, moreover, an urgent character with the approach of war, for the central and southern Americas are rich reservoirs of raw materials far from the great battlefields. The phrases about "democracy" and "Fascism" serve only to cover the fraud, to direct the workers' will to struggle toward the end of submission to the policies of so-called democratic imperialisms.

**Avoid All Problems**

Theoretically, the declaration of "principles" is beyond all criticism. Not a single one of the real problems of Latin America is dealt with in it. These gentlemen thought that the jeremiads of European reformism, made still more affected and stupid, were good enough for the Latin American masses. That is the only adaptation they have made for the specific problems of this continent.

Practically, the new Confederation is an instrument in the hands of the "democratic" imperialisms. All the theoretical smoke is nothing but a screen to hide this quite real fact. It cannot win the Latin American workers liberation but only new forms of servitude.

**Rubber Union Hits Hull Notes On Mexican Oil**

AKRON.—Evinced greater interest in the problems of Latin American workers because of the recent visit to Mexico of John L. Lewis, the Akron Industrial Union Council and Goodrich Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers have passed unanimously the following resolution of support to the Mexican workers and warning to the U. S. State Department to keep its hands off Mexico:

Whereas, C.I.O. Chairman John L. Lewis, pledged cooperation in Mexico last week to the newly-formed Workers Confederation of Latin America in its fight against "miserable wage structures and degrading working and social conditions of the workers" imposed by large foreign corporations, and

Whereas, The open shop Standard Oil Co. of the Rockefeller interests was expropriated by the Cardenas government in Mexico to end its exploitation of the Mexican people, and

Whereas, This progressive step of the Mexican government has been vigorously supported by the labor movement and bitterly fought by reactionaries, and

Whereas, Secretary of State Cordell Hull has sought to nullify the action of Mexico by means of threatening diplomatic notes defending the oil companies, therefore be it

Resolved, That we go on record

1. Hailing the C.I.O.'s stand for cooperation with the workers of Latin America in bettering their hours, wages and working conditions as a fine exhibition of international labor solidarity, and

2. Condemning the State Department for its unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of Mexico thereby jeopardizing the labor gains made up to now, and

3. Demanding that America and other imperialistic nations keep their hands off Mexico, and all other colonial or semi-colonial lands.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

**New Deal Candidates Lose, But F.D.R. Holds Prestige**

By JAMES BURNHAM

The Presidential Purge, on the surface at any rate, has taken the worst beating of any Rooseveltian enterprise of the past decade. For the first time in these Six Lean Years, there is rejoicing in the camp of the Republican National Committee.

There is no doubt, moreover, that Roosevelt's prestige has genuinely suffered by the severity of the defeats of his candidates in the primaries. Like all demagogues, he thrives on victory, and shrinks rapidly when he loses. He relies on the all-powerful magic of his name; but in this instance the spell of his magic proved ineffectual.

Nevertheless, surface appearances are, as so often, at least partly deceiving.

**Defeats Expected**

In the first place, it should be noted that Roosevelt, in most of the primaries where he intervened, expected his favored candidate to be defeated. This is established by fully authentic reports.

Secondly, a sharp distinction was made by many voters between their feeling for Roosevelt himself and their action on the local candidate for whom he had declared. This was strikingly shown in, for example, Maryland. On the eve of the election, the Gallup survey—which has been functioning with great accuracy during the past year—made an estimate. Their returns showed Tydings with 60 per cent of the vote, which was exactly what he got.

But at the same time they tested Roosevelt's personal popularity, and found him with a clear 55 per cent support. Though this percentage is lower than that in the 1936 election, it had not dropped as a result of his intervention in the Maryland primary. There is every reason to believe that this paradox is typical of the other States involved in the purge.

**Personal Prestige High**

The recently conducted Fortune poll indicated a somewhat similar phenomenon: it showed a decisive continuing majority in popular support for Roosevelt personally, but much lower support of, or even opposition to, a

number of specific plans and policies.

These facts serve to indicate the underlying meaning of the purge. Its chief purpose was not to win the nomination of the given candidates in question — though that would also, no doubt, have been a pleasing outcome. First and foremost, it was a gesture to bolster up Roosevelt's mass standing in the country as a whole, especially in the heavily populated northern States.

It is Roosevelt's "left face" that keeps for him the support of the workers and the unemployed and the masses generally. In the purge he put this face forward. His mouthpieces in the labor movements of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, etc., could thus point proudly to him as still the great champion of the masses against the Tories.

**Farm-Labor Union**

Roosevelt's speech at Denton, Maryland, where he called for a union of farm and labor behind the ostensible aims of the New Deal, fitted in perfectly. He was obviously talking not to the small and unimportant State where the speech was delivered, but to the broader reaches of the towns and plains of North and West.

But in spite of these compensating considerations, the extent of the failure of the purge remains a sign of a certain weakening of Roosevelt's position. The abysmal collapse of the New Deal, the blows of the renewed economic slump, are beginning to stir the consciousness of the masses, to puncture the myth of Roosevelt, the Savior.

Under present conditions, the normal movement for such a process, on the part of the workers and unemployed and poor farmers, would be to the left. But, tragically, the policy of the Lewises and Greens and reformists and Stalinists provides no organized outlet to such a movement to the left. Through Labor's Non-Partisan League they try to whip the gradually rising discontent back into the line for New Deal class collaborationism.

**Discontent Flares**

The discontent and disillusion are thus in part vainly dissipated. Some is finding its way, in-

**Pinning 'em Down**

By JAMES CASEY

**GOLD RUSH ON WALL STREET**

The stampede for war gold is on!

At the cost of a new maelstrom that beclouds Europe's horizon and the sweat of labor at home, Wall Street's bourgeois are filling their depositories with freshly-plucked riches.

Statistics on the pre-war wave of profits for the large corporations offer an astounding contrast to the plight of more than 13,000,000 American families, whose average income last year was equal to \$471, and are another sad commentary on the vaunted beneficence of the New Deal administration. And, of course, the daily newspapers, without exception, have failed by oversight or other convenient reasons to print a single line regarding the new floods of yellow metal into the coffers of the Morgans, Rockefellers, du Ponts, et al.

It is a fact that more than one hundred companies with securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange or the New York Curb Exchange enjoyed bigger "earnings," as the moneybags are wont to call it, in 1937 than in America's fattest boom year. The profits of 29 companies alone have totaled \$507,000,000 more than in 1929.

What is most portentous about the figures is that the largest profits have come to those corporations dealing in war supplies. Statistics are excessively dull reading for the laymen, but their perusal provides damning proof of who has been paying the bill for the last two capitalist crises and all the preceding ones.

Accordingly I am listing a few examples of the returned prosperity that is being confined solely and secretly to those who do a bulging business out of human slaughter.

Monsanto Chemical Corporation, a du Pont war supplies concern, increased its profits by 354 per cent over those of 1929 with sales of \$33,202,000.

Douglas Aircraft, which builds war planes and is controlled by the Morgan-du Pont interests, boosted its profits by 175 per cent over 1929 with sales of \$20,950,000.

Mesta Machine Corporation, a subsidiary of the House of Morgan's U. S. Steel, had profits of 161 per cent over the 1929 record.

Phillips Petroleum, of the Rockefeller-Mellon Estate interests, enjoyed profits 50 per cent higher than in 1929 with sales aggregating \$145,933,000.

Union Carbide, another Rockefeller-Mellon institution, had profits of \$42,782,000 more than in 1929.

E. I. du Pont-Nemours of Delaware swelled their profits in 1937 by \$88,081,000 over the previous top year in peacetime "prosperity." (These profits are exclusive of many hundred millions more by du Pont subsidiaries.)

Hercules Powder Corporation, another du Pont-Morgan war supplies unit, showed a 4 per cent gain over 1929 with sales of \$44,558,000.

Thus one can go on and on through the Wall Street groups, showing how these corporations have been amassing millions at an unprecedented pace in the face of widespread unemployment and with more than 20,000,000 persons on the relief rolls deprived of adequate food, shelter and clothing.

**BULL MARKET COMING**

Financiers and high government officials, while maintaining a strange silence on the reaping of record pre-war revenues, have been issuing innocuous statements with respect to the recent dips of the stock market. This downward trend is a temporary movement, motivated by a series of causes, including the usual manipulations for catching suckers, but it is certain to be followed, in the event of war, by a sweep upward such as has not been seen in years. Nor is Wall Street much concerned over the talk of so-called regulatory legislation to curb speculation.

Instead, the Wall Street leaders are focusing greedy eyes at the huge sums of European moneys shipped to these shores in late months to escape the effects of native currency depreciation, due to conditions at home.

France, for example, has millions upon millions of dollars held here and an outbreak of hostilities would almost immediately generate the flow of gold into the hands of American industrialists and manufacturers for all kinds of products needed by a warring power.

Assuredly there will be many cries for tightening of the Neutrality Act, as a means of keeping this country out of the war, but any enacted legislation is bound to be interlarded with loopholes so as not to interfere with the bloody harvests of American imperialists.

**PROFITS, PRICES UP—WAGES DOWN**

Assuming the remote possibility that Congress passes measures "to take the profits out of war," such action would, in the final analysis, simply constitute a division of revenue between the war industries' magnates and their government. A subsequent speeding up of production would leave the basic profits structure intact, with the incomes of the Morgans and du Ponts soaring to ever higher levels.

The new war orders from abroad along with the New Deal's own rearmament program will open up new jobs, to be sure, but there will also be ushered in a new era of price-boosting and general profiteering on life's general necessities. Workers face the dangers of wide slashes in "real" wages through the inflation of living costs and farmers, too, will be plagued anew by rising prices of seed, feed, machinery, clothing, etc.

In this rapidly-evolving situation America's masses cannot expect any assistance or consideration from Democrats or Republicans, "right" or "left." To meet the wage-slashing and other attacks of Big Business, they must strengthen the trade unions and tenant farmers' groups and organize on the political field under militant working-class leadership. In these efforts, the Socialist Workers Party leads the way.

credible as it might seem, temporarily back toward the Republican Party. Another part flares up in the pension movement of the Far West. Still another section listens more eagerly than would have been the case five years ago to the ravings of Senators Smith and George, whose campaigns boiled down to "white supremacy."

The danger is thus clearly pointed: as the break with Roosevelt begins, unless the vacuum to the left is filled, unless a new political instrument is forged whereby the independent class strength of the workers can be mobilized for advance, then the break will lead either to disipation and disorientation, or to war reaction.

**MASS MEETING**

**'WAR CRISIS IN EUROPE'**

PROMINENT SPEAKERS

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23 — 8 P. M.

Beethoven Hall, 5th St. and 3rd Avenue

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party Local New York