SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Roosevelt Rehearses

There is a symbolic as well as an actual importance in Roosevelt's manner of intervention in the Czechoslovak crisis.

For three weeks Roosevelt did nothing. He did not wish to soil his hands before the masses with the bloody schemes being cooked up in Berchtesgaden and Godesberg, in Paris and London. He wanted none of the shame which always attaches to the diplomacy of imperialism whenever it is forced into the open.

Then suddenly he began cabling the capitals of the world. He called for peace and for justice and for all of the other noble abstractions.

His second message, addressed to Hitler, was grimmer in tone. Herein he sought to establish the "war guilt," if the war were in fact about to begin. He was "making the record," so that it might come in handy when the time arrived to use it.

Roosevelt's manner of intervening in these coming war itself.

The war will begin, with the United States piously on the side-lines, protesting its devotion to peace and freedom. The other nations will be the war-mongers, and incidentally will wear themselves out in the fighting. Then, with its purity unsullied, the U. S. will regretfully be compelled to step in to bring love and order once more to the world, and by coincidence to win the lion's share of the booty.

Those same forces that compelled Roosevelt the Stalinist class-collaboration line to intervene diplomatically in the current crisis will likewise compel U. S. armed intervention in the war. Roosevelt, indeed, made this quite clear in his notes, by pointing out that no nation could remain unaffected by the consequences of a major war. Above all would the United States, the economy of which is in every decisive respect dependent upon imperi. cipline who . . .forms or joins alist economy as a whole, be drawn into the

Let no dream of isolation blind us to thi significance of Roosevelt's intervention. And le us notice how promptly he implements his plans with a doubling and re-doubling of armament orders during the past three weeks, and the demand for the triple speeding up of the naval building.

Our concern with the events in Europe must not be allowed to turn our eyes away from the unemployed movement. main enemy, the war-makers at home. It against them that our heaviest blows must be directed. There is not an hour to waste in the organization of the workers of the U. S. in determined resistance to "our own" war machine. The workers must be summoned to the first and major task: the fight against the war.

Socialist Solution Is Only One For Czech National Minorities

about the collapse of the bour- es. And this is possible only if class against German imperialism. geois democratic revolutions be- every proletarian learns to concause of the cowardice of the Ger- sistently put the interest of the man bourgeoisle and the reaction- international liberation of the ary attitude of the upper strata of working class and all the exploit- we defeat, along with our own the Slav nations. Thanks to the ed above "the interests of their bourgeoisie, German fascism. monarchy could maintain itself up oisie. But this demands above all many. At this point we also overto the 20th century. After the the uncompromising defense of throw our own bourgeoisie. world war the national illusions the right to freedom of any opof the liberated nations acted as pressed nation against its oppressa break upon the social revolution ors, even if the latter are "bloodand caused the annihilation of its brothers." first fortress in Central Europe, the Hungarian Soviet Republic And today again, the great wave of nationalism drowns the nations of Central Europe, including one thing, because the working the majority of the proletariat.

However, if the Social Democra cy of Austria-Hungary had been a genuine revolutionary party, it it had connected the struggle of the proletariat with the struggle of the oppressed nations of the monarchy for self-determination, the world war would have ended with the liberation and then the fraternal unification of the nations of the Danubian valley under banner of Socialism. And if velop the class struggle of the the Communist parties, born after Sudeten German workers and the the World War, had known and poor German peasants, Mr. Konapplied Lenin's national policy, rad Henlein would still be a imperialism would have been de-

the world's population is exploited man workers had taken control and enslaved by imperialism and of factories, mines, and landed can become a powerful ally of the estates, and had there simultanerevolutionary proletariat in its ously been a struggle against nastruggle against the imperialist tional oppression, we could be that the revolutionary proletariat working class would now fight to-

gain the confidence of these mass- gether with the Czech working

Fascist chauvinism and racism these most abominible off-springs of bourgeois nationalism, arose among the defeated nations for class of the "victor" nations was unable to prevent its imperialists from enslaving and exploiting the defeated. If after the war the Czech working class had forced its bourgeoisie to treat its "minorities" differently, Henlein would not today have 90% of the Sudeten Germans with him.

Source of Henlein's Strength Yes, if the revolutionary labor movement had been able to desimple gym teacher. And if the struggle had been developed to The overwhelming majority of the point where the Sudeten Ger-

Appeal Army

To All Comrades and Friends:

The voice of revolutionary socialism, the Socialist Appeal, stands alone amid the present wave of patriotism and chauvin- will sell for 1c each; the regular ism. Upon its shoulders has fallen issue at the usual 5c price. We the great task of combatting the are automatically doubling the war-mongering hysteria and the bundle-orders of branches and inpro-war chorus made up of the dividuals. Several times our usual capitalist class and its hired run is being printed on all special press; the Stalinists; liberals and issues. We expect branches to labor-leader patriots.

Great forces and powerful organizations are at work preparing the minds of the American workers and the American people for the horror of imperialist war. For the first time in world history we see the treacherous spectacle of so-called labor leaders and "communists" in the front ranks of the war-makers.

cialist Appeal has taken upon it- the Fourth International did not self to make a tremendous effort. fulfill its duty in leading the anti-For the duration of the present war forces of the country! war-crisis, we will appear three times per week! This issue is our at once the full proceeds of their first special anti-war issue. It mass sales of the anti-war issues. must and will be followed by Only in this way can the 3-times others. All branches are to im- weekly Appeal be financed. We mediately mobilize all available urgently appeal to all comrades forces for mass sale and distribu- and friends to rush contributions tion of the Appeal. Not a moment | to us via air-mail. is to be lost lest the anti-war Build the Socialist Appeal forces be overwhelmed by the Long live the struggle against clouds of war propaganda spread capitalist-imperialist war! Com-

The special issues will appear on Tuesday and Saturday of each week. The regular, weekly 4-page issue will come out on Thursdays as customarily. The special issues send in greatly increased orders for the anti-war issues at once

We are sure that every comrade and sympathizer will understand not only the seriousness of this job, but also its dire necessity. The Socialist Workers Party must raise its voice in warning to the American working class. It must reach tens of thousands of workers with its anti-war message and that immediately! Let it not be Recognizing all this, the So- said that the American section of Dear Comrades:

We expect branches to turn in

The Business Manager.

Civil Peace and Fascism

They only forget that first, their policy of civil peace, started already before the war, opens wide the door for fascism in their own country. Secondly, that in case of the English and French governwar their bourgeoisie must, under any circumstances, abolish the contrasted with the formal comfew remaining democratic rights. (National Defense Law-adopted in 1936 to provide for open military dictatorship in time of war and "state emergencies.") Thirdly, ism. that even in the presence of the objective premises of a proletarian

Confused by Patriotism

necessarily be repeated.

In essence, these comrades con fused by social patriotism, replace the independent proletarian policy by a simple exercise in arithmetic. So many and so many states are against the further expansion war does not offer it any chances. if you succeed in postponing war and the proletariat, blinded by social patriotism continues to remeetings!—Editor.)

The proletariat cannot combine powers. It can accomplish its historical task-the replacement of capitalist society by Socialism-

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scriber. Enclosed find \$ for a (1 yr.) (6 mo.) subscription

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Roosevelt's manner of intervening in these ways foreshadows with accuracy Roosevelt's lates in the large plans for the role of the United States in the Conclave; Run Alliance Bar Dissidents To MOBILIZE FOR Truck Strike Routs

New York Progressives Denied Seats; Cheering Delegates Clamber On Roosevelt Bandwagon

CLEVELAND-The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance held its national convention here, over the last week-end and among other things hooked the unemployed to the Roosevelt war machine, pledged alliegance to the New Deal's phoney politicians, and adopted a new expulsion order for all Alliance members who refused to toe adopted the most reactionary

David Lasser and Herbert Benjamin, national president and secretary-treasurer of the Alliance, respectively, concocted an amendment to the W.A.A. constitution in that organization.

Hitler Rule

The constitutional amendment which in part said: "Any member or officer shall be subject to disin forming or associates himself in action with any organized group not legally recognized as an official body of the alliance." completely bars any two members getting together to discuss the affairs of this totalitarian or ganization. It bars a local from carrying out any strike action, or demonstration without the approval of the Stalinist officials, a clause similar to the one adopted by the most reactionary old-time A. F. of L. unions, and is entirely contrary to the interests of the

The high point of the convention came when the delegates (hand-picked by the Stalinist machine for the most part) voted to expel a delegation of three representing according to their spokesman "fourteen New York locals with a combined membership of more than 2,000." The delegation consisted of Judah Altman, chairman of Local 19, Neil Harrison, chairman of Local 15. and Brendan Sexton, a former president of the New York Alliance, and a member of its National Executive Board.

Condemn Treachery

they develop an odd tactic: First in a desire to spare "political em- City.

barrassment" to President Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia.

Mr. Altman declared that the officers of the New York Alliance had blocked demonstrations at City Hall and sit-down strikes in relief offices because it was the policy of the Communist Party to avoid "embarrassing" Mayor La-Guardia. He said that critics of this policy has been "terrorized" and "gagged."

In its annual report the W.A.A. National Executive Board admitted that large sections had withdrawn from the Alliance in Maryland, Wisconsin, Idaho and New

In a typical Stalinist-inspired resolution, the Alliance put its stamp of approval on the war of the Roosevelt administration, preparation and war mongering and adopted the pro-war principle of "collective security." The Stalinists made their usual demogogic and hypocritical plea for "peace and democracy" and for "a democratic front against the fascist

In another resolution, the Alliance went on record in favor of a third term for President Franklin ("I hate war") Roosevelt. Turning the convention into a typical big-time capitalist political rally, the delegates, at the conclusion of the Roosevelt resolution snatched up "State standards," and with mounting hysteria started a march around the convention hall singing: "Roosevelt is our leader, we shall not be moved."

Action on the mass expulsion of Sexton denounced the Alliance some 2000 Aliance militants in and charged that its policies fol- New York was put over for this lowed those of the Communist week, and placed in the hands In order to subdue the remains Party and the interests of the un- of the well-greased Stalinist exof revolutionary consciousness employed were being disregarded pulsion-machine in New York

eternal national struggles the rotten, half-feudal Austro-Hungarian den the interest of the bourge-

(Continued from page 1)

voys, Ambassadors Kennedy in London, Bullitt in Paris, with ments. These friendly relations munications with Hitler, indicating the existence of a very clear "understanding" between Anglo-French and American imperial-

Helps Four-Power Pact

Although Litvinov at Geneva, revolution, the subjective factor, the Moscow press, and the Amerithe revolutionary leadership of can Stalinists hailed his suggestthe proletariat, enjoying the con- ion for a general conference of fidence of the masses could not all powers "directly interested" in develop after the previous policy a settlement of the Czech situof civil peace. In other words, in ation, Roosevelt, no less than this case the tragedy of the Ger- Chamberlain and Daladier, paid man Revolution of 1918 would scant attention to the Soviet Union in seeking a way out of the crisis. This potential "friend and ally" of the Soviet Union contributed his share to the four-power pact whose spearhead is directed against the Soviet Union!

Just as Wilson's grandiose scheme for the League of Nations materialized in the imperialist enemy. This demands however, sure that the Sudeten-German of the Third Reich. Consequently banditry at Geneva, so Roosevelt's proposal for a general con-Peace is preserved. But precisely ference of the European nations eventuated in the grim deal at

> Both at home and abroad treat, the present alignment of Roosevelt is being hailed as a powers will decidedly change, prince of peace and given credit (These prophetic words were writ- for bringing about a settlement of ten before the Hitler-Chamberlain the crisis. In foreign capitals his laws provide a minimum penalty praises are sung to flatter or court the good will of the American titan, whose support is so Its own policy and its own aims decisive in world politics. At home with a bourgeois alignment of this propaganda is calculated to the industrial mobilization bill so make the American people place as to assure government control confidence in Roosevelt's pacific of industry during war time. The intentions, to dispel their distrust bill would draft industrial execonly through its own class meth- of his war-plans, to induce them utives into the War Department to hand over to him the direction of their destinies.

Masses Want Peace

The behavior of the vast majority of the American people in this crisis demonstrated that they want peace. While the fundamental strategy of the Roosevelt regime is to throw its weight to the side of Anglo-French imperiments among the masses, the iso- ment, lationist policy of a segment of the big bourgeoisic, and the gravity of the European situation compelled Roosevelt to move with Investigation. No one will dare element, and supported by the more sell-out in a stream of begreat circumspection. Roosevelt hastens to strangle the the powers that be. movement for a popular referendum on war, which aims to thereby place a check upon his and S. S. mobs in Germany. freedom of action, he is forced to Dictatorship and not "democ- Under the guise of "American- York, who were forced to return account in all his public state- will call on its workers to go war vocate fascist principles, without cut as a result of an agreement cific tone of his pronouncements, for democracy."

and for the cautiousness of his actions during the past week.

The conscious participation of the Roosevelt administration in the war demonstrates that Roose-European imperialism, whether these terminate in a bandit's bargain or war. The war crisis is already being exploited as an excuse for accelerating preparations for war. Thus the temporary postponement of war is utilized by American no less than by British, French and German imperialism to complete its preparations for the irrepressible world conflict.

TO SHATTER ALL **CIVIL LIBERTIES**

(Continued from page 1)

yet become citizens of the United States are liable to arrest under the government act of July 1798. Criminal syndicalism laws which exist in almost every state would permit the legal smashing of the trade union movement. Strikes would, of course, be ille-

Under the statutes against espionage, any opponent of the government can be jailed. Espionage of 30 years inprisonment and permit the death sentence.

It is expected that the next sesto assure continued management of their firms, take control of all war resources, and close the securities exchange. Long hours of work and low pay can be maintained in the factories by govern-

Concentration Camp Gov't Complete regulation of the radio and the press makes it imalism against Germany and Jap- possible to have any other opinion an, the profound anti-war senti- but the opinion of the govern-

> Censorship of the mails will bered, is the only reactionary orplace the entire population at the ganization with a mass base. mercy of the Federal Bureau of Composed mainly of middle class. The Philco agreement is just one While utter a phrase that might offend American capitalist class, this trayals among which was the set-

permitted full freedom to smash Today strongly nationalist and regive the American people any opposition to the govern- actionary, they may very easily the union accepted a 15% wage do the victorious drivers out of a voice and vote in determining ment. Lynch mobs will rule the become the rallying center and cut for its members, and the re- their hard-won three hours a the question of peace or war, and streets as Hitler's Brown Shirts banner bearer for the fascist cent settlement of the strike of week ("devise a way to absorb"-

REACTIONARIES

Convention Adopts 10-Point Anti-Labor Program

LOS ANGELES. - The American Legion Convention held in Los Angeles during the past week. program in its history and geared itself towards becoming the spearhead of fascist organization throughout the country.

A ten-point labor baiting program was adopted unanimously by the delegates at the closing session of the convention. The program, proposed by Warren H. Atherton, chairman of the Americanism Committee, calls for the deportation of all militant unionists who are not citizens of the United States, demands the invocation of stricter immigration laws, commends the red-baiting Dies Committee, and asks that the right of free speech be

A motion asking the Legion not to participate in industrial disputes was defeated. The defeat of this motion actually calls for the formation of vigilante committees by the Legionnaires in order to break strikes.

One of the most indicative actions that the Legion took to prove its course was the election of Stephen F. Chadwick, a Seattle attorney who held the chairmanship of the Americanism committee for the past three years, as the new National Commander of the Legion. Chadwick is renowned on the West Coast as a representative of the bosses in their attempt to smash the strong trade union movement which has successfully fought to maintain the concessions they have won for the workers. As compared with the Legion

become more open and more vicious in their attacks on labor. The tone of the New York convention was support of the "democratic" capitalism of President Roosevelt and support of the New Deal, The Los Angeles convention undoubtedly moved more towards fascism than anything else.

The Convention reaffirmed the undoubtedly act as the recruiting contrasted with the belligerent sergeants for American imperialspeeches at Chicago and Toronto, ism when war is declared. The Legionnaires will be used as the 'Storm Troops' of capitalism in smashing strikes and in "maintaining civil peace" during wartime, as well as smashing meetvelt cannot and does not intend to | ings and organizations of workers remain aloof from the affairs of that might resist the war measures of the government. The ten point program follows

1. That the right of free speech be maintained EXCEPT where the right is invoked to incite crime and violence.

2. That Congress be commended for forming the Dies Committee, and that it be asked for additional funds so that the committee may complete its

3. That Harry Bridges, C.I.O. regional director, and "all like aliens" be brought to trial immediately and deported.

4. That any alien convicted of a felony in a United States court be deported immediately. 5. That many Department of

Labor officials "have failed in their duties and have blocked the immigration and deportation laws," and that Congress be asked to investigate the laxness of these officials with a view toward corrective action.

6. That the immigration laws be amended to provide that no foreign country may send its citizens here if it is unwilling to take back its citizens deported from this country.

7. That all immigration be curtailed until all American citizens are back at work, or at least for a ten year period.

8. That Congress shall be asked to provide application forms for citizenship papers to all incoming allens, with instructions in their own language on how to become citizens, and that failure to become a citizen within five years shall subject them to deportation.

9. That all bills, present and expected, which lower the requirements for naturalization, be opposed by the Legion. 10. That the Legion continue

its fight against communism, Nazism, or fascism. The Legion, it must be remem-

body might easily be transformed Vigilante committees will be into the American fascist party. cists."

Bosses; Unions Gain

Substantial Increases Won by Drivers as Strike Comes to End; LaGuardia's True Role Now Revealed

By S. V. O'Flaherty

NEW YORK, Sept. 29.—As the great strike of the New York truck drivers drew to its successful conclusion today, its importance for the labor movement in this area, as well as the rest of the country, became especially clear.

New Jersey drivers benefited directly, receiving the same agreements as those in the metropolis. Moving-van men, who were not called out on strike, had their contract renewed with substantial wage increases and general betterment of conditions. Longshoremen, it was reported, were of- trucks for "emergency service." fered a new contract with con- Referring to the general state of siderable improvements. Other unions all along the East Coast evidenced a new spirit of militancy, encouraged by the truck drivers' achievements.

In the truest sense of the word, the teamsters' strike was a battle for all of labor.

Bosses Ass'n Collapses Operators, banded together in the Merchant Truckmen's Bureau and the Highway Transport Association - who only yesterday vowed to stand pat "until hell freezes over"-signed up in the hundreds and their association collapsed like a toy balloon. While weather conditions in the regions beyond are not ascertainable, it is quite certain that the strike which hit the owners on the good solid earth of Greater New York tore into these asso-

ciations like a veritable cyclone. The Merchant Truckmen's Bureau has already signed a collective agreement based on the Mayor's compromise. The Highway Transport Association is requesting a temporary six-weeks' conconvention held in New York just tract based on the 40-hour week a year ago, the Legionnaires have at the prevailing rate of weekly pay for over-the-road drivers, with the setting up of a separate over-the-road local that will make minor concessions with regard to staggering working hours.

> They Call It "Unique" The cyclone effect of the strike and the peculiar "public emer-

unique. In this city we have strike more, it explains why the Mayor breakers (sic) furnished by the did what he did. The latter were unions, paid by the city to drive simply more far-sighted regardtaxpayers' trucks in a service su- ing the interests of New York's pervised by associations repre. boss class than the truck bosses. senting the merchants whom the They feared a general strike, truck owners are endeavoring to which appeared inevitable in case protect from higher trucking of continued obstinacy, and the costs that would result from in- blows that such an eventuality creased wages."

FORCE WAGE CUT ON PHILCO UNION

Stalinist Leadership Ends Strike with Heavy Defeat

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The four Mayor did a distince service to month old strike of the Philco the bosses-and the bosses alone. Radio and Television Corporation The drivers could very easily workers has been sold-out by the have gotten better terms-with-Stalinist leadership of the United out any aid from the Mayor, At Workers of America, C.I.O.

makers who were left out of the pay! agreement entirely.

This brazen sell-out agreement has been signed, leaving the workers for the next two and a half ers" as well as the yellow (not years at the mercy of the bosses. "red") Communist Party and its It is feared that the agreement paper, the Daily Worker, play up will tend to lower any national the Mayor's role in the strike as wage minimum set under the new a great service to everybody. Wage-Hour Bill.

Union Workers Scab One of the major factors con- a service to the bosses. But the tributing to the defeat of the truck drivers would do well to Philco workers, was that work look over carefully not only his for the Philco company was be- past "services," but those he has ing done in other shops under in store for them in the future. U.E.R.M. contracts. In other The N. Y. World-Telegram words, the union men were per- (Thursday, Sept. 29), quotes Mr. mitted to scab on the Philco LaGuardia editorially as saying to workers with the full knowledge a meeting of the two bosses' orand consent of the U.E.R.M. ganizations that there should be leadership.

The Stalinist union leadership has proved once more its total disregard for the union membership. tlement of a strike of workers the Mayor is advising the bosses in the Maytag Washing Machine to use their well-accustomed Company of Newton, Iowa, when trickery ("business ingenuity") to movement in the United States, the Eagle Pencil workers in New

Another characteristic comment was that of Sanitation Commissioner William F. Carey, who was overwhelmed by the Mayor's orders to mobilize his department's affairs in the world at that moment, the commissioner exclaimed: "My God! The whole world's gone crazy. Even I'm mo-

Why They Capitulated

The scramble which resulted in the unprecedented spectacle of an American city going into the trucking business, with the Mayor forced to take the side of strikers against employers and with responsible heads of the so-called business community serving as directors of the unique public enterprise, is cast in its proper light by Mr. McKeever's statement of capitulation. Here it is:

"The consideration which. prompted the signing of an agreement by the Merchant Truckmen's Bureau was that temper of the union membership, as evidenced by outlaw (sic) strikes and the vote at a union meeting presided over by Mayor La Guardia, indicated that officials of the union were no position to give further consideration to economic conditions (sic) and that continuation of our position would have have meant . . . an ultimate cost that would have exceeded the cost of compliance with the union demands."

In other words, Mr. McKeever is explaining that the strikers meant business and that there gency" measures it forced upon just wasn't any use bucking them. the Mayor are best described by That also explains why the heads Legion's endorsement of universal the words out of the mouth of of the Chamber of Commerce and conscription in wartime, as Arthurs G. McKeever, managing the Board of Trade didn't try to adopted at the New York conven- director of the Merchant Truck- stiffen the resistance of the truck tion last year. The Legion will men's Bureau. Said Mr. McKeever: owners, but instead plugged for "The present situation is indeed the Mayor's compromise. Furtherwould deal the bosses of the city

as a whole. Finally, it seems, the trucking firms regained their senses and appreciated with gratitude the Mayor's services to them. For Mr. McKeever concludes his statement as follows:

"At this time we take occasion to express appreciation of the efforts of the Mayor. . ."

Strike Points the Way

And well they might. For the Electrical Radio and Machine it is, they have won an important partial victory. This victory is The men were ordered back to even far more important from the work after the union leadership point of view of the general movesigned an agreement calling for ment than it is from that of the an 18% wage cut, a 10 percent actual gains made by the men inlonger work week, a reclassifica- volved in the strike itself. For, it tion of jobs which permits men to showed the way to ward's labor's be replaced by women, loss of own solution of the problem of seniority rights of workers, and unemployment: the strike for the abandonment of the cabinet lower hours at the same rate of

Advice to Chisellers

The papers, the businessmen, a good many so-called "labor lead-Nothing could be more deceiving. The Mayor's role was, to be sure,

". . . sufficient business ingenuity among the various employers in the trucking industry to devise a way to absorb the difference of three hours a

In plain language that means:

catch on?)) The drivers would do well to take their desire for peace into racy" will rule in the nation that ism" they can be expected to ad- to work and accept a 10% wage watch the fingers of the bosses . . and of their "friend," Mayor ments. This accounts for the pa- to again "make the world safe once labeling themselves as "fas- between the union leaders and LaGuardia-in spite of the agree-