Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N (except for 3 times weekly during first two weeks of October, 1938 only) at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

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.

Telephone: National Office: Algonquin 4-8547

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

HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE Associate Editors S. STANLEY, Business Manager

War On U.S. War Makers!

(Continued from page 1)

of the country know that the United States is involved in the crisis as fatally as every other great power, that the United States will have to enter the war, and that they intend to prepare to drag the people of the country into the war whatever the wishes and needs of the people may be,

They are not going to lose a minute. From now on the entire strength and resources of the Administration and the ruling class will be concentrated on the main problem of preparing the country for war, preparing it in armaments and preparing it psychologically.

Under the mask of speeches by State Department representatives about disarmament and world conferences it is certain that the government will build more and more rapidly a military and naval machine such as has never been seen in history. The next Congress will have before it proposals for armament appropriations which will make those of the last Congress look like chicken feed.

The Administration plans likewise to push through the next Congress revisions of the Neutrality Laws which will put all power even more fully into the hands of the Executive, without any kind of check even from the Legislature, much less from the people.

A campaign is already started—as the American Legion Convention, for example, showed -to put on the statue books the laws already drawn up for the institution of a military dic-

I.T.U. Admitted

chest" against the C.I.O.

resumption of negotiations.

within the A. F. of L.

Roosevelt's Role

Coming CIO Convention

tatorship upon the outbreak of the war, or even at the serious threat of war. This same dictatorial trend is to be found also in the anti-union referendum measures now on the ballots in the Far West. Labor, the ruling class figures, must be hamstrung before the war begins.

In the face of this prospect, workers too must

conclude that they will utilize the time that

remains for preparation—for preparation against the war and war-makers. And we must realize that it is against the war-makers in our own country that we must direct the main fight. Labor and all those against the war must be organized for struggle, must be called to do

battle against the war-makers, against the leader of the United States war machine: Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

There is overwhelming mass support for the enactment of the bill for a popular referendum on war. That support must be given fighting, militant expression, until it hammers against the resistance of the anti-democratic Roosevelt machine, and forces the hand of the President and Congress who aim to smother the will of the majority.

Every step of the preparations, every move in the direction of militarism must be countered. The plans of the war-makers must be denounced and exposed from every platform and at every meeting and demonstration.

The great sentiment against the war of imperialist plunder must be made unmistakably and irrevocably known. Let the ruling class understand that if it plunges the country into its war for profit it and its cohorts will be swept aside, overthrown by the mass indignation aroused against the war.

To act in this way, to direct our fire against the crucial danger and the main enemy-the enemy at home-is not at all to desert our brothers and comrades in Europe, to give up the fight against Hitler and Hitlerism. On the contrary: it is the only way in which to aid our European comrades, the only means whereby to defeat Hitlerism. Rooseveltian imperialism will not defeat Hitlerism: Roosevelt's war will only make certain the triumph of fascism and dictatorship in all countries, including most decidedly our own.

We can defeat Hitler and Hitlerism only if we join with our brothers in all countries, in Germany and Italy and Japan as well as in France and England, to fight against the entire international cabal of the war-makers. Our job, if we are really to accomplish it, must begin uncompromisingly at home.

Czech Parties Long Prepared Fast Action By Sailors For Authoritarian Regime

of articles on future develop-

ments in Czechoslovakia result-

ing from the partition at the

Munich conference and the in-

vasion by Germany and Po-

land. The next article will deal

with the problems of the labor

movement in the present situ-

unchanging axis of "stable" gov-

sought still more power. Because

Opposed Western Orientation

also watched the changes in the

relation of forces in the interna-

tional field. Scenting good busi-

While keeping their "left wing"

transformed a long while ago in-

It is obvious that after the

helm of the state. If the govern-

cupied the war ministry for a

decade filled the entire "People's"

An Imperative Necessity

of Fascist tendencies.

League of Nations.

With increasing worries, they

ant economic concessions.

ation.-Ed.

While Hitler tightens the noose around the neck of Czechoslovakia by raising his demands for territories and reparations, the Czech bourgeoisie is in turn tightening the noose around the neck of the Czech working class.

The resignation of President Benes, which was taken for granted, was closely followed by an understanding between Prague and the Clerical Fascist camp of the Slovak Autonomists. In solemnly announcing autonomy for Slovakia, they hastened to declare: "We take our stand beside those states that are lined ideology."

A Logical Development

Thus the shift in the Czechoslovak system of government is developing speedily. But it would be an error to attribute this speed to the National Socialist art of "Gleichschaltung" (the Nazi slogan for regimentation). What we are now witnessing in the inner conditions of Czechoslovakia is only the emergence of authoritarian and fascist tendencies which have long been concealed under the thin shell of "disciplined democracy."

It is no exaggeration to say that in the last few years practically all the political parties of the Czech bourgeoisie have been shaken by the fever of fascism. In all these organizations, the democratic elements have been on the

The main force of Czech democracy was the Social Demoits numerous functionaries had determined adversaries of the acquired through ten years of participation in the government. Since 1935 it was assisted by the Stalinists, "the democratic outsiders" who renounced revolution in the government, the real bosses in the interests of the Czech- of the Agrarian group sought in Russian alliance.

Even the party of President to come to a deal with him and Benes, the Czech National So- Germany. If it were up to them, cialists, which moves on the bor- Czechoslovakia would have been der line between the petty bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy to a "neutral" like Switzerland had to undergo several blood- with a corporative regime and a lettings through fascist splits.

The National Democratic Party, Union. The present catastrophic sponsored by the Czech industrial- defeat of the Benes policy is their ists, the erstwhile Czech Tam- greatest political triumph and an many Hall, has been completely important opportunity for their disintegrated by fascist tenden- special economic interests.

No Mass Movement

But all the fascist organiza- the Agrarians will take over the tions which arose from these splits, though at times very ment keeps its present military strong, were unable to create a cast, the loot will remain in the really decisive mass movement. family, for the Agrarians who oc-For a variety of reasons the Czech ruling class was compelled to maintain the external forms of parliamentarism.

First of all, large sections of the Czech middle classes were still comparatively satisfied with the positions gained in the newlydemocratic and the labor organ- right is an imperative necessity against its own bourgeoisie. Czechs would have been possible

vak, Ruthenian, Hungarian and tendencies of the non-Czech

Moreover, the Czech fascists feared German intervention in the event of civil war. And since In desperate efforts to stave off the Stalinist Peoples Front dimcomplete obliteration of the state inished the immediate threat of "smarter" course in the future in American workers run the C.I.O. that is left to them, the Czech proletarian revolution, the fascists

Disguised Fascists

of the National Federation of granted him by Parliament, al- with their lawyer, arrived at the impending frame-up is the open-Manufacturers, left for Berlin, ready began to assume the airs appointed hour. The entire press in Berlin and of a little Bonaparte, threatening Prague called for "close economic to crack down on the press for relations" between Germany and speculating over what financial ect is one of the few projects measures the government will which is not under the bureau-Prague also sought to stave off take to deal with the acute eco- cratic thumb of the Stalinists.

the Slovaks and creating a vir- in "calm and silence" and ganization for W.P.A. workers tual dual regime in the country haughtily informed the press: "It and were largely responsible for ASK FOR THE APPEAL in which the Slovaks will enjoy is not my habit to confide my securing an A. F. of L. charter relative equality with the Czechs. plans to anyone." Thus goes "de- for educational projects two years Meanwhile in France Daladier, authoritarian dictatorship in of workers' education in New powers France!

I am interested in the activities of the Socialist Workers

representation on all committees

This is the third of a series now opposed it.

> Compared to the other European post-war states, the Czechs lived in grand style. A clique of rich upstarts, a new, robust the wealth of the non-Czech provinces. A re-distribution of the ion of the Parific and the Marine departments of the crew. shrunken national wealth and in- Firemen for one more year. come is now inevitable. Thousands of enterprises are doomed

Occupying more and more of republic. the decisive positions in the state, so that they virtually merged with the state apparatus, the Agrarians of their policy of high agricultural Czech bourgeoisie has up to now M.F.O.W.W. prices for the urban populations tolerated workers' rights as a and low industrial prices for the kind of overhead expense for its rural population (that is, low foreign alliances with the "Demwages for the workers), the Agra- ocratic Front," now it will aim rians came into constant collision resolutely toward the liquidation with their reformist partners in of the powerful Czech labor movethe government. Soon they began

to see a way out in a moderate The coming period will be rich authoritarian government which in inner struggles. There will be no lack of means to spread diviwould use the existing legal limsion and fanaticism among the itations on civil rights to crush middle classes and backward nationalist workers now about to be plunged into misery. Allied with those of Henlein's followers who will remain a minority in Czechoslovakia, they will unleash a ness with a Germany in want of chauvinist fury against the nucratic party. It clutched with all foodstuffs, they were not only merous socialist workers of German nationality.

Anti-Semitism Will Spread Russian alliance but even opposed Anti-semitism will also play a the ties with France and the leading role. As in Germany, it will provide a pretext for economic expropriation. Some 360,000 Jews of Czechoslovakia who remain almost completely within the secret negotiations with Henlein new boundaries represent a far population than in the Reich. They have been occupying dominant positions in industry and commerce and are therefore disliked by their bourgeois competitors as secret pact against the Soviet well as by the backward sections of the masses. Even the liberal journalist, Peroutka, ex-President Benes' mouthpiece, wrote several months ago in justification of the Rumanian ally. dismemberment of Czechoslov-

"The essential thing in these and Jews) is the fact that in our country the proportion of Jews in public and economic life does not exceed a certain reasonable limit. Should it exceed this limit, then Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., even among this reasonable peo- S. W; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at ple (the Czechoslovaks) a storm army apparatus with Agrarians undoubtedly would rise."

Now the time is ripe for this "storm." The anti-Marxist and the But the transition to a new anti-Jewish campaign will hold authoritarian regime in Czecho- the foreground of the internal life N.E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich created state. Moreover, the slovakia is not simply a question of Czechoslovakia. And the work- Ave. shift the burden of economic the political fractions of the bour- has been deceived by treacherous crises onto the non-Czech regions, geoisie. Under the new economic leaders will have to face the real In addition, the destruction of the circumstances, the turn to the fight against fascism: the fight

Real Motives The fresh demands backed by Czechs would have been possible only through collaboration with the fascist forces of other na-But the basis of Sudeten, Slo-rak, Ruthenian, Hungarian and In New York WPA Project olas Ave.

ed" by the Stalinist-controlled administration in connection with the action of the Workers Education Project in protesting the il- windy reports on the "great suclegal election of the Local's delegates to the recent national convention of the American Federa-

This investigation has all the nancial and industrial interests the war by a large land reform publicity. So far no hearing has peasants who had benefited after situation with the widest possible and who are now kept economic- been held because William Lev- the ranks and the welding toally dependent by the monopol- ner, one of the officials was not gether of all progressive elements around when the progressives, has the Stalinists worried and the

The Workers' Education Proj-Many of its workers were among granting sweeping autonomy to He demanded the right to work the first to realize the need of ormocracy" on its path toward an ago. It has pioneered in the field York and at the same time was continually forced to ward off the blows of the Stalinists who made every attempts to get control of this important section of the

> All democratic pretenses have been dumped overboard in the frantic attempt of the administration to affiliate the Local to very stooge organization of the Communist Party. Proportional | 102 pages

NEW YORK.-Progressives in and on the Executive Board was administration got control. Membership meetings are conducted in the most dictatorial manner and the agenda filled with long, demands from the W.P.A. administration" but without any back- S. 4th Sts., Tompkins and Myrtle

Pay cuts which were given to earmarks of another "frame-up," the workers have never been pro-Many leading progressives have tested except by post-card and not been invited to the hearings letter writing campaigns. Picket Plaza S.; 27th St. and Bridge Pla-Nevertheless the fascist penetra- as yet, while workers who have lines were turned into cheering za S. tion of Czech parties continued not been on W.P.A. for some time squads for Roosevelt, who had to progress. Its largest potential have been summoned and in ad- ordered the cutting of relief power arose within the tradition- dition a couple of administration workers' wages, "The Star Spanal leading party of Czechoslov- stooges received letters asking gled Banner' replaced "Solidarity akia,, the Czech Agrarians. Sup- them to be present. The progress- Forever" and anyone who objects ported by satisfied strata of ives are preparing to meet this is promptly labeled a Trotskylte.

Now the growing discontent in ing gun in a campaign of slander, and attempted expulsions. This attempt "investigate" the Workers Education Project will be met with solid resistance, and the role of the C. P. fakers will be

AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

New Polish Pamphlet "Proletarjat Zdradzony" Dzieje Ruchu Rewolucyjnego By T. Z. KONARSKI

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Wins New Shepard Pact

Militant Display Quickly Brings Line To Heel After Attempt to Utilize N.M.U. Back-Stabbing

SAN FRANCISCO-Militant ac- | Shepard line ship, as she docked

of workers will be thrown on the cided to "lay off" the sailors and handle any of her cargo. up against the Marxist-Jewish ernments. For fulfilling this so- streets. Prague alone has increased firemen working on the Shepard cial function it received import- its population by 40 percent since lines. The west coast unions were Rush was tied up, the Shepard of the disruptive tactics of Cur- of the unions by offering to sign Naturally in the life and death ran, whose N.M.U. was prepared an agreement with the Marine struggle for the maintenance of to sign any fink agreement with Firemen. The firemen refused to profits, the working class will be the shipowners so long as they sign unless an agreement was the first object of attack. If the could break the S.U.P. and signed jointly with the sailors.

> Notice of Non-Renewal Several weeks ago the Shepard

lines sent a notice to the S.U.P. to the effect that they would refuse to renew their agreement with the union which expired on Sept. 30. A week later the firemen were notified that their agreement had ended also.

The Shepard lines have been trying for some time to avoid signing an agreement with the S.U.P.-M.F.O.W.W., with the hope that they would be able to sign an open-shop fink agreement with the N.M.U.

The N.M.U. commisars have been slandering the West coast Wilkesbarre Guild sailors and firemen with the story that the Shepard "beef" of the S.U.P. and M.F.O.W.W. was a "jurisdictional raid." The fight for renewal of the agreement with the Shepard lines was conducted to prevent introduction into West Coast unions of open-shop policies on the part of any shipowner, and, greater proportion of the total to force the Shepard S.S. company in particular to live up to their agreements which have provided better wages, living conditions, and safeguards for the seamen who sail the ships.

Fast Action

notification of the termination of papers published by skeleton; the agreements, a "welcoming crews have greatly aided the committee" of 33 sailors was on Guild in forcing suspension of the anti-semitic measures of Prague's hand to greet the Wind Rush, a papers.

middle class was nourished by a tion of the West coast sailors and in San Francisco. The sailors widespread regime of govern- firemen forced the Shepard S.S. and firemen walked off the ship, mental party corruption and on company to renew its closed shop and they were followed on the agreements with the Sailors Un- picket line by men from other

Displaying the solidarity that A few days after the agree- has made the west coast unions ment was signed, Joe Curran and famous, the stevedores and teamistic cooperatives of the Agrarian to bankruptcy. Tens of thousands his Stalinist wrecking crew from sters announced that as far as party, the latter became from the of petty bourgeois will lose safe the N.M.U., realizing that they they were concerned the Wind very beginning of the republic the positions. Hundreds of thousands could not worm their way in, de- Rush was "hot," and refused to

Several days after the Wind it became the center of the new able to win their victory in spite line tried to break the solidarity

With the threat of a strike tying up every Shepard line ship on both coasts, the shipowners decided that they had better sign up. The company realized that the militancy of the sailors and firemen was too hard to buck.

Once more the S.U.P. and the Marine Firemen have taught the shipowners the lesson that the organized seamen will not tolerate any lowering of their standard of living. The N.M.U. commisars have also been taught that the seamen refuse to stand for their disruptivé tactics or their fink agreements.

Closes Four Papers

WILKES-BARRE, Pa .-- A committee composed of A.F. of L. and C.I.O. representatives sought this week to settle the strike of the American Newspaper Guild against the four newspapers which has shut down completely the city's four newspapers.

During the strike, the guildsmen have issued news bulletins over a local radio station giving coverage of all important events and they have covered their regular work beats. Refusal of the As soon as the unions received truck drivers to carry scab news-

relations (between Czechoslovaks SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands

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posed actions whatever he may And what could be sweeter for Roosevelt's war plans, and for

friend, counselor and mediator in failed, and Lewis knows it.

his national prestige in middleclass circles, than to have him sponsor and obtain through Congress legislation forcing labor "unity" on a basis similar to provisions in the British Labor Disputes Act.

the dispute in the "family of la-

bor." Public opinion will be mold-

ed, and considerable union sup-

port obtained, for Roosevelt's pro-

decide.

An Imposed Peace Roosevelt can and will, unless the labor movement itself makes

peace, force peace on a reactionwood Broun, president of the ary basis by the argument, C.I.O. American-Newspaper Guild, "America has stood long enough to President Roosevelt that he for the quarrel in the family of create a fact-finding board which labor. We can not allow two chilcould study the C.I.O.-A. F. of L. dren to continually jeopardize the into the German camp is a powdispute and then lay the basis for welfare of the nation through erful one, however, and as Gertheir squabbling. Public opinion man strength increases, that tensays they should be spanked," etc. dency will undoubtedly prevail,

The A. F. of L. convention at etc. etc. Houston, Texas, admitted the International Typographical Union on a six-months probationary pe- A.F. of L.) as in England, Roose- completely revealed, however, in riod despite the refusal of the velt can hog-tie the American these last few days. Germany is union to assess itself for a con- labor movement through his own reaching out to seize territory for Prague government was able to of settling old accounts among ing class which in the last years tribution to the A. F. of L. "war interpretations of the clause. Yet its economic and strategic value he could easily sell the idea of and without regard to the quesoutlawing jurisdictional disputes tion of the population. Some of Setting up of a national C.I.O. organization does not necessarily by the fake arguments: "We the land being handed over to mean a wider split in the labor merely want to protect labor him is overwhelmingly populated izations, particularly, among the movement. It is primarily a de- from hurting itself through un- by Czechs. fensive measure of the C.I.O. necessary and stupid feuds, and which Lewis hopes will give him we want to prevent any injustice

nocent bystander." possible negotiations with the A. of L. convention urging peace, spired and indicates that the

coming C.I.O. convention.

The Main Issue The action of the A. F. of L. John L. Lewis and the entire the victims of this game. convention towards the typographical union shows that Green- C.I.O. now have to face squarely Frey & Co. intend to pursue a the following question. Will the dealing with C.I.O. sympathizers or is Lewis giving control of the bourgeoisie this week made haste were kept in the background. a bloc with them?

A very grave danger exists in Who shall run the C.I.O.? That the role that Roosevelt has as- is the question which Lewis cansumed in regard to the feud be- not avoid answering publicly at tween the C.I.O. and the A. F. of the national convention.

L and his intercession in the Reports from Washington say matter can have disastrous con- that Lewis is alarmed at the tresequences for the independence of mendous strides the Stalinists the American labor movement. have made towards capturing the Roosevelt sent a commission C.I.O. He had not bargained for abroad this summer to study that much when he made a deal English and Swedish labor condi- to place Stalinists as organizers tions primarily because he want- in return for unqualified support. ed to orient American public Lewis does not want to become a opinion toward support of similar captive of the Stalinists but the proposals in America. Even be-danger exists. Two years ago fore his commission sailed abroad Lewis tried to take over the auto Roosevelt knew the facts of la- workers' union by the device of bor conditions abroad, but he an Auto Workers Organizing wanted publicity for those ideas. Committee which was rejected by The second step in Roosevelt's the founding convention. Yet the strategy is to appear as the Stalinists succeeded where he

CORRECTION

In the last issue of the Socialist Appeal, a typographical error appears in Trotsky's interview to the Cuban press. The sentence, ". . . the democratic problems of Mexico have no progressive and revolutionary character's should obviously be changed to ". .THE DEMOCRATIC PROBLEMS OF MEXICO HAVE A PRO-GRESSIVE. AND. REVOLU-TIONARY CHARACTER."

HITLER SPEEDS Faces Stalinist Issue EASTWARD DRIVE AGAINST U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 1)

dency to jump in with both feet

The utter hypocrisy of the use Under the guise of outlawing of the slogan of "self-determina-"jurisdictional" disputes (C.I.O.- tion" by the imperialists has been

more power and prestige in any to the employer who is the in- Poland and Hungary for cession tionalities. of parts of Slovakia and Ruthenia Roosevelt wants "national uni- to the latter country has nothing The Broun proposal, coming ty" in time of war. And the re- whatever to do with racial self- Polish fascism consisted precisely right on the heels of President cent events in Europe revealed determination. The Slovaks were in its irreconcilable opposition to Roosevelt's message to the A. F. how quickly war can come. Roo- always treated as animals by their the imperialist domination of the Local 453, W.P.A. Teachers Union, immediately discarded after the 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave; sevelt knows labor "unity" is in- Hungarian masters in the old pre- Czech bourgeoisie. Every attempt A. F. of L., are being "investigatwithout question was Lewis-in- dispensible to "national unity," war days and the Ruthenians, or to unite against the "Marxists" Of equal importance to the new sub-Carpathian Russians, have no failed because of the separatist C.I.O. is anxious to place further role of Roosevelt towards labor racial affinity whatever with the pressure on A. F. of L. leaders for unity is the significance of the Hungarians. The consideration here too is economic and strategic. The races involved are merely

C.I.O. to the Stalinists by making to arrive at a new arrangement with Germany, Frantisek Chvalkovsky, the new Foreign Minister. returned to Prague from Rome, where he had been ambassador for five years, and left at once for

> Berlin, the new capital of Central Europe, to treat with the Fuehrer. Chief representatives of the fiister of Commerce Imrich Karvas, in the new Prague Government, and Dr. J. Preiss, president

the amputation of Slovakia by nomic crisis.

Daladier Acts His Role semi-dictatorial

City

Party and in the Socialist Appeal. Please send more informa-Address