

Workers Of The  
World Unite!

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## WILL STALIN BOW TO HITLER?

### ROOSEVELT SEEKS NATIONAL UNITY IN JOINT APPEALS

Wants to Put House  
In Order Before  
War Comes

With his timing obviously dictated by the war crisis, Roosevelt released on the same day last week two closely connected statements. One was the record of an interview in which the President asked for an end of "economic sabre-rattling" by business and its place a partnership of business with government as essential to "the nation's progress."

The second was a communication addressed to the A.F. of L. Convention and calling for "peace between the various opinions and factions" of labor, that is, for reunification of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.

Smile on Both Houses  
Roosevelt has always, of course, been careful to picture himself to the public as superior to the claims of either business or labor.

This is necessary in order to hide the real function of the government he leads as the political representative of business against labor. In this sense, this recent double pronouncement is only another variation of the "plague on both your houses" theme which Roosevelt employed a year and a half ago. This time it is a smile for both houses instead of a pretended threat.

Nevertheless, the very language which Roosevelt used last week shows that he has now specifically in mind the war crisis, and the needs of American imperialism as it makes ready for the war.

Roosevelt is preparing, in his own way, for the "national unity" which is absolutely essential to the successful conduct of the war from the point of view of the interests of imperialism. He invites business to a partnership; that is, he asks that all secondary differences be put aside so that the nation may get ready untidily for the war which soon will have to be fought.

Industrial Survey Made  
The War Department is even now completing its survey covering the terms of this cooperation, has been listing and classifying every industrial establishment in the country, and arranging the method for their coordination into the structure of the war-time economy.

Business naturally expects and will get, its own terms in the "partnership." Charles R. Hook, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, made this clear in his speedy reply to the President's suggestion. Denying any "sabre-rattling" by business, Hook insisted that the partnership would have to be based on "industrial peace" (i. e., no strikes). "Business men," he wrote, "and investors have been worried by fears of excessive regulation and taxation" (i. e., reduce these if you want us to be quiet). Some of the "emergency legislation of the past few years" must be submitted to "careful revision" (i. e., repeal or amend to death all progressive features of laws now on the books).

In conclusion, he charmingly observes that "business men are by nature optimists." Well they might be on the problem of government: they know that in the last analysis their government, whether run ostensibly by Old Deals or New Deals, will always do their bidding.

Unity For War  
The crucial problem in achieving national unity, however, is the integration of the labor movement into the war machine. Roosevelt believes that this is seriously handicapped by the division in labor's ranks. He is afraid that one or the other part of the dual labor movement will break away from subjection to the war, and will become the vehicle for the expression of the actual anti-war sentiments of the workers. Relying, and with good reason, on the devoted social-patriotism of the officialdom of both sections of the labor movement, he be-

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LABOR MUST FREE HIM



TOM MOONEY

### SUPREME COURT DENIES REVIEW OF MOONEY CASE

Fight for Freedom  
Goes On After  
New Setback

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The refusal of the Supreme Court to review a decision to free Tom Mooney, class-war prisoner since 1914, is a telling blow to attempts to secure a pardon for this veteran of organized labor by depending upon "liberals" and "progressive" politicians. This cynical refusal will come as no surprise to the militant workers who long ago realized that only the united and determined pressure of the labor movement will force Mooney's release from San Quentin prison.

Even though two justices dissented in the opinion, no new hearing will be held. This is an unprecedented action which clearly indicates the attitude of the Court towards the worker who was framed-up by the California bosses twenty years ago. Dependence upon the Court or even upon the so-called liberal justices on the Court has continually met with defeat. In 1917 a review was refused. In January, 1935, the Court told Mooney he had not exhausted his remedies in the California court. He went back to the State tribunals, but the California Supreme Court decided against him 5 to 1.

Now John F. Finerty, his attorney, has moved for permission to renew a three-year old application for an original writ of habeas corpus.

The Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee has announced that a pardon would be sought from the Governor of California.

### NEW JERSEY C.I.O. CALLS FOR UNITY

Convention Draws  
Plans for Anti-  
Hague Fight

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

NEWARK, N. J.—A strong desire for unity with the A.F. of L. was the outstanding sentiment at the two-day convention of C.I.O. unions here that set up a state-council.

A spirited demonstration followed the unanimous approval of a resolution calling for unity, and the delegates instructed the newly-formed state executive committee to attempt to coordinate the activities of the C.I.O., the A.F. of L., and the railroad brotherhoods in the state.

Plan Fight on Hague  
The fight against Mayor Hague was another main theme of the convention. The Steel lodges introduced a very good resolution on how to struggle properly against the Hague machine. It emphasized the need for more independent action and self-reliance by the labor movement. The struggle against Hague was a major topic in Carney's report

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## Tobin Move Aid To Union Unity

Proposal Puts AFL  
Bureaucrats On  
Hot Spots

HOUSTON, Texas.—Over-shadowing in importance any other development at the American Federation of Labor 58th annual convention here was the powerful plea of Dan Tobin, teamsters international union president, for resumption of negotiations with the C.I.O. to bring labor unity.

His first plea caused William Green, A. F. of L. president, to adjourn the convention while the "dichard" clique on the executive council planned further strategy.

Despite all efforts of the reactionaries on the council to win Tobin to supporting a fight against the C.I.O., Tobin again blasted away at a recommendation of the council which precluded negotiations with the C.I.O. and declared there could never be peace until John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, was removed.

Lewis Offers to Resign

No sooner had the A. F. of L. convention adopted the council report with many abstentions and objections, than Lewis announced he would resign as C.I.O. chairman on the very day Green resigned from the A. F. of L. Coming right after Tobin's declaration that the teamsters union would pull out of the A. F. of L. if necessary to obtain unity, the Lewis move caused consternation in top A. F. of L. circles. Prospects for labor unity soared this week in view of these swift developments.

The stand Tobin took in behalf of the \$50,000 organized truck drivers carries tremendous weight not only because the teamsters are the largest international union affiliated to the A. F. of L., but also because the truck drivers occupy a strategic position in industrial life. Any serious "warfare" against the C.I.O. is impossible.

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FIGHT FOR PRESTIGE, NOT FOR UNITY



JOHN L. LEWIS  
(above)



WILLIAM GREEN  
(right)

## Sailors Slated To Get National AFL Charter

Observers at the A.F. of L. convention in Houston reported this week that delegates there are sympathetic to the request of the Sailors Union of the Pacific for a national charter covering all American seamen in all Pacific coast, Gulf and Atlantic waters. Harry Lundeberg left the convention, apparently confident that the charter would be granted.

This announcement comes on the heels of a series of defeats suffered by East coast seamen at the hands of their leaders in the N.M.U. here. It heralds the possibility of a vigorous organizational drive on the east coast by the A.F. of L.

Last July, Federation President William Green, announced that the entire A.F. of L. was prepared to support the fight be-

ing lead by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific against government regimentation of Seamen. A charter was expected at that time. And S.U.P. secretary Lundeberg announced to the press that West Coast seamen were prepared to throw organizers into the marine industry if the A.F. of L. issued a charter and supplied funds to carry on the drive. However, action was deferred by a meeting of the A.F. of L. executive committee until the convention.

Background of Conflict

At present the majority of Atlantic and Gulf seamen are organized in the National Maritime Union. This organization was formed in 1937, after the old International Seamen's Union lost the support of the seamen by

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### MILITANTS FACE 'TREASON' TRIAL; IN SPAIN COURT

Frame-up Hearings  
Finally Open in  
Barcelona

The long-delayed trial of the leaders of the P.O.U.M. and the Bolshevik-Leninists in Spain began on Oct. 11 in Barcelona.

Dispatches on the opening of the hearings were extremely vague. They did not give the names of the defendants nor even the exact number of militants on trial. The precise charges were likewise not specified in detail.

According to the United Press one of the principal accusations was "that by their activities the defendants gave the world the impression that the Loyalist Government was extremist, thus giving support to the interventionist arguments of Italy and Germany."

Varied Charges

Other indications were that the charges ranged from responsibility for the May, 1937, events in Barcelona to collusion with the Fascists and the illegal export of gold and art treasures.

The prosecution was apparently also planning to bring into court a "document" allegedly found in the home of a P.O.U.M. leader "proving" his relations with Gen. Franco.

Whether or not the three Bolshevik-Leninist leaders imprisoned for more than a year and accused along with the P.O.U.M. leaders were actually among the defendants in Barcelona was not indicated. Previous reports said that the Loyalist government was asking the death sentence for these three alone.

Protests Multiplied

Protests against this frame-up of revolutionary militants in Spain have been multiplying here and in Europe. A delegation of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees protested to Gonzales Pena, Loyalist minister of justice, when he was here last month. A resolution of protest was adopted by 1,000 workers at the Socialist Work-

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### LINDBERGH'S THE CULPRIT!

There is always a scapegoat when the Kremlin's policies collapse around Joseph Stalin's ears. New and sensational trials involving Maxim Litvinov and a new phalanx of red generals may soon be upon us. But for a starter Moscow has introduced to us the real culprit of the Munich agreement—Charles A. Lindbergh!

Lindbergh went to Moscow, was feted, pawed and adored, and returned to London, reportedly, to tell a distinguished gathering that Germany's air force could out-fly and out-thrust the French, British, and Russian put together. Worst of all, he was quoted as saying that the Russian air force was in "chaos."

Lindbergh's word was apparently quite enough. To believe Pravda, it turned the wheels of history and decided the issue of war or peace in Europe two weeks ago. Who said Lindbergh was over-rated?

## BEGIN FULL DRESS 'SPY SCARE' TO AID WAR PLANS

Roosevelt Prepares  
For Anti-Labor  
Legislation

The Roosevelt administration is wasting no time in taking advantage of the European situation to hasten this country's preparations for war.

First on the program is a full-dress spy scare, pointed up by the opening of a German spy trial this week in New York City.

Second is the preparation of new "counter-espionage" legislation which is only a thin cover for the virtual militarization of the workers.

Roosevelt himself announced at Hyde Park that his administration would launch an intensified drive against the "spy menace."

The Real Menace  
A few days later the New York Post offered a hint of what this will actually mean. The legislative program now in preparation includes, the Post said, the following vital point:

"Complete government control of the operation and personnel of all factories manufacturing military equipment."

Practically every major department of American industry is engaged in one way or another in building up the American war machine. Mines, steel mills, rubber plants, railroads, shipbuilders, and so on down the line. Where does the list end? This legislation means that the government intends to place the workers of the country under the iron heel of military rules and regulations.

Any worker who protests, we may be sure, will promptly be labelled as "spy" and will receive the full weight of the penalties attaching to that charge.

All the Trimmings

That is what is in prospect. In the meantime the country is in for a good old-time spy scare, with all the trimmings, villainous agents with guttural accents, beautiful red-haired aires, and handsome, square-jawed sleuths doing and dying for Uncle Sam to prevent the agents of the Kaiser—pardon me, of Hitler—from getting the latest details on the cootie-resistant underwear designed for the special use of U. S. army staff officers.

Let no one be fooled by this eyewash. Spying is a regular part of international relations among the capitalist powers. They have even accorded it polite and respectable recognition in the form of exchanging military and naval attaches who are nothing but spies in uniform.

New Arms Program

The real reason for the trial became public a few days ago when it was announced in Washington that the Bureau of the

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### DURANTY ARTICLE LAYS DOWN NEW LINE OF KREMLIN

Sees 'No Obstacle' In  
Path of Such  
a Move

Joseph Stalin is heading toward a pact with Adolf Hitler, if he can get it.

Britain and France formed a compact with Germany directed against the Soviet Union.

Stalin's answer is apparently going to be an attempt to form a compact with Germany directed against Britain and France.

To out-woo Chamberlain and Daladier, Stalin will offer Hitler a more enticing marriage portion—the produce and the markets of the Soviet Union.

This is the new turn in Soviet diplomacy that has now come clearly into view.

Trotsky's Prediction  
Predicted in these columns last week by Leon Trotsky, it was confirmed in the New York Times on Oct. 11 by Walter Duranty, apologist extraordinary and special pleader-in-chief for the Kremlin and the G.P.U.

Trotsky wrote: "We may now expect with certainty Soviet diplomacy to attempt rapprochement with Hitler at the cost of new retreats and capitulations which in their turn can only bring nearer the collapse of the Stalinist oligarchy."

Duranty's confirmation, coming three days later, was presented with his characteristic cynicism: "There remains a possibility—I do not say probability—which makes the present leaders of France and Britain sleep uneasily at night; namely, a Russo-German rapprochement—cooperation instead of war. When you come down to brass tacks, there is no obstacle now to Russo-German friendship—which Bismarck advocated so strongly—save Hitler's fanatic fury against what he calls 'Jewish-Bolshevism'." But, Herr Hitler is not immortal and dictators can change their minds.

"Suppose Hitler declines to imitate Napoleon by washing his armies against winter, typhus, and mud, backed by tanks and guns and airplanes of a self-supporting industry. Suppose Herr Hitler prefers the iron and coal of Alsace Lorraine to the distant riches of Russia's Donetz Basin. There is no reason to believe that Russia would refuse collaboration with Germany or shed tears over the ultimate fate of France and the British Empire."

New Mass Murders  
Declaring that Russia "must retire upon itself," Duranty added the following menace-laden forecast: "Which will probably mean an intensification of anti-foreign sentiment and of the cruel campaign against all who do not accept the Kremlin's voice as the voice of God."

In other words the next turn Stalin takes will be accompanied by new mass persecutions, new frame-up trials, new executions.

That is the tentative picture Duranty gives of the current calculations of the Soviet Bureaucracy. Duranty's article in itself represents a feeler from the Kremlin in Hitler's direction.

How far it will go, what Stalin will offer, what Hitler will demand—are all questions that the coming weeks may answer.

Stalin's Stakes

The major stake Stalin can lay on the table—and we may be sure Hitler will demand no less—is the abrogation of the foreign trade monopoly and the opening of Russia to capitalist exploitation; in other words, the final act in the liquidation of the conquests of the October revolution.

This is what Hitler would seek to achieve by the war he is now planning against the Soviet Union and for which he is making his spectacular expansionist drive into eastern and southeastern Europe. This is what Stalin would offer him without a war if in the deal the privileges of the Stalinist

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## In the Coming Elections

## For Independent Labor Politics!

In the tenth year of the economic depression, the American working class finds itself organized economically as never before in its history. During this decade the American workers have been learning that they must band themselves together as workers, in their own trade unions, controlled by themselves, in order to prevent the bosses from slashing wages and living conditions down below the level of human endurance.

The workers have learned that the interests of the bosses in the matter of wages and hours are diametrically opposed to the interests of the workers; that the bosses are not giving away anything for nothing; that only militant struggle against the bosses gets any results.

On the basis of this knowledge, the workers have built up the C.I.O., the A.F. of L., and the Railway Brotherhoods to a total of around 10,000,000 membership.

But during the past two or three years the workers have begun to learn an even harder lesson: the lesson that organization on the economic field, no matter how wide or how strong or how successful, is not, by and of itself, enough. The tremendous and unprecedented sweep of trade unionism during this past decade has not been able to stop wage-cuts, layoffs, unemployment and insecurity, nor to remove the threat of fascism and war.

Therefore, the workers are beginning to draw the appropriate conclusion: that workers must organize politically, as well as economically, that they must add to their economic instruments—the trade unions—the weapon of political power, if they are to be able to defend and advance their interests.

A hundred symptoms—Labor's Non-Partisan League, the A. L. P., labor intervention in Primaries and local and State elections—show the beginnings of this new knowledge.

However, misled by those both outside of and within their ranks who fear the growth of labor's political power, workers are forgetting or overlooking the necessary rules that have been taught, at great cost, by labor's experience on the economic field.

The chief of these rules is simply this: labor succeeds only by its own independent efforts, only by its own militant and independent struggle.

You can't build a successful trade union by relying on the good will of the bosses; that gives you, in the end, only a company union.

In exactly the same way, you can't build a successful political party for labor by relying on the good will of boss politicians; that gives you, in the end, only a new name for a boss party.

Just as it has its own trade unions, so does labor have to have its own party, run by and for labor, and answerable to labor. Just as trade unions have got to fight against the bosses on the economic field, so does labor's political party have to fight the parties of the bosses on the political field.

For workers to be organized to support the candidates of the Democratic or Republican party is not labor politics, but just a labor cloak for boss politics. For a trade union leader to run on the Republican or Democratic ticket does not make him a labor candidate, but shows him as a sell-out boss candidate.

With fascism advancing everywhere in the world, and with war hanging like a storm-cloud on the near horizon, labor does not have much time left in which to build a fighting party of its own.

The great task for every militant worker in the present election campaign period is to agitate in every meeting, forum and demonstration for independent labor politics, for a clean break with boss politics and boss candidates, and for a bold, fighting program around which labor politics can be built.

It is a tragedy and a crime that in this tenth year of depression, in November, 1938, there is not a single genuinely independent mass party of labor adhering to such a fighting workers' program.

In several States, however, there are party organizations, partially or wholly independent of the boss parties and supported by decisive sections of the organized labor movement, which are putting independent candidates forward in next month's election. In particular this is the case with: the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota; Jaspas McLevy's Socialist Party in Connecticut; the Old Guard Socialist Party in the Reading, Pa. local elections; and the American Labor Party in New York.

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