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**Free Tom Mooney!**

Tom Mooney has eight new turnkeys. They don't live in the shadow of San Quentin but they banged the prison gates like any jailer would have done.  
 After twenty years, during which time mountains of evidence have been accumulated to prove Mooney's innocence, to prove that the trial was a frame-up, to prove that the gamblers, pimps and prostitutes who testified were paid perjurers; after twenty years there is not a solitary sane person who dares to contend that Mooney is guilty of the charges on which he was convicted—the Supreme Court could not find a technicality on which to release labor's celebrated prisoner.  
 The Supreme Court could not find a technicality because it was not rendering a decision on the Mooney Case. It was taking its stand in the class war. It was proving that capitalist democracy must have prison walls and iron bars to preserve its tyranny over the working class. Mooney is a symbol of the cause of working class liberation. The eight old men hate this cause with every fiber of their doddering being. That's why they are keeping Mooney in prison.  
 The eight old men, the Supreme Court of California, the Governor of California and all the rest of the watchdogs of capital will never release Mooney of their own accord.  
 The keys to Mooney's cell must be wrested from the hands of his jailers by the might of the organized labor movement.  
 Until that time Tom Mooney's continued imprisonment remains a black stain on the working class.  
 There can be no freedom for America's toilers while Mooney is still in jail.

**Tobin's Bombshell**

Dan Tobin's dramatic appeal for the re-unification of the labor movement brought the intricate struggle between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. a long way on the road to solution.  
 Tobin was indubitably speaking the thoughts of the strongest and most militant union in the A. F. of L. and voicing the hopes of millions of organized workers in both camps of the trade union movement. Tobin's speech was a bombshell because it tore a hole in the fabric of lies used to explain the split. The masses want peace in the labor movement, and now they know that self-seeking leaders alone have been the obstacle.  
 There are no longer any fundamental reasons that justify the separation of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. The original differences over the question of industrial unionism is no longer at issue. The march of developments compelled craft union after craft union in the A. F. of L. to organize on a vertical basis. The speech of Tobin, as representative of the teamsters union, is the most convincing proof of this fact. The organized masses know this to be true, and they are refusing to allow personal ambitions to stand as an impediment to peace. The leaders of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are on the spot; now they must act.  
 Tobin's speech to the Houston convention came on the heels of a special plea by Roosevelt for unity. If and when unity is established, there will be those who will rush forward to bestow praise and blessing upon the President. But it will soon become clear that Roosevelt's reasons

for unity are directly contrary to those of the workers.

Roosevelt is priming the war machine and directing U. S. foreign politics towards an early participation in imperialist war. If Roosevelt can dictate the terms of labor's peace, then Roosevelt will hope to dictate the terms of labor's regimentation during the war.

The workers on the contrary want peace in their own house in order to organize the remaining unorganized millions, in order to counter-act the bosses' offensive, in order to withstand the blows of depression. The interests and aims of Roosevelt and of the workers are diametrically opposed. But the kind of unity and the type of organization that emerges from the peace fortunately rests first of all with the workers and not with Mr. Roosevelt. The leadership of the new organization may become partners to Roosevelt's labor-throttling war plans. But a powerful militant and progressive movement among the rank and file can sweep this conspiracy aside.

A united labor movement, however it comes into being, will provide a broad arena for progressives to go to work for a program of class action and conflict with the misrulers of America's industry and wealth. Unity will brush aside the secondary issues and the squabbles that arise from rival unions; it will put the real issues on the order of the day.

Moreover, we have every reason to believe that unity will have another salutary effect. It will deliver a smashing blow to that disruptive gang that passes by the name of the Communist Party. The Stalinists through their compact with John Lewis have been able to run riot in the unions; the C.I.O. was a free field for their operations. In the united unions, the Stalinist power will be seriously curbed. Their paper unions will be thrown into the waste-basket, where they properly belong. The compact with Lewis, who practically handed the wreckers the United Automobile Workers, will come to an end, or failing that, its influence will be seriously undermined.

It is too early to predict whether the move of Tobin, Lewis and Roosevelt will result in unity. But certain it is that the pressure from below, from the rank and file, has grown to irresistible proportions. That is the great lesson of the recent history of the labor movement. The workers forced the drive to industrial unionism. The workers forced the A. F. of L. off its craft basis. Now they are moving for unity. The pressure must continue until it becomes a fact. And then it must be resumed for a resurgent development of the American trade unions along militant and progressive lines.

**Sliding Scale of Hours**

The moderate resumption of production in Michigan's automobile plants has brought with it the first storm signals of what promises to be a veritable whirlwind of strikes. The season had hardly begun when strike fireworks flared up at the Briggs, McCord Radiator, Champion Spark Plug and Plymouth plants—involving a possible total of 40,000 workers. And now there is strike talk in the entire General Motors Corporation with its hundreds of thousands of workers.

What is the principal issue of these actions? It is the issue that stands uppermost in the mind of every worker: how shall work be found for the thousands of unemployed when the parasitic masters of industry begin their layoffs?

The Plymouth walkout was designed to cope with this problem and now negotiations with G. M. are moving in the same direction. The Plymouth workers demanded a reduction of hours from 40 to 32 hours a week before any layoffs took place. They wanted to spread the work to as large a group of men as possible before any workers were forced on the relief rolls.

The demand for the thirty-two hour week in the automobile industry marks a tremendous forward step for the labor movement. The Plymouth workers made a beginning by demanding a thirty-two-hour week. The next step, pointed by the logic of the unemployed problem, is for a thirty-two hour week at forty hours of pay. In short, make the bosses pay for the depression.

The Socialist Workers Party greets the action of the automobile workers and calls on the labor movement to raise the slogan of the sliding scale of hours at the same weekly wage!

a copy of the November issue to place their order or subscription immediately. Address:

**Alliance 'Friend' Denounces Strikes**

Aubrey Williams, deputy administrator of the W.P.A., and Roosevelt's chief liaison man with the Stalinist Workers Alliance, ripped off his hypocritical mask this week, when he gave notice to Ohio W.P.A. striking truck-drivers, warning them that "there can't and will not be any strike on W.P.A."

One month ago, a delegation from the New York Workers Alliance, went down to Washington, D. C., to see what could be done about the W.P.A. white collar wage-cut that had just been instituted. The delegation cheered strike-breaker Williams, when he asked them to see that "their friends" are returned to office in the coming November elections.

Put to the test, this "great liberal," "friend of the unemployed," flaunts his true colors and goes the way of all "liberals" into the camp of reaction.

**"We Wuz Robbed"!**



**Czech Labor Movement Now Faces Fight Against Fascism**

(Below is the concluding article of the series on Czechoslovakia.—Ed)

By W. KELLER

The drive against the labor movement has already started. The new Slovak government has outlawed the Communist Party which was at one time the dominant revolutionary force in Slovakia. Among Hitler's conditions for a truce with the Czechs figures the demand for the proscription of the Communist Party in all Czech territory as well. No doubt Prague will agree to meet this demand with great pleasure. Only the proper moment remains to be chosen.

These blows, however, are only preparatory steps for a general offensive against Czech labor. The question now arises: Is the situation of the workers in Czechoslovakia hopeless? Are there any chances of bringing the steamroller of Fascism to a stop?

**A Grave Moment**  
 It is impossible to answer this question with a simple yes or no. One thing is certain: it would be criminal light-mindedness to deny the gravity of the present situation. The Czechoslovak workers have suffered their first great defeat since the world war—a defeat without a struggle. Through the proclamation of the military dictatorship by the Benes-Stalin front and the subsequent Munich deal, they have been brought, overnight, to the same point where the German proletariat stood on January 30, 1933, when Field Marshal Hindenburg, who had been elected President with the support of the trusting Social Democrats, called Hitler to the helm of the Weimar republic.

Now the question is: Will the Czech labor movement steer just as fatally toward a helpless collapse like its German counterpart which, in March, 1933, after Hitler's landslide in the elections, looked on passively while its organizations were destroyed?

It is impossible to deny that the distribution of the figures on the chess board of the class struggle is extremely unfavorable for the workers. Guided by the criminal hand of the social patriots, they have abandoned to Fascism their defensive outposts: the Sudeten German, Polish and Hungarian workers and peasants. They have lost the Slovak and Ruthenian peasants—eternal rebels, because they live in eternal misery—to clerical Fascism. They have repelled Czech peasants who were seeking liberation from the economic pressure of the big landowners. They have voluntarily surrendered their democratic rights to the "Friend of the Soviets," General Syrovky. They are now encircled on all sides by Fascism. They are divided among themselves by privileges hitherto granted to a labor aristocracy by Czech imperialism, by increasing unemployment, by national prejudices and anti-semitism.

**Traditions of Struggle**  
 But there are also positive features in the picture. This working class knows how to fight. Its history is rich in courageous battles. Up to the fateful turn toward the "People's Front" not a single year elapsed in which the streets of industrial Czechoslovakia remained unstained by the blood of

proletarian combatants. But will its forces suffice for victory? Will it rid itself in ample time of its bankrupt leadership? Nobody can foretell. It may be said without unwarranted optimism, however, that the Czech working class will not be clamped passively into the straight-jacket of Fascism.

Already the Czech workers are making a mighty effort to coordinate their resistance against the class enemy. The long-restrained differentiation within the social democracy is coming out into the open. The demand for unity of action, for the fusion of the trade union movement, which is numerically strong but divided into several national federations, is more powerful than ever before. The desire for a unified workers party is also widespread, nourished in part by Stalinist propaganda.

**An Important Distinction**  
 Once again the counter-revolutionary leadership, above all the Stalinists, bars the road to these confused but progressive tendencies. Proving that they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, the Stalinists are trying to patch up, on a new and narrower basis, that same "Democratic Front" which has only just collapsed. The special conditions that exist are such that any such move may well succeed in once more confusing the already-confused workers.

For, in contradistinction to France, there has never been a formal "People's Front" in Czechoslovakia. The Stalinists acted in the democratic orchestra as noisy and stubborn intruders. Only in the short-lived interim between Godesberg and Munich, when all seemed set for war, were they permitted to appear on the platform of the official patriots. If the French workers are now about to draw the balance sheet of "organic unity" under the banner of class collaboration, for the Czech workers this unknown kind of unity must still appear as somewhat of a panacea. All the more so, because the Social Democratic and Czech National Socialist (Benes) party leaders have up to now, in the interests of their governmental posts, refused any kind of united action with the Stalinists.

**A Choice To Be Made**  
 Even now these leaders will resist to the utmost the attempts to bring them together with the Stalinists around one table. While the workers are interested in a genuine fighting front against the Fascist threat, the Stalinist and reformist misleaders are anxious to rig up a subtle system of "pressure" and "persuasion" directed at the government and intended to prove again their value to the bourgeois regime.

But this community of aims precisely makes a real understanding between these bureaucrats even less possible than in France. On their march toward an authoritarian regime, the Czech capitalists will have to do away with labor's militancy. They can achieve this by various means. In Germany Hitler cleaned house of Communists first and Socialists next in a few weeks, in the Saar and Austria in a few days. Mussolini tolerated the castrated Socialists and their trade unions for almost five years.

In Poland and in Hungary they are even now permitted to eke out a shadowy existence. But everywhere, whatever the fate of the Socialist leaders, the Communists were invariably crushed. Which tactic the Czech capitalists will choose depends in the first instance on the degree of tension reached in the coming class struggles.

The emergency laws inherited from the Masaryk-Benes democracy, the Law for the Protection of the Republic, the Law for the Dissolution of Parties and Trade Unions, the Law for the Defense of the State in Case of War and National Emergency, will enable them to wipe out any labor organization legally and "democratically" and to send its members into prisons and concentration camps as provided by the statutes.

**Stalinists Will Be First**  
 Needless to say, their first target will be the Stalinists. The Social Democrats and the Czech National Socialists will no doubt help the capitalists in such an action, hoping to save their own skins. The capitalists will use their services in order to destroy or sterilize the whole labor movement step by step. They may also take advantage of the antagonism between the bureaucracy of the political labor movement and the "non-political" trade union movement, especially since the trade unions are completely dependent financially upon the state, because of the peculiar system of unemployment relief.

Thus it is entirely possible that the Czech bourgeoisie will crush one section of the labor movement and its bureaucracy and take the rest along, under muzzle and leash, on the road toward Fascism. The fear of furnishing Hitler with a pretext for military intervention will also play its part in the choice of this gradual method. Whatever the actual course of events will be, all these considerations are milling around in the heads of the Czech labor bureaucrats. A great rush for mutual sell-outs is at hand. Even if the unlikely happens and an actual "People's Front" is set up, it will be exploded immediately by the bureaucratic antagonisms ranging within it.

**A Quick Showdown**  
 On the other hand, it is possible that, as in Spain, the fighting spirit of the workers will succeed in establishing, over the heads of the Stalinists and the reformists, a wide net of local action committees. But in contradistinction to Spain, this would lead to a quick showdown. Hitler now offers a protecting hand to the Czech Fascists. War has been postponed, but a new outbreak is close. The class struggle in France and to a lesser extent in Great Britain, will now develop at a speedy rate. The capitalists of both countries are desperately determined to continue the armament race. They have before their eyes the example of the successful military regimentation of the working class by their Fascist rivals. On the other hand, the workers of France and Great Britain have just received a lesson in democracy which greatly reduces their spirit of sacrifice for the Fatherland.

Events in France and Great Britain will in the end determine

**Pinning 'em Down**

By JAMES CASEY

**LOVE FEAST WITH ECONOMIC ROYALISTS**

Big Business and the New Deal administration have just dedicated themselves to a new and vigorous offensive against Labor.

The latest love-feast between the money-lords and their governing board in Washington was distinctive for a theme that had been scrupulously avoided, so far as the public was concerned, during all the six years of the Roosevelt regime. For the first time since moving into the White House, the Great Liberal, in issuing a long public statement several days ago, omitted any demagogic jibes against the economic royalists coupled with burning expressions of affections for the "forgotten man."

Instead, the President offered up a prayer for industrial peace—for harmony, tranquility, serenity on the whole industrial front. With a display of beautiful precision, his supplications were touchingly endorsed and re-echoed by Big Business, through the voice of Charles R. Hook, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. And with equal promptness, Acting Administrator Aubrey Williams served an injunction to WPA workers against any strikes on Federal projects.

At last Mr. Roosevelt discarded his repertoire of platitudes and spoke out what was on his mind. Roosevelt's call for peace on all home fronts (by government, capital and labor, as he puts it) is precisely what American capitalism desires. As a substitute to demands for better working conditions, increases in pay and the constant vigilance on the part of Labor against speed-up, the capitalists want "harmony and tranquility" and a predominance of the Rotarian spirit, with all its verbal baloney designed to preserve the interests of Finance Capital.

In place of strikes, the capitalists favor arbitration boards with their habitual sellouts of the workers. The less industrial strife, the bigger the profits for the bosses. Thus Roosevelt sang his little piece and the Wall Streeters at once chorused their approbation. The public performance, however, can hold only one meaning for America's workers and farmers.

Price-boosting, a drive to cut wages and a nation-wide movement for production speed-up can now be expected by industrialists and manufacturers. On its own part, the government will drop thousands more from WPA projects, as well as prune down relief expenditures.

Astute politician that he is Mr. Roosevelt bided his time to choose the opportune moment for insistence against hostilities on the industrial front. Suppored on by the counsel of Bernard M. Baruch and other Wall Street wizards, he has rallied around him the American Labor Party, the Workers Alliance and "progressive" groupies in many sections of the land.

Then, too, one cannot overlook the exuberant enthusiasm, the pious love and the fanatical loyalty of the Stalinists for everything that smacks of Rooseveltolatry.

That the "progressives" have encouraged Roosevelt and capital in their new offensive is beyond dispute. But they have done more; they have sown the seeds for creation of "welfare" committees or councils that act against Labor and, especially, against the jobless millions.

**THE "BETTERMENT" DIET**

A typical example of the progressive offspring is the New York City Budget Council, made up of "civic" leaders pledged to the betterment of the community. What the council means by "betterment" is amply illustrated in a report just published "on the needs of a working class family."

After a long and supposedly thorough survey, the council has found that \$8.37 is a sum sufficient to supply a family of four with food for a week. Such a report, issued by "civic" leaders about the time of Roosevelt's call can only be calculated to set a new minimum for home relief, provide an alibi for pay-slashing and lowering of the workers' living standard.

In view of its patent intent, the council's findings deserve an examination, even if a brief one.

The council would have a working-class family of four spend \$1.10 for their daily food. Since the New York Board of Education holds it is necessary for a pupil to consume a quart of milk daily, it should be assumed that two children in the family of four must spend twenty cents for that vital nourishment. A platter for the family of four sitting down to dinner must involve the cost of at least fifty cents for meat, twenty cents for vegetables and ten cents for a loaf of bread. Thus, the milk and the one-course meal would bring the expenses up to a dollar.

This would leave a balance of exactly nineteen cents to purchase breakfast and luncheon for the family of four, or less than three cents per member.

Just what kind of meal a person can buy for three cents the budget council, of course, failed to state. It should be abundantly clear, however, even to the welfare experts that any prescribed \$8.37 weekly diet would increase cases of pellagra, tuberculosis and kindred diseases prevalent among the impoverished working masses.

To fight off the program of the budget council and the entire offensive of the Roosevelt administration, a strong, solid organization of jobless is one of the vital needs of the hour. In this connection, the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, bound inextricably to the administration, is today far more of a liability than an asset to the nation's unemployed.

Following the People's Frontist line of the Stalinists, the Workers Alliance frowns upon and seeks to prevent militant action by WPA workers and destitute families for more jobs and adequate relief. It has become an obstreperous apologist for Mr. Roosevelt, a supporter of capitalist party candidates for public office and a menace to militant working class activity.

**A HEALTHY PROGRAM**

In the circumstances, New York's toilers must welcome the organization of the New York Unemployed and WPA Workers Union.

From a study of its program, it is manifest that the new union stands flatly opposed to class-collaboration and has as its main interest the city's and nation's unemployed.

It will be hailed for its rejection of the Alliance policy to campaign for Republican and Democratic politicians. Particularly must it be congratulated on its decision to demand that the government reopen all idle factories and provide jobs for all. With this demand, the union gives a smashing answer to Roosevelt's drive against Labor.

By intensification of its activity, the union should soon branch out into a powerful national organization. Needless to say the union's militant program, with its unconditional repudiation of People's Frontism, has the heartiest support of every member of the Socialist Workers Party.

the destiny of the Czech working class. Only a swift and radical turn toward a revolutionary upsurge in these countries could bring it relief, reviving and stimulating the opposition forces in Fascist countries as was the case in Italy during the Abyssinian war.

In either case, the Czech working class will scarcely disappear from the scene without fighting. Remembering the words of Engels that defeat in a hard struggle is worth more than an easy victory, the Fourth International

alists will stand in the front ranks of the battle, just as they stood first in the struggle against imperialist war. It will be a desperate struggle, in a desperate situation. The victims will be numerous. But, paradoxical as it might seem, the stronger the resistance of the proletariat to an overpowering counter-revolution, the fewer are in the end its victims. For the survivors of fallen revolutionary soldiers will never be tamed as easily as the survivors of those who were passively clapped into concentration camps.

I am interested in the activities of the Socialist Workers Party and in the Socialist Appeal. Please send more information to:

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**New International Offers November Highlights**

The editors of the NEW INTERNATIONAL announce an excellent array of articles for the November number of the magazine. Variety of contents is indicated by comprehensive reviews on the American and world scene.

1. "The C.I.O. and A.F. of L. Struggle: A New Stage" is the subject of a thorough analysis by B. J. Widick on the trade union situation in the United States.
2. Felix Morrow contributes an article "Spain—The Final Betrayal," a lively article on latter-day developments in Spain.
3. An important review on the "Four Power Pact—Whither Europe?" will be an outstanding feature. All aspects of the recent developments in Czechoslovakia and Europe leading to the Munich agreement will be reviewed.
4. A complete article giving the accomplishment of the first congress of the Fourth International is also contained in this issue. The article will specifically concern itself with "Prospects of the Fourth International."
5. L. Rock, the writer from Jerusalem who contributed an article

on the situation in Palestine to the October issue, will have a special article in the November number entitled, "Arab Nationalism in Palestine."

6. Greece and the Dictatorship on Metaxas.
7. "Stalinism and Fascism in Italy" by "Z" represents a thorough-going expose of the Stalinist's United Front proposals to the Italian Fascists; their role in the Ethiopian War and the link to Italian Imperialism.

Among the book reviews are John Strachey's "What is to be Done?"; Thomas Mann's "The Coming Victory of Democracy"; and Benjamin Stolberg's "Story of the C.I.O."; to be reviewed respectively by Maurice Spector, Arthur Pincus and B. J. Widick.

The October number, now on sale, has been extremely well received. The management announces that the entire edition of 4,300 copies is exhausted at the NEW INTERNATIONAL office. It is still on sale at the newsstands and by agents, however. We offer the suggestion to all who want to be sure of obtaining