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HAROLD ROBERTS **GEORGE CLARKE**
 Associate Editors

S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Not a cent for swollen dividends, for battle-
 ships and planes!
 Money for Life!
 Not a cent for death!
**AND OPEN THE DOORS TO ALL REFUG-
 GEES FROM FASCIST TERROR!**

**Elections Over . . . WPA
 Slash!**

Mr. Dooley once said, "The Supreme Court
 follows the election returns."
 If the famous American humorist were alive
 today, he would add to his epigram: W.P.A.
 and relief slashes follow election day.
 Hardly had the votes in the mid-term elec-
 tions been counted than the announcement
 comes from Washington that Roosevelt is plan-
 ning to "contract W.P.A. and other relief pro-
 grams."

The two-faced hypocrite has already stored
 his fine-spun phrases about "social injustice"
 and the "underprivileged one-third of the na-
 tion" in the White House attic. They will re-
 main there until the next election. But that time
 the sufferings of the unemployed will be a mat-
 ter for cool, cynical calculation.

Who will foot the bill? The millionaires, the
 corporations, the financiers—they refuse to car-
 ry it any longer. And they are Roosevelt's bosses.
 Therefore, the poverty-made wounds of the un-
 employed millions must be salted—must be salt-
 ed now not with rhetoric but with a new elimi-
 nation of relief and W.P.A. appropriations.

Hopkins said that "business was improving"
 and would continue "its upward trend" and
 hence there would be a "permanent curtailment
 of his program."
 His tongue was in his cheek—or it should
 have been—when he made that crack. The sta-
 tistics of his own department show that there
 are still 10-15 million unemployed in the United
 States—despite all the business "improvement."
 The figures of the A. F. of L. confirm this.

The same condition prevails today—perhaps
 more acutely. But to Roosevelt and Hopkins it
 is enough that "business is improving" (read:
 profits and dividends are going up). That is
 pretext enough to deprive the unemployed of
 the thin crust of government charity and cast
 them on the breadlines and into the "Hoover-
 viles"—only this time they will be called
 Rooseveltburgs.

It is not unnatural, therefore, that the man
 who so callously toys with the misery of the
 jobless should be preparing to grind them into
 cannon-fodder. Roosevelt meets with the Gen-
 eral Staff of the army and projects a plan to
 "shift the emphasis in federal spending . . . to
 job-producing projects under a national defen-
 se program."

The meaning is as clear as a pikestaff:
 Thousands of workers will be removed from
 W.P.A. rolls and made jobless because even the
 most ambitious rearmament program cannot
 provide work for all.

Thousands of workers will be performing
 skilled and unskilled labor at W.P.A. handouts
 not at union standards. Like the labor camps of
 Hitler Germany.

Millions of workers will be engaged in build-
 ing death-dealing equipment for an army and
 navy of imperialist conquest, while the poor
 continue to inhabit disease-infested fire trap
 slums and their children die from malnutrition.

That is the long and short of Roosevelt's new
 dish for the unemployed. His program of war
 is a program of poverty. And his program of
 poverty is a program of war.

The elections are over. The cards are on the
 table. Roosevelt has played his and now it is
 the turn of the workers.

The trump card of the working class is in its
 united organized strength and in its program.
 And this card must be played before it is too
 late.

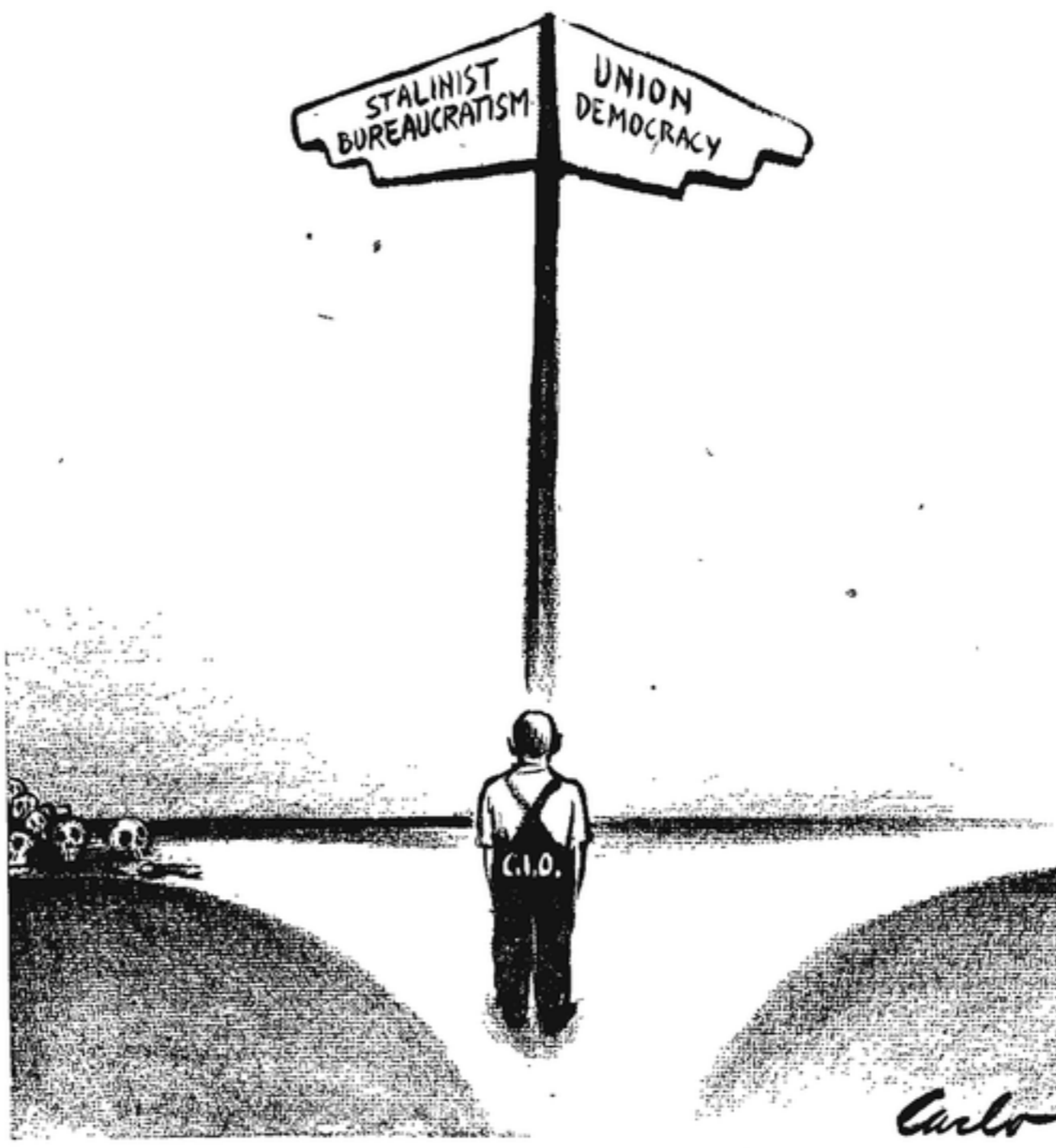
The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. must be roused
 into action.

Millions of workers must demonstrate against
 the Roosevelt deal of poverty and war.

For the turning over of war funds to the un-
 employed and not to the murder-gang of the
 General Staff of the army!

For the expansion—not contraction—of real
 W.P.A. projects by appropriations of billions
 of dollars to wipe out the slums and build de-
 cent homes for working men to live in!

One Road Towards Progress!



**Trotsky Defends Asylum In
 Slashing Reply to Toledano**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MEXICO CITY, Nov. 12.—Vig-
 orously defending himself against
 the latest Stalinist drive to de-
 stroy his asylum in the sole
 country of the globe willing to
 receive him, Leon Trotsky yester-
 day tore away the clumsy frame-
 work of a typical Lombardo To-
 ledano calumny, exposing the
 crude lies upon which this Stalin-
 ist lackey based himself. Com-
 rade Trotsky's statement is as
 follows:

In his speech at the Palace of
 Fine Arts on Nov. 8, Toledano
 declared: "... Something that I
 have never affirmed, because I
 am not crack-brained, is to say
 that Trotsky had proposed a gen-
 eral strike during the petroleum
 conflict . . ." It is not pre-
 sumed that the report of the
 speech in "El Popular" has been
 edited by the orator himself with
 the necessary care. [Lombardo
 Toledano is editor of El Popu-
 lar—Ed. Note.] It is not pos-
 sible to desire anything more
 categorical than the refutation
 cited above: "because I am not
 crack-brained!!!" Nevertheless
 we shall try to check what Mr.
 Toledano says.

In the newspapers of May 31,
 1937 ("El Universal," first sec-
 tion, page 8; "Excelsior" first sec-
 tion, page 4; "El Nacional," first
 section, page 6; "La Prensa,"
 page 6) in the report of Toledano's
 speech at a meeting held
 May 30, 1937, in the Theater of
 the People, it was stated: "We
 are not going to follow those who
 label themselves of the extreme
 left and wish to carry us into a
 general strike in the Republic.
 We are not going to follow Trotsky
 who represents the counter-revo-
 lution. The general strike is
 against the government."

Cracked Brains
 In these four newspapers we
 encounter the same phrase. It is
 clear that the text has a charac-
 ter if not official, at least not
 less than authoritative. Neither
 the discourse as a whole nor the
 phrase which interests us have
 ever been disavowed by Mr. To-
 ledano.

In the same newspaper is
 printed my declaration of June
 26, 1937, in which I said: "Mr.
 Toledano in a series of public
 declarations attributes to me
 various acts of intervention in
 the internal life of Mexico (par-
 ticularly, for example, a call for
 . . . a general strike). In such
 statements there is not one word
 of truth."

Yet after this, Mr. Toledano
 repeats the policy as revealed
 at Munich has thrown the Stalin-
 ists into serious confusion, and
 for the moment they are waiting
 on Moscow . . .

American workers who wish
 to hear a first hand report of the
 situation in England are urged
 to attend the meetings which are
 being arranged for C. L. R.
 James throughout the country.
 New Yorkers will have the
 first opportunity to hear him
 on November 30th at Irving
 Plaza. Note the date and be
 sure to be present.

did not publish a single rectifica-
 tion of his speech. We had to
 wait a year and a half for To-
 ledano to find it necessary in a
 new speech to declare that he is
 not "crack-brained" and that he
 had not made such statements.
 He is not correct this time
 either. The facts and the texts
 speak in another manner. The
 refutations of Mr. Toledano, as
 we see, are distinguished by the
 same exactitude as his affirmations.
 But minus times minus
 equals plus.
 Mr. Toledano does not want an
 investigation of his accusations
 made by an impartial commis-
 sion. In place of this, he has
 been refuted them himself. Per-
 sonally, I do not have any ob-
 jection to these methods, and ac-
 cept with gratitude the testimony
 that the only one able to accuse
 me of wishing to provoke a gen-
 eral strike against the govern-
 ment of General Cardenas—ac-
 cording to Mr. Toledano—are the
 crack-brained. I add only that
 the other accusations launched
 against me have the same value.
 —Leon Trotsky.

**Cardenas Raps Attacks
 On Trotsky's Asylum**

(Continued from page 1)
 ical heights in the Stalinist
 press, reflecting their fear over
 the rapidly spreading insurgent
 movement in the Teachers' Union
 against their gangster dicta-
 torship, a movement which
 they fear with only too good
 reason might spread into other
 unions where they now enjoy a
 monopoly over the union treas-
 ury and the resolutions commit-
 tee.

Unions Revolt
 In typical G.P.U. fashion, To-
 ledano, Laborer, and their cohorts
 have labelled this movement
 "Trotskyite," attempting to link
 it with all the notorious reaction-
 aries of the country, including
 sexual perverts discovered and
 denounced by the G.P.U. for this
 particular amalgam, and ending
 with their customary slogan:
 "Trotsky is mixing in Mexican
 politics; throw him out."
 Actually the movement began
 spontaneously among the rank
 and file of the Teachers' Union
 in protest against a heavy monthly
 assessment levied against them
 by the Stalinist bureaucracy and
 deductible according to Mexican
 law from their already pitiful
 pay checks. The movement
 gained such momentum that at
 the first session of the union con-
 vention yesterday, committees
 sent by the Stalinists from other
 unions to block the rank and file
 opposition were booed off the
 floor amid demands to proceed to
 the order of business. Lombardo
 Toledano, who does not have as
 much connection with the Teach-
 ers' Union as Wm. Green of the
 A.F. of L. has with the must-

rians, answered the emergency
 call of his brother Stalinists, and
 entered the convention hall to
 take the floor. He could not make
 himself heard among the hisses
 and boos. A large banner pinned
 on the wall of the convention
 hall by Stalinist reading, "To
 fight Trotskyism is to work for
 unity" was torn down. The eight
 hundred delegates wanted to dis-
 cuss union business, not the po-
 litical needs of Joseph Stalin.

An Expensive Campaign
 In the very heart of the Stalin-
 ist dominated unions of Mexico
 —those belonging to Toledano's
 C.T.M.—increasing signs of re-
 volt, almost wholly subterranean
 until the recent explosion of protest
 in the Teachers' Union, point
 to an ominous decline for the
 Stalinists. That is the real reason
 for the fantastic fear and hys-
 teria displayed by them in this
 latest campaign of calumny and
 slander against the exiled leader
 of the October Revolution.
 According to unimpeachable
 sources of information, this cam-
 paign has been the most expen-
 sive so far waged by the G.P.U.
 in Mexico. In order to whip up
 any semblance of popular re-
 sponse to their speakers, articles,
 and slogans, the Stalinist are
 compelled to spend greater and
 greater sums of money because
 of the growing apathy and dis-
 gust of the workers. The policy
 of rule or ruin is beginning to
 bear its fruit. President Cardenas'
 well-timed rebuke at the
 height of the Stalinist howling
 gives a good indication as to how
 that fruit will taste.

LAST WEEK
 This is the last week in
 which to greet the Tenth
 National Convention of the
 Young Peoples Socialist
 League, which is being held
 in Chicago during the Thank-
 ssgiving weekend. Send in your
 greetings NOW—\$1, \$3, \$5 or
 \$10 for the Convention Pro-
 gram Book to the National
 Convention Arrangements
 Committee, 160 N. Wells St.,
 Room 808, Chicago, Ill.
 National Convention
 Arrangements Committee.

YOUTH TAKES A FLING
 at the
REBEL SWING
 Sat. Nite. Nov. 19
 Young Circle League Audit.
 22 East 15th Street
 Toby Woods and Orchestra
 MAX SHACHTMAN, M. of C.
 Proceeds to YPSL Nat. Conv.
 Admission 39¢

**Unity, Union Democracy
 Issues Stir Convention**

(Continued from page 1)
 bureaucratic maneuver and forc-
 ing a change.

Labor Unity
 The question of labor unity was
 discussed for a half day following
 the presentation of a special re-
 port as a reply to the message of
 President Roosevelt urging labor
 peace.

The convention unanimously
 adopted the policy outlined by
 the committee. It reads, "The
 C.I.O. states with finality that
 there can be no compromise with
 its fundamental purpose and aim
 of organizing workers into power-
 ful industrial unions, nor its obli-
 gation to fully protect the rights
 and interests of all its members
 and affiliated organizations."

"The C.I.O. accepts the goal of
 unity in the labor movement and
 declares that any program for the
 attainment of such goal must em-
 brace as an essential prelude these
 fundamental purpose and prin-
 ciples."

C.I.O. Committed
 This is a re-statement of the
 previous position held by the
 C.I.O. with one important dif-
 ference. The goal of unity has
 been accepted as part of the
 C.I.O. program!

The tremendous applause given
 the Roosevelt message worried
 the Lewis clique, primarily be-
 cause they feared a stampede for
 peace which would mean a tramp-
 ling of the C.I.O. principle of in-
 dustrial unionism for mass pro-
 duction industries.

The long discussion on the
 committee report was intended as
 "educational" talks to show the
 C.I.O. and A.F. of L. rank and
 file that the C.I.O. was for peace
 but not at the cost of sacrificing
 industrial unionism.

It was felt that the position
 adopted by the convention would
 give the C.I.O. a stronger lever
 in negotiating with the A.F. of L.
 There was a general impression
 among delegates that resumption
 of negotiations with the A.F. of
 L. was in the offing.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Nov. 14.—
 How strong the sentiment
 within C.I.O. ranks is for labor
 unity was illustrated by the re-
 ception given the Roosevelt mes-
 sage urging labor peace.

The demonstration that fol-
 lowed the reading of the Roose-
 velt message was the first real
 evidence of enthusiasm at the
 convention.

John L. Lewis immediately ap-
 pointed a special committee to
 draft a reply to President Roose-
 velt. It was headed by Phillip
 Murray, vice-president of the
 C.I.O.

Among delegates there was
 more talk about peace with the
 A.F. of L. than any other sub-
 ject. It was generally believed
 that one of the main purposes of
 this convention was to put on
 a show of strength to the A.F. of
 L. and the public.

Industrial Workers Convention
 The C.I.O. convention is a
 somewhat unusual gathering. Its
 place in labor history as the first
 national convention representing
 mainly the industrial workers is
 assured. Its record of achieve-
 ment is obvious. Lewis stated it
 succinctly when he declared in
 his 66 page report, "What the
 A.F. of L. in fifty-four years of
 existence couldn't accomplish,
 the C.I.O. did in three years."

There can hardly be any doubt
 that industrial unionism has been
 established permanently in the
 mass production industries. The
 C.I.O. claims of 4,000,000 members
 are perhaps a bit high, but it is
 very significant to hear of the
 new wave of union spirit grow-
 ing among mass production
 workers who have recently been
 rehired. Undoubtedly, dues-col-
 lections are very low in the
 C.I.O. but the ideas for which it
 stands in the minds of the in-
 dustrial workers are as firmly
 entrenched as ever.

Miners' Machine Dominant
 This convention is being run
 strictly as a John L. Lewis,
 miners' union bureaucracy affair.
 Every important committee has
 as its key figures, a miners' union
 official. Murray, Hillman and
 Lewis are the trimvirate who are
 determining the destinies of the
 C.I.O. at this convention.

Because of the firm control of
 this powerful machine over the
 convention, it is somewhat list-
 less. Its opening session was pre-
 sided over by Pat Fagan, miners'
 union official. He praised John
 L. Lewis. Then Lewis spoke on
 "democracy" and made his
 pledge to support American im-
 perialism during war in return
 for a few concessions.

For two hours in the afternoon
 session, Walter Smethurst, an-
 other miners' official, and execu-
 tive assistant to Lewis, read the
 lengthy report of the C.I.O. chair-
 man to the convention. The day
 ended with the hearing of the
 Roosevelt message.
Stalinists Cheering Squad
 The role of the Stalinists at

the sessions has been to lead the
 cheering for the Lewis machine.
 It is quite apparent that Lewis is
 perfectly agreeable to their sup-
 port and some of their ideas, but
 he is going to keep organization-
 al control of the C.I.O. in the
 hands of his machine.

Since very few of the 476 dele-
 gates are rank and file workers,
 the attitude of the membership to
 the C.I.O. policies is not receiv-
 ing clear expression at the con-
 vention.

The future program of the C.
 I.O. as outlined by Lewis in his
 report which was accepted with-
 out any discussion by the con-
 vention is merely an extension of
 that already being carried out.

The C.I.O. top leaders are de-
 sperately trying to reform capital-
 ism. Legislation for a little more
 social security, for higher wages,
 for preservation of the Wagner
 Act, for a housing program, for a
 "guarantee" of civil liberties.
 These are the immediate dem-
 ands of the C.I.O. All of them
 deserve critical support, of course.

Major Issues Evaded
 But the huge problem of un-
 employment, which the conven-
 tion recognized in the report, has
 not been discussed nor is it
 likely that any serious discussion
 will develop.

The announcement of General
 Motors of its "income security"
 plan caught the C.I.O. leaders flat-
 footed. Although it is imperative
 that the convention adopt more
 progressive proposals for a slid-
 ing scale of hours and a rising
 scale of wages to answer fake
 company plans of "security" it is
 improbable that the questions
 will receive consideration.

On every question facing the
 workers today, the C.I.O. conven-
 tion recognizes the problem but
 has no answer except vague gen-
 eralizations about the need for
 adequate legislation, security and
 other phrases. Civil liberties are
 being trampled, the Lewis report
 pointed out. But how the work-
 ers can fight for their rights is
 not shown. How Mayor Frank
 Hague and other fascist-minded
 leaders can be stopped is not in-
 dicated.

The "swing to the right" in
 the recent elections worries the
 C.I.O. leaders. They know that
 even the program of mild reform
 legislation which they want
 stands little chance of passing
 under the present relationship of
 forces. However, they are afraid
 to take steps which would arouse
 the militancy of the workers and
 through class action force Con-
 gress to give concessions to the
 labor movement.

"Honeymoon" Days Over
 It is this dilemma which they
 cannot answer. The "honeymoon"
 days of the C.I.O. are over. Bitter
 opposition to every move of
 the C.I.O. is admitted by all. The
 Lewis report said "it (the opposition)
 was not understandable."
 This is so only because he re-
 fuses to recognize the existence
 of the class struggle. He fails to
 understand that in a period of
 declining capitalism, the bosses
 relentlessly fight against every
 manifestation of labor solidarity
 and seek to destroy the union
 movement.

Fortunately, American workers
 have a great experience behind
 them in the organizing drives
 and sit-down strike wave that
 built the C.I.O. It is very prob-
 able that the C.I.O. workers in
 action will work out more pro-
 gressive policies to meet the
 great problems of today than
 will the C.I.O. convention.
 In the fact that this C.I.O. con-
 vention shows little if any signs
 of the hide-bound conservatism
 which marked the A.F. of L. con-
 vention, is the hope of the Amer-
 ican labor movement. New ideas,
 flexible tactics, and response to
 social conditions will be manifest
 quicker in the C.I.O. than in
 the A.F. of L.

Skate Around Politics
 The noticeable lack of "polit-
 ical" talk at this convention is
 another illustration of the "sen-
 sitivity" of the C.I.O. to social
 changes. Before the convention
 began, Lewis announced the need
 for "reforming" the Democratic
 Party in view of the election de-
 feats. He criticized "fake liberals
 and New Dealers." He even men-
 tioned the possibility of a labor
 party development.

His speech was an admission
 of the bankruptcy of the present
 policy of Labor's Non-Partisan
 League of supporting capitalist
 party candidates. His mention of
 labor party politics was a conces-
 sion to a growing sentiment for
 an independent working class
 party.
 Again, however, the C.I.O. lead-
 ers fear to break with the Demo-
 cratic machine. Yet they know
 the futility of "playing ball" with
 the bourgeois politicians. And
 they don't want too much discus-
 sion of the question at this con-
 vention. That is why no political
 figures have been invited to at-
 tend. That is why the Lewis re-
 port says nothing about labor in
 politics.

**C. L. R. James, Noted Negro Militant,
 To Speak on Decline of British Empire**

C. L. R. James, the distin-
 guished British author, whose
 new book, "The Black Jacobins"
 will be published in this country
 this week, has arrived in the
 United States for a coast to
 coast lecture tour. His first lec-
 ture will be in New York City on
 November 30th at Irving Plaza,
 where he will speak on the "Twi-
 ght of the British Empire."

In an interview with the So-
 cialist Appeal on the effects of
 the Munich Pact James said
 that the fear of war domi-
 nates everything in England.
 "The English people have re-
 ceived a great shock. The idea of
 Chamberlain going to see Hitler
 so often has brought home to
 them that Great Britain is no
 longer the dominant power it
 has been in past years. On the other
 hand the great masses of people
 feel that there is nothing to be
 gained from war."

Lloyd George and Duff Cooper,
 have been urging that "stern
 measures" be taken against Ger-
 many.



C. L. R. JAMES

Europe must be taken in col-
 laboration with Great Britain.

Labor Party Aids Chamberlain
 The Labor Party and trade
 union leadership swung com-
 pletely behind Chamberlain dur-
 ing the war crisis and showed
 its ever-readiness to collaborate
 and do the same devil's work
 that it did in 1914. So tense is the
 situation in Britain that they do
 not even pretend to be anti-war
 or anti-imperialist, but months
 ago signified their approval to
 the rearmament program. This
 betrayal by the labor leadership
 has been reinforced by the Stalin-
 ists who were among the loudest
 shouters for war during the
 crisis. A Stalinist delegation was
 admitted to 10 Downing Street,
 showing that the government is
 quite willing to use them . . .

"The anti-war sentiments
 of the politically minded workers
 have been canalized into 'anti-
 fascist' feeling by the Stalinists
 as a means of supporting the
 rearmament program and ultim-
 ately pushing the workers into
 an imperialist war, but the bank-

"The British ruling class," con-
 tinued James, "it itself split
 as to exactly how the politi-
 cal crisis should be dealt with.
 Some, like Winston Churchill,

many at once. By this they do
 not mean war, but would like to
 frighten Hitler to the point that
 whatever steps he takes in