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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty—\$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An Independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

The Munich Bomb

German anti-fascists planted that bomb that nearly got Hitler. We can dismiss the Nazi claim that the British did it. That's merely a lame way to avoid admitting that, after six years of Nazi terror, there are still plenty of people—especially among the thirteen million workers who voted for the workers' parties in the last election Hitler permitted—who are ready to dare anything in the struggle against fascism.

We can likewise dismiss the Stalinist alibi, which is simply a word for word repetition of the Nazi bunk. Harry Gannes, foreign editor of the Stalinist Daily Worker, writes, Nov. 10: "The bombings indicate that the Chamberlain-Churchill oppressors of the British people have instructed their Nazi agents within Germany to conduct war for the Anglo-French side by means of terrorism." Leave out the clumsily-added word "Nazi," and you have a carbon-copy of Goebbels' press release. That's how far the Stalinist scribblers are going to buttress Stalin's alliance with Hitler!

Anti-fascists planted that bomb. For the imperialist rulers, in their wars against each other, don't kill each other. They only kill the millions of worker-soldiers. They yelled, "Hang the Kaiser," but they didn't, and it was the German workers who made him flee, and not the Allies. In fact, as we now know, the Allies and the Central powers had a "gentleman's agreement" during the last war not to bomb each others general headquarters—that would interfere with the war!

Too bad that bomb missed Hitler—how many millions of workers, in Germany and out, felt that!

It's certainly too bad that Hitler hasn't been done away with. But could a bomb do that? Could that bomb, if it had killed every last Nazi official who had been in the room that night, put an end to Hitlerism?

No. If Mussolini, Franco, Salazar of Portugal, Metaxas of Greece, Carol of Rumania, were all bombed to smithereens tomorrow morning, the reactionary regimes in those countries would still remain in power. The dead fascist fuhrers would be replaced by others, and the bombings would be used—as Hitler is in fact now doing—to justify redoubled persecutions of anti-fascists.

We honor the bravery of terrorists, and we'll join in their defense against capitalist persecution. But they pursue a futile course, which serves no progressive goal.

That daring and heroism should be geared to the real job: the education and the organization of the working class for the revolutionary struggle against fascism and capitalism. Only the masses can overthrow reaction—the masses, led by a revolutionary party. There are no shortcuts on the road to freedom.

Is It A Victory?

Two and one-half years ago Girdler's gunmen and vigilante mobs, assisted by the National Guard of Pennsylvania and Ohio, smashed the "little steel" strike.

5,000 union men were victimized because of their participation in the strike.

Their case was sent to the labor board and a victory recorded. The labor board ordered the men reinstated and "back" wages of \$7,500,000 paid them. But Girdler refused to acquiesce and the case went to the courts.

Now after two and one-half years of stalling from one government body to another, the case finally bolted its way into the courts. To all intents and purposes, the decision of the Third Circuit Court, upholding the verdict of the National Labor Relations Board is a victory for the union.

A victory, except for one little but—

The 5,000 men will not return to work tomorrow. Nor will they receive their "back" wages. The company still has the right and has served notice of exercising that right, of appealing the decision to a higher court.

Thus while moralizing editors and columnists will beat the drums for the "fair," "just," and "equitable" processes of the American courts where poor and rich alike can get a square deal, the steel workers of Pennsylvania and Ohio remain just as they were when the strike was crushed. Without jobs, and on the border of starvation.

The steel workers slugged, fired and victimized by "little steel" have learned this bitter lesson, a lesson pounded into their homes and lives for two and a half years:

There is no victory for workers except the victory they win through their own independent action on the picket lines.

There is no democracy except the democracy wrested from the rulers of industry and the government by unions and militancy.

FBI In Action

Attorney-General Frank Murphy was passed off as a Great Liberal when he took office, just as Roosevelt has been since he became President. Social Democrats, Stalinists, all the varieties of liberals, hailed Murphy as a great Friend of Labor.

In more recent times, Murphy's F.B.I.—the "G-Men"—has been painted up as pretty as you please. Murphy, and after him all his supporters, have sworn the most solemn oaths that he had not the remotest intention of engaging in heresy-hunting, much less in anti-labor activities. As for the G-men, all they would do in the recent world-war situation would be to hunt down foreign spies.

The two latest exploits of the F.B.I. give the lie to all the oaths and promises. As American participation in the war draws closer, all the agencies of the government are being mobilized to clamp down on labor, to coordinate the labor movement under the domination of the military machine, to keep it docile, and make it swallow the war and the war-mongers without a murmur. The F.B.I. has become one of the main instruments in this dirty work. Examples: Minneapolis and Omaha.

In Minneapolis, aided by agents-provocateur, the F.B.I. proceeded to frame-up 150 WPA workers, whose terrible crime was their refusal to accept without protest and struggle the WPA cuts. The Murphy-Roosevelt-F.B.I. combination proved to be more vindictive and more antagonistic to labor and the labor movement than even the local Minneapolis Republican administration. Three trials have already been held and the defendants to the penitentiary.

The government may be your employer in the most direct sense of the word, as in the case of WPA, but you can't strike against the government. That's the decree of Hitler; that's the decree of Roosevelt. And the F.B.I. is there to see that it is carried out—or else.

The second exploit of the F.B.I. occurs in Omaha, Nebr. This open-shop state has a growing thorn in its side: the militant teamsters' union of Omaha. This union has, by its aggressive actions, endeared itself to workers throughout that area by its successful campaign to increase the wages and improve the working conditions of the drivers. Every reactionary, every Chamber of Commerce man, hates the very mention of its name. The bosses have not been able to make a dent in it, much less to break it, and it wasn't for lack of trying.

So the good old G-men, the unterrified heroes of the F.B.I., are brought into the picture. For fifteen months, the F.B.I. has been at work on breaking that union. Finally, they have brought eight of the union leaders to trial on as hackneyed a frame-up as you would expect from small-town dicks.

What does labor have to say about our Democratic administration, with its Democratic Attorney-General, and his Democratic G-Men?

JUST OUT!!
Why Negroes Should Oppose the War
By **J. R. Johnson**
A message that affects the life of every Negro!
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SPECIAL RATES TO ORGANIZATIONS
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116 University Place, N.Y.C.

ARRESTED WHEN THEY DEMANDED FOOD FOR A HUNGRY MAN



Seven of the above, members of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, Local 22, were found guilty in a boss court, and given suspended sentences. Their crime? They wouldn't take "No" for an answer when they asked the Relief Bureau to provide David Sporn with food and shelter. Full story appears elsewhere.

The Workers of England Oppose the Boss War--II

By **BRITANNICUS**

On October 12 occurred the first by-election of the war, in the Clarkmannan and East Sterling constituency of Glasgow.

For many years Clarkmannan has been represented in Parliament by a Labour member. When the seat fell vacant a few weeks ago, the Labour Party, in accordance with the election truce concluded when the war began, nominated Arthur Woodburn, who would automatically receive the support of the Conservative and Liberal vote in the constituency. An unpleasant surprise, however, awaited the Labour Party and the Government when the No Conscription League and the Scottish Anti-War Council nominated Andrew Stewart to contest the election.

Stewart ran on a straightforward pacifist platform. His election manifesto read, in part: "I beg the electors to vote for me as the symbol of the vast and unheard mass of people who desire Peace, and who, if they raise their voices, can sweep the war-mongers from power. Stop the War! End Conscription! Plan for a real Peace! . . . We are raising the standard of a new crusade for Peace and Freedom. With war there can only come a colossal loss of life and the perfection of the Fascist regime in this country."

A SIGNIFICANT ANTI-WAR VOTE
Stewart received the support not only of the organizations which nominated him, but also of a considerable section of the local Labour Party, and the Scottish Socialist Party, in addition to several Labour members of Parliament who oppose the war. The Independent Labour Party gave him critical support, pointing out that as a pacifist candidate his policy conflicted with theirs in many respects but that, as a working class candidate opposed to the Government and the war, the workers should vote for him. In its statement on the election, the ILP declares that it "refuses to support any capitalist government in any war whatever. . . . The conflicting interests of British imperialism and aggressive German Nazism have provoked a second world war. . . . The quarrel between two capitalist States is not a workers' quarrel."

In the circumstances it was inevitable that Stewart should be defeated. But the figures of the voting are instructive: Woodburn got 15 thousand odd votes, thanks to the support of the Conservatives and Liberals, while Stewart polled just over 1,000. A thousand workers of Glasgow dared to vote against the war, barely a month after it started, and in the face of an unparalleled barrage of propaganda not alone by the Government but by their traditional labor leaders. Equally significant: in the previous election, the total number of voters had been 25,000; in the present one only 16,000 voted. The ominous silence of 19,000 workers thunders in mute condemnation of the imperialist war.

We have mentioned the No Conscription League as supporting Stewart in the by-election. This is one of three sizable organizations, each of considerable size, which are conducting an anti-war struggle in England today. Founded a few months before the war to combat the conscription bill introduced at that time by the Government, the N.C.L. has recently been reorganized and has changed its name to the Labour Rights League. It is a broad united front of labor and pacifist organizations and individuals. As such its program is necessarily somewhat vague and timid, and in no sense revolutionary.

Nevertheless, in spite of this, its characterization of the present war is clear and as far as it goes correct: "The N.C.L.," wrote its organizer, W. H. Morris, a few days before war was declared, "insists upon the fundamental fact that the war for which military and industrial conscription is desired by the British ruling class will not be a war of democracy against fascism, but another imperialist struggle similar to the Great War which broke out in 1914."

In the weeks preceding the outbreak of war, the N.C.L. grew by leaps and bounds. Morris, writing on the eve of war, thus sums up its strength: "Within the last few weeks our individual membership has risen from 4,500 to over 5,000, and we have now 111 branches formed and in course of formation, together with 7 area committees for co-ordinating branch activities in London, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Glasgow, etc. Our affiliations include 327 Women's Cooperative Guilds, 15 Cooperative Parties, Education Committees and Men's Guilds, 46 Trades Councils and Trade Union Branches, 50 Labour Parties and Women's Sections, 41 I.L.P. Branches, 13 Youth Organizations, 66 Peace Pledge Union Branches, 23 other pacifist organizations, 8 Scottish Socialist Party Branches, and 6 miscellaneous socialist organizations, making a total of 595 affiliated bodies." During the first week of the war, it was announced at the Glasgow conference, the membership had grown so fast that it was a problem to find meeting-places large enough.

REVOLUTIONISTS ALSO UNITE ACTIVITIES
More important because of its clear revolutionary program, though as yet not so strong in numbers, is the Socialist Anti-War Front. Founded just over a year ago at the time of the Munich crisis, the SAWF is a united-front of socialist and revolutionary organizations with a firm basis in the mass movement of the Labour Party and the trade unions.

The original manifesto of the SAWF at the time of Munich was supported by delegates representing the Divisional Labour Parties, the Coop Party, Trade Unions, the ILP, the ILP Guild of Youth, the Labour League of Youth, and the two Trotskyist organizations, the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Militant Labour League. This long and explicit manifesto stated, in part: "History has thrust responsibilities on the workers of the world. Collaboration with capitalism, support for imperialist war, means the abandonment of the Socialist struggle and the victory of the forces of reaction and barbarism. The only road for the workers is the road of revolutionary struggle against capitalism,

for socialism and peace."

In August, just before the present war started, the SAWF issued a militant manifesto declaring: "International Socialism is the only way by which war can be ended and the threat of Fascist domination dispelled. Therefore the Socialist Anti-War Front sees opposition to capitalist war as a part of the worker's fight for political and economic power. The struggle for peace cannot be separated from the struggle for socialism."

The Socialist Anti-War Front seeks to extend the scope of its activities in these critical days. The centers for opposition to war measures being the unions, the trades councils and the shop committees, it is particularly to such bodies that we appeal for support to rally the maximum resistance to threatened encroachments upon conditions, rights and liberties; to strengthen the fighting front of the organized workers; to strengthen the weapons of class struggle as the surest way to Socialism and peace."

WORKERS NOT AS DOG AS IN 1914

The chief strength of the SAWF is in the local Labour Parties and trade union branches where it seeks to give expression and leadership to the ever increasing opposition of the rank and file to the betrayal of the reformist leadership. Linking up the sporadic opposition to the economic effects of the war, which we described briefly in our last article, with the general revolutionary struggle against war and capitalism, the SAWF at once combats the sabotage of the criminal leadership and gives clear perspectives to the isolated economic struggles of the workers. It holds regular, well-advertised meetings on such subjects as "Totalitarian War," "Stalin's Foreign Policy," "Conscription and the Worker," etc. These meetings are well attended and the response of the workers is enthusiastic.

Everything indicates that in this war the workers will not submit as long and as docilely as they did in the last to the ruthless repression of the Government and to the servile and shameful betrayal of their own leaders. Already in the Labour Party the opposition is seething. In his "Socialist Diary" in the New Leader for October 13, Fenner Brockway reports a meeting recently held between Arthur Greenwood, deputy leader of the Labour Party, and a number of Labour MP's and candidates at which the policy of the Labour Executive was discussed. Greenwood's statement that the "nation was never so united" was greeted with derision. Among 15 speakers, only one supported him. Brockway's informant considered that a split in the Labour Party was inevitable.

American Labor Aid
125 West 33 Street
New York City
Dear Friend:

I PLEDGE MYSELF to contribute \$ to the defense of Frank Watson, imprisoned by Canada's government for the crime of speaking out as a worker against the war of imperialism.

The Stalinist Turn and the Lewis Purge

AN EDITORIAL

The "new" Stalinist line will find early application in the trade unions, particularly the CIO, and affords new alibis for the purge of Stalinists now in preparation by the Lewis machine.

As far as the workers are concerned, the Stalinists will become neither more progressive nor less reactionary. The leopard cannot change its spots. But the new pseudo-revolutionary line of this reactionary force will serve as a very convenient pretext for the purging operations of the Lewis bureaucracy.

For the first time since the inception of the CIO, the Stalinists are traveling in a different political direction from that of the Lewis, Murray, Hillman leadership. Support of the Roosevelt administration was the cement that bound the two bureaucracies together. In essence this was a support of Wall St. imperialism made palatable to workers by New Deal reforms.

Use Workers as Pawns

The line of the Kremlin agents within the trade unions yesterday—up to the change in line—was determined by the desire of Stalinism to demonstrate to Roosevelt their eligibility for the job of his watchdog over American labor. Roosevelt was thereby expected to understand the advantages of an alliance with the Kremlin rulers. And Stalinism served Roosevelt as a brake upon the natural militancy of the workers, binding them hand and foot to the War Deal.

Now that Stalin has switched his system of international alliances and is openly playing the game of Hitler, the forces under Stalinist influence in the trade unions and elsewhere will be called upon to bring pressure upon the Allies and American imperialism to come to terms with Hitler. The workers are to be used as pawns in this game. In the United States, Stalinism will attempt to stampe the labor movement into wild, adventurist actions—dooming it to certain defeat—in order to embarrass Roosevelt.

The new line of Stalinism will bring them into sharp conflict with the Lewis bureaucracy of the CIO. The Lewis bureaucracy cannot and will not tolerate any frontal assault on the Roosevelt administration within its unions, even if this assault is of the spurious Stalinist variety. The Lewis publicity agents will brand the Stalinist union officials as "reds" and "revolutionists," not because the characterization is accurate, but because it will help them smear all progressives and militants with the odious stigma of Stalinism, which has rightly come to mean the unscrupulous foreign agency of the Kremlin.

Who Must Conduct the Purge?

Progressives cannot give any possible support to the disorganizing actions of the Stalinists within the unions, actions which will create havoc within the unions and weaken them before the class enemy. For the health of the trade unions, for their progress along progressive lines, the purge of the Stalinist disease is a vital and imperative necessity.

Purging the Stalinists, however, is a job that cannot be farmed out to the Lewis bureaucracy. The workers alone can eliminate the evil of Stalinism from the trade unions. And the rank and file will not be helped to understand this evil by the witch-hunting, red-baiting drive certain to be carried through by Lewis and his cronies.

To permit Lewis to purge the CIO unions of elected officials, the democratically elected representatives of local and international unions, would be equivalent to sanctioning a dictatorship over the trade unions. We are no more inclined to sanction a dictatorship of the agents of Wall St. over the trade unions than we are to sanction one by the agents of the Kremlin. Both of them, whether separately, or united as they were over the past four year period, can have only a pernicious influence on the development of the labor movement.

For Democracy in the Unions!

What is involved in the present and coming struggle within the CIO is not the replacing, discharging or transference of this or that appointed Stalinist official. These incompetents and disorganizers were usually saddled on the workers in flagrant disregard of their desires or their needs. If Lewis now wishes to dismantle his machine of appointees or to rebuild it with more loyal flunkies—that is his concern. Progressives and class conscious workers have long fought for the democratic method of electing union officials. The struggle for this principle will continue regardless of the change of appointees in the CIO.

Where the Lewis machine, the agency of American imperialism in the labor movement, invades democratic rights where they do exist, to oust elected officials on the charge of Stalinism, progressives have no other choice but that of open resistance. In this struggle they will find a way to make it clear beyond question that what they are defending is the democratic rights of the rank and file, and not the alien political interests of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

We repeat: only the conscious revolt of the rank and file for clean, democratic and militant unionism can eradicate the curse of Stalinism from the trade unions without bringing forth another evil no less dangerous and no less obnoxious.

No support to the dictatorial methods of Lewis! No support to his bureaucratic purge!

For the purge of Stalinism from the trade unions by the conscious democratic movement of the rank and file!

Revolutionary Greetings to Comrade Trotsky

Revolutionary greetings to our comrade-in-arms on his 60th birthday!

We are proud to celebrate this anniversary in a life so rich in service to the workers of the world. A life dedicated to the great cause of human emancipation from capitalist barbarism.

On your 60th birthday and on the 22nd anniversary of the Red October, we are confident of the coming victory of the World October!