Only the Workers of the World Can Defend the USSR!

Workers Of The World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For The Fourth International!

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PACT MENACES RUSSIA

The "democratic" and Fascist powers of Europe have struck a new bargain which, if it is carried out, will lead directly to war against the Soviet Union.

That is the meaning of what happened at Munich last Thursday.

That is the meaning of the "peace" that came at the eleventh hour when millions stood mobilizd at all the frontiers of Europe and the outbreak of a new imperialist war seemed a matter of hours.

That is why foreign correspondents are already calling the Soviet Union "Europe's great outsider."

That is why the workers of the world have to be mobilized now as never before to fight the makers of war, the bosses in their own countries.

There can be no more room now for the fakers and frauds, the Stalinists and the labor skates, who have been telling the workers for years to put their faith in the "democratic" nations to fight Fascism. At Munich the treacherous illusion of "collective security" was buried once and for all.

What we have got to drive home now is the real collective security of the international working class—which lies in uniting the workers of all countries, "democratic" and Fascist for the common struggle against their bosses. That is the way we'll get security from war. That is the way we'll get security for ourselves. That is the way we will save the Soviet Union, still the workers' fatherland despite Stalin, from the enemies who are now planning to crush it in hopes of solving that way their own insoluble conflicts.

This is the real lesson of Munich.

At Munich Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini, and Hitler came together in recognition of the fact that nothing could be more fatal to all of them than the outbreak of an inter-imperialist war which none of their regimes would survive. After 72 hours in which it seemed that despite this fact war among them had become inevitable, there was a swift and spectacular change in the situation.

All the concrete factors in that change will only come to light in the next few months. One thing is sure. Anglo-French imperialism made sweeping promises to Mussolini and Hitler which involve a complete realignment of the balance of power in Europe. The Czechoslovak issue was the least important of all. The dismemberment of that country had already been agreed upon. The ease with which the plans to carve up the country created by the Versailles victors were arranged at Munich makes this perfectly plain. The stake was not Czechoslovakia. The stake was the domination of Central Europe and in all probability a re-division of the colonies of the world.

Britain and France had everything to lose in an immediate war. Especially since neither power considers itself prepared militarily to join the issue on the battlefield and in the air. To postpone a showdown and to provide a breathing space in which they can perhaps realize the cherished dream of an anti-Soviet bloc they were willing to pay a heavy price. And that price they paid at Munich and in the secret diplomatic parleys that went on before Munich and are going on even now.

What is the Soviet Union going to do now? Stalin and his lackeys in the Communist Parties have been filling the heads of the workers everywhere with the notion that the "democratic" nations are the Sir Galahads upon whom the workers could depend to kill the Fascist dragon. Now the Galahads are all lined up with the dragons. The Izvestia correspondent at Geneva suddenly was permitted to say that "the social and political class regime is essentially the same in both the aggressor seemed uncertain. The New York Times reported from and capitulating countries." The other Soviet papers are silent. They don't know what to say any more and apparently the Kremlin does not know yet just how to proceed from the perilous point it has now reached.

The Daily Worker turned somersaults every 24 hours during the fluctuating hours when war or peace Paris that the Stalinists seemed to fear the war would not come, and had constituted themselves the principal war party in the nation. Now that particular war is off, for the moment anyway. Where do the Stalinists go from here?

That is what they will have to be asking themselves while the workers will be learning to abandon the parties that have proved themselves in these past few weeks to be the most rabid war-mongerning organizations in the world and whose policies, claiming to secure the defense of the Soviet Union, have only resulted in imperilling the Soviet Union's very existence.

The Munich agreement may not stand a week. It may fall down on the very first attempt to apply it. It may crack up later when the time comes to conclude deals on far greater issues than that of Czechoslovakia. Then once again the attempt will be made by the boss politicians in France, Britain, and in the United States, to whip up the war fervor for "defense of democracy" and for "collective security" just as they were doing in those 72 hours last week when war seemed so near.

The theme song "war for democracy" can just as quickly again replace the theme song "sacrifice for peace." We saw this week how quickly, how cynically the "democratic" statesmen were able to juggle these two alternatives around to suit the diplomatic exigencies of the swiftly changing situation. We propose not to dance to either tune or to any tune played by the bosses.

Munich should open all our eyes to the cheap demagogy of the "democratic" powers and to their readiness to reach complete unity with their Fascist fellow-imperialists to any extent required by their own vital interests.

The question of an inter-imperialist war, or a war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union still remains suspended on a sword's edge. For the workers of the world in either case there can be but one course.

Only the working class, completely independent of its capitalist governments and in struggle AGAINST those governments, can defend the Soviet Union.

Only the workers themselves will be able to create a real, durable pact by uniting their forces, across race and national boundaries, and joining their strength to establish the Socialist United States of Europe and of the World.

On the Eve of War

What Became of Democracy

We have predicted on innumerable occasions that the war for "democracy" would put a speedy end to democracy in the very countries where democracy was to have been protected. Within the past week this prediction has been confirmed to the hilt. In every "democratic nation the mere threat of war was sufficient pretext to trample on all civil liberties and workers' rights.

The civil liberties of the people of France, England, Czechoslovakia and the other "democracies" all but disappeared as these nations went on a war footing last week.

In Czechoslovakia . . .

The Czechoslovak Republic, for which the masses were called upon to shed their blood, became a military dictatorship overnight. If the change was not sudden, it was only due to the long record of systematic suppression of democratic rights by the Czech cabinets that preceded it.

General Syrovy, (strong man of the military cabinet, rose to prominence as the Commander-in-chief of the White Guard armies in Siberia in 1919 during the Allied imperialist intervention against the Russian Revolution. His Czech Legion earned the hatred of the international working class for their brutal executions of Bolsheviks.

The Czech Fascist movement has often put forward the name of Syrovy as their candidate for the post of dictator. The Czech Fascist Party hailed his elevation to the post of premier and pledged their wholehearted support.

The Syrovy cabinet undertook to complete the mobilization of the nation in defense of "democracy" by wiping out the last vestiges of civil liberties. It immediately passed a press censorship decree that gave the army control over the **editorial** content of newspapers. Newspaper defying the censorship were threatened with immediate suppression.

This decree followed an earlier one by the Hodza cabinet which is summed up by the New York **Times** correspondent as follows:

"Security of person was abolished, meaning that persons are subject to arrest without warrants and can be held without charge.

"New restraints were placed on the press.

"Letters may be opened by government representatives.

"Homes may be searched and the right of free assembly was suspended."

In France . . .

The French capitalist government likewise prepared itself to defend "democracy" by trampling upon the rights of the people. As long ago as last July, the government suppressed an issue of "Revolution," organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth, affiliate of the Fourth International. An article attacking the King of England upon the occasion of his visit to Paris was given as the reason.

The strike of the Marseilles longshoremen was broken by placing the harbor under military control and threatening strikers with court martial. Not trusting the French conscripts to inforce this decree, the government moved regiments of African colonial troops to the scene.

The strike of the construction workers in Paris was broken by threatening similar action.

In order to prevent any anti-war demonstrations, the French government banned all public meetings on international ques tions. All newsreels dealing with the. Czechoslovakian. question were ordered suppressed. The anti-war film, "Grand Illusion", was. quietly. removed .from French movies because of its scenes showing German and French soldiers fraternizing. A "March of Time" edition showing Czechoslovakia. as. "the. last center of democracy in Central "Europe" was also suppressed.

French police raided the Rennes headquarters of the Breiz Atao (Brittany Forever), the party of the Breton Autonomists, and confiscated posters that read. **"We will not war for Czechs against our will."**

The Breton Autonomists contend that they are still a Gallic people rather than French and demond minority rights within the French Republic.

Read the

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Socialist Solution Is Only One For Czech National Minorities

(From "Banner," Organ of the Sudeten Bolshevik-Leninists)

If according to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia social patriotism is necessary for proletariat, it must also be permissible for the German proletariat. If the proletariat of the "democracies" throws its internationalism overboard and concludes civil peace, and defends imperalist interests in unity with the bourgeoisie, the consequences will necessarily be that the German proletariat will, more certainly, line up behind Hitler. Only if the working class of the democracies continues the irreconcilable class struggle against its own bourgeoisie even during war, if it persists in political opposition to its government, overthrow them, establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus transforming the imperialist war into a revolutionary war, only then will the German proletariat enter the more easily and rapidly on to the path of proletarian revolution.

How They Explain

There are many comrades, especially in the rank of the Social Democracy, who remained faithful to internationalism until May 21 (the first Czech mobilization) but who were carried away and confused by the flood of social patriotism. Now they see their salvation of the proletariat in a world coalition of the "democracies" against rapacious fascism. This leads them automatically into the ranks of the partisans of the status quo, and to the renounciation of class struggle against their own bourgeoisie. The socialist struggles in France fill them with a "concern for peace." And the socialist struggles in Czechoslovakia would again fill them with "concern for peace."

Allies with Bourgeoisies

But instead the Social Democracy and after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International also the Communist Party chose the way of class peace and alliance with the Czech bourgeoisie. Thus the majority of the Sudeten German working class stands today in the camp of Henleins Nazism. Its numerous members believe that they are fighting for national self-determination. But in reality they are a tool of the imperialist aims of German financial capital which is not interested in national freedom (look at the South Tyrol) but . . . (at this point the article has been cut by the "democratic" censors of the Czechoslovak Republic . . . We will give the article its logical conclusion with an excerpt from an article in the latest issue of "Proletarske Noviny" which escaped the vigilant eye of the police censos.—Ed.)

In the midst of chauvinist fury, the Fourth Internationalists raise the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe. Today skeptics will regard this slogan as impractical and fantastic. But at the beginning of the last World War the slogans of a handful of Russian Bolsheviks appeared equally fantastic. We stand at the threshold of great historical events. The bourgeaisie rushes headlong, senseless and blind, toward this debacle.

Nobody can foresee the outcome. But we know this: No motter how black it may look in the **beginning,** at the **end** there will be no slogan more practical than Socialism and the United Socialist States of Europe and the whole world.

* * *

(From "Proletarske Noviny, Organ of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Czech-speaking Area.)

The national question has upon various occasions played an unfortunate role in the history of Central Europe. In 1848 it brought

(Continued on page 2)

Fourth Internationalists Firm In Czechoslovakia

We publish articles herewith from the press of the Czecho-Slovakian section of the Fourth International. These excerpts are taken from the Czech language organ, "Proletarske Noviny" ((Proletarian News) and the Sudeten German organ, "Banner."

The Fourth Internationalists of Czecho-Slovakia are of every nationality composing this polyglot nation. Whereas the Communist Party has become a purely Czech nationalist party, Czechs, Slovaks, Sudeten German, Poles, and Jews hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism. Neither the persecutions of Benes' state apparatus nor the violent pressure of Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies could shake them in their firm ideas of revolutionary defeatism.

In the last decisive months they have been calling unceasingly to the workers of every tongue: Benes does not defend peace against a war-thirsty Hitler. He defends the interest of declining French imperialism against the rising German imperialism. Benes does not defend democracy against fascism but the imperialist privileges of the Czech bourgeoisie against the exploited masses of all nations in Czechoslovakia. The role of Benes and Stalin is the role of purveyors of defeat for the working class. The defense of the democratic rights of labor against fascist danger from within and without, is possible only through the organs and methods of proletarian class struggle.

And as we see the decisions of the Munich conference sufficed to prove the correctness of this point of view.

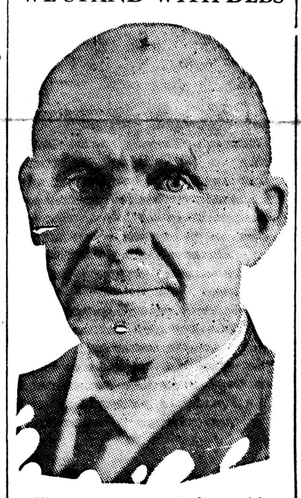
The few hundred "Trotskyites" in Czechoslovakia—their number is definitely small in comparison with the millions of social patriotic supporters of Social Democracy and Stalinism—have united from various backgrounds. The original group was expelled from the Communist party in 1928 after the Sixth World Congress. During the last few months they have established a common organization with former prominent leaders of the Communist Party who had broken with Stalinism, some of them after the German defeat,, the rest after the Zinoviev trial. The Sudeten German elements are composed of former leading Communists and left Social Democrats, working even now within the Social Democracy and the Sudeten area. All these groups have a common basis in their irreconcilible struggle against social patriotism and the recognition of the necessity of a new world party of the proletariat.

Reading the articles, the reader must keep in mind that the revolutionary movement of Czechoslovakia has been a state of semi-legality for a year and in the last weeks in virtually complete illegality. From its very rise the Czech "democracy" has hampered the freedom of the written and spoken word with strong fetters of a preventive police and court censorship. Therefore, the Czech organ, which is published legally, must speak a language similar to that in Bolshevik legal publications in times of Czarist absolutism.

The rigid censoship in the German districts has always compelled our Sudeten comrades to publish their papers illegally. . .

Working under the greatest änancial and technical difficulties and under the furious terror of chauvinism, our Czechoslovakian comrades have been raising the slogans of the Fourth International even during the most trying circumstances of the war crisis. (The latest issue of the Czech organ appeared in August and the German organ in September.)

WE STAND WITH DEBS



"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people . . I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world wide war of social revolution."

—Eugene Victor Debs.

US LAWS READY TO SHATTER ALL CIVIL LIBERTIES

In Case of War We Would Be Placed Under Iron Rule

What will happen to the American worker if the United States declared war "to make the world safe for democracy"?

There are enough laws on the statue books today to eradicate every democratic right that the workers have been struggling for years to maintain. Additional legislation will undoubtedly place the government under a virtual dictatorship.

The Communications Act of 1934 permits the government to shut down any radio station, no matter what regulations they have satisfied, if war is declared. Their equipment and apparatus can be taken away altogether if the government so desires.

No Free Speech

Freedom of speech and press will be abrogated. The government can throw anyone who speaks against the war into prison for 20 years under the provisions of a sedition act now on the books.

All immigrants who have not as

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Roosevelt Moves Open Path to War

Washington's Intervention Makes the Record, Helps Speed Up New Armament Outlays

In the critical events of the past week leading up to the four-power settlement at Munich, President Roosevelt enacted a role reminiscent of Woodrow Wilson in 1914. There was, however, one striking difference between them.

The intervention of Roosevelt in the present crisis of European imperialism was far more energetic and comprehensive than Wilson's amateurish efforts.

With the characteristic duplicity of capitalist diplomacy, this intervention assumed the dual form of public proclamations, on the one hand, and concealed movements, on the other. The note which Roosevelt dispatched late Tuesday to Hitler and Benes and immediately released to the world press, was obviously aimed at world public opinion and intended for home consumption.

A Veiled Threat

This message, beseeching Hitler and Benes to continue negotiations and reminding them of the defunct Kellog-Briand pact, was ostensibly a plea for peace. But behind the sanctimonious phrases lurked a veiled threat:

"The supreme desire of the American people is to live in peace. But in the event of a general war they face the fact that no nation can escape some measure of the consequences of such a world catastrophe."

Was not the apparently innocent statement intended to convey the intimation, more openly expressed in the past few months by Roosevelt, Hull, Ickes, and other high administration officials, that in the event of war the United States would align itself with England and French imperialism against Germany and its allies? The diplomatic purpose of the President's messages was first to stave off the war, and in case war exploded, to brand Germany with the stigma of "aggressor."

In his reply to Roosevelt's first peace plea, Hitler rudely reminded this disciple of Wilson that "the right of self-determination which had been proclaimd by President Wilson as the most important basis of national life, was simply denied to the Sudeten Germans." Hitler was thus able to pose as the upholder of the democratic right of self-determination in the same fashion that Roosevelt could pose as a defender of peace.

Behind the Scenes

While this exchange of notes was being published, more serious activities were going on behind the scenes. In accordance with the practices of secret diplomacy, the scope and precise nature of these negotiations remain unknown to all but the governing clique. The public at large, whose fate is directly concerned, have yet to be informed of these secret negotiations. The full story cannot be known until it is too late for the people to intervene on their account.

The lifting of the curtain here and there has thrown a little light upon the backstage activities of the administration. It was disclosed, for example, that before sending his last appeal to Hitler, Roosevelt requested South American and European governments, and even Japan to bring pressure upon Germany and Czechoslovakia to come to an agreement. He also dispatched a personal appeal to Mussolini to prevail upon Hitler not to march. The text of this message remains secret.

It is unquestionable that this organized campaign on Roosevelt's part played a role in the crisis. Without more information it is difficult to determine how important this note actually was. In any case, Roosevelt rendered valuable supplementary diplomatic aid to Chamberlain in persuading Hitler to apportion Czechoslovakia in a "gentlemanly" manner.

Military Preparations Speeded

The administration did not limit itself to diplomatic proclamations and backstairs maneuvers. Facing the prospect of European war, the army and navy chiefs made their own military preparations, and renewed their propaganda for larger appropriations. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau conferred with the President on financial measures to be taken in case of conflict.

Equally ominous was the conference between the President and Bernard Baruch, Wilson's right-hand man before and during the last war. While Woodrow Wilson, like Roosevelt, was talking peace, Baruch under his direction was making private preparations for war. Baruch's subordinate, General Hugh Johnson, was assigned to draw up plans for the draft and for a general mobilization of national resources. Johnson recently confessed that he had even gone to the extent of printing forms for draft registration months before America's entry into the last war. All these actions were, he admitted, illegal, dictatorial, and unknown even to Congress.

No less significant were the cordial relations in evidence between Roosevelt's diplomatic en-

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Roosevelt Rehearses

There is a symbolic as well as an actual importance in Roosevelt's manner of intervention in the Czechoslovak crisis.

For three weeks Roosevelt did nothing. He did not wish to soil his hands before the masses with the bloody schemes being cooked up in Berchtesgaden and Godesberg, in Paris and London. He wanted none of the shame which always attaches to the diplomacy of imperialism whenever it is forced into the open.

Then suddenly he began cabling the capitals of the world. He called for peace and for justice and for all of the other noble abstractions.

His second message, addressed to Hitler, was grimmer in tone. Herein he sought to establish the "war guilt," if the war were in fact about to begin. He was "making the record," so that it might come in handy when the time arrived to use it.

Roosevelt's manner of intervening in these ways foreshadows with accuracy *Roosevelt's plans for the role of the United States in the coming war itself.*

The war will begin, with the United States piously on the side-lines, protesting its devotion to peace and freedom. The other nations will be the war-mongers, and incidentally will wear themselves out in the fighting. Then, with its purity unsullied, the U. S. will regretfully be compelled to step in to bring love and order once more to the world, and by coincidence to win the lion's share of the booty.

Those same forces that compelled Roosevelt to intervene diplomatically in the current crisis will likewise compel U. S. armed intervention in the war. Roosevelt, indeed, made this quite clear in his notes, by pointing out that no nation could remain unaffected by the consequences of a major war. Above all would the United States, the economy of which is in every decisive respect dependent upon imperialist economy as a whole, be drawn into the orbit.

Let no dream of isolation blind us to this significance of Roosevelt's intervention. And let us notice how promptly he implements his plans with a doubling and re-doubling of armament orders during the past three weeks, and the demand for the triple speeding up of the naval building.

Our concern with the events in Europe must not be allowed to turn our eyes away from the main enemy, the war-makers at home. It is against them that our heaviest blows must be directed. There is not an hour to waste in the organization of the workers of the U. S. in determined resistance to "our own" war machine. The workers must be summoned to the first and major task: *the fight against the war.*

Stalinists Run Alliance Conclave; Bar Dissidents

New York Progressives Denied Seats; Cheering Delegates Clamber On Roosevelt Bandwagon

CLEVELAND—The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance held its national convention here, over the last week-end and among other things hooked the unemployed to the Roosevelt war machine, pledged alliegance to the New Deal's phoney politicians, and adopted a new expulsion order for all Alliance members who refused to toe the Stalinist class-collaboration line.

David Lasser and Herbert Benjamin, national president and secretary-treasurer of the Alliance, respectively, concocted an amendment to the W.A.A. constitution in that organization.

Hitler Rule

The constitutional amendment which in part said: "Any member or officer shall be subject to discipline who . . .forms or joins in forming or associates himself in action with any organized group not legally recognized as an official body of the alliance," completely bars any two members getting together to discuss the affairs of this totalitarian organization. It bars a local from carrying out any strike action, or demonstration without the approval of the Stalinist officials, a clause similar to the one adopted by the most reactionary old-time A. F. of L. unions, and is entirely contrary to the interests of the unemployed movement.

The high point of the convention came when the delegates (hand-picked by the Stalinist machine for the most part) voted to expel a delegation of three representing according to their spokesman "fourteen New York locals with a combined membership of more than 2,000." The delegation consisted of Judah Altman, chairman of Local 19, Neil Harrison, chairman of Local 15. and Brendan Sexton, a former president of the New York Alliance, and a member of its National Executive Board.

Condemn Treachery

Sexton denounced the Alliance and charged that its policies followed those of the Communist Party and the interests of the unemployed were being disregarded in a desire to spare "political embarrassment" to President Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia.

Mr. Altman declared that the officers of the New York Alliance had blocked demonstrations at City Hall and sit-down strikes in relief offices because it was the policy of the Communist Party to avoid "embarrassing" Mayor LaGuardia. He said that critics of this policy has been "terrorized" and "gagged."

In its annual report the W.A.A. National Executive Board admitted that large sections had withdrawn from the Alliance in Maryland, Wisconsin, Idaho and New York.

In a typical Stalinist-inspired resolution, the Alliance put its stamp of approval on the war of the Roosevelt administration, preparation and war mongering and adopted the pro-war principle of "collective security." The Stalinists made their usual demogogic and hypocritical plea for "peace and democracy" and for "a democratic front against the fascist agressors."

In another resolution, the Alliance went on record in favor of a third term for President Franklin ("I hate war") Roosevelt. Turning the convention into a typical big-time capitalist political rally, the delegates, at the conclusion of the Roosevelt resolution snatched up "State standards," and with mounting hysteria started a march around the convention hall singing: "Roosevelt is our leader, we shall not be moved."

Action on the mass expulsion of some 2000 Aliance militants in New York was put over for this week, and placed in the hands of the well-greased Stalinist expulsion-machine in New York City.

AMERICAN LEGION TO MOBILIZE FOR REACTIONARIES

Convention Adopts 10-Point Anti-Labor Program

LOS ANGELES. — The American Legion Convention held in Los Angeles during the past week, adopted the most reactionary program in its history and geared itself towards becoming the spearhead of fascist organization throughout the country.

A ten-point labor baiting program was adopted unanimously by the delegates at the closing session of the convention. The program, proposed by Warren H. Atherton, chairman of the Americanism Committee, calls for the deportation of all militant unionists who are not citizens of the United States, demands the invocation of stricter immigration laws, commends the red-baiting Dies Committee, and asks that the right of free speech be limited.

A motion asking the Legion not to participate in industrial disputes was defeated. The defeat of this motion actually calls for the formation of vigilante committees by the Legionnaires in order to break strikes.

One of the most indicative actions that the Legion took to prove its course was the election of Stephen F. Chadwick, a Seattle attorney who held the chairmanship of the Americanism committee for the past three years, as the new National Commander of the Legion. Chadwick is renowned on the West Coast as a representative of the bosses in their attempt to smash the strong trade union movement which has successfully fought to maintain the concessions they have won for the workers.

As compared with the Legion convention held in New York just a year ago, the Legionnaires have become more open and more vicious in their attacks on labor. The tone of the New York convention was support of the "democratic" capitalism of President Roosevelt and support of the New Deal. The Los Angeles convention undoubtedly moved more towards fascism than anything else.

The Convention reaffirmed the Legion's endorsement of universal conscription in wartime, as adopted at the New York convention last year. The Legion will undoubtedly act as the recruiting sergeants for American imperialism when war is declared. The Legionnaires will be used as the "Storm Troops" of capitalism in smashing strikes and in "maintaining civil peace" during wartime, as well as smashing meetings and organizations of workers that might resist the war measures of the government.

The ten point program follows:

1. That the right of free speech be maintained EXCEPT where the right is invoked to incite crime and violence.

2. That Congress be commended for forming the Dies Committee, and that it be asked for additional funds so that the committee may complete its work.

3. That Harry Bridges, C.I.O. regional director, and "all like aliens" be brought to trial immediately and deported.

4. That any alien convicted of a felony in a United States court be deported immediately.

5. That many Department of Labor officials "have failed in their duties and have blocked the immigration and deportation laws," and that Congress be asked to investigate the laxness of these officials with a view toward corrective action.

6. That the immigration laws be amended to provide that no foreign country may send its citizens here if it is unwilling to take back its citizens deported from this country.

7. That all immigration be curtailed until all American citizens are back at work, or at least for a ten year period.

8. That Congress shall be asked to provide application forms for citizenship papers to all incoming aliens, with instructions in their own language on how to become citizens, and that failure to become a citizen within five years shall subject them to deportation.

9. That all bills, present and expected, which lower the requirements for naturalization, be opposed by the Legion.

10. That the Legion continue its fight against communism, Nazism, or fascism.

The Legion, it must be remembered, is the only reactionary organization with a mass base. Composed mainly of middle class element, and supported by the American capitalist class, this body might easily be transformed into the American fascist party. Today strongly nationalist and reactionary, they may very easily become the rallying center and banner bearer for the fascist movement in the United States. Under the guise of "Americanism" they can be expected to advocate fascist principles, without once labeling themselves as "fascists."

Truck Strike Routs Bosses; Unions Gain

Substantial Increases Won by Drivers as Strike Comes to End; LaGuardia's True Role Now Revealed

By S. V. O'Flaherty

NEW YORK, Sept. 29.—As the great strike of the New York truck drivers drew to its successful conclusion today, its importance for the labor movement in this area, as well as the rest of the country, became especially clear.

New Jersey drivers benefited directly, receiving the same agreements as those in the metropolis. Moving-van men, who were not called out on strike, had their contract renewed with substantial wage increases and general betterment of conditions. Longshoremen, it was reported, were offered a new contract with considerable improvements. Other unions all along the East Coast evidenced a new spirit of militancy, encouraged by the truck drivers' achievements.

In the truest sense of the word, the teamsters' strike was a battle for all of labor.

Bosses Ass'n Collapses

Operators, banded together in the Merchant Truckmen's Bureau and the Highway Transport Association — who only yesterday vowed to stand pat "until hell freezes over"—signed up in the hundreds and their association collapsed like a toy balloon. While weather conditions in the regions beyond are not ascertainable, it is quite certain that the strike which hit the owners on the good solid earth of Greater New York tore into these associations like a veritable cyclone.

The Merchant Truckmen's Bureau has already signed a collective agreement based on the Mayor's compromise. The Highway Transport Association is requesting a temporary six-weeks' contract based on the **40-hour week** at the prevailing rate of weekly pay for over-the-road drivers, with the setting up of a separate over-the-road local that will make minor concessions with regard to staggering working hours.

They Call It "Unique"

The cyclone effect of the strike and the peculiar "public emergency" measures it forced upon the Mayor are best described by the words out of the mouth of Arthurs G. McKeever, managing director of the Merchant Truckmen's Bureau. Said Mr. McKeever:

"The present situation is indeed unique. In this city we have strike breakers (sic) furnished by the unions, paid by the city to drive taxpayers' trucks in a service supervised by associations representing the merchants whom the truck owners are endeavoring to protect from higher trucking costs that would result from increased wages."

Another characteristic comment was that of Sanitation Commissioner William F. Carey, who was overwhelmed by the Mayor's orders to mobilize his department's trucks for "emergency service." Referring to the general state of affairs in the world at that moment, the commissioner exclaimed: "My God! The whole world's gone crazy. Even I'm mobilizing."

Why They Capitulated

The scramble which resulted in the unprecedented spectacle of an American city going into the trucking business, with the Mayor forced to take the side of strikers against employers and with responsible heads of the so-called business community serving as directors of the unique public enterprise, is cast in its proper light by Mr. McKeever's statement of capitulation. Here it is:

"The consideration which prompted the signing of an agreement by the Merchant Truckmen's Bureau **was that temper of the union membership,** as evidenced by outlaw (sic) strikes **and the vote at a union meeting presided over by Mayor LaGuardia,** indicated that **officials of the union were no position to give further consideration** to economic conditions (sic) and that continuation of our position would have have meant . . . **an ultimate cost that would have exceeded the cost of compliance with the union demands."**

In other words, Mr. McKeever is explaining that the strikers meant business and that there just wasn't any use bucking them. That also explains why the heads of the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade didn't try to stiffen the resistance of the truck owners, but instead plugged for the Mayor's compromise. Furthermore, it explains why the Mayor did what he did. The latter were simply more far-sighted regarding the interests of New York's boss class than the truck bosses. They feared a general strike, which appeared inevitable in case of continued obstinacy, and the blows that such an eventuality would deal the bosses of the city as a whole.

Finally, it seems, the trucking firms regained their senses and appreciated with gratitude the Mayor's services to them. For Mr. McKeever concludes his statement as follows:

"At this time we take occasion to express appreciation of the efforts of the Mayor. . ."

Strike Points the Way

And well they might. For the Mayor did a distince service to the bosses—and the bosses alone. The drivers could very easily have gotten better terms—without any aid from the Mayor. At it is, they have won an important partial victory. This victory is even far more important from the point of view of the general movement than it is from that of the actual gains made by the men involved in the strike itself. For, it showed the way to ward's labor's own solution of the problem of unemployment: **the strike for lower hours at the same rate of pay!**

Advice to Chisellers

The papers, the businessmen, a good many so-called "labor leaders" as well as the yellow (not "red") Communist Party and its paper, the **Daily Worker**, play up the Mayor's role in the strike as a great service to everybody. Nothing could be more deceiving. The Mayor's role was, to be sure, a service to the bosses. But the truck drivers would do well to look over carefully not only his past "services," but those he has in store for them in the future. The N. Y. **World-Telegram** (Thursday, Sept. 29), quotes Mr. LaGuardia editorially as saying to a meeting of the two bosses' organizations that there should be

". . . sufficient **business ingenuity** among the various employers in the trucking industry **to devise a way to absorb the difference of three hours a week."**

In plain language that means: the Mayor is advising the bosses to use their well-accustomed **trickery** ("business ingenuity") to do the victorious drivers out of their hard-won three hours a week ("devise a way to absorb"—catch on?))

The drivers would do well to watch the fingers of the bosses . . . and of their "friend," Mayor LaGuardia—in spite of the agreements signed.

Socialist Solution Is Only One For Czech National Minorities

(Continued from page 1)

about the collapse of the bourgeois democratic revolutions because of the cowardice of the German bourgeoisie and the reactionary attitude of the upper strata of the Slav nations. Thanks to the eternal national struggles the rotten, half-feudal Austro-Hungarian monarchy could maintain itself up to the 20th century. After the world war the national illusions of the liberated nations acted as a break upon the social revolution and caused the annihilation of its first fortress in Central Europe, the Hungarian Soviet Republic. And today again, the great wave of nationalism drowns the nations of Central Europe, including the majority of the proletariat.

However, if the Social Democracy of Austria-Hungary had been a genuine revolutionary party, if it had connected the struggle of the proletariat with the struggle of the oppressed nations of the monarchy for self-determination, the world war would have ended with the liberation and then the fraternal unification of the nations of the Danubian valley under banner of Socialism. And if the Communist parties, born after the World War, had known and applied Lenin's national policy, imperialism would have been defeated in this region.

The overwhelming majority of the world's population is exploited and enslaved by imperialism and can become a powerful ally of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle against the imperialist enemy. This demands however, that the revolutionary proletariat gain the confidence of these masses. And this is possible only if every proletarian learns to consistently put the interest of the international liberation of the working class and all the exploited above "the interests of their own nation," behind which is hidden the interest of the bourgeoisie. But this demands above all the uncompromising defense of the right to freedom of any oppressed nation against its oppressors, even if the latter are "blood-brothers."

Fascist chauvinism and racism, these most abominible off-springs of bourgeois nationalism, arose among the defeated nations for one thing, because the working class of the "victor" nations was unable to prevent its imperialists from enslaving and exploiting the defeated. If after the war the Czech working class had forced its bourgeoisie to treat its "minorities" differently, Henlein would not today have 90% of the Sudeten Germans with him.

Source of Henlein's Strength

Yes, if the revolutionary labor movement had been able to develop the class struggle of the Sudeten German workers and the poor German peasants, Mr. Konrad Henlein would still be a simple gym teacher. And if the struggle had been developed to the point where the Sudeten German workers had taken control of factories, mines, and landed estates, and had there simultaneously been a struggle against national oppression, we could be sure that the Sudeten-German working class would now fight together with the Czech working class against German imperialism.

In order to subdue the remains of revolutionary consciousness they develop an odd tactic: First we defeat, along with our own bourgeoisie, German fascism. That will cause the beginning of the proletarian revolution in Germany. At this point we also overthrow our own bourgeoisie.

Civil Peace and Fascism

They only forget that first, their policy of civil peace, started already before the war, opens wide the door for fascism in their own country. Secondly, that in case of war their bourgeoisie must, under any circumstances, abolish the few remaining democratic rights. (National Defense Law—adopted in 1936 to provide for open military dictatorship in time of war and "state emergencies.") Thirdly, that even in the presence of the objective premises of a proletarian revolution, the subjective factor, the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, enjoying the confidence of the masses could not develop after the previous policy of civil peace. In other words, in this case the tragedy of the German Revolution of 1918 would necessarily be repeated.

Confused by Patriotism

In essence, these comrades confused by social patriotism, replace the independent proletarian policy by a simple exercise in arithmetic. So many and so many states are against the further expansion of the Third Reich. Consequently war does not offer it any chances. Peace is preserved. But precisely if you succeed in postponing war and the proletariat, blinded by social patriotism continues to retreat, the present alignment of powers will decidedly change. (These prophetic words were written before the Hitler-Chamberlain meetings!—Editor.)

The proletariat cannot combine **its own** policy and **its own** aims with a bourgeois alignment of powers. It can accomplish its historical task—the replacement of capitalist society by Socialism—only through **its own** class methods.

Roosevelt Moves Open Path to War

(Continued from page 1)

voys, Ambassadors Kennedy in London, Bullitt in Paris, with the English and French governments. These friendly relations contrasted with the formal communications with Hitler, indicating the existence of a very clear "understanding" between Anglo-French and American imperialism.

Helps Four-Power Pact

Although Litvinov at Geneva, the Moscow press, and the American Stalinists hailed his suggestion for a general conference of all powers "directly interested" in a settlement of the Czech situation, Roosevelt, no less than Chamberlain and Daladier, paid scant attention to the Soviet Union in seeking a way out of the crisis. This potential "friend and ally" of the Soviet Union contributed his share to the four-power pact whose spearhead is directed against the Soviet Union!

Just as Wilson's grandiose scheme for the League of Nations materialized in the imperialist banditry at Geneva, so Roosevelt's proposal for a general conference of the European nations eventuated in the grim deal at Munich!

Both at home and abroad Roosevelt is being hailed as a prince of peace and given credit for bringing about a settlement of the crisis. In foreign capitals his praises are sung to flatter or court the good will of the American titan, whose support is so decisive in world politics. At home this propaganda is calculated to make the American people place confidence in Roosevelt's pacific intentions, to dispel their distrust of his war-plans, to induce them to hand over to him the direction of their destinies.

Masses Want Peace

The behavior of the vast majority of the American people in this crisis demonstrated that they want peace. While the fundamental strategy of the Roosevelt regime is to throw its weight to the side of Anglo-French imperialism against Germany and Japan, the profound anti-war sentiments among the masses, the isolationist policy of a segment of the big bourgeoisie, and the gravity of the European situation compelled Roosevelt to move with great circumspection. While Roosevelt hastens to strangle the movement for a popular referendum on war, which aims to give the American people a voice and vote in determining the question of peace or war, and thereby place a check upon his freedom of action, he is forced to take their desire for peace into account in all his public statements. This accounts for the pacific tone of his pronouncements, contrasted with the belligerent speeches at Chicago and Toronto, and for the cautiousness of his actions during the past week.

The conscious participation of the Roosevelt administration in the war demonstrates that Roosevelt cannot and does not intend to remain aloof from the affairs of European imperialism, whether these terminate in a bandit's bargain or war. The war crisis is already being exploited as an excuse for accelerating preparations for war. Thus the temporary postponement of war is utilized by American no less than by British, French and German imperialism to complete its preparations for the irrepressible world conflict.

TO SHATTER ALL CIVIL LIBERTIES

(Continued from page 1)

yet become citizens of the United States are liable to arrest under the government act of July 1798.

Criminal syndicalism laws which exist in almost every state would permit the legal smashing of the trade union movement. Strikes would, of course, be illegal.

Under the statutes against espionage, any opponent of the government can be jailed. Espionage laws provide a minimum penalty of 30 years inprisonment and permit the death sentence.

It is expected that the next session of the legislature will pass the industrial mobilization bill so as to assure government control of industry during war time. The bill would draft industrial executives into the War Department to assure continued management of their firms, take control of all war resources, and close the securities exchange. Long hours of work and low pay can be maintained in the factories by government decree.

Concentration Camp Gov't

Complete regulation of the radio and the press makes it impossible to have any other opinion but the opinion of the government.

Censorship of the mails will place the entire population at the mercy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. No one will dare utter a phrase that might offend the powers that be.

Vigilante committees will be permitted full freedom to smash any opposition to the government. Lynch mobs will rule the streets as Hitler's Brown Shirts and S. S. mobs in Germany.

Dictatorship and not "democracy" will rule in the nation that will call on its workers to go war to again "make the world safe for democracy."

FORCE WAGE CUT ON PHILCO UNION

Stalinist Leadership Ends Strike with Heavy Defeat

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The four month old strike of the Philco Radio and Television Corporation workers has been sold-out by the Stalinist leadership of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, C.I.O.

The men were ordered back to work after the union leadership signed an agreement calling for an 18% wage cut, a 10 percent longer work week, a reclassification of jobs which permits men to be replaced by women, loss of seniority rights of workers, and the abandonment of the cabinet makers who were left out of the agreement entirely.

This brazen sell-out agreement has been signed, leaving the workers for the next two and a half years at the mercy of the bosses. It is feared that the agreement will tend to lower any national wage minimum set under the new Wage-Hour Bill.

Union Workers Scab

One of the major factors contributing to the defeat of the Philco workers, was that work for the Philco company was being done in other shops under U.E.R.M. contracts. In other words, the union men were permitted to scab on the Philco workers with the full knowledge and consent of the U.E.R.M. leadership.

The Stalinist union leadership has proved once more its total disregard for the union membership. The Philco agreement is just one more sell-out in a stream of betrayals among which was the settlement of a strike of workers in the Maytag Washing Machine Company of Newton, Iowa, when the union accepted a 15% wage cut for its members, and the recent settlement of the strike of the Eagle Pencil workers in New York, who were forced to return to work and accept a 10% wage cut as a result of an agreement between the union leaders and the bosses.

Appeal Army

To All Comrades and Friends:

The voice of revolutionary socialism, the **Socialist Appeal,** stands alone amid the present wave of patriotism and chauvinism. Upon its shoulders has fallen the great task of combatting the war-mongering hysteria and the pro-war chorus made up of the capitalist class and its hired press; the Stalinists; liberals and labor-leader patriots.

Great forces and powerful organizations are at work preparing the minds of the American workers and the American people for the horror of imperialist war. For the first time in world history we see the treacherous spectacle of so-called labor leaders and "communists" in the front ranks of the war-makers.

Recognizing all this, the **Socialist Appeal** has taken upon itself to make a tremendous effort. For the duration of the present war-crisis, **we will appear three times per week!** This issue is our first special anti-war issue. It must and will be followed by others. All branches are to immediately mobilize all available forces for mass sale and distribution of the **Appeal.** Not a moment is to be lost lest the anti-war forces be overwhelmed by the clouds of war propaganda spread about by the capitalists and their agents.

The special issues will appear on Tuesday and Saturday of each week. The regular, weekly 4-page issue will come out on Thursdays as customarily. The special issues will sell for 1c each; the regular issue at the usual 5c price. We are automatically **doubling** the **bundle-orders of branches and individuals.** Several times our usual run is being printed on all special issues. We expect branches to send in greatly increased orders for the anti-war issues **at once.**

We are sure that every comrade and sympathizer will understand not only the seriousness of this job, but also its dire necessity. The Socialist Workers Party must raise its voice in warning to the American working class. It must reach tens of thousands of workers with its anti-war message and that immediately! Let it not be said that the American section of the Fourth International did not fulfill its duty in leading the anti-war forces of the country!

We expect branches to turn in at once the **full proceeds** of their mass sales of the anti-war issues. Only in this way can the 3-times weekly **Appeal** be financed. We urgently appeal to all comrades and friends to rush contributions to us **via air-mail.**

Build the Socialist Appeal! Long live the struggle against capitalist-imperialist war! Comrades, to action!

The Business Manager.

Socialist Appeal,

116 University Place,

New York, N. Y.

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