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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.

Defend Joe Ryan

Thurman Arnold, head of the "anti-trust"—union-busting—division of the Department of Justice, whose inventive brain has cooked up enough pretexts to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to over 400 trade union leaders now under indictment, with any number more indictments to come, has found a new justification for this policy.

"And finally," he said in a speech last Saturday (quoted in the New York Times, Jan. 28), "the Sherman act can protect the labor movement from enemies within its ranks. . . . Without the intervention of the Sherman act, it is possible for selfish men within a labor union to work themselves into positions of autocratic power and terrorize the members of that union into helpless submission to activities the purpose of which is only personal power."

This was a clever thrust at Joe Ryan, head of the International Longshoremen's Association, the latest to be indicted by Arnold. Clever, for it is unquestionable that Ryan is an autocrat, that he terrorizes militants in his union, and that his personal power is a prime consideration with him. Clever—but false.

Ryan's role is, like that of all trade union bureaucrats (including Stalin), a dual one. On the one hand, he operates for his own personal power, beating down opposition within the union; to keep his power he will make concessions to the bosses which are inimical to the interests of the union membership. On the other hand, however, the union must exist and flourish, and that means its members must benefit from it, if Ryan is to have any power at all. Hence the purpose of Ryan's activities is NOT "only personal power." His personal fate is tied up with the destiny of the union. And a blow by the bosses or their government against Ryan is a blow against the union.

Ryan's crimes against the trade union movement, arising from his autocratic rule, are not at all the reasons why the government is prosecuting him. On the contrary, he is indicted for activities on the OTHER side of his dual role—activities which are building his union. He is indicted, not for lack of democracy in the union, but because for the sake of the union he is making trouble for some lumber companies. That in this particular case the lumber companies are trying to hide behind a CIO local, which has invaded the jurisdiction of the longshoremen and teamsters, does not obscure the fundamental fact: the government is after Ryan because the government is the agent of the bosses whom Ryan is fighting.

The United States government is not the umpire that Arnold pretends it is—pretends, because he knows better. One of the persons who heard Arnold's speech asked him why he didn't go after the California banker—"farmers" to rectify the conditions depicted by "The Grapes of Wrath." Arnold answered, "those matters are largely a matter of personnel in the office of the Department of Justice." That's a bald-faced lie. They have just the personnel intended for the department—a personnel to fight against unions and to protect bosses.

We've got our grievances against Ryan. But they are grievances WITHIN the labor movement. Against the bosses, and against their agents like Arnold, we'll defend Ryan unconditionally.

For A Free Poland

Like all the other creatures of the Versailles system, the regime established in Poland after the last war was a monstrous abortion which placed millions of Ukrainians, Germans, Byelo Russians, and Jews at the mercy of a ruling clique of Polish colonels and landlords who governed with rifle and knout for nearly 20 years. The mass of Polish workers and peasants suffered along with their brothers of other nationalities under the lash of Pilsudski and his successors, Smigly-Rydz and Jozef Beck.

This explained the easy pricking of the Polish bubble by Hitler's war machine. This was why the much-vaunted Polish state fell to pieces under the first impact of a military blow. Today the Poles have passed under the Nazi yoke. The Ukrainians and Byelo Russians have fallen to the tender mercies of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Jews have simply exchanged the Polish yoke for that of the Nazis and of Stalin.

Meanwhile on French soil the Polish colonels have set up a government-in-exile to retain the possibility of re-establishing their power after the Allied victory they hope will result from the present war. They have brought the aged and quavering Paderewski out of retirement to become "president" and through him offer the Polish people once more their lush promises: "Respect for democratic ideas will be the guiding principle of future Polish regimes . . . democratic equality . . . individual liberty . . ."

But who are the people for whom Paderewski speaks? Permit us to take as authority the organ of the ultra-conservative and ultra-ultra-subservient Jews of this country, the American Jewish Committee's *Contemporary Jewish Record*, which finds in the regime of exiles at Angiers, France, the same gang that subjected Jews to vile oppression long, long before Hitler rose to power. It discovers "confirmed anti-Semites in the cabinet . . . sporadic and very minor (!) instances of anti-Semitism in the Polish legion . . ."

No, these are not the people who will build a free Poland. They and their mentors in the Allied chancelleries seek only the opportunity to re-establish their power over the mangled and thrice oppressed minorities of that country. No, a free and independent Poland will be created by the Polish workers and peasants in common struggle with the masses of Byelo Russia and the Ukraine and the workers of Germany and the U.S.-S.R. It will be created when the 25,000,000 Poles establish their own state in which no other race or national minority is oppressed, a state which will take its place with the other free nations and people of the continent in a United Socialist States of Europe.

Sailor Beware

The Sailors Union of the Pacific is unquestionably in the vanguard, not only of maritime unionism, but of the labor movement as a whole. It survived and flourishes mainly because it learned how to struggle correctly against two evils: Stalinism and the U. S. government's various union-busting moves.

Not everybody in the union, however, learned the lessons of those struggles. Some vocal people wrote and presented a resolution supporting "poor little Finland" and condemning all attempts to "keep us unprepared"; and got it adopted at Seattle and Frisco membership meetings.

We know that the mere passage of such a resolution at a membership meeting may not mean much: many militants may not be present, nobody expects such a resolution, etc., and the resolution gets by. Nevertheless, it is an alarming sign that this can happen in such an outstandingly progressive movement as the S.U.P.

Any sailor who wants to know concretely what is being defended in Finland should go aboard some of the Finn ships that are now docked in American ports. You will not find worse conditions anywhere. S.U.P. members got so many raw deals from the Stalinists that they hate anything connected with Stalinism—BUT we'd like to remind them that they never joined up with the cops, Dies or any other boss-governmental crowd in fighting the Stalinists. But that's just what anybody does who thinks he's fighting Stalinism by lining up with Hoover, Roosevelt, Chamberlain & Co. in Finland.

As for keeping "us" prepared, that's what the U.S. Maritime Commission's job is in the merchant marine. And if you really believe in preparedness under a capitalist government, then the Maritime Commission is absolutely right: the merchant marine must serve as an auxiliary to the navy, and that means that the needs and desires of the sailors must give way before the needs and desires of the shipowners and their government. But anybody who defends the Maritime Commission is correctly called a fink. Take your choice, brother sailors: if you're for preparedness, you're for the Maritime Commission and all its crimes against the sailors.

We don't think that resolution speaks the mind of the sailors!

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Jewish "Bund" Leaders'

Arrested by Stalin in Poland

From a New York anarchist paper in the Yiddish language—the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme"—we learn of the arrest in Grodno, Soviet Poland, of two leaders of the Jewish "Bund". The "Bund" is the Jewish Socialist Federation which operated for some four decades in what once was the Republic of Poland.

Involved in this case are not old line leaders of the "Bund" who made their peace with the government of the colonels, but two younger militants. Hurvitch and Shifris, the two arrested "Bundists", are in their early thirties. Both were active propagandists engaged in the day to day struggles of the workers. Hurvitch had been the leader of the joint fraction of Jewish, Polish and Byelo-Russian socialists in the City Council of Grodno. In the course of his activities, he was arrested time and again by the government of the colonels and spent a good part of the last few years under the republic in Colonel Beck's jails. Now he has been sentenced to fifteen and Shifris to six years' imprisonment by Stalin's "liberators".

Stalin cannot cover up this crime and the hundreds of others like it by pointing to the nationalization of the land in the occupied territories. Were Hurvitch and Shifris enemies of the expropriation of the landowners and of workers' control in the factories? Their years in jail are testimony to the contrary. To Stalin their crime lay in their opposition to his bureaucracy. We solidarize ourselves with these victims of the G.P.U. and with the many others who languish in Stalin's jails for their working class convictions. Their liberation as well as the best defense of the Soviet Union demands a relentless struggle for the overthrow of the despots in the Kremlin.

A New Paper Issued
By Our Belgian Comrades

Once again the "neutral" Belgian government has come down on the heads of our valiant comrades of the Revolutionary Socialist Party. Jittery over the rumors of an impending German invasion the government has struck . . . on the home front. *La Lutte Ouvriere*, official organ of the R.S.P. is no longer permitted to appear.

Not at all nonplussed by the action, our comrades of the Brussels Federation of the party have issued a new paper, *L'Action Socialiste*. To rub it in, the first issue of *L'Action Socialiste*

carries an article written by Paul Spaak, "socialist" Foreign Minister of Belgium, in 1933—when he was still a hot "leftist". The article is entitled "Against National Defense" and winds up with the following ringing words:

"In any case, always, everywhere, without weakening, we must refuse to abdicate before the so-called general interest and continue with our propaganda along the lines of this clear and correct slogan: 'No national defense under a capitalist regime'."

Incidentally, *L'Action Socialiste* was also the name of Spaak's paper in his radical days.

Soldiers Attack Meetings
Of Militants in Australia

From the Sydney, Australia *Herald* of January 1 we learn of some exciting activity on the part of our Australian comrades.

On New Year's Day, the Communist League of Australia (Trotskyists) as well as the Stalinist party held mass meetings on the famous Sydney Domain, the center of radical activity in that city. Suddenly an organized group of soldiers and sailors appeared, with a following of about two hundred. The leaders declared their intention openly: they were out to break up the two meetings.

Soon some 15,000 workers gathered on the Domain and a battle ensued. Only the immediate appearance of special details of police prevented the soldiers and sailors from a gruesome fate at the hands of the enraged workers. As it is, several were sent to the hospital.

"Contrary to their usual practice," says the *Herald*, "the Communists flew no flags, but from another platform close by banners were displayed by the Communist League of Australia. One sign read: 'Defend Free Speech' and another 'Build Workers' Defense Guards'."

Many rank and file Stalinists made common cause with our comrades around their banners. Discussions around the slogan "Build Workers' Defense Guards" took place for hours after the demonstration had ended. The slogan had apparently gained considerable popularity.

The demonstration itself is testimony to the fact that the workers of the Australian metropolises are continuing to retain their anti-war militancy, which is in itself a highly encouraging sign. That our comrades, mostly young workers in their twenties, knew how to mobilize this militancy is evidenced by the newspaper account and augurs well for the further development of that section of the Fourth International.

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

by Dwight Macdonald

Good News—for Stockholders

The Department of Commerce has just released figures on last year's national income which we may expect Roosevelt to turn to political advantage in his next fireside chat. According to the Department's calculations, in 1939 total individual incomes came to \$69,700,000,000, which is \$3,400,000,000 higher than the 1938 total. Onward and upward with the New Deal!

But there is one detail the President won't dwell on: the fact that dividend payments last year were 15 per cent higher than in 1938, while the amount paid out for wages and salaries increased only 5 per cent.

This means that the capitalist system is more unbalanced than ever, since wage-earners spend practically all their income, while investors save up to as much as half their income. There is too much surplus capital (the result of these savings) already piled up seeking a profitable outlet for investment. What is necessary for the system's health is more markets, that is, more spending. The dynamics of capitalism, however, make it inevitable that, as the *Structure of American Economy* pointed out (p. 91): "As income expands, both expenditure on consumption and current savings can be expected to increase, but the increase in the latter will be likely to be very much more rapid." The prediction has been borne out by the figures on 1939 income.

Behind the War Drive

This matter of "over-saving" is the theme of a letter sent me recently from Akron:

"Your two columns on the report of the National Resources Committee were quite favorably received here. I question one statement you make in the January 6 issue. You write of the polarizing tendencies of poverty and wealth, and say:

DOWNTOWN LABOR FORUM

Friday Feb. 2, 1940 at 8 p. m.

FELIX MORROW

Editor Socialist Appeal

Will speak on

"JOBS NOT BATTLESHIPS"

at

Downtown Labor Center

51 E. 7th St. New York City

Joint Auspices Downtown & Lower East Side Branches. SWP.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN OUT

The Bulletin of the Russian Opposition is out. The current issue contains several articles by Leon Trotsky, including "Hitler and Stalin—Twin Stars" and "Again and Once Again on the Nature of the Soviet State."

The Bulletin is available in New York at the following book stores and newsstands: Modern Book Store, 27 University Pl.; Foreign News Depot, Times Sq. Bldg.; Biederman's Book Store, 2nd Ave. at 12th St.; Meisel's Book Store, Grand St.; Rand School Book Store, 15th St. and 5th Ave.; 3rd Ave. and 14th St. (NW); 6th Ave. and 42nd St. (SE).

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Three lectures on current tasks of progressive trade unionists in America, to be given by E. R. Frank, Trade Union Director of the New York Local of the S.W.P.

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Seven Years Ago
They Let Hitler
Take Over Power

By GEORGE STERN

On the night of Jan. 30, 1933 in a great semi-colonial metropolis a former member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party paced an apartment floor pale and strained, his hands fist-ing and unfisting convulsively.

"It is impossible!" he cried again and again. "Impossible! Without even a fight! It is impossible!" But it was not impossible. It was already a fact. The great Communist Party with millions of followers had melted away before Hitler.

It was the most critical hour in the post-war history of the working class of Europe. And in that hour the workers of Germany were left leaderless. The chiefs of the vast Social Democratic party and trade unions were groveling before the new chancellor of the Reich, offering him support which he contemptuously spurned. The great Communist apparatus crumbled, its leaders panic-stricken seeking refuge in the homes of their liberal "friends." There was no serious resistance. The criminal misleadership of more than a decade had led the workers of Germany into the black pit of Hitlerism.

A few days later our friend, the ex-Central Committee member, had regained his composure. Like all of Stalin's puppets, he had all but lost any capacity he had ever had as an independent revolutionist.

"Never mind," he assured me. "I give Hitler two years and then our turn will come. Two years, not more."

But nearly four times two years have gone by. This week Hitler celebrates his seventh year in power. Each one of those years has been like another turn in the pitiless vise that holds the German workers helpless. And the workers of the entire world are paying with lifeblood drained out in economic misery and war for the fatal errors of the working class leaders who made Hitler's uncontested victory possible.

Remember the Lessons!

We have to understand clearly why and how Hitler and his Fascist legions were permitted to seize power in Germany. Memories are short and it is safe to say that to the working class youth of this country the years that preceded Hitler's rise to power in Germany are a total blank. Yet those years are rich in revolutionary lessons.

Hitler was the direct consequence of the failure of the workers' revolution in Germany and that failure was the failure not of the German workers but of the parties which led them, the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party.

The workers rose in revolution at the close of the war. But the great Social Democratic Party which fell heir to the power abandoned by the Kaiser had no thought of establishing a workers' power. Its chief concern was to preserve the power of the capitalists. And when the workers rose in the streets, the Social Democrats, led by Scheidemann and Noske, called in the Kaiser's generals to shoot them down. Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the great leaders of the workers, were shamefully assassinated.

The Social Democratic republic, however preserving capitalist property, could solve none of the problems of the permanent German economic crisis. The imperialist victors in the war, Britain and France, exacted their pound of flesh and helped complete the process of draining the country white.

The German Communist Party began to win the support of millions of workers because it represented the October revolution in Russia, the revolution in which the workers had really seized power for themselves and driven the capitalists out. But that party was in the hands of the apparatus built by Joseph Stalin for the sole and exclusive purpose of consolidating the power of the bureaucratic clique which had usurped the workers' power in Russia. With this dead hand upon it, it could not lead a revolution, for Stalin wanted nothing less. He wanted peace and quiet in which to try hopelessly to build "socialism in one country."

Ripe for the Storm Troops

So millions of the dispossessed, especially of the large impoverished middle class, of the youth who had never been in industry, never given a chance to become workers, began to listen to the voice of Hitler, who promised revolution to the workers and counter-revolution to the bosses, and national regeneration to all Germany. He took the dregs of the dispossessed and with funds provided by the big financiers and industrialists fashioned them into the Storm Troops, designed to smash the working class organizations, the unions and the parties.

In those years of his steady growth the working class organizations remained divided. Stalin in Moscow preached that the Communists would have to dispose of the Social Democrats first before dealing with Hitler. Fascism and the Social Democracy—in his famous or infamous phrase—were "twins." The result was that the Stalinists and Fascists frequently joined against the Social Democratic authorities, as in the case of the notorious "red" referendum in Prussia in 1931.

The Communist and Social Democratic workers were kept poles apart instead of being united on a common policy of struggle against the Fascist menace. The Communists were told that the Social Democrats were their worst enemies. The latter were told that they would be safe if they abided by the regular, orderly processes of parliamentary government.

The Social Democratic governments gave way to the authoritarian governments of Brüning, Von Schleicher, and Von Papen, which tried to balance themselves on the police apparatus of the state and act like umpires between the great opposing camps. Actually they proved to be nothing but Hitler's stepping stones to power. Each time they "suppressed" the Fascists—like Daladier did later in France—the Hitlerite hordes were permitted to emerge with new strength. But the workers' leaders stubbornly refused to take action by themselves, leaving the workers instead in the hands of the government.

Hitler took one provincial state after another and finally prepared to assault the citadel of central power at the end of 1932. By that time it was no longer even necessary for him to stage a coup d'état. Otto Braun, the Social Democrat, true to the "legalities" to the end, permitted himself to be kicked out of his office as head of Prussia. Hitler drove a sharp bargain with his Nationalist and Junker allies and on January 30 Hindenburg, elected president by the votes of the Social Democracy, handed the keys of the chancellery over to the Fascist leader.

The blood of the martyred workers of Germany cries out to us: "Do not follow our path! Neither Social Democracy nor Stalinism. Only the socialist revolution can save humanity!"