

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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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—80-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.

Judge-Made Law

The annals of the American courts are full of flagrant examples of judge-made law. Judge Peyton Gordon of the District of Columbia Federal District Court made a particularly flagrant addition to that dishonorable record on Tuesday.

He ruled that trade unions are not exempt from prosecution under the anti-trust laws. But Section 6 of the Clayton Act, passed under labor pressure, says very specifically that trade unions are exempt. That didn't stop the judge. "Section 6 of the Clayton Act protects the defendants," he decided, "only when the means which they employ to carry out or attain their object are lawful."

This hocus-pocus enabled the judge to concede that a jurisdictional strike of the Washington, D. C., teamsters might of itself be a lawful object, but that the means of conducting the strike—pressure on companies involved, "coercing" the drivers involved to join the teamsters, etc., in other words the usual means of conducting any strike—rendered the strike a "criminal conspiracy" under the anti-trust laws.

That all this "law" is mumbo-jumbo is underlined by the fact that the teamsters had previously won the point at issue, a settlement between the teamsters and the engineers having conceded the men involved to the teamsters union. Despite this amicable settlement, the Department of Justice insists on prosecuting the case.

Would the judge dare to go in for this kind of hair-splitting, and the Department of Justice dare to continue with this and scores of similar cases against AFL unions if the labor movement were reunited in a militant campaign against this union-busting drive? We think not.

Judge Gordon's ruling constitutes not only a blow at the AFL but also at the CIO. If his ruling is followed by the Supreme Court, its decision in the Apex hosiery case, now before it, will go against the CIO.

CIO members should keep that in mind when they read those disgraceful articles in the CIO News which take the prosecution's side against the AFL unions.

Southern Filibuster

Twenty-five Southern Senators headed by Senator Connally of Texas have banded together in filibuster against the passage of a bill by Congress which in the case of a lynching would penalize members of the constabulary for failure to protect their prisoner and which would provide for damages against them and the counties they serve.

The Senators do not argue in the usual Senatorial style that such legislation would work a hardship upon the paychecks of their constabu-

lary—if this were the case they could demand that the salaries of those constables in the habit of joining in the murder of members of the community be raised by a Congressional appropriation or at the direct expense of the Negroes to make up the difference.

Nor does it seem that the Senators are particularly concerned about the fact that the Negro section of the voting population in this election will surely support anti-lynch legislation and the party which fights for it. This lack of concern is understandable since the Negroes of the South are generally not permitted to vote anyway.

The arguments of Senator Connally and the rest concerning this bill are a repetition of the ones used in previous filibusters against similar legislation.

They argue, for instance, that such legislation would interfere with States' and Counties' rights. This is true if it also true that a State or County has the right to lynch an individual.

They argue that such legislation would be an affront to the South. This is true if it can be held that the South consists of no one but Bourbons like the twenty-five Senators.

They argue, as a final clincher, that the lynching "evil" does not exist. If it does not exist then how could a law against it interfere with States' and Counties' "rights" to carry on lynchings?

All these arguments are patently specious. What the twenty-five Southern Senators are really arguing for is not States' rights nor County rights, nor Southern honor, but the need of the Southern Bourbon to smell human flesh scorching under the blow torch. They are battling against this legislation because they fear it might encourage a movement which, uniting the Negro and white toilers, would do away with such abominations forever. Lynching, to the Southern Bourbon, expresses more directly, and at the same time more symbolically than anything else, his brutal exploitation of the oppressed Negro race.

If the twenty-five Senators are successful in their filibuster against this legislation, they should arrange a proper celebration—a victim strung up on a chandelier on the Senate floor or on the flagpole atop the dome, or perhaps, if such acts would bring the South unfavorable publicity at this time, just filing each other's teeth down to a needle point.

For War Referendum

(The following editorial appeared in the March 22nd issue of the "Oregon Labor Press," organ of the Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon.)

An issue which seems to have been forgotten by Congress, but not by the people, is the war referendum. Regardless of which party is successful in the coming elections, the people need to protect themselves from involvement in any foreign war by demanding that Congress begin legislating this protection by adopting the war referendum resolution before it adjourns.

No opportunity affords itself like the present to do this. This is an election year. Who will be the candidates of the major political parties and who will sit in the White House, no one can predict. No one can be sure whether the next four years will bring peace or war for the United States. Therefore, whatever the outcome of the elections the people of the United States, determined as they are to keep out of foreign wars, should insist that this session of Congress consider the proposed constitutional amendment to give the people the right to vote on foreign wars and at the same time press for inclusion of the war referendum as an important plank in both parties' platforms.

The war referendum is democratic. Today, while other nations are putting their trust in dictatorships, the United States can, by example, show her trust in democracy by her willingness to give it the final and supreme test—allowing the people the right to decide for themselves whether our young men are to be sent to die in foreign battlefields.

Public opinion polls have indicated, not once, but many times, that a substantial majority of the American people want this right. Too, a very recent poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion gives conclusive evidence of the determination of the American people to stay right here at home. Despite the sentiment in this country for England and France, 77 per cent of those polled recently say they would not go to the aid of the Allies should it even appear that they were being defeated.

The bloodshed and suffering now going on throughout Europe and Asia have opened America's eyes to the futility and senselessness of war. . . . In view of these facts, is it unreasonable for the people to ask their legislators, Congressmen and Senators alike, to show their sincerity and give credence to their cries that America will not become involved in war, to indicate that they have faith in our democratic form of government, and to let the people protect themselves by giving them the privilege of voting against participation in foreign battles?

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

New Recruits for Australian Section of Fourth International

Our comrades of the Communist League of Australia (Section of the Fourth International) are steadily evincing signs of rapid growth. Their bold revolutionary work, carried on under wartime pressure, is attracting widespread support from a working class which has a tradition of anti-war struggle. The anti-war resolution which, the newspapers here report, was adopted last week by the New South Wales Federation of the Australian Labor Party, despite the rabid opposition of the party's leadership, may be regarded as another indication of the trend.

The League's official organ, the Militant, in its February issue, reports that the Boot Trades Union has endorsed our comrades' call "for steps to be taken to develop organization to provide working class resistance to any future attacks on the workers' already limited rights." The Trades and Labor Council of Sydney is to act on the union's recommendation shortly.

Two organizers of the League have been sent to Melbourne which, the Militant reminds us, "was the center of the anti-war movement" in 1914-1918.

Recruitment to our ranks from the disillusioned ranks of the Stalinist party is continuing apace in Australia. Aside from numerous worker-militants, prominent C.P. intellectuals and leaders are rallying to the banner of the Fourth International. Among the latter, aside from J. N. Rawlings and Guido Barachi, whose break with Stalinism was reported here some time ago, Jack Kavanagh and Betty Roland have now publicly declared their stand. Kavanagh is a former leader of the Communist Party of Australia and Betty Roland is that country's leading playwright. In a statement issued by her and published by the Communist League, Betty Roland says:

"Naturally, my disillusion has not been confined to the leadership of the C.P. of Australia, as I realize that events here, as in all sections of the Communist International, have their origin in Moscow. And, while I recognize that the U.S.S.R. is still a workers' state and still retains the principle achievement of the October revolution, i.e., the socialized means of production, nevertheless the present leadership under Joseph Stalin is the enemy of that workers' state, and, unless speedily deposed, will certainly bring about the destruction of the gains of October and betray the Soviet Union into the hands of the capitalist class, as they have betrayed the revolutionary cause in so many other parts of the world since they came to power."

The February Militant also publishes a statement of the Communist League on "Stalin's Assault on Finland" identical with the resolution on the Soviet-Finnish war adopted by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

New Publications of the International in Other Countries

In spite of the censorship, publications of our sections in other parts of the world manage occasionally to reach the office of the Appeal.

CUTTERS DRAFT PROGRAM FOR NEEDLEWORKERS

(Continued from Page 1)

in another locality. Under a standard expiration date the union will be able to force, if it so desires, a complete stoppage until the just demands of the union are met.

"3. We propose that our union take the initiative in calling a great labor conference of all important unions to launch a great campaign for the establishment of the UNIVERSAL THIRTY-HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY."

This point is particularly important to the ILGWU, for the greatest single problem of the union is unemployment. "Thirty-hour week" resolutions have been adopted at past International conventions, but the General Executive Board merely deposited them in the archives of "forgotten resolutions."

The Independent Cutters League proposes that the coming convention instruct the G.E.B. to take the initiative in convening a labor conference of CIO, AFL and independent unions, in order to launch a campaign to achieve, by both legislative action and union pressure, the establishment of the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay.

"4. We propose the organization of the patternmakers and assemblers to improve their working conditions and to eliminate the unnecessary competition with the work of the cutters." Present union contracts make no provisions for these workers, who are only partially organized and constitute a sore spot in the industry.

"5. We propose that the coming convention return to the membership its democratic rights by legalizing once again the existence of trade union groups in our union."

The last convention forbade the issuance of any printed matter and made it illegal for the membership to organize into union groups advancing programs. Only on the eve of a convention is this provision lifted.

Militants Demand A Voice Today, the Independent Cutters League points out, "it be-

comes obvious that the only purpose of this law was to stifle all honest and open criticism. The law pretends to abolish 'all groups.' But this is only a miserable subterfuge. Actually there are more groups and cliques today than before the law was passed. Pie-card artists and job holders, always currying for favors from the existing administration, merely changed their titles and affiliated themselves with outside 'political,' 'fraternal' and other 'innocent' organizations.

Meanwhile, honest militant groups are forbidden, and are unable to bring abuses within the union to the attention of the members.

"6. We propose that the ILGWU maintain the status quo as an independent labor organization and continue working for the establishment of a united labor organization."

Explaining this point, the Bulletin says:

"Certain individuals in the ILGWU are playing around with the idea of re-affiliation with the AFL. This action would just make us a pawn in the hands of the reactionary AFL Executive Council against the CIO and would serve neither the interests of the labor movements or the cause of labor unity.

"The coming convention must instruct the GEB to join with all other progressive forces in the labor movement to achieve the unification of labor and the establishment of a united labor movement, on a democratic basis with the rights of the industrial unions preserved. In the interim, the ILGWU must maintain the status quo, as an independent organization, thus maintaining the good will of both the CIO and the AFL while working constantly for the re-establishment of a united labor movement.

For A Labor Party The concluding point of the program is the demand "For an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions."

Anti-War Forces Gather In Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

We know that the French Stalinist party was being abandoned by a large part of its membership and sympathizers after the Hitler-Stalin pact, and this process undoubtedly continued in France, as elsewhere, after the invasions of Poland and Finland. Yet even the discredited Stalinists, tarred with Hitler's brush, the French rulers dare not permit to speak out in a courtroom!

The bestial persecutions against the Trotskyists and other anti-war elements confute the French government lie that it is only persecuting agents of the Hitler-Stalin bloc. It fears every voice which speaks out against the war!

Persecution has not stopped these voices, however. Hence the new stage of the war—the inclusion of "labor representatives" in the British and French governments. A "labor" Minister of Justice can impose verdicts which a bourgeois minister might not get away with—that has been demonstrated in the first World War, in the Popular Front governments, etc. With labor's "own" people in the government, the slogans of war for democracy, against fascism, etc., might be re-gilded to look like new.

This may work for a time, as it has before. But all previous experience demonstrates that the "labor" fig-leaf soon wears away. In the very process of learning what such a bourgeois-"socialist" coalition is like, the workers learn what traitors such "socialists" are, and turn toward revolutionary labor leadership. That, we believe, is what the coming period will be: the period when the great masses learn that their official "leaders" are merely labor lackeys of their rulers. Then will come the stage of seeking out and testing new leaders.

Then will come the turn toward the real solution—the moment for which the program of the Fourth International has been hammered and moulded and our ranks steeled—the moment when the great masses will follow to the end the only road out from war and capitalism and chaos—the road of the socialist revolution.

Bridge the Gap: From this Point To Socialism

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Far from being an "unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses" as the Lovestonites assert, the demands which the Socialist Workers Party suggests labor make of Congress constitute a most revolutionary program which will lead, once launched on a mass scale, inevitably to the sharpest posing of the question of establishing socialism in the United States.

The links in this process can be outlined briefly as follows:

- (1) The demands are the absolute minimum that can provide the unemployed the youth, the underpaid workers, the disabled, and the aged with a decent living. The necessity of granting these demands is self-evident. Not only does every member of society have the right to a decent living, but the means for providing such a living are right before our eyes. (2) But the capitalist system cannot grant these demands without making some drastic changes. These changes are: (a) Opening the idle factories and operating them at full capacity. (b) Expropriating the Sixty Families who at present operate and control the nation's industries and wealth for their private benefit. (3) The vast toiling masses will sooner or later come to realize that these few simple steps would provide the means to grant their demands. When they understand this, a powerful movement can develop, to force the realization of these demands, which will sweep everything before it and bring the nation's industries under the control of the workers. (4) If the capitalists are forced to grant these demands, a death blow will have been dealt to the capitalist system, and the beginning stages of socialism will be established from coast to coast. (5) If the capitalists persist in refusing to grant these demands in the face of an organized mass movement insisting upon them, this movement can easily direct its energies to press these demands with such forcefulness that the parasitic stockholders standing in the way would be swept aside. In this case, too, the question of establishing socialism will be on the order of the day for the toiling masses.

Our Bridge To The Masses

The demands we propose are really our answer to the most acute problem now facing the American revolutionary movement: By what means can the toiling masses be brought to understand that the establishment of socialism offers the only road out of the suffering imposed on them by the capitalist system?

Economically the United States was ready for socialism years ago. Industry has reached a pitch of socialist organization in form that far exceeds that of any other nation. Whole industries have become so intricate, so highly organized that the government itself must intervene to keep them functioning—public utilities, railways, etc. Industry has reached the stage where it can no longer advance under the fetters of private ownership. As a result the toilers suffer from mass unemployment, starvation wages, hunger, all the desperate and hideous ills of an economic system in its death agony.

But politically the masses are not yet ready for socialism. They do not yet understand that the capitalist system is in its death agony. They do not yet understand that it is no longer capable of feeding, clothing, or sheltering them. Because of this political backwardness they are capable of seeing only their immediate ills, and hence are capable of making only immediate and emergency demands.

Because of the political backwardness of the American toilers, the revolutionary vanguard leading the struggle for socialism is small and isolated. The burning problem of the day, therefore, that means life or death not only for the revolutionary party, but for millions of the toiling masses themselves—is to construct the bridge between the present political backwardness of the masses and the socialist revolution in America.

Taking The Masses As They Are

We must therefore start from what the masses are capable of seeing today. They can see the surrounding plenty. They can see the fertile fields heavy with food. They can see the packed warehouses, the idle machines. And they can see just as clearly the empty plates at their dinner table. They can hear their children crying for food. They can feel the rain beating on them through the holes in the roof of their shack—if they are lucky enough to have a shack. They can feel all the horrible misery of the rotten conditions, the shame and degradation in which they are compelled to live.

There is no time to give them a long series of lectures which through their perfectly logical presentation of the problem would lead to socialism. If the revolutionary movement doesn't show them how they can get the security they want and get it now, show how it is feasible to get it immediately, then the fascists will succeed in heading their revolutionary energy into a different path, the path of suicide for the toiling masses in America.

The program advocated by the Socialist Workers Party is precisely the program which will stamp out capitalist war and the fascist menace and launch the working class on the road to socialism in the United States. The Socialist Workers Party is the only party in the labor movement which has worked out and which advocates such a program. That is the most certain token that the Socialist Workers Party will be at the head of the movement for socialism as it gains momentum in the United States with millions of followers. The program outlined by the Socialist Workers Party will make these millions invincible. (This is the third and last article in this series.)

WE'LL TAKE THE CIGAR!

"The great need of America is not a nickel cigar—but a complete edition of all the writings of that great genius of mankind; the teacher and leader of the world revolutionary movement, Comrade Stalin." —Daily Worker, March 26, 1940, article entitled "Additional Weapons—Make Use of Them."