

Socialist Appeal

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NORWAY CRUSHED BETWEEN WARRING POWERS

Return to Two-A-Week Appeal Voted by S. W. P. Convention

Trade Union Reports Open Way to Growth Of Mass Work

The decision taken by the Third National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party—April 5-9 in New York City—to re-establish the *Socialist Appeal* as a twice-weekly summed up the determination of the delegates to expand the base of the Fourth International in the American mass movement.

And the delegates did not stop with a formal decision, but proceeded to carry it out. At the banquet to the delegates Sunday night, \$4,130 was raised in cash and pledges payable in sixty days, the time set for the reappearance of the *Socialist Appeal* as a twice-weekly.

This enthusiastic response followed inevitably from the stirring trade union reports by Farrell Dobbs, the new National Labor Secretary of the party, and union leaders in the field. It reflected the inspiration which worker-delegates gained from descriptions of the unconquerable courage and militancy of the American working class in struggles in many sections and various industries.

To the Workers!

Forward into the mass movement, more than ever into the trade unions as the most important single field for revolutionary activity, was the determination of the delegates. Comrade Dobbs stirred them with many experiences in great labor struggles, closing with an arousing call to action, an appeal to plunge increasingly into proletarian struggles against the bosses and to advance the S.W.P. in its role of vanguard of the workers' conquest of power.

Worker delegates from coast to coast fired the convention with reports of struggles and accomplishments in unions—in steel, auto, maritime, cannery, building trades, and other industries. They amplified Comrade Dobbs' general report, with additional vivid testimony that the S.W.P. is already a workers' party.

Decision to add a second issue a week to the *Appeal* was only the main point in the broad plan adopted to expand the party's work. With every worker's report this determination grew.

An Inspiring Example

One of the most inspiring reports—to single out one—was that by a young woman worker from the cannery union in California. Describing the miserable conditions of the migrant workers who divide their pitiful lives between agricultural and cannery factory work, this girl paid glowing tribute to the young S.W.P. workers who have helped to build some of the largest and most militant union locals in this industry.

Throughout the convention, between sessions, there were numerous trade union meetings for various industries. At each of these the workers discussed and outlined detailed plans for nationally-integrated campaigns in each industry. These plans assured that more than ever the workers in the Socialist Workers Party will be the best trade unionists, the best fighters for and with the workers in all their struggles.

No Exceptions To Rule

The trade union program dealt concretely with every phase of union work provided for the fullest possible use of all party members able to serve, whether they are trade union members or

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The closing salute of the Third National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which met in New York City, April 5-9.

SWP Reaffirms Policy Of Defense of USSR

Insists Upon Basic Distinction Between Soviet Union and Imperialists; Upholds Lenin's Ideas of Building the Party

The decisions of the S.W.P. convention to re-issue the twice-weekly *SOCIALIST APPEAL* and to embark on an ambitious program for expanding the party's work in the mass movement—reported in detail in another story in this issue—could be made only because a decisive majority of the convention had rallied to uphold the fundamental program of the party and of the Fourth International. The vote was 55 to 34.

The attack of the minority upon the program, an attack which reflected the tremendous pressure of living under a government and a bourgeoisie which is actually part of the "democratic-imperialist warring camp, revolved around two issues:

1. The basic distinction between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers. The minority had abandoned this distinction, which is a keystone of the program of the Fourth International, and unsuccessfully attempted to put the convention on record against defense of the Soviet Union. The majority upheld our fundamental program for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union as in no way incompatible with irreconcilable struggle for the overthrow of the Stalin bureaucracy.

2. Building the party on the doctrine of "democratic centralism"—the organizational principles elaborated by Lenin and embodied in the Russian Bol-

shevik party before it was corrupted and destroyed by the Stalinist bureaucracy. The convention minority abandoned the Leninist concept of democratic centralism, demanding of the convention the right for the minority to publish its own public press—which could only mean dual editorial boards, dual administrations, dual distribution methods, etc., and hence in reality two dual organizations.

Differences Are Basic

The controversy in reality embraced two irreconcilable conceptions of the party program, structure and activities. Every reader is able to conclude this for himself by studying all the resolutions which were before the convention.

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S.W.P. ANSWERS RIVERA SLANDER

(Statement by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.)

"La Prensa" of Mexico City, April 5th, carried an interview with Diego Rivera in which he is quoted as saying that "Trotzky will support Stalin in his attitude against Finland today at the Congress of the Fourth International which is now being held in New York, to which Trotzky has already sent his representative, the Spanish Mexican M. Grandizo."

There is not one word of truth in Rivera's statement. No Congress of the Fourth International was held in New York or any other place. The Convention of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States was in session from Friday, April 5th to Monday, April 8th. No representative of Trotzky appeared at the convention because Trotzky did not send anyone to represent him. The Convention affirmed the position of the Fourth International in defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and in condemning the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalin, amongst them the invasion of Finland.

The assertion that Trotzky supports Stalin in his attack against Finland is utterly false, as can be seen by a cursory reading of Trotzky's articles and statements within the last four months. Equally false and fantastic is the idea presented in the "La Prensa" interview that the Third and Fourth Internationals are coming closer together.

We have no doubt whatever of the presence of GPU agents in Mexico. Frequently have we warned the Mexican and American people of that fact. But these agents are there to assassinate Trotzky. If the falsehoods attributed to Rivera were actually uttered by him, then we can say that he has permitted his personal animosity to Trotzky to lead him far astray. Such falsehoods can only make it easier for the agents of Stalin's GPU to achieve their purpose of getting rid of the greatest living revolutionist devoted to the cause of emancipating mankind from the slavery of capitalist imperialism.

FINK 'CASE' AGAINST MPLS. DRIVERS OPENS

Lawyer Confines Self Strictly To Slander and Red-Baiting

MINNEAPOLIS, April 2—The fink suit against the General Drivers Union, Local 544, again got under way before Judge Paul Carroll, after a seven-weeks' period during which attorneys and accountants for the finks have been examining the books and records of the union.

Among the broadside charges from the attorney for the finks were the following: that the union spent "enormous amounts" on airplane rides and swanky hotels; that the union had paid to union members sick and death benefits without authority; that the union expended thousands of dollars for strike benefits; that the unemployed Federal Workers Section was organized "illegally"; that the union had encouraged threats, force and violence against employers to attain its ends; that the union had made donations to other striking unions.

The finks' attorney made much of a charge that the weekly paper of the Teamsters Joint Council, the *Northwest Organizer*, had shown "a general attitude of contempt for the courts and the judiciary," and that "the defendants have by all means in their power sought to foster among their members an attitude of contempt for, and disrespect of the courts, and to imbue them with the idea that justice can not be obtained in the courts."

Anderson repeatedly referred to articles in the *Northwest Organizer* and in the *Socialist Appeal*.

The finks' lawyer was particularly venomous against Local 544's Union Defense Guard, complaining that the union maintains a "standing army" of 300 men which holds military drill three times a week, and that stands ready to defend the union hall, union leaders and members, and union picket lines against attacks from fascists and vigilantes.

When Anderson read from the *NORTHWEST ORGANIZER* a headline that "Defense Guard Is Answer to Fascist Thugs," John Goldie, union defense attorney, jumped to his feet and asked what was wrong with that. "WHILE 544'S ENEMIES ARE ARMED, THESE UNION MEMBERS ARE NOT SUPPOSED TO DO ANYTHING," Goldie said.

What was obvious about Anderson's barrage of charges was that he had actually discovered not one thing wrong with the union's books and records, which the finks have howled about for over two years.

To cover up his failure to find any financial discrepancies in the union's meticulous book-keeping system, Anderson could only criticize the union for the very things for which workers all over the United States admire General Drivers Union, Local 544—for its militant defense of its members and of union contracts; for its uncompromising attitude to the bosses and their courts and their press; for a willingness to help other unions involved in struggles with the bosses; for the way it cares for its sick members, and the families of its dead; above all, for its grim determination to defend the union against the fascists and the vigilantes.

During the first days of the trial, Carl Skoglund, president of General Drivers Local 544, was under examination by Anderson. Skoglund's long record in the labor movement, from the time he came to this country from Sweden in 1911 and joined the I.W.O., was brought out by Anderson.

West Coast Crew Is Jailed in Port Said By Hull's Orders

The West Coast crew of the American freighter Ewa is in prison in Port Said, Egypt, by orders of Secretary of State Hull, it was officially reported Monday to the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

The crew—members of the S.U.P., the Marine Firemen and the Marine Cooks & Stewards—requested an advance on going ashore, and were refused by the captain. When a controversy resulted and the seamen persisted in their demand, the American consul was called in.

He communicated with Washington, and Secretary of State Hull thereupon gave full permission to the British authorities at Port Said to clap the crew in jail, which was done.

The British provided the American ship with an English crew which is now sailing the ship to Pensacola, Florida, where it is scheduled to arrive about May 1.

LEWIS SKIRTS MAIN ISSUES IN MICHIGAN TALKS

Workers Cheer Every Mention of 30-Hour Week Slogan

DETROIT, April 8—Twenty-five thousand militant auto workers poured out in Detroit and Flint on April 6 and 7th to hear an answer to their pressing needs from John L. Lewis and other national leaders of the CIO. But they got no answer.

The workers demonstrated by their attendance at the CIO rallies their enthusiastic loyalty to the CIO. The leaders responded to this loyalty with lip service to the fight against unemployment and war, but failed to offer a program of action for a solution.

Every time the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay slogan was mentioned the tens of thousands of workers cheered and stamped their feet. At every demonstration of the workers' enthusiasm for the slogan, which is the only answer for jobs and security in the automotive industry, Lewis Reuther and the other CIO orators were quick to throw on the dampers, saying that this was "only an aim for the future."

The workers showed their understanding by turning from cheers to stony silence when the leaders mentioned the 6 hour day only to explain in frightened voices that it was just something to think about.

The workers listened in vain for something with a true ring, some planned program of action, some serious directives aimed at achieving the demands which everyone recognizes are the only solutions to the workers' needs.

After Roosevelt, What? Lewis correctly condemned, in violent language, the failure of the Roosevelt administration to stop starvation in the midst of (Continued on Page 2)

Attacked by Both Allies and Germany

Becomes First Testing Ground of Powers' Military Strength as War Enters New Phase of Extension

By GEORGE STERN

The Allies and Germany have chosen in Norway the scene of their first great test of military strength.

Between dawn of Monday, April 8, and Tuesday, April 9, Norway was attacked, by the Allies and then by Germany.

By nightfall of April 9, Norway itself was laid prostrate. German forces were already in possession of its capital and its chief ports. Allied forces were on the way in an effort to expel them.

The German forces came in to "protect" Norway against the Allies. The Allies moved to "protect" Norway from the Reich. Norway, which wanted

protection from neither, was not consulted by either. It has become the victim of both. This is the fate that awaits the rest of the small states of Europe.

In accordance with the decision of the Allied Supreme Council on March 28 to speed up the tempo of the war, to extend the blockade and to squeeze the neutrals mercilessly in that process, British and French warships on the morning of April 8 invaded Norwegian territorial waters and mined three sections of the passage used by German ore boats bound from Narvik for the Baltic.

The day before, Sunday, the Norwegian foreign minister threatened that his country would "go to war" with either side if the country's sovereignty was infringed.

Monday morning Norway fled a violent protest with the French and British governments, charging them with an "open breach of international law" and demanding withdrawal of mines

and warships from its waters. But Germany was not waiting upon the Allies to honor the fruitless protests of the Norwegians. News of Norway's protest had barely had time to reach the public prints, before Germany intervened to "protect" Norway's neutrality against the Allied attack.

Blitzkrieg At dawn Tuesday morning, April 9, Hitler's armed hordes gave a startled world another sample of the Nazi blitzkrieg technique. The German army marched across the Danish border and within a few hours occupied the entire country. The Danish government, aware of the futility of resistance, "accepted" Germany's "protection."

Simultaneously German naval units sailed up through the Kattegat, the passage that separates Denmark and Sweden, into the Skagerrak, and began landing troops at Norwegian ports. By mid-morning of the 9th it became apparent that the Germans had slipped right through the British fleet and successfully landed at all the main ports on the West coast of Norway—Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, Kristiansund, and even Narvik, nearly 1,000 miles to the north. Some reports said that the landing party at Narvik came from Murmansk.

Other Neutrals Wait

Norway proclaimed "resistance" to the invader long enough to be seized upon as an "ally" by Britain and France. In London and Paris it was promptly announced that France and Britain would fight the German invasion of Scandinavia. The war machines of both powers were immediately put into gear for the struggle.

At this writing the first engagements, in the air and at sea, were apparently already underway while German troops seized all important centers of Norway and Sweden, Holland, Belgium, waited fearfully for their turn to be sucked in.

From their own point of view the Allies have good reason to "aid" Norway. They were so ready to "aid" Norway that they probably would have taken possession of its coast themselves if Hitler had not beaten them to it. That was indubitably the meaning of the Allied aid in mining Norwegian waters. Hitler's general staff showed that it understood the seriousness of the challenge by hurling its tremendous machine into action with such astounding speed.

No Neutrals Allowed

The Allies decided at their Supreme Council session last week to tighten the squeeze on Germany economically by tightening the blockade whatever the cost to neighboring neutrals. This was made publicly plain by Chamberlain and Churchill.

Britain and France were finished with the hypocritical game of "respecting" neutral rights. Their policy now more frankly became to force all neutrals still supplying goods to Germany to cease making those supplies available, and to become instead part of the Allied blockade system. (Continued on Page 4)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The same Allied policy that has set up a war front in Norway is going to lead in the near future to serious complications in the Pacific which will necessarily involve the United States. I refer to the policy the Allies have adopted of tightening up their blockade of Germany almost regardless of cost.

One of the "leaks" they propose to plug is the "leak" of war supplies which they believe are reaching Germany through the Soviet port of Vladivostok.

This is a sizeable job and involved titchy Allied relations with Japan on the one hand and the United States on the other, as well as the USSR. Japan has already declared it will not tolerate British naval operations in what it regards as Japanese waters.

To make the blockade more palatable to the Japanese, the British have been holding out the possibility of a "deal" in China. This was the meaning of the speech of British Ambassador Craigie in Tokyo on March 28.

Washington appears to be ready enough to cooperate with the British in facilitating a Pacific blockade. But it will consider itself thoroughly double-crossed if Britain secures similar cooperation from Japan on the basis of a "deal" at the expense of American interests in China.

The London declaration that it "still" recognized the Chungking government offered no comfort to the Washington strategists. Nor did it silence the angry mutterings over the Craigie speech which identified the "ultimate objectives" of Britain and Japan. Lord Halifax, the British foreign secretary, said, indeed, that he fully

approved the speech. Meanwhile, the British blockade has already begun to operate in Far Eastern waters. Two Soviet freighters were seized and have never been released, despite repeated Soviet protests. One American freighter carrying a cargo of copper turned back in mid-ocean (its captain denied he was stopped by any British warship) and goods are beginning to pile up on West coast docks because shippers are afraid to ship.

Actually, of course, this blockade is a blockade of the Soviet Union. There is no evidence to show that the goods being brought in through Vladivostok because the war has closed other lanes is destined especially for Germany. On the other hand, Moscow has certainly no disposition to be "co-operative" with the Allies and will resist the attempts to choke off this trade. Herein lies the possibility of renewed serious friction between the U.S., S.R. and the Allies.

The American press, and the New York Times in particular, have begun to prepare American public opinion for events in the Far East by publishing highly circumstantial and detailed "reports" about German submarine bases in Soviet Far Eastern ports, the presence of important German naval and engineering contingents in that region, etc.

The vast maneuvers of the United States fleet, taking place in the midst of these developments, assume an especially ominous significance. They tend to stress the fact that the intensification of the war means speeding the tempo of American participation and that this participation will be mainly on a Far Eastern front.