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Editorial Board: FELIX MORROW MAX SHACHTMAN ALBERT GOLDMAN

> General Manager: GEORGE CLARKE

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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-30hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- 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.
- Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

This Is Not Our War

The decision of the Anglo-French Supreme War Council, last week, to cut off supplies from Germany at all costs, meant the arrival of a new stage in the war.

That this was the consequence of the Anglo-French decision was well-understood Even the pro-Ally American press made no bones about it. Monday's New York Times said it plainly enough in its editorial:

"Like a roll of distant thunder, the new Allied blockade policy portends a stormy time for the neutrals. There is no telling when or where lightning will strike in the form of a serious dispute with the Allies."

The most the Times could say in smoothing the matter over was that "the Allies have not yet exhausted the possibilities of diplomacy in dealing with the iron ore shipments from Scandinavia." That "not yet," from an ardent Anglophile paper, has a world of meaning! And in conclusion the Times was constrained to say quite

"It is an Allied variant of the game of 'peaceful' intimidation which Germany has been playing in Rumania; the next few weeks should show which of the two will score the first success."

Quite clear—on Monday. Instead of weeks, however, the explosion took hours. British violation of Norwegian neutrality, culminating in the taking over of Norwegian waters for British mining operations, was countered by Nazi occupation of Denmark and the march into Norway. Whereupon what was clear on Monday became very much muddied on Wednesday.

For then the American press proceeded to scream to high heaven about Germany's "crime against civilization" and to whitewash the plain and simple facts about the role which Britain had played in transforming Norway into a battlefield.

We single out for particular comment the leading editorial in the New York Herald Tribune of Wednesday, April 10. It is especially significant because the Tribune is the leading Republican daily and the Republicans have not been averse to posing as being opposed to Roosevelt's headlong drive to carry America into the Allied war camp. Entitled "A Crime Against Civilization," it wrings such tears as it can out of a contrast between Scandinavia now and yesterday; in the process, the yesterday becomes a fantastic picture: "Nowhere else in the whole world had learning and well-being been so widely shared

. . . There man lived a complete life. . . . " etc., etc. But all this is merely preparation for this ominous declaration:

"If these acts (of Germany) can go unpunished, what security remains for any people? What hope is there for the survival of liberty or civilization, as we knew it, anywhere?

". . . With their eyes single to their national interest, Americans must once more take sights, fix their position and determine their course . . . Calmly and steadily the country must decide."

Decide for war, of course-that is what the

Tribune wants. By this extraordinary declaration, the leading Republican organ gives Roosevelt a free hand. "Partisan" politics is subordinated to the interests which they hold in common -the interests of the American ruling class. That class, the capitalist class, driven by the permanent economic crisis at home, is impelled to seek a "way out" by gobbling up more and more of the markets of the world. Finland, Norway, tomorrow Belgium or Holland-these are the pretexts; the reality is the desperate, allconsuming need for expansion.

Thus, it becomes clear, the needs of the American ruling class are in direct conflict with the needs of the American working class. There is the soil of the class struggle, of class war, and not in the mind of any "agitator."

The intelligent American worker doesn't care and shouldn't care, whether England or Germany "first" invaded Norway. The intelligent American worker doesn't care, and shouldn't care, which gang of imperialist bandits wins. "America's needs" mean one thing to the boss and an entirely different thing to the workers. The boss needs foreign markets, control of foreign raw material and new spheres of influence abroad but the worker needs nothing more than this gigantic production machine and granary which America is.

We, the workers, the producers in factory and field, we don't need to send abroad that which is not ours. We want for ourselves everything which this, the most productive country in the world can produce. Let the workers take over control of the factories, expropriate the Sixty Families, cut the hours of work to a 30-hour week, give every man and woman a job and a decent living-and there'd be no economic crisis, there'd be no drive to "solve" the crisis by expansion-and war-abroad.

Roosevelt, backed by the entire capitalist class -that is the meaning of the Tribune editorialwill drive toward war now at an entirely new rate of speed. He cannot be stopped merely by "anti-war" propaganda. He can be stopped only if the American working class breaks the political and economic power of the capitalist class. The struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism, nothing more or less.

Lewis' Auto Speeches

John L. Lewis has a reputation for being bold man afraid of nothing. But John L. Lewis played "possum" in Flint and Detroit last week

He talked a lot about the war and unemployment and bad economic conditions. Yet he never said a single word about how the auto workers will find a way out of the blind alley of low annual wages, unemployment and insecurity.

What was John L. Lewis afraid of? The auto workers or the auto bosses or both? Or didn't he know what to say? Every man that works on the line in the General Motors plants in Detroit and Flint knows what the answer is to unemployment: THE THIRTY HOUR WEEK AT FORTY HOURS PAY.

The last convention of the UAW adopted that demand unanimously. The auto workers' campaing paper for the NLRB elections, called GM Facts, says the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay is the only answer to the auto workers problems. Why didn't Lewis talk about how to get it in his

Was he afraid that the auto workers are too weak to get into a scrap for the 30 hour week? Well, the tens of thousands of auto workers in Flint and in Detroit who turned out to hear him were the same fighting men that licked General Motors in 1937 and have kept them licked all these years and will wipe out Mr. Martin and his AFL in the forthcoming election. Didn't Lewis know that? Is John L. losing his eyesight?

Was Lewis scared of the big-front stuffed shirts that claim to own the General Motors? If he was frightened at the thought of going to the mat with General Motors for the 30 hour week he must have been a pretty lonely man at those meetings We can't prove by legal evidence what was in the hearts of the sit-down veterans, who fought the National Guard to a standstill, who made the famous battle of Bull's Run, as they listened to Lewis dodge all around the basic issue. But we'd bet our bottom dollar they were pretty disappointed at his speech. We bet they wanted to hear him say: "Now we fight."

The time is coming when Lewis will have to quit playing "possum." The auto workers are going to sweep the elections in GM. But the auto workers want something more than paper ballots-they can't feed their kids on that kind of

The auto workers want jobs. That means the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. And they know General Motors is the place to start. Lewis will have to make up his mind whether he's going

The handwriting is on the wall. It spells THIRTY HOURS WORK AT FORTY HOUR PAY

The leaders of the CIO and the UAW better learn how to read.

Return to Two-A-Week Appeal | German 'Socialists' Voted by S. W. P. Convention | Take Position In AngloFrenchCamp

(Continued from Page 1)

not yet directly connected with mass organizations. The convention granted no exceptions to the rule that party members must link themselves to the workers. If not in unions, they can serve as helpers to trade unionists.

temple and a power house. An- proletariat. for non-proletarians were cited Leon Trotsky. by the trade union reporters.

press was felt instinctively. The of the Fourth International.

workers found the answer in the | Rising enthusiasm of the workspontaneous demand for doubling er-delegates was only fired the the issuance of the APPEAL. | more as the trade union discus-

convention was the ovation ac- and the petty-bourgeois minority. corded Comrade Munis, veteran of the Spanish civil war, and re-How the youth, women, unem- presenting the Mexican section ployed and non-professional mem- of the Fourth International and feated on the theoretical plane, bers may thus expand party work the Spanish refugees now in Mex- in a day and a half of debate on was amply demonstrated in the ico or in French concentration the Russian and organization inspiring reports from various camps. The entire convention questions. This debate is decenters. One group of non-worker jumped to its feet in spontaneous scribed in detail in another story members specializes in selling the tribute to a fighter who symbol- in this issue. Appeal to workers at a labor izes international solidarity of the

Again and again, the conven-Plans for workers defense tion reached a high pitch of revoguards, for recruiting women lutionary fervor when fraternal the campaign to plunge American workers, for expanding the Negro delegates from the Revolutionary department of the party, for ac- Socialist Party of Chile and the of imperialist war. tive workers conferences to co- Socialist Workers League of Caordinate work by districts, and nada told how repressions had the resolution, "must find his many other concrete details were served only to spur those parties place in the mass movement" to elaborated. That the expansion to greater struggles against cap- prepare against M-day, to assure of all these details necessitated italist imperialism, in staunch ad- against degeneration of the party, expansion of the party's popular herence to the Marxian principles and to build for the eventual

Other demonstrations of the sions drew an ever clearer line same spirit came in other fields. of distinction between the pro-The most moving moment of the letarian majority of the party

> Already the majority has seen this petty-bourgeois minority de-

Convention decisions were thus the answer not only to world imother group were "colonized" in Again, the proletarian cadres of perialism but to revisionist elean industry and ouilt a powerful the party thundered applause at ments within the party. The 28union. Several opportunities for the reading of a greeting sent page trade union resolution clearmore such avenues into industry from the convention to Comrade ly aimed the SWP toward "an aroused proletariat, fighting on a class struggle basis," as the only movement capable of smashing workers into another blood-bath

> "Every party member," states seizure of power by the workers.

SWP Reaffirms Policy Of Defense of USSR

(Continued from Page 1)

ed in next week's Socialist Ap- way or the other. in this issue.

Seven Months' Discussion

The convention concluded a seven-months' discussion on these questions. The dispute flared up

ternational toward the Franco- against capitalism.

Petty-Bourgeois Opposition the majority pointed out, as a ca- ist bureaucracy. pitulation to the pressure of "democratic" public opinion, which approved the Franco-Sovi-

tives of the contending factions tack. either were printed in the 13 istributed throughout the party or delivered by a Negro worker delwere issued in mimeograph form egate from Oakland, California. by each of the factions-in all hundreds of thousands of words.

When the issues had become fundamentally clear to the membership, the pages of the New International were opened to the discussion in order to acquaint the sympathizers of our party with the issues involved in the internal struggle.

In addition, weekly discussions were organized at branch meetings, with speakers from the contending factions and with the floor open to discussion by every member of the party.

Burnham Minority Spokesman The position of the minority upon the question of the class nature of the Soviet Union and onial workers know that the

its defense by the working class

majority and minority on the or- by the majority of the party, branded as anti-Marxist and comganization question are printed Burnham argued, was nothing pletely unprincipled. He contrast-

Goldman Majority Speaker

For the majority position, Al- selves. after the signing of the Stalin- bert Goldman was the main. The principled differences nev-Hitler pact, when the minority speaker. He attacked Burnham's ertheless broke through, he deinitiated an attempt to revise our position as anti-Marxist, in view clared, as they always do,' and of the fact that Marxists deter- cut through all these organiza-Toward the pact and its conse-mine their attitude toward a tional issues like an icebreaker quences, the majority held, the given state by analyzing its class through an ice-choked bay. same principles were valid as had nature and its relationship to the But in the organizational field, been elaborated by the Fourth In- world proletariat in the struggle too, Marxists have a basic con-

Soviet pact and the preceding re- The Soviet Union he charac- maintained, are in fundamental actionary steps in foreign policy terized as a "degenerated work- conflict with the Marxist views taken by the Stalinist bureauc- ers' state," based on nationalized from the field of theory and poliproperty, the basic conquest of tics right down to the field of orthe October revolution, which we ganizational methods. The proposal to revise the pro- defend against imperialism while This convention, Cannon degram following the Stalin-Hitler carrying on the most determined clared, marked a turning point in pact could only be characterized, struggle to overthrow the Stalin- our 11-year struggle to build a

Workers' Arguments

et pact but denounced the Hitler- a Mid-West steel worker dele- resents the petty-bourgeois rem-Stalin pact. The petty-bourgeois gate, opposed Burnham's concep- nants of the past who are strugcomposition of the minority, it tions by likening the Soviet Un- gling against this drive and who was pointed out, made it particu- ion to a trade union. "The revo- responded to the democratic war lary susceptible to such pressure. lutionary worker always and at bourgeois pressure by attacking The seven months' discussion in all times fights the corrupt and our basic program and our Bolthe party was conducted with the class-collaborationist leaders of a shevik form of organization. utmost democracy. All articles union. But at the same time we submitted by any member of the are the best fighters in defense of ing the guarantees offered by the party and the official representa- the union against any boss at- majority to preserve the rights

"There are those who try to-

tell the Negro workers that Stalin or Hitler are our main enemies," he declared. "The oppressed colonial peoples of Africa and Asia, who have had the experience of 200 years of English and French exploitation, are not so easily swung into line by the cry of 'Hitler' or 'Stalin.' So far as the colonial masses are concerned, they cannot see any real difference between the imperialist policies of Hitler or Chamberlain. The Negro workers in America know who oppress them-the American bosses. And the colenemy they must fight first is the one already on their backs."

The position of the proletarian majority upon the important problem of the party's organizational structure and activities was presented by James P. Can-

The organization question, he The majority and minority res- was presented at the convention maintained, is for Leninists subolutions on the Russian question by James Burnham. He maintain- ordinate to principled political have already been published, to- ed that the class nature of the questions. Always Bolsheviks gether with discussion articles, in USSR is irrelevant, and that it look for the differences in princithe last two issues of the New does not affect the political posi- ple in taking a position in a strug-International, and will be reprint- tion of defense or defeatism one gle. Anything else, such as placing organization problems above peal. All the resolutions of both | The position of defense as held principled political differences, he less than a "left cover for Stalin- ed this with the minority method ism and Hitler's ideological north- of forming its ranks through agreement upon organization questions while suppressing principled differences among them-

ception. Burnham's views, he

party. The convention majority is, the proletarian wing of the party seeking to drive deeper into the In the discussion, Manny Mills, working class. The minority rep-

He ended his speech by outlinof the minority in the coming One of the most significant period, these guarantees includsues of the Internal Bulletin dis- speeches in the discussion was ing the right to continued existence as a faction, expression of its viewpoint in a monthly Internal Bulletin under joint control, and a discussion of the theoretical differences in the New Inter-

> The position of the minority on rganization was represented by Max Shachtman. He declared that the present regime in the party has succumbed to bureauratism, that while this bureauracy has no economic base, indeed even being self-sacrificing and at times half-starving, nevertheless it is a bureaucracy. It reflects, he declared, two features of the American environment: (1) The bureaucracy of the trade union fakers at the head of the American labor movement. (2) The 'boss" system of politics in

After developing these points he called for still more democracy in the party than that which has obtained in the past, and then demanded that the minority have the right to set up a separate

The convention did not, however, preoccupy itself with such first testing ground for this polthreats of split. It had found time

It has become exceedingly difficult for revolutionary socialists to receive information in 1940. Thus we have received only now a resolution drawn up in the name of the German S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party) by Jakob Walcher and dated November 1939. This resolution deals with the role of the Soviet Union in the war. We read there the following:

"Thus the Soviet Union has not only left the international Anti-Fascist Front, but as long as this government remains in power it ceases to be an international, revolutionary socialist factor." And further: "We cannot today adopt a principled position toward Soviet Russia different from that toward the other great powers."

This last sentence obviously can only have meaning for us if we know exactly what "principled" position the S.A.P. actually takes with regard to the "other great powers."

In the pamphlet, "The Coming World War" (Der Kommende Weltkrieg), which was published jointly by the "Revolutionary Socialists of Austria," the group "Neue Beginnen" (New Beginning) and the S.A.P., the authors express themselves about as follows: To be sure the war is an imperialist war on both sides; nevertheless the interests of the working class, of democracy and of socialism, coincide with the interests of the imperialists on the opposing side up until a decisive military victory. And so that no room will be left for doubt the authors declare expressly: "We stand for the defeat of Fascism, we stand for the victory of the opposing front!"

"The international anti-Fascist front" in Walcher's meaning of the words, are obviously the imperialist powers, England and France and their eventual allies of tomorrow. "The Soviet Union has left this front," he says, and "we cannot take a different principled position with regard to it than towards other great powers (that is, those who don't belong to this front)."

In plain and simple English this means: "We are for the victory of British-French imperialism in this world war and for the defeat of the Soviet Union." Walcher and his many spiritual kin in the camp of the German emigration have reached a pretty pass indeed!

Their Treachery Foreshadowed

In our thesis on the civil war in Spain, published in Unser Wort (organ of the German section of the Fourth International) we defined the role of the Soviet bureaucracy as unequivocally counter-revolutionary. Walcher and his followers went into an uproar over the "dangerous nonsense" and "methodical madness" of our thesis, and formulated eight far-reaching and illuminating verities of which the fifth is worth quoting today:

"In spite of everything that has happened in the Soviet Union in the past few years, the fate of the Soviet Union remains bound up with that of the international working-class moves the latter must stand at its side with all the forces at its command." (Neue Front, March,

We replied: "To be sure, that is also our opinion. However, it is necessary not to confuse the Soviet bureaucracy, the grave-digger of the revolution, with the Soviet Union itself. The power of the Soviet bureaucracy is an interregnum between the revolution and the counter-revolution.

"In advancing by means of its counter-revolutionary policy the progress of the counter-revolution, the Soviet bureaucracy is preparing its own downfall, its own replacement by the counter-revolution. Only when the international labor movement will have liberated itself from the embrace of reformism and Stalinism and carried out the victorious social revolution in the capitalist world, will the Soviet Union really be saved and brought back on to the road toward socialism. Therefore, whoever defends the Spanish policy of Stalinism, is in spite of all lip service to the Soviet Union the open enemy of the Soviet Union and helps in the strangling of the Soviet state by the advancing counter-revolution." (Unser Wort, May,

At that time we were not yet in a position to know that we would get such a striking confirmation of this sentence as the present Walcher resolution on the role of the Soviet Union in the war.

Why They Changed Their Position

As long as the counter-revolutionary policy of the Soviet bureaucracy coincided with the policy of Anglo-French imperialism, Walcher defended Stalin's politics by pointing to the socialist foundation of the Soviet Union

Today, when Stalin's policy has come into contradiction with that of Anglo-French imperialism, the same Walcher makes Stalin's policy a pretext for surrendering the Soviet Union to imperialism.

We are hard put to find a proper expression to give adequate vent to our contempt for this type of "social-

We see no reason for changing our principled position towards the Soviet Union because of the Stalin-Hitler pact. As before, we remain the most irreconcilable opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracy whose counter-revolutionary role we-and in the first place Comrade Trotsky--recognized long before the whole crummy crew of Walcher, Muenzenberg, Lovestone, et tutti quanti became so piously and haughtily outraged by the Stalin-Hitler pact. As before, we refuse and will continue to refuse to identify the Soviet Union with the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Just as we excoriated Stalin's role as agent of Anglo-French imperialism yesterday, and remained prepared at the same time to defend the Soviet Union against attack by German imperialism; so we regard it today a duty of the Russian workers to combat the Stalinist bureaucracy wherever it appears, as an agency of Hitler imperialism, but at the same time continue to defend the Soviet Union against any attack on the part of the "democratic" imperialist powers.

"Hands off Soviet Russia" remains as before our slogan in all capitalist countries. The overthrow of the criminal Stalin regime is the task of the Russian and the international proletariat, and not of Anglo-French bayonets.

Our companions in the struggle against the robber gang of Hitler are not the brigands of Paris and London, who between them keep half a billion people in the same conditions of oppression and slavery as Hitler keeps his hundred million, but the revolutionary proletarians and the oppressed colonial slaves of all countries. To be sure, the friends of Hitler are our foes. But the friends of the imperialist rivals and colleagues of Hitler are no less so. Between us and the Muenzenbergs and the Walchers stand the barricades

of the coming German revolution

NORWAY CRUSHED BY POWERS

(Continued from Page 1) Why Scandinavia First

icy because the Allies considered they had a good chance of en-

sures itself important supplies of tem whether they liked it or not. ore, timber, fats, and other foodstuffs. Strategically, it acquires a Scandinavia was chosen as the coast and bases for direct attack

it can control Scandinavia, it as- has taken them up on it.

Neither side can afford to let enough to dig deep into the probforcing their policy with military the other win control of the lems of mass work and to hear means if Germany should seek northern peninsula. The Allies reports of progress in the various to resist it. And that is just what failed to seize the opportunity proletarian centers. And it had afforded by the Soviet-Finnish declared: we are ready for an-Only Germany has certainly war. They dallied uncertainly un- other great step forward: conmoved faster than the Allies could til that war came to an end and cretely. for the twice-a-week possibly have expected, because the opportunity passed. This time APPEAL and a program of exfor Germany the stakes are un- they have deliberately created pansion of our work in every doubtedly great. Economically, if a new opportunity and Germany field. And that was the real con-