

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 16 Saturday, April 20, 1940

Published Weekly by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board:  
FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN

General Manager:  
GEORGE CLARKE

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.  
Foreign: \$3.00 per year; \$1.50 for six months. Bundle  
orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents  
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter December 4,  
1935, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the  
Act of March 3, 1879."

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.

Statement of the  
National Committee

The readers of the APPEAL are already familiar with the resolutions adopted by the recently concluded National Convention of our party. These resolutions (published last week) made extremely liberal provisions for the participation of the leaders of the minority in party work. The resolutions offered them the opportunity to continue the discussion in defense of their point of view in the Internal Bulletin and in the NEW INTERNATIONAL, on the condition that they refrain from issuing an independent publication in opposition to the press of the party.

These decisions of the convention have been rejected by the leaders of the minority. This conduct left the National Committee no alternative, under the instructions of the convention, but to suspend the minority leaders from the party until such time, as they signify their readiness to abide by the convention decisions. This action was taken by the National Committee, at its meeting held on April 16, in order to protect the terms of the suspension leave the way open for the suspended members to reconsider the question and return to their places in the party leadership and in its editorial boards on the basis of the convention decisions.

## 'Treachery' In Norway

An astounding picture has been drawn in the press this last week of how Germany overran southern Norway without resistance. Traitors in every branch of the government and the armed forces, situated in positions where they could deliver or render harmless fortresses and warships, airports and government buildings and industrial plants, worked hand-in-glove with the German invaders. So widespread was the net of these traitors that it is scarcely possible to think of them as a group of agents of Germany; it is more accurate to speak of a certain caste in Norwegian society which decided to deliver Norway to Germany.

Even if we discount nine-tenths of these press reports, the residue is still enough for us to draw certain important conclusions concerning the realities of Norway—and of every other "democracy." While at the head of Norway officially stood a "socialist" government—to boot, it was a

government of the Norwegian Labor Party, which is supposed to be the most "left" of the parties of the Second International—in the real places of power, in the most strategic military and industrial centers, were arch-reactionaries who, without consulting the government or the people of Norway, had the power to decide to hand Norway over to the Nazis.

Let us understand clearly what this means. This caste of traitors came to the conclusion that their best interests were served by facilitating Germany's invasion, and their will dictated what happened. We happen to see this so glaringly in this case, because the decision that the caste made was contrary to that which the American press—which functions openly now as part of the Allied camp—would have liked it to make, and hence the American press indignantly exposes the "conspiracy."

But suppose this caste of traitors had, instead, decided to throw its support to the Allies? Then the American press would not have called them traitors or their act a conspiracy but, on the contrary, would have written only about "the people of Norway deciding" to facilitate an Allied invasion instead of a German one. But in that case, just as in the present case when this caste favored Germany, IT WOULD BE THESE ARCH-REACTIONARIES WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH THE PEOPLE WHO WOULD DECIDE WHAT NORWAY SHOULD DO.

In venting their rage against the Norwegian reactionaries for favoring Germany, the American press has involuntarily laid bare for every worker to see the real mechanism of all the "democracies."

The same mechanism operates in this country. The people of this country will have no real voice in deciding whether this country shall go to war, and against whom. A semblance of "popular" support will be worked up for the war through the systematic poison pumped into our heads by the press, movies, radio, the speeches of Roosevelt and his Democratic and Republican collaborators—but this poison is being pumped into us at the command of the American equivalent of those who decided which way Norway should go. They decide, not the people.

Who are those that decide? America's Sixty Families—the powerful plutocrats who really run this country and will continue to run it, no matter who sits in Washington, until the day when the American working class takes the power into its own hands and takes away from the plutocrats their economic power.

Tomorrow, if it should serve the interests of America's Sixty Families, they would call a halt to the roar of pro-Ally propaganda and turn on a stream of pro-Nazi propaganda. For they decide in which of the imperialist camps this country should line up.

Anybody who talks about fighting for this country against Germany or Japan, or whoever the "enemy" is, simply is delivering himself as cannon fodder into the death-machines of the Sixty Families.

We are not pacifists and we're not isolationists. We know that this country can't stay out of a warring world. We're not against all wars. Because we're for the one war in which it is worth fighting—the war of the working class against the bosses. We'll defend this country—when this country is ruled by the workers. We'll war against fascism and reaction anywhere—but only when the armies which carry banners against fascism are the armies of a Workers' Republic or the revolutionary workers' forces within the fascist countries.

Any worker who doesn't understand that, doesn't understand what has just happened in Norway.

## F.B.I. and C.I.O.

Now a CIO affiliate has fallen victim to the "trust-busting" campaign of the Department of Justice—the Fur Workers Union. Let neither John L. Lewis or anybody else deceive himself: the fact of Stalinist influence in the fur union might explain why it was the first CIO union to be touched—the government moves first against the discredited Stalinists because they are so vulnerable—but that doesn't at all mean that other CIO unions won't be next.

In this case the CIO top officialdom made a gesture or two of solidarity—pretty perfunctory gestures. In AFL cases, the CIO officials continue tacit approval of the prosecution. Lewis & Co. are cutting off their noses to spite their faces.

## In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Three Organizations Decide to  
Unite as 4th International Party

Fermin Olea, fraternal delegate of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Chile to the Third National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, provided us with the following summary on the Chilean situation and the formation of the R.S.P.:

1. The Socialist Party entered the Popular Front combination in 1937 with a fifty-point platform; but the real point of the Popular Front was to elect a presidential candidate opposed to Gustavo Ross. The Popular Front candidate was the bourgeois radical, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, and the Socialist Party sacrificed its own candidate, its leader Grove.

2. After the victory in the October 25, 1938, election, the Socialist Party convoked a General Congress in December to decide on its participation in the new government. At that congress were to be observed the first symptoms of open opposition to the reformist politics of the S.P.

3. This opposition grew in the course of the first year of the Popular Front government. The first serious incidents came in September, 1939, when the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party attempted to effect a rapprochement with the Vanguardia Popular Socialista (a movement previously openly pro-Nazi but which, with the support of the Stalinists, had entered the Popular Front). With a combination with this organization, the S.P. leadership thought to counter-balance the Stalinist-Radical bourgeois alliance which was outweighing the S.P. in government decisions.

The Socialist Youth Federation (Federacion Juvenil Socialista) did not accept the S.P. policy and its general secretary, Krug, together with other leaders and active youth, were violently expelled from the S.P. These elements formed the Revolutionary Socialist Left (Izquierda Revolucionaria Socialista) in November, 1939.

4. New incidents came just before the VI General Congress of the S.P. which took place at the end of December, 1939. Numerous militants were expelled and various sections reorganized by the S.P. leadership.

Two tendencies constituted the opposition: one which was organized around Cesar Godoy, an S.P. deputy in parliament, and another, Trotskyist, which was organized under the name Ala Izquierda Socialista (Left Socialist). The two tendencies agreed in their condemnation of the dishonest practices of the government, of the S.P. leadership and of the leadership of the trade unions, whose principal body, the Confederacion de Trabajadores (Workers Confederation) is controlled by the S.P. and the Communist Party, with a slight majority in the hands of the S.P.

The Left Socialists and the Godoy group made an agreement on the following platform: (1) Democratic centralism and liberty of discussion; (2) reinstatement into the party of those expelled for political reasons; (3) the candidacy of Godoy for General Secretary of the party.

5. Groves was elected General Secretary over Godoy by an insignificant majority. The result was that many militants left the party. These,

together with those expelled, constituted in January, 1940, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Revolucionario) and immediately established contact with the previously-organized Revolutionary Socialist Left and with members of the Communist Party who had become disgusted with the Stalinist regime and its international politics.

6. At the Congress of the Revolutionary Socialist Left in February, there were fraternal delegations from the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Internationalist Workers Group (Grupo Internacionalista Obrero), (the latter has been affiliated to the Fourth International for some time). At this Congress it was agreed to form a Committee for Unification of the three organizations.

7. In March the Revolutionary Socialist Party published its first pamphlet, which consists of a Manifesto, a Declaration of Principles, a program of action, and the statutes of the party. A second publication, a new translation of Marx's Criticism of the Gotha Program, in the press.

In its Declaration of Principles, the Revolutionary Socialist Party declares that the World Party of Socialist Revolution (the Fourth International), "represents with fidelity and purity the interests of the working class," and in its statutes states that the party's International is the Fourth International.

8. The new party that will result from the fusion of these organizations has great perspectives: (1) Because its militants and its theories are imbued with the Trotskyist ideas of proletarian internationalism. (2) Because those discontented with the Socialist Party do not find in any other group a firm ideological base. (3) Because those discontented with the Communist Party have not succeeded in creating any other independent group. (4) Because the new party has a genuine and effective proletarian base and many of its militants are those who developed the active trade union work of the C.P. and S.P.

March, 1940 Fermin Olea

After attending the S.W.P. convention, comrade Olea added the following appendix to his report:

"Concerning the international question raised by the war, the German-Soviet pact and the war in Finland, the P.S.R. had not taken, at the time of my departure from Chile, any official position; but in the Central Committee there prevailed the position supported by the national convention of the American party. The same thing happened in the Revolutionary Socialist Left and the Internationalist Workers Group.

"I believe that in no case will a minority in the P.S.R. take a stand against the unity of the party, and this position will also be maintained in the course of the process of unification between the P.S.R. and the other groups."

It is clear that our movement in Chile is leaving the stage of propaganda groups. A unified party of the forces at our disposal in Chile means, from its inception, a party of action in the mass movement.

'Anti-Trust' Campaign Aimed  
To Break Back of Unionism

(Continued from Page 1)  
ing a profit." (Opera on Tour, Inc., v. Weber, et al.)

2. "Unreasonable restraints . . . to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor." Mr. Arnold gives an example of an extra man on a delivery truck. But the principle is what matters—not Mr. Arnold's example. And just who is to say what is "useless and unnecessary" labor? Who is to decide the proper speed of a worker? Surely not lawyers and judges who never did a day's manual labor in their lives? And who will decide the borderline of exploitation?

Two men working six hours each often means "useless and unnecessary" labor—if one man can be induced or forced to work twelve hours. And what about the older workers being thrown on to the human scrap heap? Is it better for human beings to starve than to have "unnecessary" labor?

When the General Electric, Westinghouse and others pay low wages and show huge, unnecessary profit that is not an "unreasonable restraint." And when lighting fixture manufacturers in other states pay poverty wages so as to make unnecessary profit, that is not an "unreasonable restraint." But when union electrical workers say, "Buy our labor; we get little work; don't drag us down to the lower paid workers"—that is an "unreasonable restraint." It creates "useless and unnecessary" labor, Mr. Arnold claims.

3. "Unreasonable restraints . . . to enforce systems of graft and extortion."

4. "Unreasonable restraints . . . to enforce illegally fixed prices."

The indictments against Local

Union No. 3 and its officials certainly do not come under these points.

The indictments that the union and its officials endeavored to obtain, spread and maintain work for members. The general cry of "racketeer" is used to conceal and confuse the attack on unions.

When court judges have been caught selling their decisions for cash, the anti-trust law was not used against them. Such law was not used to convict dishonest lawyers, politicians, government officials, stock manipulators, ministers and bank officers. Surely we have not so soon forgotten the Falls, Dohenys, Sinclair, Forbes, Whitneys, Mantons and many others.

A NEW WEAPON IN THE UNION-BUSTING ARSENAL  
5. "Unreasonable restraints . . . to destroy an established system of collective bargaining."

Mr. Arnold says this covers jurisdictional disputes and strikes. These occur between unions over which one shall do certain work or jobs. For instance: When the New York Edison Company built a power house it had a contractor do the electrical construction work with regular union electricians. Later the Edison employees formed a union and the company wanted to use these employees to do this work at 50% less wages.

In the New York tunnels the "Sand Hogs"—despite a decision rendered against them by proper union authority—want to do certain electrical work done for years by Electrical Workers' Union No. 3.

In New York the Longshoremen's Union has been trying to

hold a weekly rate of \$44 while a union affiliated to the CIO offers to work for \$27.50. It was in this dispute that the Longshoremen's Union and its officials—Joseph Ryan and others—were indicted. Mr. Arnold held that this was a jurisdictional dispute—a conspiracy in restraint of interstate trade.

Here is how a "jurisdictional" dispute can be created to wreck unions: There are AFL union trades on a building. The builder signs an agreement with the CIO. The AFL union trades strike. Then they and their officials are criminally indicted for "destroying an established system of collective bargaining." Seems fantastic doesn't it? But it is all too true.

However, labor has never before heard that jurisdictional strikes are unlawful under the anti-trust law. And labor has certainly never had a monopoly of such disputes. Various states, many departments of government, courts and even churches are constantly involved in jurisdictional disputes of one variety or another.

The United States was born in a fight over jurisdiction. Cities, towns and villages often squabble over territorial jurisdiction and against encroachment. It seems that a democracy is impossible without jurisdictional disputes of various kinds.

Of course such disputes between labor unions do harm. Bad feeling is created all around. Almost all humans deplore and condemn them—the same as they do war. But humans still go to war. And such disputes and strikes are a form of war—a war mostly for jobs. Provide enough jobs for men and you will hear little or nothing of such disputes.

Australian 4th  
Internationalists  
Fight Against War

By PAUL SCHWALBE

(Comrade Schwalbe, an active member of the Fourth Internationalist movement since 1929, has spent considerable time in Australia during the past three years and is now a member of our Australian section—Editor.)

The Australian island-continent, 28 times the size of Great Britain, has less population than New York City. When we think of the numerous troopships that have already left for the European battlegrounds, and the Mauretanas and Queen Marys that are on the way to Australia for human cargo—we begin to realize the terrible drain upon the manpower of Australia, the suffering of those left behind, the inevitable decline of living standards and the eventual collapse of the whole economy of Australia.

In the circles of Britain's high society, where the real rulers of Australia meet, it is a matter of congratulatory comment that their agents down under are going the limit, without serious resistance from the so-called Labour Government or the Trades Union leadership, in a program that will ship regularly at least 2,000 young men in every month to their deaths.

The docility of the Stalinist upper crust is almost unbelievable. They were driven out without resistance from the Yarra Banks at Melbourne, traditional workers' meeting place, three and four weeks in succession, by a couple of dozens of sixteen-year old boys or a handful of uniformed hooligans. Instead of organizing Workers Defense Guards and depending upon the workers, they appeal repeatedly to the local police, federal and state governments, and army heads, to restrain the kids or soldiers!

The contrast between the Stalinists and the Trotskyists is clear-cut. When our comrades set up their platform and banners for a demonstration, they do so with heads erect and defiant hearts, singing the International. In Sydney, in the Domain, where many thousands of politically-advanced workers congregate every Sunday afternoon, the Trotskyists have always depended on the workers around them, together with their organized Defense Guards, for protection, in many cases very successfully.

Events during my stay in Sydney revealed the appalling cowardice of the Stalinists. They were loud only in their abuse and calumny against Alfred Bradley, delegate from the Boot Trades Union to the New South Wales Trades and Labor Council, who had repeatedly proposed to the Council the formation of a Workers Defense Guard to protect labor's rights. With the aid of the Stalinist votes, the proposal was defeated. The slogan for Workers Defense Guards is, however, beginning to make headway. I have just learned that the Melbourne branch of the Boot Trades Union has carried a resolution for it.

The Australian section of the Fourth International, the Communist League, has made its greatest mark in the fight against the imperialist war. An inspiring demonstration took place in the Sydney Domain last fall, where several hundred workers of draft age responded to the call of our speakers to boycott the National Register by burning the blanks in a great bonfire before the speakers stand. It was an impressive sight, to see the flames of protest and discontent from that fire reach skyward in the shadows of the Government and Army buildings!

Our Communist League holds street meetings almost nightly in all parts of Sydney, attracting increasingly larger audiences, as our comrades fearlessly attack the war and the proposed conscription. Our meetings always have large and colorful banners, with clear and effective slogans calling spiritedly for action against the war. The uniformed hooligans who attempted at first to break up our meetings have been effectively discouraged, with the aid of workers who volunteered to defend our meetings.

## Our Movement Composed of Workers

Our people are also active in the mass organizations of the workers. Undoubtedly the high degree of discipline and dogged devotion to the League is accounted for by the fact that over 75% of its members are composed of union members, and that the League is almost 100% proletarian. Many of them are employed in the ship armament and machinist trades, some in the boot trades and printshops, and not a few are migratory workers, who do the technical work in the party headquarters during the slack season.

Work among the unemployed is a major task. Our comrades are instrumental in publishing 'The Unemployed Workers' Voice,' which is systematically circulated in the unemployed districts in every big city in Australia. The distribution problem has been solved by the unemployed themselves, who in great numbers take turns in distributing it at the main unemployed registration offices.

Much could be added to attest to the high degree of spirit that characterizes the Australian Section of the Fourth International. The comrades are determinedly setting about to transform their monthly organ, the "Militant," into a weekly. They support several full-time organizers and functionaries. Our comrades are notably selfless, giving all they have. These worker-comrades are accomplished speakers, writers, and are well-developed in the various arts and techniques necessary for revolutionary agitation and propaganda.

Such spirit, devotion and activity could not fail to have its impact. Particularly important is the effect on the Stalinists. The bulk of our membership has come from the Australian Communist party, which is comparatively large. Those that have come over lately from the C.P. are of exceptional quality, recruited in most cases from the leading cadres of the Stalinist organizations, and the drift toward us is still going on.

As a case in point, while this is being written I have received the March issue of the "Militant," announcing the break of Betty Roland, noted radical playwright who, we are sure, will follow the example of Rawling, Baracchi, Jack Kavanagh and others who preceded her into our ranks.

## MAY DAY MASS MEETING! Wednesday, May 1st

SPEAKERS:

FARRELL DOBBS  
JAMES P. CANNON

IRVING PLACE Irving Place and 15th Street  
New York City