

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

How to Win Workers Away from Stalinism

Editor: When the Communist Party changed its line from Popular Frontism, many of us expected to see a substantial break in its ranks. But in the New York trade unions, this has not been the case. True, in many unions, especially in the culinary unions, it has become more isolated from the broad masses of workers because of its break with the elements who formerly cooperated with it. But among the advanced and radicalized workers, especially the young and inexperienced ones, the new line has made the Communist Party more attractive.

For one thing, it is now being persecuted by a government which is dragging us into the war. For another, its pseudo-radical and pacifist slogans have a plausible sound. "Peace, jobs, and Security" seems to be good things to fight for. Nevertheless the Communist Party cannot experience any substantial growth in the unions. This is because its radical words are unaccompanied by any change in their trade-union line. In the culinary unions they still follow the most reactionary class-collaborationist policy, working with the bosses' association, failing to enforce union conditions, giving in to the bosses on such vitally important questions as union-hiring and job-security.

For this reason the ranks of the progressives fighting the misleadership of the Stalinists and their friends are constantly growing. But the rank-and-file of the Communist Party and its supporters who are, by and large, among the most militant and class-conscious workers, remain supporters of the party and of its reactionary line.

This, of course, cannot last forever. The contradiction between words and deeds will undoubtedly bring breaks and splits. But in order to hasten the process, and win the Stalinists' militant supporters to the Fourth International, our party and its press should be directed toward the Stalinists along the following lines:

1. The Socialist Appeal must carry more articles exposing the spurious nature of the Communist Party's new radicalism. It should show the contradiction between word and deed.
 2. It must carry articles revealing the pacifist and anti-revolutionary nature of such "anti-war" slogans as "The Yanks are not coming," and "For Peace."
- It must show the complete inadequacy of the Stalinist slogans: "For Jobs, for Security." It must counterpose our Transitional Program.
- We must expose the Communist Party on the question of methods; how we are to win our demands. In this the Communist Party has changed least of all. It still depends upon combinations with one or another petty-bourgeois or labor-faker. We must counterpose to them the mass action of the workers independent of and against the capitalist class and its government.
- These articles should be published in pamphlet form and concentrations be made on sales and distributions to Stalinist workers.
- With a serious approach to our task, we can win the best proletarian sections of the Communist Party to our revolutionary banner.

Fraternally,
S. R.
New York

Frank Watson Freed In Canada

Editor: We are very pleased to announce that Frank Watson has finally been released from prison after serving six months of his sentence for an alleged violation of Section 39 of the Defence of Canada Regulations which took place early in September of 1939. The committee contributed all its funds toward the payment of his fine of \$300.00. The kind help and encouragement from the labor movement and liberal minded people is sincerely appreciated.

The experiences of the first half of the war indicate the pressing need for a NATIONAL organization to guard our democratic

rights. Flagrant repressions continue unabated and will grow worse unless labor and liberal opinion is ORGANIZED to check this totalitarian trend. An organization based primarily on the labor movement, in particular trade unions and trades councils, in addition to liberal friends of civil liberties, is needed in Canada. The Watson Committee members are unanimously of the opinion that such a movement must grow up WITHOUT DELAY.

To this end, the committee has been negotiating with the Toronto branch of the Civil Liberties Union for affiliation. But the complete silence and inactivity of the Union, and in particular its recent rightward re-organization, give no grounds for confidence. Moreover, its social composition is such that it has no contact with the labor movement.

For this reason, the committee has decided to carry on independently and to contribute its resources and energies towards the promotion of a truly national defense organization. However, this work cannot be successful unless you and others cooperate to the fullest possible extent. For example, the convoking of a conference is out of the question unless a number of organizations get behind it. What is your opinion? Will you kindly raise this in your organization and or write us in any event, expressing your views? We should be grateful to hear from you.

In the meantime, our committee is without funds and some small donations will help us to carry on. We cannot afford to dissolve. The work we have done on the Watson case has justified itself, but it is only one case of many. Will YOU render further help?

Nearly everyone agrees that the war time Regulations need revising—yet nothing is done. Nor will it be done until public opinion is organized for that purpose. A national civil liberties defense movement is the answer. Wherever it is possible we shall be glad to send a representative to discuss the whole question with you or your organization.

Fraternally yours,
FRANK WATSON DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Wm. Brown, Sec'y
135 Inglewood Dr., Toronto, Can.

Look Out for This "Impartial Body"

Editor: As a union officer I have received an announcement from a new body, "Collective Bargaining Associates", formed, it says, "with the avowed purpose of reducing industrial warfare, improving relations between labor and the employer and developing improved techniques of collective bargaining."

The program attached to the announcement is made up of the usual class-collaborationist stuff: "The periods of warfare in industry must come to an end. Industrial warfare is as silly as wars between nations", etc. etc.

Like all class-collaboration programs this one turns out to preach that there aren't only two contending groups—the workers and the bosses. No, there is, if you please, a third camp. The third camp consists of "technicians such as engineers, economists and teachers." On the Board of Directors of the new body, therefore, there are to be five representing labor, five representing the employers, and five representing the third camp.

Now let's see who these third-campers are who, the program tells us, are "without a direct stake in the matters at issue." One of the sponsors is John M. Carmody, Federal Works Agency Administrator. He isn't a bosses' man, oh no, he is only a technician. Yeah! Ask every union officer who has to deal with him!

Another is Francis Biddle, Federal Solicitor General; i.e., part of the machinery of the Department of Justice which, as you may have heard, is now on a union-busting campaign. Then there are a raft of professors of economics—Schlichter, of Business Economics, Harvard University, Feldman, of Industrial Relations, Dartmouth—who teach daily that capitalism is the ordained system of society but who, by definition

of being technicians, are impartial third-campers.

Two erstwhile "revolutionists" provide a left face for this crew—Max Lerner (he just reconsidered Marxism in the Nation, he was one of the most useful stooges the Stalinists had) and George Soule, editor of the New Republic who, believe it or not, wrote a book entitled "The Coming American Revolution" in the dog-days of 1932. Here's just one example of what these people are going to do. It's point 8 of their program: "Working toward the increase of production through the joint formulation of methods for unleashing creative attitudes and performance at all levels, both in management and among the workers."

I'd appreciate it, if, as soon as these "impartial" flunks move into a concrete situation, workers affected write in about it to the APPEAL, so we can all be forewarned.
San Francisco, Cal. C. T.

Hunger Goads Man, Then Comes Social Vision

Editor: The efforts by liberal thinkers to proclaim that the economic man is a metaphysical abstraction is disproved by the fact that the feeling of desperation is the goad which leads to revolution on the part of millions. Perhaps those living in America do not yet entirely understand how pressing is the effect of unfulfilled need for the elementary things of life, as the masses of Europe have had experience. The conditions of economic distress produce a naive kind of economic determinism in the uncultured and there is the universal saying, "Look out for No. 1." But from that to a revolutionary outlook is not so far as some might think.

To say that ideals come first, as the liberals say, is to deprive humans of the opportunity of ever reaching that stage.
Chicago, Ill. Selma Stein

Workers Know What's To Be Done, Need Faith

Editor: I meet a lot of people, when I take around APPEALS, who say, No, they will not go to war. But the next minute they shrug their shoulders and say: But what can you do? You have to go any way. And they laugh, maybe, and say: you socialists can't stop it. Nobody can stop it.

Then I ask:—what do you suppose starts it?—A wrathful god, perhaps? or fate?
Not many people say yes to that. A few do who have been made so hopeless by poverty that they blame all their troubles on a god instead of on the society in which they are exploited.

But most workmen who talk at all are something like this man:—He says, Sure, I know its those big shots, all right. They keep on making money, too—while people get killed. —So what? When they make a law I have to obey it, don't I? They don't ask me when they start a war. But I have to go.

Why do you have to go? I ask. Because I'd damn well get shot if I didn't—or jailed and starved anyway. And no one to take care of my family.

But how is it that they can shoot you or put you in jail? It's because they have the power and you are alone, isn't it? If you and I are together, for instance, we have more power together, haven't we?

That's all right, he says, but what about all the rest of the people around here? They don't want to organize. They don't know what it's all about. Lots of them are foolish. They wouldn't stick together, that's all.

But if they did stick, could we stay out of war then?
Maybe. . . Oh NO!—there'd be the whole bunches of cops, and maybe national guardsmen—to make us go.

They'd still have more power than us?
That's right.
Isn't there anyway we could have more power than they?
Maybe, if you got ALL the poor people in the country together.

And then?
Yes, but you couldn't.
But if you could?
Why, then, maybe you could beat those big shots. But even then, they'd still have the machine guns and the tear gas and all that stuff.

Fink's in Law Suit Proves Only That Minneapolis Truck Drivers Union Is Loyal to Labor

By CARL O'SHEA
(Special to the Socialist Appeal, MINNEAPOLIS)—During the present four-day recess in the trial of the finks' suit against General Drivers Local 544, it is possible to make an estimate of the three weeks' testimony which attorney Arthur Anderson has presented for the finks in Judge Carroll's courtroom.

The case is to be continued April 22 when Miles Dunne and Kelly Postal, officials of Local 544, go on the stand. Anderson informed the newspapers yesterday that he expects to finish his case April 26, after which the union will present its rebuttal.

Aside from Kelly Postal and Carl Skoglund of Local 544, the only witnesses to date have been finks and employers to testify that Local 544 won't let them operate the way they want to.

Fail to Discredit Union
It is quite evident in court that Anderson, despite the six-week period during which he had an accountant examine all the books and records of Local 544, has not found a single fact which casts discredit upon Local 544, its members or its officers.

Undoubtedly now aware that the employers and the finks who retained him had told him a mess of fantastic lies about the General Drivers Union, Anderson has tried to make the best of a bad situation by using the courtroom as a sounding-board to echo every old and discredited charge against Local 544.

His charges have fallen into three categories: (1) Outright red-baiting and alien-baiting; (2) Condemnation of Local 544 for the very activities that organized labor honors the union for (3) Charges that Local 544 has loaned or donated money to sister unions without the consent of the membership.

Red-Baiting Falls Flat
Typical of Anderson's red-baiting activities has been his lengthy examination of Carl Skoglund, 544 president, during which the finks' lawyer has brought out that Skoglund was born in Sweden,

that he was expelled from the Communist Party in 1928, and that he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Anderson has also "revealed" the fact—known to readers of the Northwestern Organizer and the labor and socialist press of the nation—that V. R. Dunne, while in Mexico on a vacation several years ago, paid a visit to Leon Trotsky.

Anderson has further shown that Farrell Dobbs is now a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

What all this has to do with the finks' suit against Local 544 neither Anderson nor the daily papers, which work hand-in-glove with the finks in trying to smear the union movement, have explained.

Some "Disclosures"
Having failed to find what he sought in 544's books, Anderson has used the device of condemning the union, with a great show of righteousness, for practices that are common to every decent labor organization, and that, in Local 544's case, have been publicized by the union itself.

For instance, Anderson will bring out that the union purchased \$50 worth of tickets to the annual Central Labor Union picnic, and carry on as though this were a sin against mankind. Or he will "prove" that 544 spent \$250 on the union's annual Christmas Party for kids—or that 544 donated \$100 to a food workers' strike, \$2,248 to the widow of the late president of the union, Bill Brown, \$100 to a union in Albert Lea whose hall had been wrecked by deputized thugs, etc.

All these expenditures have been regularly listed in the books of Local 544, and in the monthly financial reports which are presented to the membership—yet Anderson and the boss press present them as though 544 were caught red-handed in some dreadful crime. And of course to the employers it IS a crime for any union to show solidarity with any other labor organization.

Anderson has also proved that Local 544 does whatever it possibly can to come to the assistance of its members in case of illness or death.

The finks' lawyer has also revealed that Local 544 pays 10¢ per member monthly to the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council building fund, and a similar amount to the Northwest Organizer.

He has further proved that when Local 544 officials travel on union business, the union pays their traveling expenses.

All of this, you may say, is ABC, known to any literate person who has examined the laws of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the by-laws of Local 544, or the labor and socialist press. But from Anderson's presentation, ballyhooed in the employer-controlled press, one would gather that the General Drivers Union was guilty of every crime in the book.

Labor Supports 544
No doubt the prolific anti-union publicity given the union by the daily press has served to influence a section of middle class opinion against Local 544.

But the more Anderson "disclosed," the firmer the labor movement supports 544. At its last meeting the Minneapolis Central Labor Union unanimously reaffirmed its confidence in 544 and its officers, members and policies.

The last 544 stewards' meeting gave the officers a vote of confidence. So did the last 544 membership meeting.

Typical of the characters that have testified against the union is Eli Joseph Graves, owner of a local coal yard who hired a fink driver.

Carries A Shotgun
Graves admitted he carries a shotgun in his car and another gun in his office, for use against union organizers.

When John Goldie, union attorney, asked Graves if he had ever attended a meeting of the fascist Silver Shirts, Graves replied: "No, but I've often thought I'd like to."

Another employer testified that 544 had made him pay double the amount of back pay due his driver when this boss had chiseled on the union wage scale. Local 544's union agreement provides for this penalty against chiseling employers.

Union Pamphlet On Sale
The pamphlet "Behind the 544 Suit", published by the Northwest Organizer, is now available to those who wish to read the true history of the fink suit against the General Drivers Union, copies of the pamphlet may be purchased at the Northwest Organizer office, 253 Plymouth Avenue N., Minneapolis, Minnesota, for 5¢ each, with special rates on bundle sales.

Norway's Officers Preferred Hitler To Labor Government

Editor:

Treason in Norway became the current topic of newspaper columns and conversation following the Hitler invasion of that little country. It seems strange: the German fleet had penetrated through the Oslo Fjord, through its narrow, past fortifications such as Horten and Drobak which, while not impregnable, still were sufficiently strong, due to their strategic location on the mountain sides, to challenge effectively any battleship. But these fortresses remained silent.

No doubt the workers of Norway were stunned by what appeared to be a double blow—invaders and treason. Even workers of Norwegian origin in this coun-

try felt stunned and expressed bitterness mixed with a sense of shame. How could it be? Treason in military circles in a land of peaceful pursuits such as Norway, which was not otherwise given to ordinary corruption so often witnessed in other and more powerful nations. The explanation, however, is not so difficult to find.

First of all it should be remembered that the militarist officers' caste is pretty much the same everywhere, whether of Prussian or of Napoleonic tradition, whether in a Fascist nation or in a democratic capitalist nation. The officers' caste of necessity identifies its interests as bound up with those of the capitalist system.

Officers Pro-Capitalist
It is true that Norway had only a small army with a small officers' caste, not harboring so many of the remnants of feudal nobility. But Norway has also had a labor government for a number of years, supported by the majority of the population. It is in this contradiction presented by a labor government existing alongside of a conscript army officered by militarists who were ardent supporters of the capitalist system, that the explanation for what is called treason must be found.

Impossible Straddle
This labor government was of the Social Democratic type and in some respects, at times, a little to the left. It had during its tenure reconciled itself to the continued existence of capitalist exploitation of labor. It governed within the framework of this system. But as a labor government it had to be concerned also about labor reforms. Thus the Norwegian workers enjoyed certain privileges, among which were old age pensions, insurance for unemployment and sickness, vacations with pay, extensive cooperative enterprises and a relatively good standard of wages. To make up for these reforms taxes were relatively heavy in the higher income brackets and supported by measures cutting a bit into profits. In other words the labor government tried to tread the narrow path of the "golden middle-way", balancing itself between labor reforms and certain restrictions upon capitalism.

Mr. Hoan in other words, predicts that the capitalist mayor will get no further with capitalist methods than Hoan did—with the same capitalist methods!
One more gem should be added, from an editorial in the same issue of The Call, entitled "Dan Hoan's Record":
"It is to be chalked up as a gain for the Socialist and Farmer-Labor movement that Hoan as an individual leader will be free to contribute in larger state and national fields to the building of a socialist influenced farmer-labor political movement."

We ask every reader to compare the grave seriousness of the worker's letter from Milwaukee with the grotesque flimsiness of The Call on the significance of the election. It is the difference between one who takes the class struggle seriously and a crew of petty-bourgeois shysters preaching sewer socialism.

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A Letter from Milwaukee About the Defeat of Dan Hoan

Editor:

On Tuesday noon, April 16, Daniel Webster Hoan, the "socialist" Mayor of Milwaukee for 24 years, turned over the office to the 38-year old Republican boy, Carl Zeidler. In the afternoon, the greatest inaugural splurge ever held took place in the City Auditorium.

Daniel Webster Hoan turned over the office "with any bitterness of the campaign forgotten," as the daily papers put it.

And do the workers of Milwaukee feel any bitterness? No—they don't feel bitter. They elect Zeidler by an overwhelming vote. Why did they? Well, as several workers expressed it to me: "Funny in 24 years not a single young man comes forth to be leader of Milwaukee." Is this the workers' independent reasoning as to what a mayor should be? Again no. It's the so-called "clever" campaign propaganda of the bosses.

Though not particularly clever, his campaign propaganda did the job. Because the "socialist" campaign of Hoan could not be distinguished from the big-business-backed campaign of Zeidler, Zeidler received the workers' vote. They didn't have any other issues to choose between, so they chose the younger man.

What do the workers say about Hoan now that he is defeated? On this question they are doing some real independent thinking. One worker tells me: "Oh Hoan! He is all right—pretty smart guy—he made \$350,000 wages as

whole lot better right here. But you don't know what you're up against, if you think you can get all the working people together. Sure, I'll read your paper. Here's a couple cents for the can. It's all I can spare.

And the man next door, like as not, says the same thing. Lots of people say the same thing. Lots of people feel the same way. There's a bond between us and them. By convincing them that it can be done, we'll make revolutionists out of them. Not only by arguing, though, but also by showing them we're a party of action. But the bond is there for us to cement.

Member-at-large
Buffalo, N.Y.

mayor at \$12,500 a year and he never did spend much on himself." And another adds: "Yes, and he's a lawyer too, so he don't need to be afraid."

I asked some workers: "How do you think Zeidler will turn out?" The answer reminded me of Marx's dictum that workers learn best from their own experience. For the several workers I was talking to carefully explained to me that Heil was elected as governor over a year ago "because we wanted a change."

Now, however, they say: "Hell—why he's the biggest liar that ever stood in shoes. What has he done, after all his promises. Nothing—and made it worse." To-day about Zeidler they are saying: "By next year we will know what Zeidler is good for."

From this it should be plain that the workers, though constantly being deceived and cheated by capitalism, are nevertheless searching, always searching, for a way out. Once they lay their hands on a real revolutionary program, the one and only means to an answer for their ever-increasing problems, they will know what to do with it.

The workers of Milwaukee are clear on what the Socialist party of Mayor Hoan stands for. Because they do understand this, the name of socialism has been discredited by 24 years of capitalist rule under a socialist label. That makes more difficult the job of acquainting Milwaukee workers with the REAL socialist program, the revolutionary program of the Socialist Workers Party. But the job can and must be done!

H. ADAMS
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
(Needless to say, The Call, organ of Hoan and Norman Thomas, made no attempt to analyze the reasons for Hoan's defeat. Its news-report on the election was unbelievably grotesque. Most of it was hidden on an inside page, and with a one-column head entitled, "Ex-choir boy sings way to Hoan's office", it read:
"Mayor Daniel Webster Hoan, in all his 59 years, 24 of which were spent as Milwaukee's mayor, made one mistake: he never learned to sing.
"So last week a blonde, hand-

Bided Their Time

This the officers corps could never forgive. It remained the enemy of the labor government, only biding its time. What better time could be afforded than the protection of Hitler's bayonets to settle accounts with the hated labor government and drive it into exile? Some of these army officers immediately translated their sentiments into action and made common cause with the Fascist dictator. After all, had Hitler not reinforced his guarantee to German capitalism of no strikes, by destroying the trade unions and driving their leaders into exile?

Thus we have here once again a stern lesson in the realities of the class struggle. These army officers threw their hypocritical patriotism to the winds; it was now useless to them, only their allegiance to the exploiters of labor remained decisive. Fair means or foul, anything would do to strike a blow at labor—even at the price of subservience to a greater imperialist power.

The Only Alternatives
A labor government cannot for long maintain itself on the extremely narrow margin between the classes in conflict. It must eventually decide entirely for the one or the other class. To put it more accurately: This is but one more lesson showing the workers the alternatives: defeat and destruction by their "own" or foreign capitalists, or a government which is genuinely labor, which is based on the destruction of capitalism—a revolutionary government.

Chicago, Ill. Wm. Simmons

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