

Quotas Set for Two-A-Week Appeal Drive — Let's Get Going

By JAMES P. CANNON

Our campaign to restore the Socialist Appeal to twice-a-week publication is the result of a spontaneous decision of the delegates at our recent party convention. The proletarian optimism of the delegates found expression in the demand that the party take a determined step forward at all costs. It was the unanimous sentiment of the delegates that this forward step could be expressed best of all by re-establishing the twice-a-week Appeal.

The retreat to the weekly Appeal after ten months' publication of the twice-weekly was a heavy blow. It was part of the price our movement had to pay for the faction struggle against the petty-bourgeois opposition. The victorious conclusion of this struggle created the conditions for a bold decision to regain the lost ground by again returning to the twice-a-week publication of the Appeal.

Not what is "possible," but what is necessary—that is the fighting motto of the worker-Bolsheviks. Their decision in this case was dictated by necessity. The United States drifts at an accelerated pace towards entry into the European war. The events in Norway have given a tremendous impetus to the campaign of the imperialist war-mongers and their agents in the labor movement. The time for a revolutionary counter campaign—the time in which we can speak freely and openly and out loud against the war preparations—grows shorter every day. We must utilize this time to the best advantage.

We must strain all resources and energies to make our voice heard as frequently as possible. We must broadcast our message twice as often as before. That means, first of all, that we must publish our fighting paper twice a week. The delegates at the convention demanded it. They pledged in the name of their branches the necessary funds to make it possible within a sixty day period.

We believe in the seriousness and determination of the delegates who made this decision. We believe in their ability to inspire their branches with the necessary enthusiasm to make good the quotas pledged in their name. That is why we launched the campaign on May 1st with full confidence that by July 1st our twice-a-week Appeal will again be a glorious reality.

**Fight the war-mongers with the twice-a-week Appeal!
Build the party with the twice-a-week Appeal!**

By the end of the first week of the campaign \$618 has been turned in to the fund to restore the Two-a-Week Appeal.

This means that almost fifteen percent of the pledges made at the convention have already been redeemed. And the branches are spurring their efforts to go over the top in record time.

First honors of the campaign go to Upstate New York where comrade J.W. beat the rest of the country all hollow in fulfilling the pledge.

St. Paul and Flint are the next two runners-up. They have only 50 percent to go. Both branches assure us that it won't be long now. Next in line are the steel workers of East Chicago, and the Boston and New York City branches.

The amounts listed in the scoreboard below are not quotas set by the National Office. They are the voluntary pledges made by the various delegations at the convention.

Each branch is at liberty to increase its pledge as it sees fit and finds possible of realization. New York City officially increased its pledge by \$400 over that made at the convention, thus raising its quota to \$1300. Other branches should do the same if they consider it feasible and inform the office here of any changes made, so they can be listed in the scoreboard.

Some branches have not yet been heard from, whose delegates were not in a position at the convention to report any definite pledges before consultation with the comrades back home.

Lists of prizes to be awarded to quick pledge-fillers and those who go over the 100 percent mark will be published in the next issue of the Appeal.

Next week we'll print a thermometer. With the good-start already made, the old mercury ought to rise in record time!

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Upstate New York.....	\$ 50.00	\$ 50.00	100
Chicago.....	100.00	50.00	50
Flint.....	100.00	50.00	50
St. Paul.....	200.00	\$3.00	41
East Chicago.....	25.00	10.00	40
Boston.....	170.00	65.00	38
New York City.....	1300.00	280.00	22
National Office.....	550.00	30.00	6
Maritime Workers.....	780.00	0.00	0
Minneapolis.....	300.00	0.00	0
Newark.....	100.00	0.00	0
Los Angeles.....	100.00	0.00	0
San Francisco.....	100.00	0.00	0
Detroit.....	75.00	0.00	0
New Haven.....	55.00	0.00	0
Lynn.....	50.00	0.00	0
Toledo.....	40.00	0.00	0
Philadelphia.....	25.00	0.00	0
Omaha.....	25.00	0.00	0
Seattle.....	15.00	0.00	0
Portland.....	10.00	0.00	0
Oakland.....	10.00	0.00	0
Akron.....	10.00	0.00	0
Total.....	\$4190.00	618.00	14.7

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Socialist Appeal

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See Your Friends for the
Twice-a-Week Appeal

SAILORS WIN GREAT VICTORY; OWNERS YIELD \$10 INCREASES

Pace Toward U. S. War Entry Speeded Up As the Allies Falter

AKRON STRIKE WOMEN PICKETS PLAY BIG PART

Rubber Strike Called To Prevent Imposing Of Longer Hours

AKRON, April 26—800 pickets massed in front of the General Tire & Rubber Company gate Monday morning, April 22, in accordance with a decision they made the night before at their mass meeting to stop a reported "back to work" movement.

Although the morning shift is scheduled to go on at 6:00 a.m., more than 100 pickets were already on hand by 4:30 a.m. By 8:30 a.m. Chief of Police Roy Williams, notorious for his brutal methods in the rubber strikes of 1938, had on hand, in response to Mayor Schroy's call, 75 police armed with tear gas, riot guns and clubs.

Up the street strikers were stopping automobiles of scabs that were attempting entrance into the plant, but the police, intimidating the strikers with a show of arms, mounted the running boards and escorted the scabs through the picket line.

A chain picket line to block off the entrance to scabs was attempted by the strikers, but was dispersed by the police who cleared the street and the plant entrance and forced the pickets to stay behind the curb.

Women Pickets Active
Friday morning saw a greatly

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The Nazi victories in Norway are pouring fuel on the fires already lit by the war-makers in this country.

Raymond Clapper, "isolationist" columnist for the Scripps-Howard papers, reported on April 30: "Underneath the surface of public discussion, Washington is deeply troubled. The reason is that serious doubt exists as to whether the Allies can win the war. Not much is being said publicly, but anxious thought is being given to the future... which is bearing down with the ominous darkness of a twilight storm. . . . Norway has had a profound effect."

What this means in plainer language is that the Washington government is hastening the job of paving the way to swing the country into the war on the pretext that it is "our duty to save civilization" by preventing a Nazi victory.

The Roosevelt administration has already put more than half this country's foot into the conflict by okaying the billion-dollar airplane and munitions deal which will turn this country into a giant supply base for the Allies.

The effect of this gigantic deal and others that are sure to follow is to tie American industry to the Allied war machine. From this point on it is easy to predict the next steps in the path now so well in 1916-1917. From cash to credit, from economic-financial support, to direct material and military support.

Having already covered a good deal of the necessary ground in linking American industry and finance to the war, the Administration is starting out to win the farmers of the Middle West with the bait of profits. "There is a definite move afoot," reported the Wall Street Journal on April 16, "to arrange indirect credits for the purchase of American agricultural products by the British and French."

These are the moves that are gearing American economy for war. These are the first giant steps by which the bosses will try to herd us once more to the slaughter.

But we know what kind of "civilization" was saved the last time. We know what kind of "culture" was preserved by that last bloody boss war which took twenty million lives only to bring us around after 25 years to the edge of the same abyss.

The workers of this country want no part of these sugary lies. They fell for them once. They must not, will not, fall for them again.

G.M. PARLEYS OPEN; HOURS ISSUE PRESSING

Men Are Determined To Realize 30-Hour Work Week

FLINT, Mich., April 27—Negotiations between General Motors Corporation and the UAW-CIO began Thursday April 25. Union officials announced that they had set up a schedule of meetings with the corporation representatives in order to negotiate revisions in the present contract.

Meanwhile rank and file members of the UAW-CIO have shown an increasingly militant spirit, and are determined that their great victory in the NLRB vote shall result in provisions for real security of employment and a much greater share for the auto workers in the huge profits of GM.

Of first importance to the auto workers is the demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Only this can begin to insure the men against technological unemployment and put back to work some of the thousands already tossed on the ash heap by the corporation.

First glimpse of the mounting rank and file sentiment for the 30 hour week and 40 hour pay slogan, came this week when, in a plant meeting in Buick, a motion was introduced, and passed UNANIMOUSLY, "instructing the International (Continued on Page 2)

Firm Strike Vote Forces Concessions

Stop-Work Meetings Held on West Coast; Owners Cough Up Small Slice of Wartime Shipping Profits

SAN FRANCISCO, April 26—The Sailors Union of the Pacific won one of its greatest victories today when, at 11:30 a.m., the Pacific-American Shipowners Association capitulated to the SUP wage demands for a flat \$10 increase to all ratings and a 10 cents an hour increase on overtime pay.

Yesterday stop-work meetings were held in every port on the Pacific, when the SUP members were called off the ships to consider the counter-proposals of the shipowners, who in the face of a decision by the SUP to take a referendum strike vote, had offered a \$7.50 increase. Attended by well over 2800 members, the stop-work meetings voted practically unanimously to reject the offer of the shipowners.

Confronted by the firm stand of the Sailors, it took the shipowners less than 24 hours to change their minds and concede the union's demands.

The union victory means that Ordinary Seamen are raised from their present scale of \$57.50 to a scale of \$67.50 per month. Able-Bodied Seamen go from the present scale of \$72.50 to one of \$82.50 per month. Quartermasters and watchmen go from \$82.50 to \$92.50, etc.

17½ Per Cent Increase
For the two main ratings, that means a 17½ per cent increase for Ordinary seamen and a 15 per cent increase for Able Bodied Seamen.

The issue of a wage raise for the Sailors had dragged along since Sept. 30, with the bosses stalling at every stage. Action began on April 15 when the SUP went on record on a coastwise scale to instruct its officials to

EAST COAST and GULF
SEAMEN!
See Editorial, "SUP and NMU"
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conduct a secret referendum strike vote. The referendum decision was taken by practically a unanimous vote. Eleven days later the Sailors had their increases.

Significance Of Victory
How resounding a victory this is for the Sailors can only be appreciated if one understands the situation in which the Sailors found themselves when the previous contract expired on Sept. 30, 1939. With freight rates going up on account of the war and the shipowners coining money, the seamen's unions were in a strong position to secure wage increases—if the shipowners faced union action of the waterfront crafts.

Instead, however, the Stalinist leadership of the West Coast longshoremen came to the rescue of the shipowners. Without any consultation with the other unions, the Bridges machine of the longshoremen signed an indefinite extension of their contract, to be followed by negotiations with the shipowners, with a clause requiring sixty days notice of termination.

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Petty Bourgeois Moralists and the Proletarian Party . . . By LEON TROTSKY

The discussion in the Socialist Workers Party of the United States was thorough and democratic. The preparations for the Convention were carried out with absolute loyalty. The minority participated in the Convention, recognizing thereby its legality and authoritativeness. The majority offered the minority all the necessary guarantees permitting it to conduct a struggle for its own views after the Convention. The minority demanded a license to appeal to the masses over the head of the party. The majority naturally rejected this monstrous pretension. Meanwhile, behind the back of the party the minority indulged in shady machinations and appropriated the New Internationalist which had been published through the efforts of the entire party and of the Fourth International. I should add that the majority had agreed to assign the minority two posts out of the five on the editorial board of this theoretical organ. But how can an intellectual "aristocracy" remain the minority in a workers' party? To place a professor on equal plane with a worker—after all, that's "bureaucratic conservatism!"

In his recent polemical article against me, Burnham explained that socialism is a "moral ideal." To be sure, this is not so very new. At the opening of the last century, morality served as the basis for the "True German Socialism" which Marx and Engels criticized at the very beginning of their activity. At the beginning of our century, the Russian Social Revolutionaries counterposed the "moral ideal" to materialistic socialism. Sad to say, these bearers of morality turned out to be common swindlers in the field of politics. In 1917 they betrayed the workers completely into the hands of the bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism.

Long political experience has taught me that whenever a petty-bourgeois professor or journalist begins talking about high moral standards it is necessary to keep a firm hand on one's pocketbook. It happened this time, too. In the name of a "moral ideal" a petty-bourgeois intellectual has picked the proletarian party's pocket of its theoretical organ. Here you have a tiny living example of the organizational methods of these innovators, moralists, and champions of democracy.

What is party democracy in the eyes of an "educated" petty-bourgeois? A regime which permits him to say and write what-

ever he pleases. What is "bureaucratism" in the eyes of an "educated" petty-bourgeois? A regime in which the proletarian majority enforces by democratic methods its decisions and discipline. Workers, bear this firmly in mind!

The petty-bourgeois minority of the S.W.P. split from the proletarian majority on the basis of a struggle against revolutionary Marxism. Burnham proclaimed dialectical materialism to be incompatible with his moth-eaten "science." Shachtman proclaimed revolutionary Marxism to be of no moment from the standpoint of "practical tasks." Aern hastened to hook up his little booth with the anti-Marxist bloc. And now these gentlemen label the magazine they filched from the party an "organ of revolutionary Marxism." What is this, if not ideological charlatanism? Let the readers demand of these editors that they publish the sole programmatic work of the minority, namely, Burnham's article, "Science and Style." If the editors were not preparing to emulate a peddler who markets rotten merchandise under fancy labels, they would themselves have felt obliged to publish this article. Everybody could then see for himself just what kind of "revolutionary Marxism" is involved here. But they will not dare do so. They are ashamed to show their true faces. Burnham is skilled at hiding his all too revealing articles and resolutions in his briefcase, while Shachtman has made a profession of serving as an attorney for other people's views through lack of any views of his own.

The very first "programmatic" articles of the purloined organ already reveal completely the lightmindedness and hollowness of this new anti-Marxist grouping which appears under the label of the "Third Camp." What is this animal? There is the camp of capitalism; there is the camp of the proletariat. But is there perhaps a "third camp"—a petty-bourgeois sanctuary? In the nature of things, it is nothing else. But, as always, the petty-bourgeois camouflages his "camp" with the paper flowers of rhetoric. Let us lend our ears! Here is one camp: France and England. There's another camp: Hitler and Stalin. And, a third camp: Burnham, with Shachtman. The Fourth International turns out for them to be in Hitler's camp (Stalin made this discovery long

ago). And so, a new great slogan: Muddlers and pacifists of the world, all ye suffering from the pin-pricks of fate, rally to the "third" camp!

But the whole trouble is that two warring camps do not at all exhaust the bourgeois world. What about all the neutral and semi-neutral countries? What about the United States? Where should India and Japan be assigned? The Scandinavian countries? India? China? We have in mind not the revolutionary Indian or Chinese workers but rather India and China as oppressed countries. The schoolboy schema of the three camps leaves out a trifling detail: the colonial world, the greater portion of mankind!

India is participating in the imperialist war on the side of Great Britain. Does this mean that our attitude toward India—not the Indian Bolsheviks but India—is the same as toward Great Britain? If there exist in this world, in addition to Shachtman and Burnham, only two imperialist camps, then where, permit me to ask, shall we put India? A Marxist will say that despite India's being an integral part of the British empire and India's participating in the imperialist war; despite the perfidious policy of Gandhi and other nationalist leaders, our attitude toward India is altogether different from our attitude toward England. We defend India against England. Why then cannot our attitude toward the Soviet Union be different from our attitude toward Germany despite the fact that Stalin is allied with Hitler? Why can't we defend the more progressive social forms which are capable of development against reactionary forms which are capable only of decomposition? We not only can but we must! The theoreticians of the stolen magazine replace class analysis with a mechanistic construction very captivating to petty-bourgeois intellectuals because of its pseudo-symmetry. Just as the Stalinists camouflage their subservience to national socialism (the Nazis) with harsh epithets addressed to the imperialist democracies, so Shachtman and Co. cover up their capitulation to American petty-bourgeois public opinion with the pompous phraseology of the "third camp." As if this "third camp" (what is it? a party? a club? A League of Abandoned Hopes? A "People's Front"?) is free from the

obligation of having a correct policy towards the petty-bourgeoisie, the trade unions, India and the USSR!

Only the other day Shachtman referred to himself in the press as a "Trotskyist." If this be Trotskyism then I at least am no Trotskyist. With the present ideas of Shachtman, not to mention Burnham, I have nothing in common. I used to collaborate actively with the New Internationalist, protesting in letters against Shachtman's frivolous attitude toward theory and his unprincipled concessions to Burnham, the strutting petty-bourgeois pedant. But at the time both Burnham and Shachtman were kept in check by the party and the International. Today the pressure of petty-bourgeois democracy has unbridled them. Towards their new magazine my attitude can only be the same as toward all other petty-bourgeois counterfeits of Marxism. As for their "organizational methods" and political "morality," these evoke in me nothing but contempt.

Had conscious agents of the class enemy operated through Shachtman, they could not have advised him to do anything different from what he himself has perpetrated. He united with anti-Marxists to wage a struggle against Marxism. He helped fuse together a petty-bourgeois faction against the workers. He refrained from utilizing internal party democracy and from making an honest effort to convince the proletarian majority. He engineered a split under the conditions of a world war. To crown it all, he threw over this split the veil of a petty and dirty scandal, which seems especially designed to provide our enemies with ammunition. Such are these "democrats," such are their "morals"!

But all this will prove of no avail. They are bankrupt. Despite the betrayals of unstable intellectuals and the cheap gibes of all their democratic cousins, the Fourth International will march forward on its road, creating and educating a genuine selection of proletarian revolutionists capable of understanding what the party is, what loyalty to the banner means, and what revolutionary discipline signifies.

Advanced workers! Not one cent's worth of confidence in the "third front" of the petty-bourgeoisie!
April 23, 1940