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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—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 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.

The SUP and NMU

The Sailors Union of the Pacific has come through again with a victory. Despite all that the shipowners and the U.S. Maritime Commission could do, despite the treachery of the Bridges machine which divided the waterfront crafts and preached its "Five Year Peace Plan" when strike votes were needed, the strike machinery of the Sailors gained its objective. A flat raise of ten dollars a month and ten cents an hour overtime raise for all ratings were wrested from the shipowners by the Sailors in a struggle in which the Sailors had to fight a lone battle.

If the Sailors had to fight alone, nevertheless their victory was not for them alone. The fact is that the SUP has won a victory for all seamen on both coasts. It was a foregone conclusion that if the shipowners were compelled to give in to the SUP demands, that would set a standard for the SUP's sister unions on the Pacific aboard ship—the Marine Firemen and the Cooks and Stewards. But the SUP also won the wage raise for the National Maritime Union on the East Coast.

Last January the National Maritime Union signed a poor contract for a two-year period, effective to Sept. 30, 1941, with a provision for reopening of the wage clause on July 1 of this year. In other words, the wage clause still had two months to run, and what's more nobody in the NMU leadership had made a peep about getting tough with the shipowners on July 1.

At 11 a.m., Friday, April 26, the Pacific shipowners capitulated and conceded the SUP's demands. The next day Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, "requested an opportunity to reopen the wage clause at once, saying that a wage increase granted to West Coast seamen would create a dangerous differential" (New York Times, May 1). The NMU got a raise now for only one reason: the SUP had set the standard.

Even the Stalinists couldn't wiggle around this fact, but had to admit: "The granting of a \$10 raise to West Coast seamen, speeded the move to bring a similar raise here." (Daily Worker, May 1).

Every East Coast and Gulf seaman should ponder this fact, that he has the militant SUP membership and leadership to thank for his raise. He should ponder it because it is the sufficient answer to all the vile slanders which the Stalinist leadership of the NMU has heaped upon the SUP. He should ponder it because this victory is an inkling of what the American seamen could have, if they were united in one national seamen's union fighting on the basis of a militant program like that of the SUP. If the sheer militancy and intelligent strategy of the 5000 members of the SUP could win such a victory for all seamen on both coasts, what could be done by the same militancy, the same strategy, if every seaman's strength were mobilized in one united union!

The wage raise for the NMU is by no means

as securely established as that of the SUP. The joint statement of the shipowners and Curran merely termed it "temporary additional compensation." What does that mean? It means that the SUP still carries the brunt of the battle—as long as the SUP can maintain its wages and conditions, the East Coast shipowners are not likely to withdraw the "temporary additional compensation"—just that long and no longer.

This situation simply reveals more clearly what has been true for a long time—that the militant SUP establishes the standards aboard ships and the NMU gets some of the gravy without working for it. Not all the gravy, not by far. West Coast conditions aboard ship are far superior to the East Coast, because the union hiring hall is the ONLY hiring hall on the West Coast, whereas on the East Coast the NMU leadership didn't fight back and permitted the U.S. Maritime Commission to establish its fink halls. Moreover, a clause in a contract means only what the union makes it to mean. Whereas the SUP sees to it that every clause gives the Seamen everything it can mean, the NMU leadership, corrupted by Stalinism to the core, makes every conceivable concession to the shipowner if only he will help them collect dues.

Yet these same Stalinist scoundrels have had the gall to attempt to poison the minds of the workers against the SUP and its leadership. With all the resources at the command of Stalinism, they have sought to destroy the SUP. The latest victory of the SUP is an annihilating answer to the Stalinists.

Slip of the Tongue

Last Tuesday at a hearing of the Interstate Commerce Commission occurred one of those slips of the tongue which reveal to the American workers and to the whole people how far our rulers have gone in planning to plunge us into war.

George C. Randall, head of the general committee on port traffic of the Association of American railroads, revealed in his "slip" that plans are already complete for embarking 2,000,000 American soldiers or more onto ships in New York harbor on their way to overseas war fronts.

Here is the account as given in the New York Herald-Tribune:

"The witness had mentioned that shipments in the harbor currently were at two-thirds of the World War peak and that, through his committee's planning, no congestion had occurred. 'Weren't the conditions then complicated by embarkation of a large army?' Mr. Hickey asked.

'Yes,' replied Mr. Randall. 'Something like 2,000,000 troops embarked from New York?'

'I believe so.'

'That same condition, of course does not apply now?'

'No, but we have the plans set up,' Mr. Randall said.

'To move 2,000,000 men?' asked Mr. Hickey.

'To move whatever number may be necessary,' Mr. Randall responded.

The subject was dropped immediately."

Birds of a Feather

A revolutionary anti-war program MUST say: The warring imperialist powers are all equally reactionary in their war aims. Lenin taught us the importance of that proposition. He showed how any program that starts making distinctions between the imperialists ends up eventually by supporting one of the imperialist powers.

Apply this acid test to two of the "anti-war" programs—those of the Communist party and the Norman Thomas Socialist party.

The Stalinists reveal their cloven hoof in their May Day manifesto, when they say: "Consequently British imperialism has today become the chief center of world reaction and the chief instigator for extending the imperialist war into a world war." If Britain is the "chief," that means Nazi Germany is less reactionary, less of an instigator of war—and serves to justify support of Nazi Germany.

Norman Thomas reveals where he is going when, commenting on the war resolution adopted by his recent convention, he says: "By no means do we Socialists who take this position (against American entry) affirm equality of guilt of all belligerents, or that there is no difference between imperialism, or that we don't care who wins. We do not say what we would do if we were caught in the tragic position of English or French Socialists. . . ." (The Call, April 27) From this, to saying that America has reached the same "tragic position" as Thomas' war-mongering comrades of England and France, is but a step.

Norman Thomas and the Stalinists are calling each other hard names these days. But they are birds of a feather. They are simply on different sides in the war.

Behind the Lines

WAR IS NOT A WHODUNNIT MYSTERY; WE KNOW WHO'S GUILTY

By GEORGE STERN

When crooks fall out, most of the dope they begin to spill about each other is usually true. The same goes for the imperialist war, which is a falling out of crooks on a grand scale.

The Nazis issued on April 27 a series of documents which they said they had seized in Norway. These documents included detailed British army orders and naval intelligence reports which showed that the Allies had planned to invade Norway on April 6 and 7 and were only forestalled by the speedier moves of the Nazis themselves.

According to these documents, British troops were actually already en route to Norway on April 6. It is claimed that the Nazis, moving in, bombed and sank a number of British transports which had got word too late to turn back on April 8.

The documents detail espionage work carried out over a period of months by the British preliminary to invasion. In view of what actually happened, von Ribbentrop was probably being ironic when he said the British "had prepared every detail of the landing and deployment of troops in an astonishingly systematic way through an espionage organization. . . ."

It was the Nazis who shoved the way to the British in methods of being "astonishingly

systematic" in matters of espionage and preparing an invasion. This is a case of the kettle calling the pot black. The Nazis simply proved themselves better spies, better organizers of an invasion. And they moved faster. The Norwegians were simply sacrificed to the necessities of the belligerent imperialist general staffs.

From out of the maze of charges, counter-charges, denials, and counter-denials, one thing emerges pretty plainly. Both sides had detailed and long-prepared plans for fighting their battle across Norway. When the strategic moment arrived both sides tried to put their plans into operation. The Nazis got there first. The Allies are still trying to catch up and from all accounts so far aren't doing too well.

And it is probably because they are not doing so well that ominous talk is beginning to come out of London about starting the war in the air. Augur, who puts out most of the British government feelers in this country, sent a dispatch to the New York Times on April 29 which contained a strong hint that Chamberlain and Churchill might try to ward off criticism of the Norwegian setbacks by opening up an aerial offensive against Germany itself.

The Allies have so far wanted Hitler to take upon himself the onus of "starting" the war in the air against the big cities and industrial centers. Like Hitler, they have been willing to accept a tacit live-and-let-live policy in this dangerous domain.

They may be trying now to goad Hitler into starting for, as Augur cynically puts it, "that would clarify the internal position here. . . . Of course the first German raid on London or Paris or any other British or French civilian center would abruptly end humanitarian inhibitions. The Chamberlain doubts and ministerial troubles would disappear."

In this, as in the invasion of Norway or the war as a whole, it is not a question of who "starts" it. The war, and all the invasions and barbarities, all the slaughter and hunger, is an eruption of capitalist society itself. Nobody ever thinks of asking who "starts" the convulsions far below the earth's surface which hit us in the form of earthquakes or volcanic eruptions. We know they are "started" by deep-lying and deep-moving processes within the earth itself.

So with the war. To the workers of the world all the rulers of all the powers are equally responsible for this boss war. Who starts this or that is a matter of chance. What we have to get at is the root of war itself—and that is the capitalist system of private property and profit. Destroy that and you'll put out the fires of war. The world will be a safer, saner place only when the capitalist volcano is extinguished forever.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

British Trotskyist Reports On the Struggle in his Country

We had the pleasure this week of meeting face to face with a British comrade. His report uncovered a mass of information that has never yet seen public print. We submit herewith a few notes jotted down hastily by our comrade from Britain; further notes will be published next week:

"Amongst the Trade Unions, the desire for more militant leadership is making itself manifest. This can be best shown by the fact that in certain trades and industries the workers themselves have already set up their own job organizations. The Railway Vigilance Committee movement, the Shop Stewards movement in the engineering trades, and the tendency towards growing criticism of the reactionary Labour and T.U. leaders are all indications of the growing consciousness of the British workers.

"The Second Imperialist War finds the workers for the most part apathetic. There is a complete absence of jingoism and a genuine desire for peace, but as yet, this has not developed a political character. Thus, the petty-bourgeois P.P.U. (Peace Pledge Union) and the pacifist section of the I.L.P. are for the moment gaining strength. At a later stage the Fourth International groups will increase their strength, to replace the influence of the pacifists with a militant, revolutionary anti-war movement.

"Re: the official Labor Party: The Stalinist fraction working within the Labor Party have been withdrawn through the collapse of Popular Frontism, with the result that genuine revolutionaries can now work better in the Labor Party for the overthrow of the National Government.

"The conscientious objector tribunals have already dealt with over 10,000 objectors. This shows that there is widespread opposition to the war amongst the youth. The grounds of objection stated are showing a growing political consciousness among the masses.

"The Labour League of Youth, who are, or were, an auxiliary to the Labour Party, are mostly adherents of the Fourth International and are putting up a strong fight against Young Communist League fakers, especially in the large factories. The L.L.Y. has quite a few members on the Youth Advisory Councils of certain unions.

"The spokesmen of the National Government have already warned the workers that anything in the nature of a rise in wages corresponding with prices need not be expected. This has given rise to great resentment and even the Labour Party has been forced to register a protest for the sake of saving their faces.

"The No-Conscription League is a pacifist body with an I.L.P. tingle and has been active in the electoral campaigns. There have been two recent by-elections for Parliament held, in spite of the political "truce" which the Labour Party decided upon so that the war could be carried on without 'obstruction.' In one election, the secretary of the British C.P., Harry Pollitt, was utterly defeated. This election was fought in Batterssea, London, which was the first constituency in England to return a Communist in 1924.

"The other election was held at Manchester, the Conservatives winning the seat. The significant fact about this election was that a Stalinist who opposed the war was defeated along with an I.L.P. member. However, the I.L.P. polled 5000 votes and the C.P. just over 1000.

"I worked in military camps and spoke to young recruits and found that they are definitely not concerned with the war and 'smashing Fascism.' There are various complaints about food, equipment and restrictions placed upon the civilian population because of general rise in prices and no corresponding rise in wages.

"Scores of resolutions have been sent in by unions calling for an immediate international conference and also to call the war off—by the North Wales District Railroad Council, South Wales Miners Fed., the Dundee Jute Workers, Glasgow Dockers, etc., etc."

Chinese Section Unanimous for Political Position of S.W.P.

We publish herewith an extract from a letter of March 18 received from China, from a leading member of the Communist League of China, Section of the Fourth International:

"The Russian events caused a division in the ranks here, but now its more or less composed. After long and earnest debates . . . the retention of our old position of unconditional defense finally triumphed, leaving an oppositional minority of one in the Central Committee—and he has now come over. We had settled the question when the first minority documents arrived from the USA. Later came L.D.'s contributions to the discussion. We all felt gratified that, unaided, we had arrived at a correct position. And even more so, at the fresh demonstration of the incomparable advantages of the Marxian method. I will confess that I was somewhat amazed at the ideological bankruptcy which the minority documents displayed. Such miserable argumentation we have not seen in our ranks in many a long day."

Gorkin Greet—the Party which Endorsed Crushing of Barcelona

Our centrist friends seem to have a knack for supplying bitter irony in the spectacle they make of themselves.

We read in the Socialist Call of April 20: "From the Spanish Socialists in exile came greetings (to the SP convention) in the person of Julian Gorkin, secretary of the POUM, whose members were decimated in the Loyalist struggle by both Franco Fascists and Stalinists."

Is it not indeed odd to see the representative of the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification), which participated on the side of the workers' barricades in the 1937 May Day struggles at Barcelona, hailing the convention of the SP? At that time, the SP brazenly endorsed the Stalinist action of crushing these same barricades in blood. Their fellow member of the Second International, Largo Caballero, was then sharing his governmental portfolios with the henchmen of the Kremlin.

Nay, it is more than odd, it is more than ironical. It is simply a desecration of the memory of the heroic POUM militants who laid down their lives in that struggle. Their spirit was present at the convention of the Socialist Workers Party, of the Trotskyists, who unflinchingly sided with the Barcelona barricade fighters, not only against the Stalinists but—we were then in the SP—against Norman Thomas and Co. Their spirit was represented at our convention by Grandizo Munis, the Fourth Internationalist militant who remains true to his fallen comrades in Spain and carries on their fight, not with their betrayers but with their comrades everywhere.

Death Penalty for French "Communists" is Decreed by Government

A UP dispatch from Paris on April 28 carries the following report:

"To aid the police in their hard fight against an underground organization possessing innumerable clandestine printing shops, thousands of agents in the public services and factories, the government recently instituted the death penalty for Communists and other 'wreckers.'"

But, in reality, the death penalty hits not so much at the Kremlin's tools who head the French C.P., but at the devoted and self-sacrificing rank and file militants whom they have deceived and ten times betrayed. For the leaders can always escape to Moscow, but the masses of loyal Jimmy Higginses have no refuge anywhere. More than that, the new decree—the dispatch also talks of other "wreckers" (read: revolutionists)—is directed not merely at the Communist rank and file, but also against the valiant partisans of the Fourth International as well as against all other active anti-war fighters.

Refugees Forced To Join Army In France

(Recently the French government announced that German anti-Nazi refugees in France were no longer being kept in concentration camps. The Social-Democratic Federation's "New Leader," the Jewish "Daily Forward" and other war-mongers of the "democratic" variety proceeded to adduce the French action as another example of the virtues of democracy. Just what was involved in the French decision, however, is revealed by the following report received from our comrades in France—Editors.)

PARIS, March, 1940—The concentration camps for German refugees in France have been liquidated. Their former occupants have either departed for service in Africa in the Foreign Legion or have been interned in special camps pending their incorporation in the forced labor brigades.

On September 5, 1939, when the call for German refugees to concentrate was published, thousands of refugees stormed the gates at the Colombe Stadium. Most of them had to decide to serve France in one fashion or another and all were of the opinion that it was a matter of sifting out the Nazis among the refugees—which could not last more than a few days.

Treated Like Criminals

Even at the very entrance to the Stadium, the refugees began to realize their mistake. For they were treated like imprisoned criminals. Knives and blades, safety razors, stiliuses, instruments for opening tins, pocket searchlights, etc., were confiscated. Nourishment consisted of bread and paste for fifteen days. In the Stadium, sleeping quarters were set up under the open skies, in spite of the worst kind of weather.

The German doctor, who was responsible to the French medical service and to whom the refugee doctors were subordinate, was a Nazi. In the course of fifteen days at the Colombe Stadium, where the first batch of men from 18 to 50 years of age and the second batch of men from 51 to 68 were interned, two men had to be evacuated to insane asylums. From the Colombe, the internees were sent to Blois and set up in a circus tent. It was only from here that they were finally after ten days distributed to more or less permanent camps.

These small camps contain each about 300 refugees and are installed in small villages. The internees sleep on thin layers of straw in granges and barns, without electricity, without windows, and have as their only sources of light and air the entrance door. Up to this moment no medical examination has been undertaken and the sick and suffering, have been confined among those who are well. An infirmary, is installed in a small abandoned house and the only means that it has at its disposal are those which the internees can procure themselves. At the head of the infirmary is a refugee physician who enjoys neither power of evacuation nor of furnishing them hospitalization. A French military doctor in charge visits the camp once in three to five days, for about five minutes to a quarter of an hour. After two months of internment, obvious tubercular cases, epileptics, complete war invalids, had not been evacuated.

Forced into the Foreign Legion

From the first week of internment on, a most intense pressure was exercised upon the internees to accept five years enrollment in the Foreign Legion. This pressure was intensified more and more; those interned were treated by the command officers of the camp and his officers as "enemy subjects" and "dirty Huns."

Under the pretext that it was a matter of voluntary service some of the men, including those ill, were lent out to the peasants as farmhands and agricultural workers and returned to the camp without pay, without clothes, complete wrecks.

In November, the appeal for a five year enrollment was reduced in favor of enrollment for the duration of the war. The situation in the camps was almost intolerable because of the cold, the menacing winter and the ever more intensive pressure exerted upon the internees who feared that measures of oppression would be introduced against their families. Thus some enrolled in the Foreign Legion for African service. They were sent to training camps. Others who refused to do service or were incapable of it, were sent to special camps for doubtful elements where they now await their incorporation in the forced labor brigade.

An INS dispatch states that the Finnish people are so grateful for Herbert Hoover's effort in raising funds for their relief that they have incorporated into their language a new word, "Hooveri", which means an unexpected gift. But the addition to language for which he'll go down in history is "Hooverilles".

Archbishop John Gregory Murphy called democracy "a Christian concept of government" in a talk at the monthly meeting of the Minneapolis Knights of Columbus. I'll take my democracy plain. At least here one can vote (sometimes) for the candidate one wants; while in the Christian "Kingdom of Heaven" the rulers are self-appointed and hold office in perpetuity.

When Prime Minister Chamberlain inspected the British forces in France he created a sensation when he refused to take time off for tea. "In these days," he said, "I haven't time to take tea. It seems to me I have lost the habit." Well, everyone changes his habits during wartime: the bosses and their stooges lose tea; the workers, their lives.

"WAR OVER RUSS OIL FIELDS BY TURKS FOR APRIL" is the heading of a story by Edward Kennedy, AP correspondent at Istanbul, Turkey. I thought the only reason war would be waged against the Soviet Union would be in the holy name of democracy and to save the world from Communism!

Mrs. Walter D. Lamar of Macon, Ga., president-general of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, is bitter against Winston Churchill, first lord of the British admiralty, for likening the cause of the South in the Civil War to that of Nazi Germany in the present war. "It is an insult," says Mrs. Lamar, to compare the southern states with Hitler and his policies." But we've got a better come-back. The British government was pro-South.