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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.
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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.

**It's Up to the CIO**

A week's intensive activity in Washington has resulted in complete clarification of the government's policy toward corporations which violate the Wagner Act and decisions under that act by the National Labor Relations Board. A series of statements by Secretary Knox of the Navy Department, Assistant Secretary Patterson of the War Department, the Controller General (who O.K.'s all payments by government agencies), Attorney General Jackson, and a spokesman for the National Defense Advisory Commission, have all taken the identical position. That position is that the government will continue to give contracts to corporations found guilty of violating the labor laws!

Not even Sidney Hillman can now pretend, even for a moment, that the governmental policy is not crystal-clear. As a matter of fact, when the government spokesmen whom we have listed had all put in their unambiguous statements, Hillman added one of his own. He was asked, at a hearing Tuesday of the Smith committee investigating the N.L.R.B., whether he agreed with the statements made by the War and Navy Departments. And he answered:

"I've got to agree. The army and navy have the power. Questions of all kinds come up every day, requiring sensible and constructive solutions. In every case the first consideration is whether it will help or harm national defense."

Less than a week previously, Hillman had sent a telegram to the Pittsburgh meeting of 125 steel workers' representatives who were considering the problem of Bethlehem Steel, which has been convicted of violating the labor laws but which has, nevertheless, received well over a billion dollars' war orders. Hillman had transmitted an "informal" opinion from Attorney General Jackson which Hillman interpreted to mean that all government agencies must refuse war orders to corporations violating the labor laws.

Yet five days later Hillman was telling the Smith committee that the army and navy could do as they pleased. "Of all the backtracking Hillman's was the most startling, causing gasps among committee members and spectators," the New York Post reported.

Hillman is a vice-president of the CIO. But he doesn't take orders from the CIO. He takes his orders from the army and navy: "I've got to agree," he whined. It was a very clever, foxy maneuver that he had cooked up—sending that message to the Pittsburgh conference of the SWOC to stymie any move toward a strike. But the men who wield the power in the government and the big corporations for whom they wield it, could not let Hillman's move leave behind any ambiguity about the government's position.

It's up to the CIO now—squarely up to the CIO leadership. The government isn't going to push the law-breakers into line. On the contrary, the government is going to join hands with those law-breakers in pushing the unions out of the way.

Three years and more of lobbying in Washington have proved utterly fruitless. It is time now for the CIO leadership to do the job where it has to be done—in the plants, organizing and preparing the workers for struggle. The fight henceforth must be a direct collision between the unions and the law-breaking corporations. Direct action of the unions to push the corporations into line—that is the only possible road for the trade union movement.

**Congratulations to 544**

The Minneapolis General Drivers Union merits the warmest congratulations for the unyielding 32-months' battle it has waged against a frame-up. (The detailed story, appears on page 1 of this issue.)

During the past six years of epic labor struggles, Local 544 has been unsurpassed in the field of direct action. In this latest battle, fought in the treacherous quagmire of boss courts and laws, Local 544 acquitted itself with admirable courage, devotion to union principles, and class-conscious intelligence. The begrudging acquittal wrung from a hostile judge is but an added measure of the splendid achievements of Local 544, a hard-won testimonial to its unsullied record.

For the labor movement to view the outcome of this case as an unqualified victory, however, is to invite disaster. The one real victory would be the complete rejection by the boss courts of any jurisdiction in this case. This alone might have guaranteed the elementary right of the labor movement to conduct its own affairs free from the threat of legal intervention by employer-dominated courts.

The fact of the suit constitutes in itself a sinister precedent. Through this precedent, we may be sure the bosses will soon again stretch their slimy fingers toward militant labor in Minnesota and elsewhere. Now any fink or stool-pigeon who succeeds in weaseling his way into a local union may concoct a "case" against its members and officers and drag them before an enemy court.

The removal by court order of Carl Skoglund, Local 544 president, is sheer judicial malevolence, a union on steam scooters controlled by the Shipowners Association of the Pacific Coast would be affected.

The anti-alien clause in the International Teamsters constitution, which Judge Carroll used to oust Skoglund, is an archaic remnant of the early beginnings of the International. It is as much a living law as the Minneapolis ordinance, still on the statute books, forbidding the driving of an auto faster than 15 miles per hour on Minneapolis streets unless preceded by a runner waving a red flag. We might regard in better light the Judge's concern for upholding the strict letter of union law, had he instructed the fink plaintiffs to first seek redress for their alleged grievances through the channels of the International, as laid down in the International Constitution. While resurrecting a single discarded clause, the judge summarily tossed into the waste basket the entire constitution of the Teamsters International. That fact alone should put the workers on guard against the precedents established by this decision.

**The Sky's the Limit**

Congress has approved an "Excess Profits" Law which gives Wall Street iron-clad guarantees that many millionaires will become billionaires and the billions will just stop counting. The sky's the limit. The scoundrelly business is wrapped around by 350 or more pages of technical monkeyshines, but the raw meat of it drips right through. This law makes all previous blood-profits seem like mere marble-snatching.

The law accomodatingly provides two alternative methods of freeing profits from government taxation. Corporations with high profit levels between 1936-1939 can take those profit levels as their "normal" income. Industries like steel, with low rates of profit on huge capital "investment", are provided with a minimum percentage of profit so high that they will never have to disgorge more than a meager fraction of their billions of profit.

General Motors, for example, which has averaged hundreds of millions yearly in profits during the last three years, will not have to pay the excess profit tax on 95 per cent of this amount. For the rest, it will only pay a maximum of 25 to 50 per cent tax on profits ABOVE this already tremendous figure of "average" profits. U. S. Steel will not pay the tax except on profits exceeding 8 per cent of its total capital "investment", which means a guarantee of tax-free profits running into a half billion dollars yearly. Older workers, who recall how U. S. Steel and similar monopolies were put together, need not be reminded that the capital "investment" of such combines is largely a matter of slick accounting.

And in return for submitting to these "excess profits" Wall Street is rewarded with two pieces of candy: (1) an "amortization" clause which permits profiteers to divert all taxable profits within a five year period to pay for the entire cost of new plants and equipment and (2) there is no longer any limit to the amount of profit which the fat boys can make on war orders.

As *Barron's*, the Wall Street weekly, so aptly put it, "Probably the worst business can be justly accused of is the normal practice of trying to drive the best bargain possible."

Well, they drove it.

**Butler's Edict**

The president of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, has told the students and faculty of the largest educational institution in America what is expected of them in the coming war period. Academic freedom, he declared, is not for students, and extends, so far as the faculty is concerned, only to the limits defined by millionaire university trustees.

According to the Butler definition, the ideal student is one who uses his head for the sole purpose of supporting a steel helmet. The job of the ideal teacher is to convince the student that no better use has yet been devised for the abode of the brain.

Butler's pronouncement was greeted with well-nigh universal approval by the capitalist press. It is this eager approval, rather than the words of the individual Dr. Butler, which reveals how far along the road to the complete suppression of democratic rights the ruling class is prepared to travel.

The political and technical requirements for imperialism war wipes out all distinctions of front or rear. Totalitarianism seeks to rule equally the battle-field, production line, or college campus.

**WEST COAST FIREMEN GO OUT ON STRIKE**

**Steam Schooners Tied Up By Walkout**

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 7.—Crews of Pacific Coast steam schooners walked off the ships this week as members of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers and Waterenders, went on strike following refusal of the employers to consider any of the union's demands in negotiating a new agreement.

Effective at 5 p. m. Friday, the strike took men off 12 steam schooners, and crews of 20 more were to hit the bricks as rapidly as the ships reached port.

Secretary V. J. Malone of the MPOW said 246 members of the union on steam schooners controlled by the Shipowners Association of the Pacific Coast would be affected.

With members of other unions, a total of about 2,000 men are affected. The bosses' last offer was renewal of the present agreement or, as an alternative, submission of the "entire matter" to arbitration. This would involve arbitration of gains already made by the union and was refused.

**The Union's Demands**

Basic demands of the MPOW are:

1. Adjustment of wage scales to restore the differential that has existed for five years between steam schooners and offshore vessels. (Work on steam schooners has always been better paid.)
2. Saturday afternoon off. This is enjoyed by the firemen under all other agreements.
3. Handling of working rules and penalties while vessels are in port (this matter was raised by the shipowners) under the same regulations prevailing on the offshore vessels.

"During the last four years," Secretary Malone wrote in a letter to R. W. Myers, president of the Shipowners Association, "there has been a differential in the wages-between offshore and steam schooner firemen amounting to \$7.50 per month."

"In the last year, however, with the raise of \$5.00 granted by the steam schooner operators, when the offshore people granted a raise of \$10.00, this not only reduced the differential of the firemen to \$2.50 per month but widened the gap of the oilers on offshore vessels and steam schooners to \$7.50 per month in favor of the offshore oilers."

**"National Defense" Bulk**

That the employers are going to utilize a phoney "national defense" issue became apparent when San Francisco newspapers reported some of the lumber on the steam schooners had been headed for "vital defense industries." Under this pressure, Malone, in an interview, offered to operate these steam schooners carrying lumber to "national defense" projects.

Meanwhile the Sailors' Union of the Pacific has voted to open the steam schooner agreement for amendment, and with the SUP the employers also have refused any concessions.

Principal demands of the sailors are for Saturday afternoon off, hourly rate on working cargo, eight men in the hold while working cargo, raise in wages, and clarification of various clauses in the agreement which have been the source of confusion and individual beefs.

**Arbitration Danger**

Malone declared to the press that the MPOW was not in favor of arbitration because "it had not worked out in the past." What will happen when the steam is turned on from Sidney Hillman's office remains to be seen. The firemen, however, will soon have an opportunity to clarify their position on this question. What they do will not only affect conditions on steam schooners, but will have serious consequences for the future of all seamen.

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**Local 544 Defeats Anti-Union Suit**

(Continued from Page 1)

the spearhead since 1934 in establishing Minneapolis as the best organized town in the country, began on February 16, 1938. It was filed in the name of five independent truck owners, who at one time held membership in Local 544's Independent Truck Owners Section. These finks, for a considerable period prior to filing the suit, had been associated with an employer-sponsored "Independent Union, Local No. 1," financed by the Associated Industries and closely tied to the Silver Shirts, a fascist organization.

The funds poured into the case over a two-year period by the plaintiffs revealed they had powerful financial backing.

The first move of the plaintiffs was to secure the union records. Their attorney, Arthur Anderson, complained that, "We cannot prepare our case without examining the union's records"—an admission from the start that the suit was instituted without any real evidence and solely as a means of smearing the union and its militant officers and of exposing its internal business and membership lists to the Associated Industries.

This move was blocked by the union for over a year with the challenge, "We do not propose to allow the filthy and bloody thumbprints of the Associated Industries to soil our clean records, nor permit their foul noses to pry into the internal affairs of organized labor."

The final result of this phase of the fight was the Minnesota State Supreme Court ruling, in October, 1938, against the union's plea, but instructing the district court to modify considerably its order to turn over the union records to the finks. The finks'

attorneys were enabled to examine only the "most pertinent" records, and under certain limitations.

After a long fishing expedition by the finks into the union records, the suit came to trial on January 2, 1940, before Judge Carroll of the district court. From the start it was clear from the testimony of the complainants that they came into court with dirty hands. All admitted their hostility to the union and confessed to organizing an "independent" outfit with the express purpose of fighting Local 544 and chiseling down the wage scales. In addition, it was revealed that the financing of the fink "union" came from the open-shop Associated Industries.

The fink attorney had pored over the mountain of union receipts and records for weeks seeking any tiny foothold on which to build a case. For months in the court he wrangled over and disputed every little item, while the case dragged on interminably. The Associated Industries had millions to smash Minneapolis labor; but the Local 544 treasury was limited.

Minneapolis labor, which has given its unqualified support from the start of the suit to Local 544 and its officers in jubilant over the outcome of the suit. It is recognized that an adverse ruling might have established legal precedents in every sphere of progressive labor union policy nationally, which would have immediately crippled the entire Minneapolis labor movement and wrecked all the magnificent gains of six years of bitter struggle, gains which have won Minneapolis the title from the U. S. Department of Labor of the "best organized city in America."

**MILITARY POLICY OF THE PROLETARIAT**

(Continued from page 3)

the objective of persecutions and assassinations is to terrorize others. Nobody can terrorize us. We will try to be careful, but not afraid.

I had an interesting talk with Comrade Dobbs about these two dangers of nervousness and carelessness. He agreed with me that jitteriness is worse than carelessness. "A careless man," he said, "is good as long as he lasts, but a jittery man is no good at any time." That is profoundly true. We must use the necessary caution and save ourselves as much as possible. But if you create an impression in front of the workers that you fear the hazards of the struggle you can never lead them. You can do without a lot of things in a revolutionary party but you can't get along without courage.

Now then, on the other hand, we have to check up on carelessness. We want to know who is who in the party. We don't want to have any universal spy hunts because that is worse than the disease it tries to cure. Comrade Trotsky said many times that mutual suspicion among comrades can greatly demoralize a movement. On the other hand, there is a certain carelessness in the movement as a hangover from the past. We haven't probed deeply enough into the past of people even in leading positions—where they came from, how they live, whom they are married to, etc. Whenever in the past such questions—elementary for a revolutionary organization—were raised, the petty bourgeois opposition would cry, "My God, you are invading the private lives of comrades!" Yes, that is precisely what we were doing, or, more correctly, threatening to do—nothing ever came of it in the past. If we had checked up on such matters little more carefully we might have prevented some bad things in the days gone by.

We are proposing that we set up a control commission in the party. We are fully ready for that now. This will be a body of responsible and authoritative comrades who will take things in hand and carry every investigation to a conclusion one way or the other. This will do away with indiscriminate suspicions on the one side and undue laxity on the other. The net result can only be to reassure the party and strengthen its vigilance. We think the whole party now, with the petty-bourgeois riff-raff out of our way, is ready for the appointment of such a body.

We have to strengthen our professional staff. We don't pretend to be a party of glorified ruck and fliers. The only reason we haven't got ten, twenty, thirty, or forty more people devoting their whole time, their whole energy, to the party is that we lack the resources for it. We need more money to engage more functionaries full time. This conference has to decide how big a forward step in this direction it feels able to take. We are not coming here with a proposal for specific quotas. We want each delegation to confer and decide what they can raise in, say, two months' time. Our general plan is that, as several branches have suggested, we raise a "Trotsky Memorial Fund" to build the party. We think it is a good plan. If it meets with the approval of the conference we can adopt a resolution to that effect.

We want to build the party henceforth in a more balanced way than in the past. In the past we gave an inordinate amount of our resources to the press. We had to do that. Propaganda had to go ahead of organization and prepare the way for it. In the next period we want to bend the stick a little for organization on the general principle of dollar for dollar—one for press and one for organization.

Since the last convention we have taken certain steps in this direction. You comrades in the auto field know we maintained qualified comrades in the field continuously. The same is true in other fields. The important step taken in St. Paul will have a national meaning for all of us. It shows the growing tendency of serious comrades to regard the party as the most important thing of all. I refer to the action of Comrade Carlson in resigning his civil service job and accepting a post as party organizer. This is a good example. We should raise as much money as possible to put to work for the party on a full-time basis a great number of qualified party workers. It is appalling how many capable people we have who devote only a small portion of their time to the party because the necessary job of making a living takes so much of their time and energy. That is all right for the old party, but not for us.

**Nazi Pressure Outlaws Our Swiss Comrades**

We have just learned that many of our comrades in Switzerland have been arrested, and the Swiss section of the Fourth International outlawed, by the Swiss government. The Swiss Trotskyists were active predominantly in the German-speaking section of Switzerland, their publications were in German, etc., and they constituted a base from which our exiled German comrades were able to carry on revolutionary work reaching into Germany. Undoubtedly this led to heavy Nazi pressure on the Swiss government to persecute our comrades and outlaw their organization. The following account of the arrests appeared in the bourgeois daily, the NEUE ZUERISCHER ZEITUNG, of August 26, 1940:

Shortly before the news of Trotsky's death arrived from Mexico this well-known name appeared in a resolution of the Swiss Bundesrat. It enacted a law on August 6, outlawing all Communist organizations, the Trotskyites, partisans of the Fourth International, are explicitly mentioned.

A group of 8 accused (Trotskyists) were, consequently, brought before a military tribunal for preliminary investigation concerning breaches of military and civil law. Moreover, punishment will possibly come to more people concerning the violation of military affairs in question. The facts about the intensive activities of the Trotskyites was the result of 15 house-raids conducted by the federal police in collaboration with the local police. On June 11 twenty people were arrested and the group most guilty is still in prison.

The beginnings of the foundation of the Swiss section of the Fourth International is traceable back to the year 1933, in which year the Left Opposition became independent of the Communist International and founded an international secretariat in Paris. The leading personality, (in Switzerland) was from its inception Walter Nelz, originally a German, who in 1916 became a citizen of Zurich. In 1931 Nelz entered the Left Opposition with a few of his comrades. His organization was first called "Marxistische Aktion der Schweiz" and published a newspaper called "Marxistische Aktion", which appeared irregularly until 1939. The real meeting place of the M.A.S. in 1937 was at Pfingsten, near Aarau. Branches of the M.A.S. existed in various places: Zurich, Genf, and Basel. They had sympathizers and literature was distributed at the following: Lausanne, Solothurn, Biel, and Engadin. Besides their newspaper, they had a weekly discussion magazine.

After the outbreak of this war, the (Trotskyite) propaganda began to express itself in sharper and more concrete terms.

**REACTIONARY REGIME IN ARMY**

An article entitled "Frontbericht" (News of the Front) characterizes the Swiss army as "a great national concentration camp." The soldier honored with a barrage of glowing phrases, is in reality among the most oppressed people of the country. "He is a slave." "The majority of the soldiers possess nothing and have nothing to defend. Our military command isn't much better than the Polish military command. The organization is bad. The equipment is bad. The orders thwart and contradict one another. The officers corps has become demoralized to a considerable extent."

Some remarks on discipline appear in the following sentences: "The most severe breach of discipline is mutiny. Therefore the main aim of keeping discipline is to hinder mutiny. The officers' corp is absolutely powerless against united troops held together by firm will. Troop solidarity has the power to strike the whole oppressive state apparatus to fragments." A further passage from the "Frontbericht": "Our position toward the bourgeois army is one of unconditional defeat. Our i.e. Swiss army is part of the imperialist war..."

"Our aim is to generate a feeling of troop solidarity on a proletarian class basis. Such troop solidarity reduces to ruins the whole bourgeois spectre. The aim is to tear the armed troops from the bourgeois state structure and to lead them over into the camp of revolution. This process, in general, will take place as a battle between the cadres of the soldiers and the officers corps, whereby we shall witness a few officers joining the ranks of the revolution and a few soldiers deserting to the ranks of the bourgeoisie."

Propaganda in the army, dangerous to the state, the formation of groups who seek to undermine military discipline and who insult military dignitaries should, after the result of the criminal proceedings be allowed to be punished under the military code.

The followers of the Trotskyite International come from a varied milieu. Workers, functionaries, emigrants, also a few women accused in the action and also young intellectuals. Trotsky has more attractive power on young people with higher education than the Stalinists, who have fared badly in their propaganda with the Swiss social democrats.

The criminal proceeding against the Trotskyites was ended the later part of July.

In San Francisco a woman got a divorce from her sausage manufacturer husband when he threatened to cut her up and make sausage of her. Ever since I read Sinclair's "Jungle", I'm ready to believe anything—when it comes to making sausage.

In Minneapolis over 75 percent of the volunteers for navy service have been rejected for "various reasons". The bosses are certainly in a predicament: if they feed the unemployed adequately this cuts into profits; if they don't the unemployed are too weak to hold a rifle.

You cannot hope to bribe or twist—  
Thank God!—the British journalist.  
But seeing what the man will do  
Unbribed, there's no occasion to.