

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. V—No. 3 Saturday, January 18, 1941

Published Weekly by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8847

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

Reentered as second class matter December 4,  
1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the  
Act of March 3, 1917.

### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

#### ON THE WAR FRONT:

##### For:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
7. An end to secret diplomacy.
8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

#### AT HOME:

##### For:

1. A job and decent living for every worker.
2. Thirty-three—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## The New Stage

As we go to press, word comes from Detroit that James F. Dewey, Federal Labor "mediator", has served an ultimatum on the United Auto Workers, demanding that the union call off within twenty-four hours its strike against the Eaton Manufacturing Company. The ultimatum, he stated, was delivered on the authority of the National Defense Commission, including, presumably, Sidney Hillman.

To show his "impartiality", Dewey also ordered the company to put to work the men it had failed to re-employ after a strike last December. The rehiring of these men was ONE of the issues in the present strike, but by no means the only one. The other issues between the company and the union, said Dewey, can be settled by negotiation "after the plants are operating again."

Note that the union has no guarantee that even the one issue Dewey refers to, rehiring, will be settled before the strike is called off. On the contrary, the union is told by the government to call off its walk-out regardless of what the company does.

As for the other issues, every union man knows that when a company has refused to come to a general settlement before a strike, return to work without a general settlement means giving the company the whip-hand in further negotiations. Every anti-union employer in the country hereafter will stand pat and depend on the government to force the men back to work—and endless negotiations over their grievances.

Roosevelt is taking off the velvet glove. With this ultimatum to the auto workers, a new stage of governmental action against the workers has begun.

In every class society, be it based on slavery, serfdom, or as at present on wage slavery, the oppressor class is armed. It is sufficient to mention the use of troops (including the militia) against strikers, a phenomenon common to all capitalist countries without exception. The arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is one of the greatest, most cardinal, most significant facts of present-day capitalist society.—LENIN

## Pacifist Changeling

If you want to understand the process by which professional pacifists turn into professional war mongers, you should read Norman Thomas' *Socialist Call* and watch it happening.

Norman Thomas' young followers are still fighting in court against military training but that pacifist activity, far from being in direct contradiction to war mongering, provides a bridge to it.

In rejecting military training of any kind whatsoever, these defused young people are, in reality, denying the realities and consequences of the class struggle. In the end, what will remain is their denial of the class struggle. Then they will support military training and war—on behalf of the capitalist class.

The next stage in the degeneration of the Socialist Party is already apparent. We cite two instances.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has adopted a resolution on the entry of Greece into the imperialist war. Its key sentence is: "We rejoice that the Greek people have succeeded in administering a setback to the fascist armies." (*Call*, December 7.)

The "Greek" army of Dictator Metaxas, as everybody knows except Norman Thomas, consists in large part of British troops, British airplanes, British technicians, and the British Navy. Greece as a separate entity does not exist in this war. The only question that events were called upon to answer was whether Greece would be part of the German war machine or part of the British-American war machine. Greece is no more identifiable as an independent agent in this war than Serbia was in the last war.

And if Thomas "rejoices" that the British forces in the Mediterranean have thus set back the Italians, why shouldn't he, logically, rejoice if Wall Street's army helps along?

That's the real logic of Thomas' position, and he has already recognized it by taking the next step. The *Call* of January 18 announces its support of the pro-war propaganda organization headed by Matthew Woll under the phony title, "The American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor."

The *Call* concedes that Woll's committee "could be misused and could be made to serve interventionist sentiment in the United States," but hypocritically closes its eyes to this real role of Woll's committee and declares: "In the absence of any evidence of such intent at this time, the *Call* commends the AFL Committee." What kind of evidence is Thomas waiting for? Matthew Woll riding down Broadway in a tank, hell-bent for Berlin?

It's a rather touching picture, virginal Norman being deceived and misled by the sly Matthew Woll, but if we are ever called on to testify we shall have to say that Norman was more than willing and knew what he was letting himself in for.

"The mood of the majority of the army officers reflects the reactionary mood of the ruling classes of the country, but in a much more concentrated form. The mood of the mass of the soldiery reflects the mood of the workers and farmers, but in a much weaker form; the bourgeoisie knows much better how to maintain contact with the officers than the proletariat with the soldiers."—TROTSKY, *WHITHER FRANCE?* Page 100.

## Good Old FDR

While bourgeois politicians and publicists assure us that Roosevelt runs a government, of the people, for the people, and by the people, his regime proceeds to act like a government of the plutocracy, for the plutocracy, and by the plutocracy. Like all other capitalist powers, the administration at Washington is in reality a pliant tool in the hands of the big international monopolist corporations.

This stands out clearly in Roosevelt's imperialist war-policies. But it is no less evident in such incidental events as the deal just consummated between the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and the Rumanian Government, thanks to the forceful intervention of State and Treasury Department officials.

Here is the story. When the Nazis began to take over Rumania last October, Rumanian funds amounting to some \$40,000,000 were "frozen" in this country by Presidential decree. The I. T. & T. owns the Rumanian Telephones System, part of which has already been seized by Russia, Hungary, and Bulgaria and the rest by the Rumanian Government, presumably as trustee for German capital.

None of the United States corporations in Nazi-controlled countries have been able to obtain payment in American money for their properties since the war started. That's one of the underlying motives behind Wall Street's support of Washington's military program.

But why, reasoned Wall Street, should all our monopolies have to wait until Hitler is crushed for the return of our invested capital? So, as the N. Y. Times phrases it, "with the cooperation and active help of the State Department and the United States Treasury" the Rumanian government was "induced" to pay immediately \$13,800,000 of its blocked funds to the I. T. & T. for its properties.

"The corporation," reports the *Times*, "was satisfied completely with the deal and had received an absolutely fair price for its property." Indeed they might be, for, according to the company officials, "the payment covered all I. T. & T.'s investment in capital stock (amounting to \$7,667,686), advances on current account, and equity in undistributed earnings." That is, the corporation has redeemed its entire investment plus ten years profits plus hidden gravy, we may be sure. And it was also compensated for that portion of its properties taken by Russia, Hungary, and Bulgaria!

"This incident," remarks the *Times* correspondent, "showed the value of the freezing policy as a measure of protecting United States interests in countries which have fallen or are likely to fall under outside influences. If there had been no frozen Rumanian funds in the United States, it was pointed out, the I. T. & T. might have achieved a less satisfactory settlement or at least have had to wait longer for its money."

Such are blessings showered by Roosevelt's policies—upon the giant international trusts,

# There's War In Canada--- Against The Trade Union

## But the Systematic Terror Has Failed to Break Down the Workers and French Canadians' Opposition to the War

The following is a first-hand account of the treatment of the workers and unionists in Canada during the present war, and of the growing resistance to the war in this sister "democracy" to the United States. It is part of a report to the SOCIALIST APPEAL from a Canadian comrade.

TORONTO, Canada—You may be surprised to learn that one union local here, with 160 members, advertised for an organizer in the capitalist press. You will understand why, when I tell you about present conditions here in Canada.

Unionists are afraid to accept jobs as organizers because even a little militant labor action means a jail sentence.

Civil liberties are at a very low ebb in Canada today. The government has taken advantage of the war to deliver smashing blows at labor. 71 leaders of unions are in concentration camps here. The charge?—they demanded too much from the bosses!

Pat Sullivan, leader of the AFL seamen's union was arrested right in the midst of negotiations with the ship-owners. He had asked for better terms in the new contract than were in the old one. A criminal and treasonable offense in Canada today.

Canadian labor is becoming increasingly aroused by this anti-labor attitude of the government. All labor organizations have been driven underground with the exception of the (pro-war) Commonwealth Federation.

It is not only the government which persecutes the workers, but many reactionary trade union officials are aiding in this offensive. For instance, in a recent election in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union local, the leaders arbitrarily prohibited the nomination of alleged Stalinists. These leaders crawl on their bellies at every opportunity to show their servility to the government.

CANADA'S "HOME GUARD"

We read about the moves to start the "Home Guard" in the U. S. Well, a "home" defense guard exists now in Canada. It has already helped the bosses in several strikes. It is a regular witch-hunt outfit, which has arrested anyone at the slightest opportunity who voices the least bit of dissatisfaction with the war or the government.

Despite the feverish government war propaganda campaigns, the Canadian people are generally opposed to the war. By people, I mean particularly the workers and the French Canadians.

The government is having a hard time getting soldiers for overseas service. It has used two methods to try to build the army, neither one being very successful. The government forces all unemployed fathers off relief until their sons join the army. This has been more successful than raising the army pay, because it seems you can't even pay

whom Hollywood's need has temporarily lifted the veil of obscurity?

One was discovered down and out in a barroom in a Massachusetts town. The newspapers called him a "bum" and would not print his real name to save him from "shame." His "shame" is that of many workers who have been so beaten down by the miseries and hardships of life in the "Democracy" they fought to save that they have given up all hope.

Another, George Willis, was found living near a city dump in Philadelphia, trying to keep body and soul together by keeping a few goats and picking tin foil, brass and paper off the dump. He said he was able to earn as much as five dollars a week and bowed down to no man.

A third, Thomas Johnson, was located living alone in a one-room shack in Denison, Texas. He concealed himself behind a hanging blanket and signed the film company's release and received his \$250 without even permitting the film company representative to see his face.

Mario Mussi, another survivor, was found working as a night watchman in a New York paper mill. He was just managing to eke out an existence. He was overwhelmed by the \$250 windfall and said that this was the first time in his life he had received something for nothing.

Another, Joe Konotski, is the father of six children whom he is trying to support by hard toil in a mill in Holyoke, Mass.

THE FORTUNATE ONE

Otis V. Merrithew was working as a truck driver. By comparison with the other heroes he seemed to be making out pretty well. He has a wife and three daughters, one of whom wanted to go college. She had given up this hope how-

ever, because of lack of money. Now by mere chance she can go to college on that \$250—for one year.

Feodor Sok, the seventh survivor, was finally located in a veteran's CCC camp near Buffalo, N. Y. This was his last refuge to which unemployment and want had driven him.

In Hamden, Conn., was Bernard Early, waiting on table in a bar. Michael Saecini was found in New York, working as a barber shop porter.

Only the tenth of these great heroes of the war was found to be living somewhat free of insecurity. That was Percy Beardsley, a bachelor living with his father on a well-kept farm in Connecticut.

"Nothing will be too good for you when you return," the ruling class told the workers during the last war. They'll be saying it again soon.

When they do, remember Sergeant York's boys.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

Sunday, January 26, has been set by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as "National Defense Day". The Association has called for mass meetings and rallies throughout the country to protest discrimination and segregation in the armed forces and in the rapidly expanding war industries.

Branches of the Party are notified that the next issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL will carry a special message on these questions which should be of great help in pushing sales of the paper at meetings called in their cities.

## British Jail Indian For Demanding Democracy

We have received reports from England of the trial of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, an Indian, charged in Johannesburg, South Africa, with publishing and distributing a leaflet which reads as follows:

"War? An appeal to all non-European people of South Africa. You are being asked to support the war for: Freedom, Justice and Democracy. Do you enjoy the fruits of freedom, justice and democracy?"

"What you enjoy is: Pass and Poll Tax Laws, segregation, white labour policy, low wages, high rents, poverty, unemployment and vicious colour bar-laws..."

"We answered the call in 1914-18. What was our reward? Misery, starvation, unemployment. This time we must demand: The right to live as human beings; the right to work in skilled trades; recognition of African trade unions; abolition of the White Labour Policy; abolition of

ALL anti-colour legislation; full rights of citizenship.

"Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed."

The government could not charge him with being a "fifth columnist" or "sympathizer of the Nazis." No fascist would ever demand the things for which Dadoo asked in this leaflet. In fact, these are the things the fascists want least of all (in which respect you can't tell them apart from the "democracies.")

So they charged him with publishing a statement likely to incite resistance to the government's war policy, and fined him 25 pounds or one month's imprisonment, with an additional suspended sentence of two months, subject to good behavior. Dadoo refused to pay the fine.

It was stated that "crowds of Indians, Africans and Europeans" demonstrated on his behalf at the trial.

## Lovestone Quits; The Fruit Of Lack Of Principles

The Lovestone group ("Independent Labor League of America") has announced that it has dissolved, by decision of its recent national convention. In a "Declaration" announcing the end of the organization, it calls upon all radical groups to "join forces in making a new start towards a genuine American democratic socialism"—and to begin that new start by following the ILLA into limbo.

Presumably, with the death of the ILLA, its final "Declaration" is its last word on what the coming "genuine American democratic socialism" should be. But God help the mariner who tries to sail by their directions!

In a word, the Lovestone "Declaration" is a complete confession of bankruptcy, which blusteringly tries to cover up its nakedness by the whining lie: "Everybody else has failed too."

Among the ideologies the expiring Lovestoneites list as having failed is that of Bolshevism. The implication is conveyed that they, the Lovestoneites, tried the road of Bolshevism, and it proved a false road. A lie made out of whole cloth.

The story of the Lovestone group is worth telling in some detail, for there is an important lesson to learn from it—although scarcely the one that the Lovestoneites offer. That story was summarized by Comrade James P. Cannon in his pamphlet, "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," published in April 1940. He wrote then:

"In the terminology of the Marxist movement, unprincipled cliques or groups which begin a struggle without a definite program have been characterized as political bandits. A classic example of such a group, from its beginning to its miserable end in the backwaters of American radicalism, is the group known as 'Lovestoneites.' This group, which took its name from the characterless adventurer who has been its leader, poisoned and corrupted the American Communist movement for many years by its unprincipled and unscrupulous factional struggles, which were carried on to serve personal aims and personal ambitions, or to satisfy personal grievances. The Lovestoneites were able and talented people, but they had no definite principles. They knew only that they wanted to control the party 'regime.' As with Abern, this question always occupied first place in their calculations; the 'political' program of the moment was always adapted to their primary aim of 'solving the organization question satisfactorily,' that is, in their favor.

"They were wild-eyed radicals and ultra-leftists when Zinoviev was at the head of the Comintern. With the downfall of Zinoviev and the violent right swing of the Comintern under Bukharin, they became ardent Bukharinites as quickly and calmly as one changes his shirt. Due to an error in calculation, or a delay in information, they were behindhand in making the switch from Bukharin to Stalin and the frenzied leftism of the Third Period. To be sure, they tried to make up for their oversight by proposing the expulsion of Bukharin at the party convention they controlled in 1929. But this last demonstration of political flexibility in the service of rigid organizational aims came too late. Their tardiness cost them their heads.

"Their politics were always determined for them by external pressure. At the time of their membership in the Communist Party it was the pressure of Moscow. With their formal expulsion from the Comintern a still weightier pressure began to bear down upon them, and they gradually adapted themselves to it. Today this miserable and isolated clique, petty-bourgeois to the core, is tossed about by bourgeois democratic public opinion like a feather in the breeze. The Lovestoneites never had any independent program of their own. They were never able to develop one in the years since their separation from the official Communist Party. Today their paper, the *Workers Age*, is hardly distinguishable from a journal of left liberalism. A horrible example of the end result of unprincipled 'organizational' politics."

### The History of This Group

Since Comrade Cannon wrote this, the Lovestoneites, pushed still further by bourgeois democratic public opinion, became above all advocates of "all-out" aid to England.

The end of the Lovestoneites is the handwriting on the wall for their ilk. The Norman Thomas group, coming ever closer to a pro-British line (elsewhere in this issue we deal with their latest moves in this direction), is already little more than an appendage to Norman Thomas' radio program. Even the traditional Social Democratic Federation appears to have little basis for an independent existence in the war situation; its frenzied cries for "all out" aid to Britain merely duplicate what Roosevelt does louder and more skillfully. And the group which most resembles the Lovestoneites in personal character and "political" methods, the Abern-Shachtman "Workers Party", sees its future mirrored.

Abern-Shachtman united with Burnham "merely" on the question of "the party regime"—a la Lovestone. Just like Lovestone, however, Abern-Shachtman found themselves at the conclusion of this "bloc" the advocates of the politics of Burnham. Here is striking proof of the political law that groups and cliques which have no program of their own become the instruments of the program of others. Shachtman, who loudly protested that he was not advocating the anti-Soviet position of Burnham, has now published his own position which turns out to be... the position of Burnham.

The Lovestoneites did not conceal their warm sympathy for Burnham-Shachtman. Here, they felt, were kindred spirits. They were right.

The war, Comrade Trotsky wrote shortly before his death, will destroy all such centrist organizations. The debris will be cast aside and the arena cleared for the titanic struggle between the only two real forces in modern society: the bourgeois ruling class and the proletariat led by the revolutionary Bolshevik party. The quicker Lovestone and his kind leave the arena, the better for the revolutionary movement. It is not accidental that the dissolution of the Lovestoneites coincides with the moment when our party reaches the highest point in morale and activity in our history.