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**FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:**

1. A job and a decent wage 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. Thirty dollar 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.

Billions For Gunpowder

It is impossible for anyone to estimate at the present time the eventual amounts which Congress will divert from the pockets of the unemployed to the war machine. Conservative commentators in Washington believe that before the present Congress adjourns it will go down in history not as the "Economy" Congress which it would like to call itself, but the "National Defense" (Imperialist War) Congress.

They predict that authorizations for direct expenditures on war planes, battleships, submarines, long range guns and other instruments for the destruction of human life may reach \$3,000,000,000 for this session—with appropriations for indirect expenditures bringing the total to not less than \$4,000,000,000.

Hearings began this week, for instance, in a House committee upon one appropriation, the proposed naval budget, which alone, not considering other appropriations for the army, the air force, spies, secret diplomatic maneuvers, will amount to \$755,000,000. That is \$50,000,000 more than Congress has allowed for all the unemployed in the United States. And there is absolutely no indication whatsoever that the least cut will be made in this request for war funds.

Not since the last World War has any Congress dumped such vast sums of money down the gullet of the ravenous war beast.

And while these Washington representatives of the present ruling class shovel out funds by the billion in order to bomb cities, shoot down women and children, desolate whole nations in defense of their profits, they haggle among themselves over the possible repercussions still further reductions in the meager appropriations for the unemployed would bring about.

That the very person whom they now deny a meal, and a bed to sleep in will later die on a bayonet in defense of their profits does not move them in the least. "He's a sucker," they say among themselves. "So he fights and dies for the company stockholders. So what? If he's fool enough to do it, there's no one to blame but himself."

Billions upon billions of dollars, a mighty torrent of money taken from the workers, money stolen from the cupboards of the needy, wasted for war by these \$10,000 a year Congressmen. For the unemployed, a kick in the stomach. That's preliminary training for life in the army a little later. If the unemployed take it meekly, without saying anything, they deserve it don't they?

Congress has its hands on unlimited funds. It can use those funds for any purpose it thinks necessary. But only DEMONSTRATIONS will convince these stockholders' watch dogs that it is necessary to feed people who are starving.

All war funds to the unemployed!

The Plumbers Strike

The *Socialist Appeal* greets with enthusiasm the splendid struggle of Plumbers and Gasfitters Local No. 463 of Manhattan and the Bronx for the six-hour day and retention of the present wage rate.

This strike, brought about by a revolt of the membership against an attempt of the Master Plumbers with the assent of the International leadership to put over the 7-hour day and a 10% pay reduction, is but one indication of the rising temper of building trades workers against years of unemployment and chiselling on working conditions and wages.

Local No. 463 has elected a strike committee, secured strike headquarters, elected publicity, picket and other committees; picketing by the membership is carried on throughout the city and they have issued the first number of a strike bulletin. Remember this is the Plumbers' union.

Building Trades Workers generally are reported to be in solidarity with the Plumbers. Pickets were enthusiastically greeted everywhere. Members of Local No. 1 Plumbers and Gas Fitters of Brooklyn and Queens, despite the fact that they have an agree-

ment granting the 6-hour day, walked off all jobs in their territory operated by the Master Plumbers of the Bronx and Manhattan. All plumbing work on new construction is tied up tight in Manhattan and the Bronx.

Work at the World's Fair is at a standstill. The Plumbers are in an excellent position to win all their demands. But they must keep a watchful eye on the International officers and guard against any attempt to arbitrate away the six hour day.

Encouraging indeed to labor everywhere is the whole-hearted support accorded the striking plumbers and helpers by Local No. 3 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. This local which has already won the 6-hour day is engaged in a big campaign to spread the fight. They have issued buttons, leaflets, stickers and sent out speakers to other locals. Their slogan is "The 30-hour Week—A Practical Solution for Unemployment."

The example shown by the Plumbers and Electrical workers must be followed by unions everywhere. With the same spirit and determination which the trade unions of America started the fight for the 8-hour day 53 years ago, organized labor must today take up the fight for the six-hour day and the 5-day week.

Division in labor's ranks is an obstacle to that fight. For a United Labor Movement!
Against unemployment and starvation!
Forward to the 30-hour week!
Hail the fighting ranks of Local No. 463!

The Uses Of Terrorism

In a report just made public, the Senate Civil Liberties Committee reveals a picture of terrorism and violence in industrial warfare that should confound once and for all the assertions of apologists for capitalism that in America there are no classes and that the American way is the democratic and peaceful way.

We refer to the planned, deliberate, premeditated use of terrorism and violence by employers in the United States. We refer to their conscious, calculated purchase of revolvers, shot guns, rifles, gas guns, ammunition, and hand grenades with which they plan long in advance to spill the blood of the human beings who work under their domination.

The arming of the capitalist class is not just an isolated racket that can be stamped out with a few well meaning laws. Capitalists laugh at such laws. The use of arms, private thugs, organized murder, terrorism and violence forms the core of their strategy in maintaining their stream of super-profits.

The war for a peaceful system of life does not lie in the direction pointed out by Roosevelt. It is right here at home. And the enemy has been listed by name and individual corporation in the report of the Civil Liberties Committee.

Stalinists Hurt C.I.O.

Following in close succession, two unions have quit the C.I.O. in protest against union-wrecking Stalinist leadership. First, the Executive Committee of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union ordered all its locals to withdraw from the United Cannery Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate, after a referendum among its membership. Then, 500 office workers in New York voted to leave the United Office and Professional Workers Union, and to apply to the A.F.L. for a charter.

Both the office workers and the tenant farmers made it clear that they are firm believers in the principles of industrial unionism, that is to say, those principles upon which the C.I.O. was founded. But in both cases, the workers, who constitute the progressive element in their fields, found that the anti-democratic union leadership made the proper functioning of the union impossible. No union can function, certainly not militantly, under the stultifying whip of bureaucracy and class-collaboration which are the chief features of Communist Party union policy.

Those militants who flocked to the C.I.O. with the sincere hope of forging mighty mass unions have before them an object lesson. Unless the C.I.O., and those principles which it stood for at its founding, are to be completely lost, it is absolutely necessary to rid the unions of Stalinist influence. And that can best be accomplished by uniting in progressive groups which can pit organized resistance against Stalinist domination and policies. Where the structure of the union, or the control of the Stalinists, rules out the democratic expression of membership will, there is a union doomed to death.

A union cannot possibly function for the best interests of its membership if it is dominated by a clique which thinks in terms of its own reactionary, factional necessities. In such a case, progressive unionists are forced to seek a path which will free them from the blight of Stalinism. The sharecroppers, who returned to an independent status, and the office workers who returned to the A.F.L., acted in accord with that necessity.

Curbing the Press

One of the "glorious principles of democracy" which we will presently be asked to "defend" with our lives, is freedom of the press. We are told that one of the features distinguishing a democratic nation from a dictatorial nation is the freedom which is granted the press in the democratic nation.

If all this is true, then France can be wiped from the list of the democracies. She has moved over into the company of those nations which supposedly have a monopoly on destruction of liberty and human rights.

As a direct result of the decree powers handed over to Daladier last week, a whole series of laws muzzling the press are now being formulated. These laws ostensibly are in the interests of "national defense"—but an idea of their true nature can be gained from the fact that among other things they will prohibit criticism of Hitler, Mussolini, or any other head of a government no matter how inhuman and brutal he may be. So far as the workers' press of France is concerned, these laws will completely suppress and muzzle it if they do not immediately wipe it out of existence.

**What Lies Behind Stalin Bid
For Agreement With Hitler?**

Diplomatic Circles Of All Capitalist Countries Are
Now Considering A Possible Moscow - Berlin Axis;
What Does It Mean To Workers Of The World?

In recent months, the newspapers have printed a good deal concerning secret negotiations between Berlin and Moscow. It has been rumored that a political and even a military agreement in the guise of an economic treaty is in preparation. It is difficult to judge as yet, just what is correct in these communications. At all events, there are quite unmistakable symptoms which testify to the fact that some sort of negotiations have been and are going on. In any case, the outcome of these secret negotiations, at the present stage, depends, not upon Stalin's loyalty to the principles of democracy nor upon Hitler's fealty to the banner of "anti-Marxism" but rather upon the international conjuncture. An agreement between Stalin and Hitler, if attained—and there is nothing impossible in that, could astonish only the most hopeless simpletons from among all the varieties of democratic "Fronts" and pacifist "Leagues."

**A FACTOR IN
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

We shall not dwell here on the question of how probable is an agreement between Stalin and Hitler, or, to put it more correctly, between Hitler and Stalin in the immediate future. This question would require a detailed analysis of the international situation in all its possible variants. But even if this were done, the answer would still have to be rigidly qualified, inasmuch as the players themselves could hardly state today with complete certainty just where the play will lead them.

**INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
CRUSHES WORKERS**

The agreement with Chiang Kai-Shek signified the immediate liquidation of the revolutionary peasant movement, the renunciation by the Communist party of its last vestiges of independence and the official replacement of Marxism by Sun-Yat-Senism. The semi-agreement with Poland signified the destruction of the Polish Communist Party and the annihilation of its leadership. Every agreement of the Kremlin clique with a foreign bourgeoisie is immediately directed against the proletariat of that country with which the agreement is made, as well as against the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. The Bonapartist gang in the Kremlin cannot survive except by weakening, demoralizing, and crushing the proletariat everywhere within its reach.

**COMINTERN POLICY
IN GREAT BRITAIN**

In Great Britain the Comintern is nowadays conducting agitation in favor of creating a "People's Front" with the participation of the liberals. At first glance such a policy appears to be absolutely incomprehensible. The Labour Party represents a mighty organization. One could easily understand an urge on the part of the social-patriotic Comintern to draw closer to it. But the liberals represent an utterly compromised and politically second-rate force. Moreover, they are split into several groups. In the struggle to maintain their influence the Labourites naturally reject any idea of a bloc with the liberals, so as not to infect themselves with a gangrenous poison. They are defending themselves rather energetically—by means of expulsions—against the idea of a "People's Front."

**WHY INCLUDE
LIBERAL SHADOWS?**

Why then doesn't the Comintern confine itself to fighting for a collaboration with the Labourites? Why does it instead invariably demand the inclusion of the liberal shadows of the past into the united front? The crux of the matter lies in this, that the policy of the Labour party is far too radical for the Kremlin. An alliance between the Communists and the Labourites might assume some shade of anti-imperialism

and would thereby render more difficult a rapprochement between Moscow and London. The presence of liberals in the "People's Front" signifies a direct and an immediate censorship exercised by imperialism over the actions of the Labour Party. Under the cover of such a censorship Stalin would be able to render all the necessary services to British imperialism. **STALIN TRADES THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT**

The fundamental trait of Stalin's international policy in recent years has been this: that he trades in the working class movement just as he trades in oil, manganese and other goods. In this statement there is not an iota of exaggeration. Stalin looks upon the sections of the Comintern in various countries and upon the liberating struggle of the oppressed nations as so much small change in deals with imperialist powers.

When he requires the aid of France, he subjects the French proletariat to the Radical bourgeoisie. When he has to support China against Japan, he subjects the Chinese proletariat to the Kuomintang. What would he do in the event of an agreement with Hitler? Hitler, to be sure, does not particularly require Stalin's assistance to strangle the German Communist party. The insignificant state in which the latter finds itself has moreover been assured by its entire preceding policy. But it is very likely that Stalin would agree to cut off all subsidies for illegal work in Germany. This is one of the most minor concessions that he would have to make and he would be quite willing to make it.

**THE FEBRUARY 20
ANTI-NAZI DEMONSTRATION**

One should also assume that the noisy, hysterical and hollow campaign against Fascism which the Comintern has been conducting for the last few years will be slyly squelched. It is noteworthy that on February 20th when our American section mobilized considerable masses of workers to fight against the American Nazis, the Stalinists refused point-blank to participate in the counter-demonstration which had nationwide repercussions, and did everything in their power to minimize its importance, thereby giving aid to the American followers of Hitler. What is there behind this truly treacherous policy? Is it only conservative stupidity and hatred of the Fourth International? Or is there also something new, for example, the latest instruction from Moscow—recommending to Messrs. "Anti-Fascists" that they muzzle themselves so as not to interfere with the negotiations between Moscow and Berlin diplomats? This supposition is by no means far-fetched. The next few weeks will bring their verification.

**WHAT THE AGREEMENT
WOULD MEAN**

We can state one thing with certainty. The agreement between Stalin and Hitler would essentially alter nothing in the counter-revolutionary function of the Kremlin oligarchy. It would only serve to lay bare this function, make it stand out more glaringly and hasten the collapse of illusions and falsifications. Our political task does not consist in "saving" Stalin from the embraces of Hitler but in overthrowing both of them.

L.T.
March 6, 1939

**Canada 4th Internationalists Begin
Publication of "Socialist Action"**

Another weapon for the building of the Fourth International movement has just been forged with the formation in Canada of the Socialist Workers League as an independent organization, and the publication of its paper, "Socialist Action."

The Canadian Trotskyist movement which entered the Canadian Commonwealth Federation two years ago begins its independent existence at a crucial moment in world history. Huge possibilities lie before it.

The mere fact that it was able to publish a printed paper immediately upon its organization betokens great prospects. Already, it has had a demonstration of future successes in store for it with the accession to its ranks of Carl Hiehin who was formerly one of the most important journalists of the Canadian Communist Party. (See Appeal, March 14, 1939).

Program of Action
The publication of "Socialist Action" is an especially signal deed. In its eight pages, "Action" presents to the Canadian working-class a Program of Action based on the principles and lessons of revolutionary socialism. "The

times are ripe for socialism," says the Program. And in a lucid discussion of the situation in Canada it lays down a course of action which the revolutionary militants must follow to achieve socialism.

In addition to the Program, the first issue of "Action" publishes among others, an article on the mine barons' assault against the living standards of the poor, and an article on the popular front in Canada. Particularly interesting, however, for American readers is an article on the "Daily Clarion" (Stalinist sheet) handling of the Feb. 20 anti-Nazi demonstration.

Before they received the line from Browder's headquarters in New York, the Canadian scribes, reporting the news as they had read it in the papers, hailed the action of the thousands of anti-Nazis who had surrounded Madison Square Garden. To be sure, they didn't get the whole story straight. In accord with their own imaginations, and "counseling," the demonstration was reported as a protest "at the desecration of Washington's memory." Well, we know that that's quite a long way from the truth. But, in this first statement, the Cana-

dian C.P. scribes did admit the size and the importance of the demonstration. Some time later, the "Clarionites" got the real line—that the New York C. P. had sabotaged the demonstration. In their next report, therefore, the great anti-Nazi demonstration was reduced to "disturbances organized by Trotskyite members of the Socialist Workers Party," while "2,000 police struggle to keep order among the thousands of spectators who crowded the streets."

We greet our brother section and publication with the warmest comradeship. Our hands are locked with theirs for the building of a gigantic edifice of revolutionary action on the American continent.
Forward to a weekly "Socialist Action."
Long live the Socialist Workers League of Canada!
Long live the Fourth International!

**AT YOUR SERVICE!
THE APPEAL
POSTER SHOP**

**IN THIS
CORNER**

By Max Shachtman

When they cannot conveniently find anything else to say against "Trotskyism," the amateur wits among our opponents in the labor movement try to make merry over our international organization. It does not, you see, have a million members in its ranks; it does not have a powerful and well-financed apparatus; and it does not always function with that perfect unanimity displayed, let us say, by a Stalinist Congress.

Now, all this is true. But it is no less true that our International, which has suffered for more than ten years from a double-barrelled persecution such as no section of the labor movement has ever experienced, has nevertheless succeeded in preserving and extending the only revolutionary organization functioning in the world today. It is simply a statement of fact when we say that the banner of the Fourth International is now unfurled in almost two-score countries, and on every continent of the globe. The Third International has no banner; its sections are able to wave only the pay-checks of the Kremlin bureaucracy or their respective national capitalist flags. As for the Second International, the only banner its sections have in common is the white flag of surrender.

A Very Quiet Funeral

There is of course the Lovestone "International." More accurately, there was—for it is now at an end. And it would be hard to imagine a quieter funeral, so few are the mourners at its bier and so nonchalant the gravediggers. The announcement of the burial is made in the current issue of the *Workers Age*, and since it is a family affair in Potter's Field there is not even a request for flowers.

Although the death seems to have occurred in the bright daylight of December 19, 1938, there were evidently so many more important trifles to take care of that Lovestone didn't get around to making the announcement until three months later. In the intervening period Lovestone was so busy clinging to Homer Martin's heels, from which he has just been unceremoniously kicked away, that the corpse of his "International" was allowed to lie around without even public notice of its demise.

We learn now that last December 19, Lovestone's National Committee wrote a letter to the German Brandlerites (C.P.O.) which, in effect, called the whole thing off. The reasons seem to be the mistaken "organizational methods" employed by Brandler in dealing with his own dissidents, and a dispute over the attitude of the International Communist Opposition (the Lovestone-Brandler organization) towards the British Independent Labour Party. Brandler appears to favor support to his own tiny "left wing" in the I.L.P.; Lovestone piously opposes "bor-ing from within."

"If you are so ready to reject such people as Fenner Brockway as revolutionary socialists, where will you ever find the people with and through whom a new revolutionary International could possibly be built? Our attitude is quite different. Our experience with Fenner and others like him (it is not a case of Brockway personally) convinces us that it is here we must look for the cadres of the future."

Painting Broadway Red

The mental picture of Lovestone making a revolutionary Marxist out of old Fenner Brockway by buttering his joints and stroking his locks, surpasses anything you can find in the comic strips. The real bosses of the I.L.P. are its incorrigible Parliamentarians, like Maxton. The party proposes, but Maxton disposes. He scouts the wordy "radical" decisions of the party with impunity, and doesn't hesitate to blackmail the membership into submission to his private policy by threats about what the party would be without the blessings of his presence.

Brockway's role in the past few years has been that of mediator between the Maxtonians and the militant I.L.P. membership—what's left of it. That is, he is the chain that binds the rank and file to Maxton's wagon. And Lovestone's whole policy in England centers around constructing a "revolutionary International" with this incurable centrist. When he gets through with Brockway—or rather, when Brockway is through with him!—his recent experience in trying to make a militant labor leader out of Homer Martin, and by the same methods, will look like a model success.

Lovestone launches his inspiring campaign . . . by breaking with Brandler. "We have already notified you of our proposal to dissolve the I.C.O. altogether and to have the constituent elements join with the constituent elements of the London Bureau into a new International Center."

A Balance-Sheet of Lovestoneism

The old-time Lovestoneite may well say: "This is where I came in!" He might also ask for an analytical balance-sheet of almost ten years of existence of the Lovestone-Brandler International, which was not, praise the Lord, as sectarian as the Trotskyist world movement. Since he will not get it from Lovestone (silence is golden), here it is in brief:

M. N. Roy, the "Indian section," is now a 100% Stalinist, without recognition from Stalin. David Wijnkoop, the "Dutch section," is now a 100% Stalinist, with recognition from Stalin. The whole Czech section went to the Second International years ago. Willi Schlamm, the "Austrian section," turned democratic patriot. The Swedish section turned social-democratic and is all but affiliated with the Second International. The Alsatian section, Huber and Co., is pure Alsatian nationalist and withdrew from the I.C.O. The hoped-for French section—Party of Proletarian Unity—just didn't materialize. The Swiss section—in Schaffhausen—is finished. The Mexican section—vanished years ago. In Latin America, nothing. In Africa, nothing. In Asia, nothing. In Australia, nothing.

Left in the I.C.O.? Lovestone plus Brandler. Now even that's at an end. What Lovestone couldn't accomplish with Brandler, Thalheimer, Hais, Roy, Samuelson and colleagues, he is starting all over again to accomplish with Brockway, Maxton, Gorkin . . . and Balabanova.

We would send condolences to him on the recent death if the coolness with which he takes the loss didn't show that he has no use for them.

We would wish him luck on his new enterprise if we didn't realize that not even Lovestone—he will pardon us the mangling of an old adage—can make a silk purse out of the London Bureau.

Says social leader Elsa Maxwell: "So utterly and irrevocably dead is the art of conversation in what Mr. Paul (Cholly Knickerbocker) nicknamed 'Cafe Society,' that I make it a point to have two orchestras with my parties because the twelve minute rest which the musicians' union insists on is sufficiently long to kill any party. Nobody wants to listen to anyone for twelve minutes in Cafe Society; and, if the truth were known, almost nobody in Cafe Society is able to talk