

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

By JAMES P. CANNON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some branches have not yet been heard from, whose delegates were not in a position at the convention to report any definite pledges before consultation with the comrades back home. We pete with the branches, but it is expected they will do their part in putting this campaign over the top.

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

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

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Upstate New York.....	\$ 50.00	\$ 50.00	100
Chicago .....	100.00	50.00	50
Flint .....	100.00	50.00	50
St. Paul.....	200.00	83.00	41
East Chicago.....	25.00	10.00	40
Boston .....	170.00	65.00	38
New York City.....	1300.00	280.00	22
National Office.....	550.00	30.00	6
Maritime Workers.....	780.00	0.00	0
Minneapolis .....	300.00	0.00	0
Newark .....	100.00	0.00	0
Los Angeles.....	100.00	0.00	0
San Francisco.....	100.00	0.00	0
Detroit .....	75.00	0.00	0
New Haven.....	55.00	0.00	0
Lynn .....	50.00	0.00	0
Toledo .....	40.00	0.00	0
Philadelphia .....	25.00	0.00	0
Omaha .....	25.00	0.00	0
Seattle .....	15.00	0.00	0
Portland .....	10.00	0.00	0
Oakland .....	10.00	0.00	0
Akron .....	10.00	0.00	0
Total .....	\$4190.00	618.00	14.7

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

Vol. IV, No. 18

167

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1940

FIVE (5) CENTS

SAILORS WIN GREAT VICTORY;  
OWNERS YIELD \$10 INCREASES

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

AKRON STRIKE  
WOMEN PICKETS  
PLAY BIG PART

Rubber Strike Called  
To Prevent Imposing  
Of Longer Hours

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

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

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

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

Women Pickets Active  
Friday morning saw a greatly  
(Continued on Page 2)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

G.M. PARLEYS  
OPEN; HOURS  
ISSUE PRESSING

Men Are Determined  
To Realize 30-Hour  
Work Week

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

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

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

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

Firm Strike Vote  
Forces Concessions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EAST COAST AND GULF  
SEAMEN!  
See Editorial, "SUP and NMU"  
Page 4

conduct a secret referendum strike vote. The referendum decision was taken by practically a unanimous vote. Eleven days later the Sailors had their increases.

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

Instead, however, the Stalinist leadership of the West Coast longshoremen came to the rescue of the shipowners. Without any consultation with the other unions, the Bridges machine of the longshoremen signed an indefinite extension of their contract, to be followed by negotiations with the shipowners, with a clause requiring sixty days notice of termination.  
(Continued on Page 2)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

April 23, 1940



# WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## Growing Danger of Acceptance of War

Editor:

A group of the comrades were discussing the reaction of the workers at their places of employment to the latest incidents of the German-Allied war. They all remarked that the almost universal reaction was: "After Germany mops up on England, they'll be over here next." This idea, which is only a step from support of an expeditionary force, has to be combatted. I write to you concerning it, since I feel that the Appeal must give some answer to this idea. It is strange how deeply embedded the idea is.

One thing that we all noticed, however, was that although the workers fully believe this idea, they are not—at least not yet—for the war in any sense of the word. Their attitude is that America may have to go to war to put a stop to a bad situation. They are convinced that the last war was a fraud, but they think we are being drawn into this one by the actions of Hitler.

In reply to the question of how it would be possible for Hitler to transport an army 3,000 miles, one fellow replied that he would penetrate South America and work his way up. Another said that he would wait five or ten years and mould the youth of the conquered Allied countries into good Nazis and then come over here.

I hope the next Appeal will carry something on this problem, since I assure you that it is being discussed wherever groups of workers discuss the war.

Toledo, Ohio Ed Davis

## Wants Paper Forwarded To the Trenches

Editor:

I have sent you a renewal of my subscription for the next six months. I hope I won't have to be reading it in the trenches. But if so, I will send you my Division and Regiment as soon as possible. Forwarding will be appreciated.

Edward J. Sloane  
Livingston Hall,  
Columbia University

## Youth Resign from Norman Thomas Group

Editor:

Please rush twenty copies of the May Day issue of the Socialist Appeal. The comrades who will sell these issues have just broken from the YPSL of the LSL. I, James Boulton, ex-city secretary of the YPSL, have just been expelled from the Youth Committee against War and the YPSL, for including in a Student Strike leaflet that I produced, a statement that the Soviet Union is on the side of Germany in this war as a "self-defence move."

Enclosed please find a copy of a Statement of Resignation from the Young Peoples Socialist League affiliated to Norman Thomas' Labor and Socialist International.

Revolutionary Greetings,  
JAMES E. BOULTON  
ALBERT STERGAR  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

## WHEREAS:

1. We are the Youth Section of the Socialist Party and are under its discipline; and in consequence have no right, as pointed out by the Young Peoples Socialist League National Executive Committee member, Charles Rubin, to advocate changes in its program or discipline of its members;

2. The SP has a reformist perspective, "democratic socialism" meaning under new guise "social democracy," and has failed to adopt a revolutionary program and set of tactics as a method of procedure;

3. And the YPSL cannot and has not adopted or followed any program which is not in accord with the Party program and tactics;

4. The SP does not defend the historic gains of October in the USSR;

5. The SP finds itself unable to sever its relationship with pro-

Ally forces at home, and chauvinist pro-imperialist SP's of the 2nd International abroad, the parties whose officials have entered the cabinets and popular fronts of the war governments, specifically in France, Great Britain, Holland, New Zealand, Scandinavia, etc.;

6. The SP, dominated by centrist and social-democratic elements, will not or cannot purify its ranks of opportunist members like Frank Zeidler, Andrew Biemiller, Alfred Baker Lewis, Jack Altman, Becker, Lazar, Travers, Clement, Devere Allen, J. Clark Waldron, Harry Laidler, Henry Haskell, Frank Trager, Lillian Symes, Walter Reuther, Police Chief Joseph Kluchesky, James Maurer, Norman Thomas, George Hampel, Maynard Krueger, Arthur McDowell, Paul Porter, Arthur Garden, Judah Drob, yes, even Herbert Zam, became too revolutionary (?) (whose re-appointment to the Editorship of the Socialist Review has been deferred);

7. The SP has only an incidental and no real and genuine labor orientation, but rather a petty-bourgeois "libertarian" electoral direction;

8. The SP has failed to recognize in its program and Statement of Principles the class struggle and the class character of the state, the necessity for the revolutionary defeat of the capitalist class, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

9. The SP is, in short, a hodge-podge of ideological confusion;

10. The SP local in Milwaukee has entered into a coalition with the reactionary non-partisans to maneuver in the City Council and effect appointments;

11. Joseph Kluchesky, local SP Police Chief has repeatedly abrogated civil and constitutional rights of workers and transients;

We do hereby announce the termination of our affiliation to the Labor and Socialist International (the Yellow 2nd), the SP-USA, the Socialist Party of Milwaukee County and the Young Peoples Socialist League of America, the youth appendage to a putrescent corpse.

Signed:  
ETHEL PETERSON  
ALBERT STERGAR

We affix our names to the Statement of Resignation; since we are in accord with the attitudes and statements set forth.

Signed:  
JAMES E. BOULTON  
MARGARET MORAN

\*\*\*  
(The Socialist Party makes no distinction between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, characterizing both equally as "totalitarian imperialisms." Hence comrade Boulton's distinction between the two, in his leaflet, was "answered" by his expulsion. On the other hand the pro-Ally group in the SP, exceedingly vocal at its recent convention, is not only not expelled but is treated as a comradely difference of opinion. Here is another indication of how speedily the SP is moving into the war camp!—Editors.)

## Russian Bulletin Appeals for Aid

Editor:

THE RUSSIAN BULLETIN NEEDS YOUR HELP, friends and readers in the U.S.A.!

We can expect no help from our readers in war-torn, bleeding Poland; our friends in the semi-fascist border states of Estonia, Latvia, Bulgaria can send no money through, though the Bulletin manages to reach them by devious routes. Palestine, South Africa . . . some aid will come from there eventually—but, if the Bulletin is to survive, and it must survive, you, our more fortunate friends and comrades, you must help. Give whatever you can, give right away, the Bulletin needs your help!

Send contributions to the undersigned.

S. WEBER  
c/o Socialist Appeal  
116 University Place  
New York City

# Supreme Court Dons New Face But Its Purpose is Still to Serve Capitalist Rule

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

By its declaration that anti-picketing laws in Alabama and California are unconstitutional, the United States Supreme Court will lead some gullible people to believe that it has become the guardian of the rights of the workers.

A short while ago the Supreme Court assumed to play the role of protector of the Negro people by reversing a conviction of Negroes who were compelled to "confess"

by the use of the most vicious form of the third degree.

That the Supreme Court, as at present constituted, is more liberal than it was can be admitted without argument. It is necessary, however, to understand clearly what that signifies. Essentially it means nothing more than that the Supreme Court now follows the fundamental policy of President Roosevelt, which consists of making minor concessions to the masses in order the better to guard the essential rights of the owning class.

Just as Roosevelt has gained favor in the eyes of many workers by making concessions that do not threaten the existence of the profit system, so the Supreme Court will undoubtedly earn the applause of many by rendering decisions that can be regarded as liberal but which do not endanger the right of the bosses to continue exploiting the workers.

There have always been serious differences of opinion in the camp of the employing class and its representatives as to the best method to be used in keeping labor under control. One group advocates a firm hand—yielding nothing; another proposes to make concessions in order not to lose everything. The Supreme Court for the time being now belongs to the latter group.

## DO A SMARTER JOB. THE COURT IS SAYING

When the Supreme Court declares an anti-picketing law unconstitutional, it in effect says to the lower courts and to the legislature: "You fools, can't you see that by taking away such small and insignificant rights of the

workers, you play into the hands of the revolutionists? We believe that it is far wiser and far more effective to let the workers have a minor right and deprive them of a really valuable one."

What did the court's decision really amount to? The Supreme Court decided that unions have the right to have a picket carrying a banner in front of an establishment where a strike was called. Of course, having that privilege is better than not having it, but all the same it has come to a pretty pass when we are asked to rejoice and be grateful for a decision granting the workers this elementary right.

One must never forget that it was practically the same Supreme Court that declared the sit-down strike illegal. In comparison to the right of having a picket walk in front of a struck shop with a banner, the sit-down is infinitely more important for the workers. But just because it is so much more important, it was declared illegal by the court.

It is all very well to have a conviction of a Negro reversed when the conviction was obviously achieved by the use of the most brutal torture. But this is nothing in comparison to the fact that the Supreme Court permits the white masters of the South to disfranchise the Negro population.

The Sherman anti-trust law was enacted as a weapon against the trusts. When the Supreme Court perverts that law to be used against trade unions, it strikes a really effective blow against the workers. In return, it can afford to be liberal on a minor point.

The Fourteenth Amendment to

the Constitution was passed for the purpose of protecting the Negroes. Instead it was interpreted by the Supreme Court in a manner which aided mainly the property rights of the bosses. It was then worthwhile for the court to throw a crumb now and then to the workers in the form of a favorable decision on a minor matter, based on the same amendment.

## COURT WILL NEVER DESTROY BOSSES' POWERS

It is exceedingly important for workers to recognize that a "liberal" Supreme Court will render decisions favorable to the exploited masses only when there is danger that the masses will resort too strongly to an adverse decision. And nine times out of ten a favorable decision will come only in connection with a case involving a matter of secondary importance.

And this is certain. Never will the Supreme Court render a decision which will take away the right of the bosses to exploit labor. Why? For the simple reason that the Supreme Court, "liberal" or conservative, was created to protect that very right.

The Supreme Court has always been looked upon as a bulwark of the employing class. Justifiably so, for it has frequently, by its decisions, rushed to protect that class against any legislation that might be harmful to the employers. As a result there has always existed a tendency amongst the workers in favor of abolishing the Court.

Let not the workers be deceived by an occasional favorable decision. As against such decisions on matters of secondary importance, it is important to remember the anti-democratic role the court has played throughout American history.

Considering all possible factors it is more advantageous, in the long run, to do away with an institution that was created for the express purpose of nullifying legislation passed at the demand of the masses.

The workers will be better off if the Supreme Court is abolished.

## AKRON STRIKE WOMEN PICKETS PLAY BIG PART

(Continued from Page 1)

increased picket line with the women's contingent as the most spirited one. They wore yellow and red bandanas on their heads and among the many placards they carried one reading: "Learn from the banana. When it leaves the bunch it gets skinned! Stick with the union."

The police were present just as before, but the major part of them, instead of appearing in front of the plant, hid inside behind the gates of the plant buildings, ready for action. The cars of the scabs, some of them with smashed window shields sped through the streets and with brakes shrieking skidded around the bend through the plant gates.

One woman, wife of a Goodrich Rubber worker, stated to a group of strikers, "this is not the way we did it in the Goodrich strike. I've never seen a strike in which scabs are allowed to go through the picket line without opposition. We ought to call out all the other shops and put a stop to this." The sentiment on all sides was for increased militancy and a show down with the scabs.

The workers went on strike two weeks ago because General Tire and Rubber was chiseling on pay rates, attempting to introduce the 40 hour week in place of the prevailing 6 hour 6 day week, and refusing to settle numerous grievances.

Progressives in the Brotherhood have often pointed out that good union members and good union leaders don't need the protection of gag laws. It is only those individuals in the labor movement who insist on having special privileges at the expense of the rank and file dues payers that feel the need for such gag rules. The members don't need section 85 to protect themselves against scabs, stool pigeons or any other agents of the employers—there are an ample supply of other Brotherhood laws designed to deal with such characters. Gag laws never protect members from their enemies who may be found inside of the unions, but on the other hand serve as a protection for such enemies against the membership.

"All divisions or members of Divisions are prohibited from issuing circulars or signing any form of petition relative to Brotherhood business among members of the Brotherhood or others calculated to injure the Brotherhood as interpreted by the Grand Chief Engineer or a majority of the Advisory Board."

Stripped of all smokescreens, this simply means that the Grand Lodge officials have been vested with the authority to stifle and suppress every proposal by Divisions or members to which the officials are personally opposed.

The resolution for repeal was presented by the committee on arrangements for the meeting, consisting of P. G. Heglund, A. W. Callan and J. F. Hilger.

# Sailors Win Increases After Strike Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

tion of the agreement if they were unable to come to terms. The Stalinist leadership of the Marine Cooks likewise signed an indefinite extension of their agreement.

Extent of Bridges' Treachery  
On top of this disruption of the ranks of the waterfront crafts, Bridges began ballyhooing a "Five Year Peace Plan", offering a long-term agreement to the shipowners on the basis of the present agreement and agreeing to arbitrate everything in the agreement. This plan was proposed by Bridges not merely for the longshoremen but for all the waterfront unions. Bridges also notified the cooks that the longshoremen would not support any union striking for increased wages or improved conditions.

Bridges' treachery against waterfront unity saved the day for the shipowners—for the time being. Even the Marine Firemen, traditional allies of the Sailors, buckled and signed an extension of their agreement—more accurately the officials of the Firemen buckled. The Sailors were left standing alone.

Sailors Stood Alone  
The Sailors refused to sign an extension of their previous agreement. They negotiated and signed a working agreement, providing new concessions from the employers. But they were unable to write into the agreement an increase in wages for, with the Sailors isolated, the shipowners stood pat.

The employers were enabled to do this all the better since the SUP membership would not vote for the agreement.

But already in plant after plant, men in the various departments, by their own organized strength and will have forced the corporation to recognize and deal with stewards. These same men may very well force the 30 hour week if their leaders fail them.

Canadian Workers For strike  
Indications of the sentiment of GM workers was also given in Canada when last week the workers of three GM plants there, upon refusal of the corporation to meet with union representatives, proceeded at once to take a strike vote. International board members stepped in quickly, called off the strike vote, and began negotiations with the frightened company.

Poppa Knudsen, the Horatio Alger President of GM, yesterday gave some indication of his attitude in the negotiations, when he made a speech attacking union seniority as a system which deprived workers of "opportunity". He perhaps meant the opportunity to be thrown out on the streets at the whim of the company, or the opportunity to allow the company to play one man against the other in a plant where dog eat dog prevailed.

He also said that labor needs better management. He did not say whether he intended to run for President of the UAW-CIO however.

It is true that labor could use better management, but labor does not need advice from millionaire presidents of labor-hating corporations, which hoard billions in profits, while tens of thousands of men are locked out of jobs! Labor needs a leadership that will militantly fight these big shots, and make it obligatory for them to provide jobs, not advice.

# GEORGE CLARKE OPENS CROSS-COUNTRY TOUR OF S.W.P. CENTERS

Speaks First in New Haven on May 10;  
Then in Boston and Lynn, May 11-13

George Clarke, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, begins a cross-country tour on May 10—the first of a series of national tours by party leaders.

Comrade Clarke's tour will open in New Haven on May 10 and close in Los Angeles the week of June 13.

With the war and the danger of American entry uppermost in the minds of the workers, Comrade Clarke will speak everywhere on the major issue facing the American workers.

He will speak on: "Which War for the American Workers? The war on the battlefields of Europe or Asia for the profits and billions of Wall Street? Or the war at home in the U.S. against the Sixty Ruling Families, against their tyranny of unemployment and hunger, the war for security, jobs, prosperity and peace for America's laboring millions?"

Workers in each city should note the dates on which Comrade Clarke is speaking in their vicinity.

The succeeding issues of the Appeal will carry the hour and place of each meeting.

The schedule of the tour follows:

New Haven	.....Fri., May 10
Boston-Lynn	.....Sat. to Mon., May 11-13
Syracuse	.....Tues., May 14
Rochester	.....Wed., May 15
Buffalo	.....Thurs., May 16
Pittsburgh	.....Fri-Sat., May 17-18
Youngstown	.....Sun., May 19
Akron	.....Mon., May 20
Cleveland	.....Tues., May 21
Toledo	.....Wed., May 22
Detroit	.....Thurs., May 23
Flint	.....Fri., May 24
South Bend	.....Sat., May 25
Chicago	.....Sun-Tues., May 26-28
Twin Cities	.....Wed-Fri., May 29-31
Omaha	.....Sunday, June 2
Denver	.....Tuesday, June 4
Salt Lake City	.....Thurs., June 6
San Francisco	.....Sat-Tues., June 8-11
Fresno	Wednesday, June 12
Los Angeles	.....Thurs., June 13 and after

# SUBS ROLL IN TO FINANCE "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"

The Trotskyists, sympathizers next week I'll probably send you some more subs."

Doyle Clark of Toledo writes: "To start the ball rolling please accept the enclosed five dollars to start subscriptions to the 'Fourth International' for the following . . ."

S. of Hutchinson sent in two subs accompanied by caustic political comment: "I was just about bowled over today when I got the Appeal and your communication about the 'Fourth International.' Burnham and his morals! What a stinking example of political treachery leading to moral degeneracy! I think you are entirely right in contesting it legally. They will be jolly well hung by their own act in the end. . ."

From David W. Sallume, Yellow Springs, Ohio: "Enclosed is two dollars, for which please enter my subscription for 'Fourth International' . . . As I wrote you before the convention, I am in complete solidarity with the Trotsky-Goldman position on the Russian and organizational questions, and will try to do what I can here to maintain it."

From a sympathizer in Lynn: "Enclosed is my sub to 'Fourth International'; I wish I could see my way clear, at this time to make a contribution; but have already allotted money for Appeal pledge. Will do same for 'Fourth International' as soon as possible."

Comment from us is superfluous. Our members and sympathizers know best how to smash the quitters and splitters. Build the 'Fourth International'!

Send in your one dollar! Build the press of the 'Fourth International'!

# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Monthly Theoretical Magazine of the  
Socialist Workers Party

Needs One Dollar from Friends and  
Supporters of the Trotskyist Movement

## TO PUBLISH—

- the great works of Leon Trotsky
- the theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party
- the classic documents of Marxism
- the monthly message of the American Section of the Fourth International

Unexpired subscriptions to The New International will be filled. One dollar will extend your subscription six more months and help us in this emergency.

FILL OUT THE SUBSCRIPTION BLANK PRINTED BELOW AND MAIL WITH ONE DOLLAR

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y.

Please send me FOURTH INTERNATIONAL for six months. Enclosed please find \$1.00.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....



## The Negro Question

### The Natchez Fire

Screaming and clawing for escape from suffocating smoke and crackling flames that swept through the hall in which they were dancing on the night of April 23 at Natchez, Mississippi, 198 Negroes fell in heaps that mounted shoulder high and died in horrible agony.

The dance hall had been converted from a blacksmith shop into an amusement center that featured well-known Negro orchestras. It was frequented by colored people barred from dance halls open to Southern whites. The windows were boarded; it had but one door which served for both entrance and exit; long festoons of tinsel-dry Spanish moss hung from the rafters as decorations.

The fire began near the entrance, swept through the moss with terrifying swiftness and drove the packed dancers against the bandstand. The victims milled, screaming, crushing against the walls, beating futilely at the boarded windows as the flames curled down from the rafters and seared their bodies. They dropped in piles that resembled heaped up logs of smoking wood.

Within fifteen minutes the fire had burned itself out. Firemen chopped their way in. Moans came from the mounds of scorched bodies, and the few who were still writhing were dragged out. Twenty more of these crushed and burned victims died on the way to the hospital; eleven more succumbed during the day. Dozens more were near death.

All the facts indicate criminal negligence on the part of the Natchez authorities. Those whose duty it was to make sure that the ordinary fire precautions were carried out didn't care and didn't act. After all, the burning of Negroes is not something out of the ordinary in the South.

### Southern Justice

The wave of horror which swept the country over this mass burning of Negroes, however, moved the authorities of Natchez to take action. An investigation was in order. It was necessary to fix the blame for the monstrous neglect of the city officials who were responsible.

Mayor William J. Byrne started a "thorough inquiry."

Although Sheriff Hyde Jenkins upon first coming upon the scene declared that the fire was clearly of accidental origin, Police Chief Joe Serio on the following day intimated that the fire had been set "deliberately."

Police Chief Joe Serio arrested five suspects and threw them in jail.

All five of the suspects, of course, are Negroes—in the language of the Southern Bourbons, "drunken Negroes."

Police Chief Joe Serio said that these arrests were based on "statements" made to him by unnamed people that "several drunken Negroes were overheard threatening to set the building on fire."

All that is lacking to complete this picture of Southern justice in action is a report from Police Chief Joe Serio that he was unable to save the five suspects from the anger of a lynch mob of whites.

The Bourbons of the South may pass over this incident as light-mindedly as they have passed over all the other gruesome and ghastly cruelties they have inflicted upon the Negroes. But this incident like all the others brings the revolutionary wrath of the oppressed a degree nearer its culmination. When that wrath bursts it will sweep the land with the fierce cleansing flames of the socialist revolution. It will wipe out the savage rule of the Southern Bourbons along with that of their Wall Street brothers with a thoroughness that will leave not the slightest trace behind.

May the flames in which the 198 died on the altar of Southern justice serve as a spark to light the cleansing fire!

### A Letter from a Negro Reader

Editor:

I am a college-trained Negro, favored with numerous labor, educational and political experiences that have given me a keen appreciation of the many economic problems facing the Negro people.

A solution to the Negro's problem will never be effected until there is a concerted effort together with the white masses of Labor. Economic maladjustment affects the Negro more adversely than any other racial group.

The American Negro has less to be patriotic for than any group in the world. Since the *Socialist Appeal* expresses the intention to right some of the many wrongs besetting the Negro people, I take great interest in this regard.

The following opinions on this question have been formed in my mind:

1. American capitalism has used the Negro to retain its dominant status.
2. Divide and Rule has been more advantageously applied on the Negro people than on any other racial group.
3. Perpetuation of race prejudice preserves those in the upper economic stratum and divides the masses of the two races in the lower economic stratum.
4. The unequal distribution of wealth is the cause of our economic chaos.
5. Negro reactionaries have greatly retarded the progress of the Negro people.
6. The hypocrisy of the American white man has caused Negro youth largely to distrust him even in the labor movement.

Yours very truly,

Chicago, Illinois POPE THOMPSON

P.S.—I subscribe to the *Socialist Appeal* and deeply appreciate its facts and frankness.

# British Arrest Indian Strike Leaders In Opening Drive to Crush Anti-War Movement of Workers

By ROBERT BIRCHMAN

British imperialism is clamping down on the forces of the All India Congress and the leaders of the militant strikes of the Indian workers and peasants. Wholesale arrests are taking place under the Defense of India Act.

Jaiprakash Narain, general secretary of the Congress Socialist Party was arrested at Patna on March 7. He is charged under the Defense of India Act. The Executive Committee of the Congress Socialist Party, meeting at Lucknow, March 11-13, passed the following resolution on the arrest of Narain:

"The Executive Committee of the All India Congress Socialist Party offers its felicitations to Jaiprakash Narain, its general secretary, on his arrest under the Defense of India Act.

"The Committee considers this arrest as symbolic of the determination of British Imperialism to suppress the struggle for independence in this country. This arrest constitutes a challenge to the forces of freedom represented by the Congress.

"The Committee feels that the present political stalemate cannot continue for very long and calls upon the members of the Congress Socialist Party and other fellow-fighters to be ready for the utmost sacrifice for the freedom of India."

Narain has been sentenced to nine months imprisonment.

S. S. Zaheer, a member of the Executive Committee of the Congress Socialist Party was arrested at Lucknow on March 11, also under the Defense of India Ordinance. Numerous arrests have occurred of local and provincial leaders of the Congress, especially in Bengal.

### WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' LEADERS ARRESTED WHOLESALE

Rahul Sankratyan, president-elect of the All India Kisan Sabha—peasants union—was arrested at Allahabad on March 15.

On March 11, three leaders of the Bombay Textile Workers Union—S. A. Dange, B. T. Ranadive and S. S. Mirykar—were arrested under the charge of carrying on anti-war propaganda.

S. V. Dehpande, joint secretary of the Textile Workers Union and a member of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, which declared the general strike of textile workers in Bombay was arrested on March 16. He was arrested after having delivered two speeches alleged to be prejudicial to public order.

Latest reports are that R. S. Nimkar, general secretary of the Textile Workers Union, has been arrested. He is charged with a breach of the order prohibiting meetings. Nimkar visited England last August where he spoke to the Lancashire textile workers and appealed for closer cooperation between the Indian Trade Union Congress and the British Trade Union Congress.

"We shall have to struggle in the near future to stop the employers' offensive against us," he said, "and we hope the Lancashire workers will give us their support—for any rise in the standards of Indian workers is bound to benefit the Lancashire workers in the long run."

### POLITICAL GENERAL STRIKE CALLED IN BOMBAY

The Council of Action of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, at its meeting on March 12, decided to call a one-day general strike in Bombay on March 15 as a protest against the "attack on democratic liberties" and to demand the release of their leaders.

Latest papers from India give us a few highlights on the strike of the 160,000 Bombay textile workers, which is still going on. The strike was called for Monday but the workers spontaneously struck on Sunday. Picketing prevented the night shift from entering the plants. At least 25 processions paraded the streets and joined a mass meeting in the evening at which a resolution was adopted protesting the police ban on meetings and processions in the labor areas effective on Monday.

Nearly 90 percent of all mill workers were out on the first day of the strike. Workers in six silk mills, about 10,000 workers, struck in sympathy with the textile workers. A new feature of this strike has been mass picket lines. Women have been especially active on the picket lines and by 3 p.m. of the first day of the strike 36 women pickets had been arrested on charges of disorderly behavior or for breach of the police order prohibiting assemblies.

Five hundred textile workers organized a one-day hunger strike in Bombay against the

Over 100 workers in one of the generating stations of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation struck on March 13 against the dismissal of two of their fellow-workers.

The managing committee of the Bombay Transport Coolies Union has, on behalf of the workers employed on harbor construction projects, demanded a war allowance of 20 percent. D. V. Pradhar, secretary of the union notified the contractors that if the allowance is not granted the workers will go out on strike.

These great strike struggles of the Indian masses are the driving force pushing the left wing of the All India Congress into direct collision with the British overlords. They are the explanation for the strong language of the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee, and which was presented to the plenary session of the Congress at Ramgarh, March 19. The resolution read in part:

"The Congress considers the declaration by the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without reference to the Indian people, and the exploitation of India's resources for war, as an affront which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people can tolerate.

"The recent pronouncement made on behalf of the British Government regarding India, demonstrates that Britain is fighting for fundamentally imperialist ends and the preservation of the Empire, which is based upon the exploitation of the Indian people and other Asiatic and African peoples.

"Hence it is clear that the Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, participate in such a war, which means the perpetuation of exploitation.... Congressmen and those under Congress influence cannot help in the prosecution of the war with men, money or material. Congress declares again

that nothing short of complete independence is acceptable. Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism, and Dominion or other status, is wholly inapplicable to India and is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation. It would bind India in many ways to British policies and economic structure. The people of India alone can properly shape a constitution through a Constituent Assembly on the basis of adult suffrage, or determine relations with other countries of the world."

These strong words have, unfortunately, not been implemented as yet by the proposed civil disobedience campaign. Gandhi and the right wing were able to stave off action at the Ramgarh Congress.

In the following weeks, however, the great strike wave has continued to grow, and provides an ever more imperative pressure for a general collision with the British rulers.

## The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

By JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, S.W.P.

(This is the third of a series of articles by Comrade Cannon, to acquaint our readers with the party's estimate of the dispute which arose in the party, was debated in a seven-months' discussion, and was settled by a decisive majority at the Third National Convention, April 5-9. In previous issues of the *APPEAL* we published all the Majority and Minority resolutions. Comrade Cannon's first two articles dealt with the way in which, under the impact of the war, the petty-bourgeois minority had abandoned our programmatic stand for the defense of the Soviet Union and how the ensuing dispute "unfolded as a fundamental conflict with the Fourth International over all the questions of our program, our method and our tradition." Comrade Cannon's articles are taken from his pamphlet, published in the *Internal Bulletin* before the convention—Editors.)

### The Organization Question

As long as the real scope of the political and theoretical disputes remained undetermined the talk about the organization question contributed, and could contribute, nothing but confusion. But, now that the fundamental political issues are fully clarified, now that the two camps have taken their position along fundamental lines, it is possible and perhaps feasible to take up the organization question for discussion in its proper setting and in its proper place—as an important but subordinate issue; as an expression in organizational terms of the political differences, but not as a substitute for them.

The fundamental conflict between the proletarian and the petty-bourgeois tendencies expresses itself at every turn in questions of the party organization. But involved in this secondary conflict are not little incidents, grievances, personal friction and similar small change which are a common feature in the life of every organization. The dispute goes deeper. We are at war with Burnham and the Burnhamites over the fundamental question of the character of the party. Burnham, who is completely alien to the program and traditions of Bolshevism, is no less hostile to its "organizational methods." He is much nearer in spirit to Souvarine and all the decadents, skeptics and renegades of Bolshevism than to the spirit of Lenin and his terrible "regime."

Burnham is concerned first of all with "democratic guarantees" against degeneration of the party after the revolution. We are concerned first of all with building a party that will be capable of leading the revolution. Burnham's conception of party democracy is that of a perpetual talking shop in which discussions go on forever and nothing is ever firmly decided. (See the resolution of the Cleveland Conference!) Consider his "new" invention—a party with two different public organs defending two different and antagonistic programs! Like all the rest of Burnham's independent ideas that is simply a plagiarism from alien sources. It is not difficult to recognize in this brilliant scheme of party organization a rehabilitation of Norman Thomas' ill-fated "all inclusive party."

Our conception of the party is radically different. For us the party must be a combat organization which leads a determined struggle for power. The Bolshevik party which leads the struggle for power needs not only internal democracy. It also requires an imperious centralism and an iron discipline in action. It requires a proletarian composition conforming to its proletarian program. The Bolshevik party cannot be led by dilettantes whose real interests and real lives are in another and alien world. It requires an active professional leadership, composed of individuals democratically selected and democratically controlled, who devote their entire lives to the party, and who find in the party, and in its multiple activities in a proletarian environment, complete personal satisfaction.

For the proletarian revolutionist the party is the concentrated expression of his life purpose, and he is bound to it for life and death. He preaches and practices party patriotism, because he knows that his socialist ideal cannot be realized without the party. In his eyes the crime of crimes is disloyalty or irresponsibility towards the party. The proletarian revolutionist is proud of his party. He defends it before the world on all occasions. The proletarian revolutionist is a disciplined man, since the party cannot exist as a combat organization without discipline. When he finds himself in the minority, he loyally submits to the decision of the party and carries out its decisions, while he awaits new events to verify the disputes or new opportunities to discuss them again.

The petty-bourgeois attitude toward the party, which Burnham represents, is the opposite of all this. The petty-bourgeois character of the opposition is shown in their attitude towards the party, their conception of the party, even in their method of complaining and whining about their "grievances," as unfavourably as in their light-minded attitude towards our program, our doctrine and our tradition.

The petty-bourgeois intellectual, who wants to teach and guide the labor movement without participating in it, feels only loose ties to the party and is always full of "grievances" against it. The moment his toes are stepped on, or he is rebuffed, he forgets all about the interests of the movement and remembers only that his feelings have been hurt; the revolution may be important, but the wounded vanity of a petty-bourgeois intellectual is more important. He is all for discipline when he is laying down the law to others, but as soon as he finds himself in a minority, he begins to deliver ultimatums and threats of split to the party majority.

The leaders of the opposition are running true to type. Having recited the whole dolorous catalogue of their petty and inconsequential and mostly imaginary grievances; having been repulsed by the proletarian majority in their attempt to revise the program; having been called in sociological and political terms by their right

name—having "suffered" all these indignities—the leaders of the opposition are now attempting to revenge themselves upon the party majority by threats of split. That will not help them. It will not prevent us from characterizing their revisionist improvisations, and showing that their attitude on the organization question is not disconnected from their petty-bourgeois conceptions in general, but simply a secondary expression of them.

Organization questions and organization methods are not independent of political lines, but subordinate to them. As a rule, the organizational methods flow from the political line. Indeed, the whole significance of organization is to realize a political program. In the final analysis there are no exceptions to this rule. It is not the organization—the party or group—which creates the program; rather it is the program that creates the organization, or conquers and utilizes an existing one. Even those unprincipled groups and cliques which have no program or banner of their own, cannot fail to have a political program imposed upon them in the course of a struggle. We are now witnessing an illustration of the operation of this law in the case of those people in our party who entered into a combination to fight against the "regime" without having any clearly defined political program of differences with it.

In this they are only reproducing the invariable experience of their predecessors who put the cart before the horse, and formed factions to struggle for "power," before they had any clear idea of what they would do with the power after they got it.

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 "Lovestonites." 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 Lovestonites 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 Lovestonites 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 most horrible case of all, with the most immeasurably tragic final consequences, is that of the "Anti-Trotskyist" faction in the Russian Communist Party. It is unquestionable that the Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev combination began its factional struggle against Trotsky without any clearly defined programmatic aim. And precisely because it had no program, it became the expression of alien class influences. The ultimate degeneration of the Stalinist faction, into a helpless tool of imperialism and a murderous opponent of the true representatives of the Russian revolution, is not, as our enemies say, the logical development of Bolshevism. It is rather the ultimate outcome of a departure from the Bolshevik-Marxist method of principled politics.

All proportions guarded, the degeneration of the Abern clique, from formal adherents to the program and doctrine of Marxism into factional supporters of revisionism, has followed the same pattern as the other examples cited. The present ideological and political hegemony of Burnham in the opposition bloc is the most 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. Burnham has a program of a sort. It is the program of struggle against the doctrine, the methods and the tradition of our movement. It was only natural, indeed it was inevitable, that those who combined with Burnham to fight against the "regime" should fall under the sway of his program. The speed with which Abern accomplished this transformation can be explained in part by the fact that he has had previous experience in ideological betrayal in the service of picky organizational ends, and in part by the fact that the social pressure upon our party is much heavier today than ever before. This pressure accelerates all developments.

## Trotsky Presents The Case for Revolution

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF KARL MARX, presented by Leon Trotsky. Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. 90c.

There will be no volume in the Living Thoughts Library more full of life than this condensed version of Marx's economic teachings as he expounded them in the first part of "Capital" and as they are applied to contemporary society by Trotsky.

In "Capital" Marx first explained the laws which govern the development of capitalist economy. These principles provide the scientific basis of the proletarian revolutionary movement for socialism.

Marx's method of historical materialism demonstrates its practical superiority over rival theories by its power of prediction. Have Marx's doctrines stood the test of time? In his introduction Trotsky essays to answer this question with particular reference to the development of American economy.

On the basis of the law of labor value, the prime regulator of capitalist economy, Marx predicted that free, progressive competitive capitalism would necessarily give way to reactionary monopolist forces in the latter stages of capitalist development. Today in every matured capitalist country we see monopoly capital ruling industry, finance, politics. In the United States where competition was freest and most extensive, monopoly capitalism has ascended to skyscraping heights. A few hundred interlinked wealthy families, owning over three-fifths of the national wealth, control the economic and political lives of 140,000,000 people.

### Predictions Ridiculed, But Come True

Alongside this unprecedented concentration of wealth a second prediction of Marx has been realized: "the theory of increasing misery." The growing impoverishment of the wage-earners, the expropriation of the agricultural workers, the army of permanent unemployed swollen each year by fresh legions of young recruits, the reduction of living standards demanded by war or the preparations for war—all these phenomena are living proofs of Marx's thesis that capitalism breeds misery for the masses in proportion as it enriches their plutocratic masters.

How many times have bourgeois economists and their echoers in the labor movement ridiculed Marx's statements concerning the decline of the middle classes! Here Trotsky points out how the concentration of capital has involved a steady diminution in the economic importance of the propertied middle strata and in their relative share of the national income. The "new middle class," which has arisen beside the old out of the growth of the technical professions, has even less claim to an independent economic and political position in present-day society. Where capitalism has been unable to eliminate middle-class elements, it has degraded them without limit. "The middle class is not proletarianized only because it is pauperized."

Crises, said Marx, were essential and inescapable phases of the cyclical movement of capitalist economy and could not be avoided under capitalist conditions. They would grow progressively worse, working greater havoc to the system. Not at all, retorted the apologists for capitalism, crises are simply symptoms of growth which would cease when capitalism reached maturity.

The crises that have shaken capitalism since the first world war, and especially since 1929, have decided that argument also in Marx's favor. The capitalist system lurches from one economic, political, social crisis, to the next—and its most devoted defenders no longer dare predict an end to these crises.

### War and Revolution

Marx not only foretold the catastrophic collapse of capitalism, now being enacted before our eyes. He also foresaw its end. The expropriators, we read on the last page of this book, would be expropriated by the popular masses who had everything to gain and nothing to lose. This prediction, positively realized by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, has been negatively confirmed by the inability of the capitalist class to find any enduring solution for its own problems.

Fascism and the New Deal, says Trotsky, are but two methods employed by capitalist reaction to stave off the inevitable socialist revolution. The murderous method of Fascism is first adopted by the poorer capitalist powers. New Dealism is the privileged policy of the rich aristocratic imperialisms, above all, that of the United States.

These alternative policies for the preservation of decaying capitalism reveal their common bankruptcy and insane barbarism in the second combat between the imperialist states for possession of the world.

To stop this senseless slaughter, to substitute a planned economy for the existing economic chaos, and to give mankind a fresh start, the working masses must, and will, learn to abolish private ownership of the means of production, first on a national and finally on a world scale.

Get workers interested in our movement to read this book. Here is the case for the socialist revolution brilliantly and briefly presented by the greatest living interpreter of Marxism.

## LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX

By LEON TROTSKY

can be obtained from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York, N. Y.



## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 18 Saturday, May 4, 1940

Published Weekly by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board:  
FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN  
General Manager:  
GEORGE CLARKE

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.  
Foreign: \$3.00 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,  
1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the  
Act of March 3, 1879."

### 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 raise 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 showed 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 revolutionists 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. tinge 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 Battersea, 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 U.S.A. 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 Greets—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 Higinnes 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 sitting 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, stiluses, 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 evacuating those gravely ill 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 "Hoovervilles".

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.