

The Forgotten Man



Dan Tobin Renews Demand for Labor Unity

TEAMSTER HEAD BLAMES LEADERS FOR DIVISION

Warns of Reactionary Attacks on Labor's Hard-Earned Rights

In a notable editorial appearing in the January issue of the Teamsters International Magazine, Daniel J. Tobin, President of the largest and most powerful union in the AFL calls upon the rank and file membership of both the CIO and the AFL to "rise up and demand" a complete cessation of hostilities between the two organizations.

"Less than one dozen men on both sides are responsible for the division of eight million workers. We are facing reaction against labor, and labor leaders are to blame."

"We have spent the greater part of our lives trying to enact legislation embodying in principle that contained in the Wagner Act. Isn't it pitiful to see men of labor down there in Washington before committees, disputing with each other over the provisions of this act, arguing with one another, hating each other?"

Calls For Mass Meetings

The editorial further asks the local unions to "make themselves heard at once, and continue to voice their disgust and disappointment and demand that labor come together. Mass meetings should be held everywhere and declarations made and forwarded not only to the leaders of labor but to the President of the United States."

Tobin, it will be recalled, sharply criticized the Padway report on the AFL policy concerning the Wagner Act at the 1938 convention and made strong plea for the resumption of peace negotiations between the AFL and the CIO.

Since the formation of the twelve-state North Central Area Committee two years ago and the subsequent organization of hundreds of thousands of over-the-road drivers, the Teamsters International has become the most powerful labor union in this country and probably — this is disputed by the miners — the largest. Tobin, for several years, has been the most consistent advocate of labor unity and is a candidate, it is believed, for the Presidency of the united labor organization.

Two Kinds of Unity

Tobin has been an ardent New Dealer and a close political friend of the White House. It is entirely possible that this new unity campaign was worked out in cooperation with President Roosevelt. Roosevelt is interested in seeing a united labor movement, not because it will help the workers to fight more effectively for their rights, but because it will aid him in integrating the labor movement behind the war machine.

The rank and file of both the AFL and the CIO should, however, take up this campaign to force through the resumption of negotiations for a united labor movement, with full rights of the industrial unions preserved, not to help out Roosevelt in his war drive but to strengthen the hand of labor and the effectiveness of the trade union movement.

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Lewis Playing With Dynamite In Building Trades Drive

By E. R. FRANK

The CIO drive in the building industry, started with so much noise and fanfare by John L. Lewis and his brother, A. D. Lewis, Chairman of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, may yet end as a minor disaster for the CIO.

Lewis is playing with dynamite. First, because he is invading an industry that is organized by the building trades unions, the most powerful and richest group of International unions in the AFL.

Secondly, because he is attempting to sign contracts with the building trades bosses by establishing lower hourly wages and poorer working conditions than prevail in the organized section of the industry at the present time.

Third, because he is enlisting the aid of and cooperating in the reactionary anti-union drive of Thurman Arnold and the Department of Justice.

FBI Snooper Hired

In last week's issue of the Socialist Appeal, we pointed out that Russell Turner Sr., an aide of Assistant Attorney General

Thurman Arnold, was appointed by Lewis to the staff of the U.C.W.O.C. and pointed out that this short sighted move constituted "a shameful violation of union solidarity."

The CIO News of January 8 seems to be all puffed up about this marvelous new acquisition to its organizing staff and with great pride points out that "for the past year Mr. Turner has been on the staff of the Justice Department where he took part in anti-trust law inquiries into the building trades."

CIO Features Prosecution

The same issue of the CIO News carries the following story in connection with the Construction Workers organization work in Washington, D. C.: "Several indictments of AFL officials are pending in Washington as a result of jurisdictional disputes and Justice Department agents are reported investigating the current tieup. [A strike of AFL laborers on the 12-story R.F.C. building structure.] The Department's theory is that these disputes are in restraint of trade

and hence illegal under the anti-trust statutes.

"Government officials have recently recognized jurisdictional strikes as a major factor in retarding the construction industry. Witnesses before the anti-monopoly Committee have offered sensational testimony showing the extent of craft union abuses in this industry."

A Suicidal Policy

The CIO News gives the unmistakable impression that it favors the insidious union busting campaign of the Department of Justice. It is either passively tolerating or actively cooperating in this campaign, which if successful would not only weaken and eventually destroy the AFL building trades unions, but the whole trade union movement of this country, CIO included.

It is the duty of all progressives in the CIO today to demand that Lewis call a halt to these suicidal policies and devote his time and energies to uniting both wings of the trade union movement, not pushing them further apart.

NY RELIEF ROLLS CUT TO SHREDS BY LA GUARDIA

(Continued from Page 1)

get it, according to Welfare Commissioner Hodson's own figures.

Reviewing four months (July through October), Commissioner Hodson reported that 120,000 people had applied to the relief bureau for assistance and that only 66,000 of these had been found "eligible." In his latest report to the Mayor, Commissioner Hodson boasts that the relief bureau spent \$1,200,000 less in the last few months than its budget called for. This "saving" came right out of the hides of the city's jobless.

There has been no improvement in the city's employment rate to justify this dropping from the rolls of 85,000 families and the refusal to take on others. The "war boom," feeble enough in providing jobs nationally, has been particularly unimportant in New York. Half the city's working population is engaged in personal service, trade and transportation — none of them occupations directly affected by war orders — and most of the other workers are in such occupations as printing and the garment industry.

Even if a family gets on relief, it now takes ten days to get "emergency relief" — "emergency" meaning the family is literally starving. Negro Harlem is especially discriminated against in relief, as in hospitals, schools, etc.

It is a frequent boast of New York's relief officials that relief standards here are as high as anywhere in the country. That is true. But what that means concretely is shown by these figures:

WPA wages — these are the relief "aristocrats" were cut this fall. Their now average about \$14 a week.

7c A Meal

But this is positively lavish compared to the budgets allowed by the Home Relief Bureau.

In New York City, financial nerve center of America and the richest city in history, a relief family of four is allowed 88 cents a day for food. This is a trifle over 7 cents a meal per person.

Such a family now gets about \$730 a year for all its expenses: ity, ice, medical care, carfare, food, clothing, rent, gas, electric, etc.

This is about a third of what the Federal government estimates is a "minimum health and decency budget." The exact figure set by the Bureau of four, is \$1,978.

Labor Statistics, for a family. The relief bureau budget is also less than the "emergency" budget which Mayor LaGuardia's own Committee on Unemployment Relief set up for a family of four. The "Emergency" figure was \$992.72. The Committee's normal budget for a family of four on relief was \$1,399.68, almost double the \$730 actually paid.

The Mayor's Committee recommended that both the food and rent allowances should be increased "at once." That was in 1935. The relief families are still waiting.

CIO Foresees 'Bitter Echo' To FDR War Budget

(Continued from Page 1)

ea unemployment and distress." Although business has reached 1929 levels, 10 million workers remain unemployed.

The CIO concludes by stating that it "will continue to call for more not less public works, until all the jobless have work at decent wages; for more adequate social and security services; and for advance and not retreat in legislation increasing government's responsibility and effectiveness in promoting the public welfare."

First CIO Attack

This marks the first official attack of the national CIO leadership upon the Roosevelt administration. Three months ago, John L. Lewis told the CIO convention at San Francisco that the President's War program "should be supported by the Congress and by the people and cavilling should cease." But the cavilling did not cease and today the CIO leadership is forced to reverse itself and begin a fight against the first fruits of the Roosevelt War Deal: a budget that provides a million less jobs than last year's inadequate budget.

Budget Hits CIO

The three million odd members of the CIO consist, in the main, of unskilled and semi-skilled mass production workers employed in the very nerve-centers of American economy: coal, steel, auto, glass, clothing, etc. They comprise in addition the most militant and aggressive section of American organized labor. By the very nature of their employment, they understand most consciousness and are most deeply affected by the war measures and anti-union moves of the Roosevelt

administration. The very existence of a standing army of ten million unemployed workers constitutes a terrible threat to their security and working conditions. The slashing of the budget for work relief is a direct blow to the maintenance of their wage scales and their union contracts.

That is why the present CIO leadership reacts so quickly and with such sensitivity to this brazen provocation of Roosevelt to throw an additional million workers out into the streets. Lewis and his advisors feel the hot breath of dissatisfaction and revolt on the part of millions of their members, and understand that they must act if they are to preserve their leadership.

Militant Action Needed

The CIO legislative program calls for the employment of three million workers on public projects; a work program to give all unemployed young people public employment; increase in old age pensions to \$60 a month at 60; increase in unemployment compensation benefits and expansion of the housing program.

Even this program, woefully inadequate as it is to meet the real needs that exist today among the "one third of the nation" that is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed; even this program will remain a dead letter, unless the rank and file membership begins an earnest fight to have the CIO, in cooperation with the AFL, inaugurate a great national campaign, relying on militant actions and labor demonstrations to force the U.S. Congress to stop wasting the people's money on guns, battleships and instruments of death and begin to feed the hungry and provide jobs for the unemployed.

CIO and AFL Officials Protest Mpls. Frameup

(Continued from Page 1)

ation of 162 residents of Minneapolis and St. Paul, charged with conspiracy to violate the relief act. The entire proceedings seem to be subversive of the true interests of justice and opposed to the letter and spirit of constitutional guarantees for a fair trial.

"The facts are relatively simple. During the recent WPA strike, Minneapolis WPA officials did not shut down the affected projects although the strike received overwhelming support in that city. Under such circumstances, the strikers and persons sympathetic to them began picketing that which took place in many other cities. On July 14, disorder on the picket line resulted in the death of one picket and the wounding of several bystanders and pickets after police had dispersed the picket line with bullets and tear-gas."

Perverts Law's Intent

"The indictments by a Federal grand jury took place soon afterwards, charging 162 persons with conspiracy to violate the relief act. It seems to us that the true purpose of the conspiracy clause

in the statute was to punish attempts to defraud and cheat the government; certainly, Congress did not intend that this statute be used against organized labor. Such an interpretation of the law would transform this Republic from a government of law to a government of men.

"Further, the number of people indicted reflects a kind of a witch-hunt rather than any true consideration of the facts involved. The insistence of the prosecution upon mass trials of as many as 25 persons at one time (a process more suited to the mockery than the respect of law) is prejudicial against the defendants since the jurors, who might recall only the more damaging evidence, will apply such alike to all the defendants involved.

"If any of the defendants have been guilty of any overt acts of violence, they are liable for these acts in the proper courts. It is inimical to our democracy that striking workers, engaged in peaceful picketing, are prosecuted under a Federal statute which was never intended to apply to such conduct and tried en masse, thus being refused a fair trial.

Local 544 Leaders Re-elected By 3-1

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 8.—In a two day election in which over 2,000 votes were cast—the largest vote in the history of the union—the leadership of General Drivers Union Local 544 was re-elected by three-to-one majorities.

It is the same leadership which conducted the famous drivers' strikes of 1934, which made Minneapolis, formerly an open-shop paradise, into the best organized city in the country. It also initiated the North Central Area Drivers Council which resulted in a twelve-state area contract for over-the-road drivers, covering hundreds of thousands of men.

Incumbents re-elected to the executive board were Carl Skoglund (president), Kelly Postal (secretary-treasurer), Miles Dunne, and Nick Wagner.

Ray Rainbolt was elected recording secretary to replace Grant Dunne, who declined reelection on account of illness.

RELIEF CRISIS IN DETROIT GROWS VERY ACUTE

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placed although the state took these cases over only two days ago. One mother and her child received a check for \$30.00 and in the same mail received a statement of rent due of \$25.00. What should she do? Should she pay the rent and have only \$5.00 with which to feed, clothe, and provide heat for herself and her child for one month? Should she refuse to pay the rent and face an eviction? This is the dilemma into which these mothers have been placed through no fault of their own. The first notice of eviction has already been received. Undoubtedly more will follow.

Labor Movement Acts

The first steps have been taken by the labor movement to combat this situation. Local 79 of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, CIO, the union of employees of the Detroit Welfare Department, at its membership meeting on January 2 passed a motion urging the CIO Industrial Council to immediately call a conference of all CIO locals and all other interested groups, to consider and organize action to combat this crisis.

This must be done at once. The importance of a struggle by the whole labor movement against relief slashes cannot be emphasized too strongly. Because of the seasonal nature of many Detroit industries, a period on relief is a regular part of the cycle of life for workers here. A militant fight now to prevent cuts in relief is the only assurance that there will be any relief at all in the future.

Part of National Crisis

The Detroit crisis is only part of the general relief crisis of the U.S. Everywhere relief is being slashed or done away with entirely. Drastic cuts in WPA and relief have, as their accompaniment, tremendous increases in the budget for war.

Progressive workers must fight for more than merely to retain the miserable relief dole which we have at present. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED must be made a key-slogan in this fight.

The program of demands in Congress now being carried in every issue of the Appeal must be part of every local fight for relief.

QUEENS JOBLESS BACKED BY LABOR GROUPS

(Continued from Page 1)

Among the endorsements received from organizations unable to get delegates down to this first meeting, were those from the Painters District Council of Queens and the Plasterers Union of Queens.

Program for Unemployed

A program was adopted, calling for a \$10,000,000,000 appropriation by Congress for work relief; the use of war funds for the benefit of the unemployed; several new relief stations for the borough of Queens, additional public hospitals, a \$50,000,000 slum-clearance and rehousing program for South Jamaica, and drastic improvement in local handling of relief cases.

Delegations to the conference voted to solidify the group into a permanent organization, to be known as the Queens Committee for Unemployment Relief and Progressive Legislation. Reverend Reule of the Ministerial Council was elected chairman. Also on the executive committee is Otto Popovich, well-known Queens unemployed leader.

Local Relief Demands

A specific program of improvement in local handling of relief cases—which Otto Popovich together with other delegates of the Unemployed and Relief Workers League presented personally to Borough President Harvey last week—was endorsed by the Queens Committee.

The borough president declared that he would take all points up with Commissioner of Welfare Hodson. The program includes:

(1) For the unemployed:

a. Relief for all needy in 72 hours. Emergency cases should be given aid within 24 hours.
b. A 40% increase in relief to make up for the rise in the cost of living caused in part by the real estate gouging and the World's Fair.
c. Monthly clothing allowance of \$5 for each adult and \$3 for each minor.

(2) For the WPA workers:
a. WPA workers newly assigned from the relief rolls shall not have their relief checks cut off before they have received their first full WPA check.

b. A \$50,000,000 program of WPA construction at union rates of pay in Queens.

Housing Project Policy

The Unemployed and Relief Workers League, in its immediate program, endorsed by the Queens Committee, also included policy with regard to the 448-apartment slum-clearance project rising in South Jamaica. The unemployed organization demands the rehousing of all tenant-families who formerly lived on the site; complete equality between white and Negro families in the allocation of available apartments; that is, 50% white and 50% Negro; and the inclusion of the same percentage of relief families in the project as live in South Jamaica, instead of the very small percentage of relief families normally admitted into government housing projects.

N.Y. Membership Meets Jan. 17

A Party membership meeting will be held on Wednesday, January 17, 1940, at 8 p.m. at the Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place.

Admission by membership card in good standing only. Members of the YPSL appearing with their cards, will also be admitted.

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Million Jobs Cut By War Budget

(Continued from Page 1)

tion the current improvement in business conditions."

Has he? The improvement has still left ten million without jobs. Are they all to live on the 1,350,000 WPA jobs provided by the budget? That means eight unemployed and their families for every WPA job!

But, Roosevelt went on, "there is reason to hope that a continued expansion of business would diminish relief requirements substantially."

Is that so? Where are the signs to show a continued expansion of business? Madame Perkins and the rest of the Roosevelt officials keep uttering optimistic pronouncements, but where are the facts?

The FACTS tell a very different story. The CIO research department, adding up the facts, this week reports that the business index "will recede substantially in the first quarter of the new year."

And not only the CIO reports this. All the bank and financial surveys report the same prospect. Here, for example, is the January, 1940, survey issued by the National City Bank of New York for its clients. Under the heading, "decline in production indexes expected," it says:

"Most observers expect that indexes of production will decline after December."

Roosevelt, of course, knows all this, with his superior sources of information, better than any of us. But to hell with the unemployed, says he, all money possible must go to prepare for war abroad.

And this is the man who got elected to the White House on the platform of "Federal responsibility for the unemployed!"

Even the most ardent supporters of Roosevelt up to yesterday, the CIO leaders, have come out against Roosevelt's war budget. It's as plain as day now that the alternatives for the unemployed are: FIGHT OR STARVE.

The mightiest force in existence is the united power of the workers, employed and unemployed. Together, by militant action, they can take every dollar now earmarked for the war machine and put it to work feeding and employing America's jobless.

WORKERS' FORUM

HOUSTON WORKERS SHOW ROAD TO ALL SOUTH Editor:

In a recent edition of the Appeal I read a very interesting letter in the Workers Forum from a worker in Memphis.

I realize there is a difference of conditions between Memphis and Houston, but each of the cities is heavily marked with Southern characteristics. Houston is not in any sense a paradise for workers. But in this district the workers have won privileges that have been denied in other cities.

1. We have been able to strike and maintain our picket lines without meeting direct strike-breaking force of the law enforcing agencies.

2. We have been able on several occasions to win strikes by secondary picketing of all places that were using products of strike-bound plants.

Press Is Anti-Labor

On the other hand, the daily papers have constantly carried anti-labor propaganda in their columns and have distorted labor news in every conceivable manner. On one occasion, for instance, the Houston Post carried a full-page advertisement for the 7-Up Bottling Co. while it was struck, and it included a statement that the 7-Up workers were not on strike, and also carried a picture of links on the job to prove that there was no labor trouble.

Shortly thereafter six of the company's seven trucks were demolished on the streets so that they were not in any shape to be of use; and before these trucks had been repaired, the company signed a closed shop contract with the strikers and agreed that no one would be prosecuted for the so-called violence. And this particular strike directly caused the signing of agreements with five other bottling companies.

Plague of Labor Skates

Of course, we have the Lewis and Green cliques here also, in the way of organizers and stooges. These self-esteem big-shots spend most of their time trying to show the men the advantages of the Labor Boards and the New Deal, how much better it is to negotiate, arbitrate and compromise than it is to have violent strikes. And while these big-shots are expounding their pacifist doctrines and preening their feathers, the rank and file have the job of doing the real organizational work, and they are beginning to see that these high-salaried labor skates are only a burden that we could easily do without.

Educate, Organize!

It is better that we educate ourselves in organization work so that the job may be done right. In spite of all the disappointments that Roosevelt and the labor fakers have brought about, the workers are far from being disheartened, and there seem to be great prospects for more real workers' action in Houston than we have ever known.

And especially we should make great efforts to organize the Negroes, for in the South they are a fountain of untapped power.

Memphis may be a tougher nut to crack than Houston, but no matter how tough the situation, there is always work that can be done. Organize if possible. If it is not possible to organize workers at the present time, in your district, you can keep agitating and explaining the injustices that are being done. What you tell the workers now may not seem to make an impression, but never fear, when the crisis comes, they will remember.

L. P.

Pasadena, Texas



NOTICE: The last issue of the Appeal was unavoidably delayed one day in mailing due to the fire that occurred in the National headquarters of the Party. This week's Appeal as well as future ones will be mailed out on Thursdays as customary.

Below is the list of new subscriptions obtained during the past week. We point out to all literature agents that this represents a low point in subs obtained in a one week period and urge all agents to renew their efforts to get new subscribers as well as renewals.

Is your branch making assignments to visit contacts and form-

mer subscribers?
NEW YORK CITY 3
PHILADELPHIA 3
Baltimore 2
Syracuse 1
Minneapolis 1
Akron 1
Newark 1
Toledo 1
Glen Ellyn, Ill. 1

Total: 14

Monthly branch statements are now being sent out to all branch literature agents. Please make sure to put consideration of these bills on your local branch agenda and send us in a substantial payment!

The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Stalinists are now whipping up a furious campaign on "Gone With the Wind." Their methods are an exact replica of the methods of the Moscow bureaucracy. When Stalin decides to shoot some thousands of Old Bolsheviks, or to denounce Germany (or to praise Germany), or to invade Finland, there suddenly appear in the Moscow press, letters, resolutions, exhortations, praising the particular move, extolling it as the highest wisdom, and pointing out that this is exactly what the Soviet workers have been waiting for. Similarly with the Communist Party in every country.

In its issue of January 5th, the *Daily Worker* prints nearly two columns of letters, of which the following quotation characterizes the tone: "Well, I simply can't hold it back any longer. Your excellent and Marxist handling of that smelly film 'Gone With the Wind' was a sparkling . . ." The whole Stalinist community, we are made to understand, is simply boiling with rage at the slanders against the Negro people embodied in the film.

Recalling Another Film!

"Gone With the Wind," however, is not the first film that deals with Negro conditions in the Old South, and a little knowledge will be sufficient to show that, behind all this noisy parade, the Stalinists, here as elsewhere, are deceiving the Negro people, and serving exclusively the interests of their paymasters in the Kremlin.

Some ten years ago, when the Moscow bureaucracy had not yet entirely broken with the revolutionary doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky, it invited some Negroes to Moscow to make a film which would depict lynching and the other features of Negro life in America. The company was selected and reached Moscow. American capitalism, however, realizes that, although it can deceive the people at home, it would be difficult for it to pose abroad as the friend of democracy, if its treatment of Negroes were exposed in so popular a medium as a film. Washington was at that time engaged in negotiations with Moscow over recognition of the Soviet Government, and Washington made it quite clear, that if the Russians made any such film it would be regarded as a serious obstacle in the way of an understanding.

The Moscow bureaucracy reacted in characteristic fashion. It capitulated before the capitalists. It sought to deceive and browbeat the workers. The Negroes who had gone to Moscow were told that it was impossible for the Soviet production studios to find time and room to make the film. When some of the Negroes protested, several attempts were made to frame them as drunkards, disorderly persons, etc. in order to discredit in advance any protest that they might make when they returned home. In all this the *Daily Worker*, that now cannot contain its rage at Hollywood's crimes, played its usual obedient and servile role as tout for the Kremlin's crimes.

Langston Hughes' Role

Among the Negroes who went to Moscow to help in the making of the film was Langston Hughes, the Negro poet. Hughes is one of the most pertinacious fellow-travelers of the Stalinists. He is, or was, vice-president of their stooge organization, the American Writers Congress. He has represented the Stalinist point of view at international congresses in Europe. Some of his works are published by Stalinist publishing houses. When the Moscow bureaucracy tried to impose its lies on the Negroes who had gone to Moscow to make the Negro film, Hughes accepted the "explanation" entirely and cooperated with the Moscow bureaucrats, to smash down the opposition of those who refused to accept this transparent lie.

But the Kremlin's policy changes, and with it changes everything, from the clothes the Stalinists wear to their attitude to Negro films. Not so long ago Hollywood wanted to produce a film on the Old South. This film, "Way Down South," portrayed the old Southern slaveowners as fine and gallant gentlemen, and showed the slaves as being contented with their slavery. One of the writers of the script was no other than Langston Hughes. Of this the Stalinists, who must have known it, had nothing whatever to say.

Now the line of the Kremlin changes once more. Their reviewer, Howard Rushmore, writes a review of "Gone With the Wind," which, in the opinion of this column, was infinitely less iniquitous than the actual preparation of a pro-slavery script. But the Stalinists become consumed with virtuous rage, dismiss him, and are now carrying on their phoney campaign. This deceives nobody who knows them.

"Rediscovered" Negro Question

In 1929 it was the policy of Moscow to carry on a vicious campaign against all capitalists, and every section of the labor movement that was not Stalinist. That was their notorious third period. In accordance with this line, they were prepared to make the film exposing American capitalism. As soon, however, as the capitalists gave any indication that they opposed K. the Moscow bureaucrats, as usual, capitulated. From 1934, on the other hand, they began their new policy of support to the "democracies" against the fascist imperialists. During this period, behind all their noisy talk, they capitulated on every front to what they called the "democratic forces."

Roosevelt was their hero, Eleanor Roosevelt their heroine, and their chief care was to penetrate as far as possible into those elements of capitalist "democracy" which they thought might be useful in furthering the alliance between America and Russia. They shoved the Negro movement as far as possible into the Negro National Congress.

With the Hitler-Stalin pact this "fourth period" came to an end. Stalin now wishes them to build as much opposition as possible in the camp of the "democracies" in order to assist the victory of the Hitler-Stalin camp. Therefore they rediscover the revolutionary instincts of the Negro people; they begin a great drive in Harlem. And they tear their hair and gnash their teeth at the crimes of "Gone With the Wind."

To conclude, the film is dangerous and must be exposed and boycotted. But infinitely more dangerous, and therefore to be exposed and boycotted to an infinitely greater degree, is this mischievous manipulation of Negro militancy in the interest of Moscow bureaucrats.

Some Pertinent History-Past and Present

"POOR LITTLE FINLAND"

By CHRIS ANDREWS

The German General Ludendorff advised his officers: "Finland is the lock to Russia. Give me the keys to Finland, and I will open the door to Russia."

For five weeks Stalin has been waging war against the Finnish state, seeking to conquer by arms what he could not obtain by negotiation—military bases in Finland which would give him control of the main sea entrances to European Russia and to Leningrad, second largest Soviet city. Stalin's invasion is a defensive measure in a military sense—his position will be much stronger if he can close "the lock to Russia."

The brutality and stupidity of Stalin's attack, the clumsiness of his campaign, have given the world bourgeoisie a long-awaited opportunity to attack the Soviet Union upon moral grounds. Day in and day out, their conscious agents and their unconscious lickspittles, from Herbert Hoover on the right to Norman Thomas on the left, have denounced "Communist imperialism," and praised "Finnish heroism, Finnish patriotism, Finnish democracy" ad nauseum.

It is necessary to consider—what is Finland? Is it a democracy? Do class lines exist in Finland? Are the reverses of the Red Army due to the methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy, or to the infuriated defense put up by the workers and peasants? Are the Finns a united people behind General Mannerheim? Do they have something to defend? Does the class struggle exist in Finland?

FINNISH HISTORY—THE BACKGROUND OF TODAY

The Finns were conquered by the Swedes and exploited by them for 700 years. The descendants of the Swedish rulers are still the ruling class today. They constitute only one tenth of the population, but are the vast majority of the ruling bourgeoisie. Many of them speak only Swedish and are ignorant of Finnish which is the language of the peasantry and the city proletariat.

In 1809 Finland was annexed to Russia by Tsar Alexander I, who left the local government in the hands of the Swedo-Finnish bourgeoisie.

The Industrial Revolution brought to the peasantry of Finland the same horrors as in England—so powerfully described by Marx in "Capital". Their common land was ruthlessly seized by the landlords; they became landless laborers. Some fled to

the exploitation of the city; the others became the helpless victims of the landed gentry, and lived in squalor and misery. Without liberties, without unions, without regulations of labor, for a Finnish peasant, bound to his landlord, a sixteen hour day was the rule—not the exception.

From a social basis of such misery a new political force, the Social Democratic Party, finally emerged by 1902 and grew rapidly. It became also the party of the rural poor. On the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1905, the Swedo-Finnish ruling class revealed their impotence when they were unable to take advantage of the events to strike out toward independence from Tsarist Russia. The city and agricultural workers demonstrated the true weight of the proletariat in the modern state—through their party they declared an all-inclusive general strike. The Tsar capitulated and all the reforms asked were granted.

THE BOLSHEVIKS OF FINLAND

The Social Democrats advanced rapidly and by 1916 the class struggle in Finland had reached such a high level, the rural and city proletariat had become so politically mature, that in spite of the obstacles of the bourgeois parliamentary system, the Social Democrats got 103 seats in a Diet of 200, the only Socialist Party in the world ever to receive a parliamentary majority.

The workers and peasants then received an object lesson in class rule. The bourgeoisie prevented the assembling of the Diet.

In 1917 the revolutionary movement in Russia and Finland moved along parallel lines, with the Bolshevik section of the Finnish Social Democratic Party even pressing ahead of their Russian comrades. Kerensky threatened the Finnish Soviets with military action and denied them independence. Lenin advocated their right to independence; he had the highest admiration for the Finnish proletariat, and knew they would not break from a Bolshevik Russia.

Of this period, Trotsky writes in his "History of the Russian Revolution": "Finland became from the first a thorn in the flesh of the February regime. Thanks to the bitterness of the agrarian problem, in Finland a problem of 'torpans'—that is, small enslaved tenants—the industrial workers, although comprising only 14 per cent of the population, carried the rural population with them."

By September 1917 the Finns

were in open military opposition to the Kerensky regime. "Essentially the Bolsheviks had here already established a dictatorship of the Soviets in Finland," writes Trotsky.

On January 27, 1918 the class struggle in Finland entered its highest point with the outbreak of the proletarian insurrection. Let a bourgeois historian, J. Hampdon Jackson, describe it: "... the struggle of January to May 1918 stands out as a Civil War of Finns against Finns, the old Finland of yeoman farm owners and pastors, led by the Swedish-speaking educated classes, against the proletariat of the towns helped by the landless peasants. It was fought with the terrible brutality which is peculiar to class conflicts."

The detailed story of this proletarian tragedy has been faithfully told in Victor Serge's account, reprinted in the *Socialist Appeal* of Dec. 9, and Dec. 16, 1939. The bourgeoisie had prepared their White Guards under General Mannerheim, the same butcher who commands the Finnish army today. They received arms and supplies from England, financial support from the United States, and the Germans sent a whole army corps to intervene against the workers. The Russian Bolsheviks were beaten back, the Finnish Red Guards cut off and overwhelmed after heroic resistance.

Of 100,000 prisoners, men and women, taken by the bourgeoisie, they executed at least 15,000 in cold blood, and allowed 15,000 to 20,000 more to die of starvation and disease in their concentration camps—all this in a country of only 3,500,000 people. This is the documented record.

Hoover Whoops It Up For 'Holy War' In Finn Drive

Anti-Labor Forces Turn Out En Masse Backing Appeal for "Poor Little Finland"

By HAROLD SWANSON

MINNEAPOLIS—At a meeting assembled in the municipal auditorium here Dec. 29, Herbert Hoover launched his "Help Finland" fund drive. To the blare of drums and the strains of martial music, amid yards of colorful bunting and flowing streamers, accompanied by a lot of flag-waving, the meeting proved to be a propaganda device to whip up sentiment for a holy war against the Soviet Union.

Anti-Labor "Humanitarians" Hoover, as national chairman of the fund, played the leading role in this farce, ably seconded by a supporting cast of other politicians and lackeys of the bosses. There was Governor Stassen, of Anti-Labor-Bill fame, Mayor Leach, whose cops shot unarmed WPA strikers in the streets last summer, and the renegade, Senator Shipstead, who cast the determining vote in the Senate which cut the last relief appropriation.

Chairman of the meeting was Charles Bolles Rogers, treasurer of the Van Dusen-Harrington Co., grain firm. Patrons and patronesses of the cause include about seventy families of the upper

crust. Among them may be found members of the Associated Industries, citadel of the organized anti-labor forces of this city; publishers of the daily swindle sheets, and high-salaried sky-pilots, besides leaders of Scandinavian-American patriotic groups. These "humanitarians" have fought every progressive movement of the working class in this area. In the famous Teamster's strikes of 1934, not one of them lifted a finger of protest when "Bloody Mike" Johannes, police chief, murdered unarmed strikers. Now they are all yelling for the conviction of the 162 WPA strikers who have been indicted.

Recall Hoover's Record

When the veterans came to Washington to demand their bonus payment, Hoover dispersed them with tear gas. He condemned millions of the unemployed to starve while he poured billions of dollars down the rat-holes of insolvent banks and defunct corporations. As food administrator during the war, we remember him best for the meatless, wheatless days, and the high prices of sugar and butter. In and out of the presidency he is part and parcel of the govern-

ment of the murder and imprisonment of its leaders. The bourgeoisie has therefore found it possible to permit parliamentary activity—but not to the revolutionists. The Bolsheviks of the Social Democratic Party left it to become Communists—and were outlawed. The Social Democrats remain legal; for that party is directed by the housebroken reformists.

Under Finnish "democracy" there has been a continued and brutal repression of the elementary rights of the workers. The Socialist Workers Party was organized by 1920 and at once assumed control over the trade union movement. It affiliated itself to the Comintern and was immediately banned; 20 of its leading members being condemned to long prison terms. Nevertheless, in 1921 (campaigning under another name) the party received 128,000 votes, 14.5 of the total.

In response to peasant agitation, the bourgeoisie presented a farcical "land reform" program. For the land the landowners gave up, they received government bonds bearing 7% interest, which the peasants had to pay back to the government. A large section of the rural poor, "cottagers" (5 acres) maximum, had to pay 9% interest. The bourgeoisie stated that the "cottagers" could pay extra interest as they worked in the lumber camps in the winter time and had cash.

In the agitation against this infamous scheme, the Communists played a leading role. With no compunctions about "democracy" the governing class silenced the protests in 1923 by arresting 140 leading members of the Party, including the 21 legally elected members of the Diet. More than 400 years of imprisonment were dealt to them. But in 1924, with a new party name, the Communists managed to receive 11.6 of the votes. And in spite of persecution, evading the ban by setting up a legal front under another name, in 1929 they were receiving almost 15% of the votes.

(Continued next week)

ment of the Sixty Families, which holds in oppression the Philippines, the Hawaiians, the Cubans, the Puerto Ricans, the Samoans, the Liberians, and exercises economic domination over Latin and South America. How much consideration has he ever manifested for the millions of underpaid workers in America, or the slow-starving sharecroppers of the deep South, or the Okies—the Dust Bowl victims—right in his own back yard?

Rest assured, however, that not all of the people at the meeting swallowed this pious fraud without a grain of salt. The renegade, Shipstead, made a reference to Germany's aid to capitalist Finland against the revolution twenty years ago. It wasn't much and it wasn't clear, but a ripple of applause greeted the remark, that must have given the fat boys a bit of a twinge! And there are any number of Finnish immigrants in these parts who recall with a chill what conditions were like in the Finland from whose shores they departed not so many years ago. They know full well that the workers have had to fight every inch of the way against the Mannerheims.

Oakland Leader Gets Death Threat

OAKLAND, California—Ailene Saturely, one of the most active figures in the militant Federal Unemployed Union here, received an anonymous letter threatening her life, postmarked in Oakland Dec. 27.

The letter, consisting of words and letters cut out of newspapers and pasted together, reads:

"Get out of the union before it's too late. You had a TASTE of what happens to REBELS. Don't count on your Trotsky friends."

The reference to a "taste" shows that the sender of the note was involved in the attempted kidnapping and blackjacking of Mrs. Saturely in July, 1938. In view of the whole past record of the case, her associates in the union have persuaded Mrs. Saturely to notify all labor papers of the situation in order as far as possible to publicize the facts and thus hamper those whom they believe responsible for threatening her: the Stalinists.

Here is the record:

Fought Stalinist Betrayals

1. Mrs. Saturely, mother of two grown children, joined the Public Works and Unemployed Union in

Oakland early in 1935 when she first received relief. She soon became known as an active militant in the struggle for better conditions for the unemployed and as a fighter against the Communist party machine which ruthlessly controlled that union. In the fall of 1935 she and fifteen other workers resigned from the PWU because of the betrayals of the unemployed by the Stalinists.

2. That winter the PWUU was dissolved into the newly-formed Workers Alliance. A bookbinder by trade, Mrs. Saturely got a job on the WPA project, and immediately joined the new union. She was the first worker on her project to join and helped organize the project. In April, 1936, there was a WPA strike and Mrs. Saturely became known as a real fighter on the picket line. She fought the Stalinists and they began a two-fold campaign against her. On the one hand they tried to win her to join the CP, on the other hand they began a campaign of slander and threats against her.

3. Following the strike Mrs. Saturely became the center of a fight for democracy in the union.

The Stalinists increased their threats. In July, 1938, Mrs. Saturely was kidnapped by a man she had never seen, and at the point of a knife taken from the corner of 12th and Clay St. to a house near the corner of 14th and Linden. Outside the house she broke loose. Her kidnapper beat her with a blackjack but she managed to break away and fled. At the hospital where she was treated the police were called to investigate. Recognizing her as a militant union organizer, they demanded names of union members. She refused and the police gave up the investigation.

4. Prior to and after this blackjacking, Mrs. Saturely was "advised" by "friends" to abandon the struggle against the Stalinists. Her car was tampered with frequently, eavesdroppers kept watch on her, her rooms were searched, etc.

Given Moscow Trial

5. Finally in June, 1939, the Communist party machine gave her a typical Moscow trial in the union (the *Socialist Appeal* reported the story at that time). She was charged as a Trotskyist,

disrupter, etc., and was given no opportunity to answer the charges. Following the trial, the Youth Local of the Workers Alliance was also expelled, for introducing an anti-war program. Hundreds of workers from all locals in the East Bay either resigned or just walked out of the Alliance.

6. The Federal Unemployed Union was then organized with the aid and leadership of Mrs. Saturely and began to grow. The Workers Alliance, on the other hand, has dwindled to almost nothing in the East Bay where it was once very strong.

Guarded By Union Members

7. Union members are on constant guard at Mrs. Saturely's house. On the night of Dec. 27, while the union member on guard was away, a man attempted to get into the house. He failed. The next day the threatening note arrived.

Since the GPU rats dread the light of day, exposing this in the labor press may save Mrs. Saturely. The Federal Unemployed Union intends to issue a leaflet for distribution through the East Bay to safeguard Mrs. Saturely.

Lovestone Shows Norman Thomas How to Do It

By FELIX MORROW

When, three months ago, the Norman Thomas Socialists and the Lovestone group voted with the American Labor Party leaders for a pro-Ally resolution on foreign policy, we predicted: they are taking the road to "democratic" patriotism. Verification of our prediction has come quickly enough; General Thomas and Colonel Lovestone are now enrolled in the American Expeditionary Force for Finland.

The social and ideological roots leading to this course did not of course, begin three months ago. The interested reader may find a critical history of the development (degeneration) of these groups by reading the polemics in the *Trotskyist* press against them at each stage of the last ten years. Even well-disposed readers of our press felt at times (I suspect) as they read these polemics, that there was in them a good deal of hair-splitting. The dismembered hair turns out, however, to be No Man's Land, with the contending groups in opposing trenches. They wear the uniform of capitalist intervention, we the uniform of the Red Army. Not a small difference.

Their Crushing Answer to Us

Thomas-Lovestone have a crushing reply to us: you are in the Red Army of Stalin. We have already answered that charge, not once, but thousands of times in the last ten years. Our fundamental starting point on the Russian question has been a basic distinction between the Soviet Union and the Stalinist bureaucracy. The economic conquests of the October revolution are the Soviet Union. The parasitic growth upon it of a degenerate bureaucracy is a fact which we Trotskyists analyzed and fought during many years when Thomas-Lovestone called us, as a consequence, anti-Soviet. To save the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy must be overthrown by a political revolution, arms in hand. But overthrown by the workers, and not by capitalist intervention. Against the capitalist world, we defend the Soviet Union. This has been our position consistently during the last years, and Thomas-Lovestone never dreamed of calling us allies of Stalin. Before they could make that charge, they had to go over bodily to the opposite trenches.

Thomas Was A Bit Hasty

Our standpoint is based, we repeat, on a fundamental distinction between Soviet economy and the Stalinist bureaucracy. Can Thomas-Lovestone suggest a similar fundamental distinction between Finnish economy and the Finnish bourgeoisie, as a justification for supporting the Finnish puppets of Chamberlain-Daladier-Roosevelt? Thomas seems to have sought such a distinction, with the result that the *Socialist Call* printed some weird fairy tales, in editorial form, about the economic paradise in which the Finnish workers and peasants live. There was a rather abrupt cessation of those editorials, however; maybe somebody read off to Thomas the League of Nations statistics on Finnish land ownership.

This is an old problem for "socialist" patriots—how to make a distinction between themselves and the capitalists when both are united in war aims. Much ingenuity was exercised on this problem during the first World War by the Social Democrats in distinguishing themselves from the Kaiser, Poincare, Lloyd George, etc.

Lovestone's "Clever" Formula

It must be readily conceded that Lovestone is far more clever at this game than Thomas. The *Socialist Call* rushed headlong into a series of indiscretions which it is now trying to cover up; while the *Workers Age* preserved a sly silence until a skillful formula could be found. That formula has finally been worked out and is presented in an editorial in the latest *Workers Age* (January 6). We give its salient portions:

"... we stand with the Finnish masses in their heroic fight to beat back the invader . . . We say frankly that we do not trust the Finnish government; we do not regard it as a reliable, steadfast champion of Finnish independence. The present ruling elements in Finland are bound very closely to the British Foreign Office, and to the British Foreign Office Finland is simply a pawn in the game of imperialist diplomacy. British diplomacy sacrificed Czechoslovakia to Hitler; a few weeks ago it offered to make a deal with Stalin at the expense of half of Poland. Who knows what intrigues are now being carried on by the agents of Downing Street at the expense of the Finns. No group in Finland that is so closely linked up with the British Foreign Office as are the bourgeois ruling circles of that country can be fully trusted to defend Finnish independence to the last."

A clever formula. It enables Lovestone to speak harshly about the Finnish bourgeoisie (whereas Thomas made the mistake of presenting them as housebroken), to characterize them as puppets of the imperialists (which Thomas had denied), and to "demand" that labor aid Finland "independently" of Hoover, a clever formula—but only for those who are seeking such formulas.

Lovestone Sets His Demands

For note its internal logic. The Finnish bourgeoisie cannot be trusted. Therefore overthrow them? Don't defend their Finland, but only a socialist Finland? Not a bit of it, says Lovestone: by all means defend bourgeois Finland. What he doesn't trust the bourgeoisie to do is just that—defend bourgeois Finland. He's afraid they will surrender to Stalin, as the Czechoslovaks surrendered to Hitler, at British insistence.

Suppose the British Foreign Office reassures Lovestone that it has no such intention. Suppose it gives him guarantees, by sending a fleet through the Dardanelles to strike through Odesa and another through Siberia. With such reassurance—and it appears to be coming—Lovestone will have no further reservations to make concerning the wholeheartedness of his alliance with the Finnish bourgeoisie.

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty—\$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Two of a Kind

The Stalinists are among those most directly responsible for the million-job cut in the Roosevelt budget. It is a question whether Roosevelt could have dared do it without their pro-Roosevelt propaganda in the labor movement during the last four years, their conversion of the Workers Alliance into a company union serving Roosevelt, their deliberate lying to cover up his anti-labor acts. To what lengths they went in the service of Roosevelt can be seen—to mention but one instance—by reading the "reports" in the *Daily Worker* during last summer's nation-wide WPA strike. All of Roosevelt's own acts, they laid at the door of the "Tories." Now they are shedding crocodile tears that Roosevelt has gone over to reaction. It is obvious to the naked eye, however, that if tomorrow Roosevelt beckons a finger to Stalin, the Stalinists will go back to singing his praises and covering up his war against the unemployed.

The Stalinist system of lying is a revolting spectacle. It is not, however, limited to Stalinists. Witness, for example, the behavior of the Social-Democrats, who hold themselves to be at the opposite pole from the Stalinists. They are distinguished from the Stalinists in their devotion to truth—they say. Here is the kind of truth they peddle, in an article dealing with Roosevelt's address last week to Congress:

"It's no secret that the editors of the *New Leader* think Roosevelt one of the greatest leaders this nation has produced, despite his party affiliation. But one man doesn't make a movement; one man's idealism, one man's striving for the 'one third of a nation' doesn't feed, clothe, and house the millions of jobless. Roosevelt has done a good job. He has revolutionized, to a degree, the American philosophy of government. He has set progressive standards of public relief, labor relations, public health and housing, from which even the ebullient G.O.P. hopefuls can't retreat.

"But it isn't enough. He has been sabotaged by his own party, and the men of other parties who were elected to care for the people during the thirties." (*New Leader*, January 6).

Such is the comment, of a paper which calls itself socialist, on a speech in which Roosevelt served notice that he was taking the lead in cutting down relief, a speech supplemented by specific figures the next day wiping out a million jobs on WPA and PWA! Can one put it down to a lack of understanding, to a process of honest mistakes? No! No more than one could find a drop of honesty in the Stalinist whitewash of Roosevelt or their present line.

The war-mongering editors of the *New Leader* and the labor skates they serve, like their brothers in the Second International in Britain, France and Belgium, are part of the war machine. For the sake of a few crumbs from the table of the "democratic" capitalists—crumbs which go to these labor "leaders" and a thin strata of the aristocracy of labor, but of which the vast majority of the slaves in the British, French and American empires are deprived—these scoundrels are doing what they can to put the workers in uniform and keep them quiet and obedient in the trenches. To do that requires systematic lying about the realities of "democracy." From this well of conscious corruption comes this latest lie in the *New Leader*.

We beg to be excused from the impossible task of deciding which is worse, a Stalinist or a Social Democrat, Earl Browder or Louis Waldman. The fact is, they are two of a kind.

Stalin's Friends

The "Friends of the Soviet Union" have silently folded their tents and melted away into the shadows of the past.

They claimed to number millions, only a few months ago. Loudly down the years they paraded, one after another, the swiftly changing slogans of their master in the Kremlin. They proclaimed themselves the stoutest defenders of Stalin's brutal purge and the witchcraft trials.

Now of a sudden they are gone. How and when they departed no one knows. Where and by what vote and for what reasons they dissolved themselves, no one knows. Their liquidation came to light just like the many "liquidations" they hailed in Moscow. It was casually announced in a statement about something else to the press by their chairman, Corliss Lamont, gift of the Sixty Families to the Kremlin.

In the course of a statement apropos of the Dies Committee, Lamont said: "The American Friends of the Soviet Union, practically dormant as a national organization since 1936, actually went out of existence some time ago."

That was all. Just like the little paragraphs in Stalin's newspapers announcing that such and such a commissar or vice-commissar was not coming to his office anymore.

What has happened to these "friends" at a time when Stalin needs friends as never before? What has happened to all the hoarse professors, the Park Avenue pinks, the Fifth Avenue Fellow Travelers who filled the vociferous cheering section when the Kremlin Caesar turned his wolves loose on the last remnants of the old Bolshevik Party? Where today are all these writers of resolutions, signers of telegrams, these sitters in soft seats who were to be the bulwark of the Soviet land against those who traduced and attacked it?

They are gone, all gone in a great passing of wind, gone with the "friends" of the Vincent Sheehan stripe. Anybody who troubles to look into the crowded compound of liberals, pacifists, fakers, liars, cowards who have rushed with the war back into the folds of their capitalist masters will find all Stalin's "friends" there. There, after all, is where they always belonged. Having cheered when Stalin dealt blows at the October revolution, they are ready to cheer now as the capitalist world gets ready to strike both at Stalin and what remains of the October revolution.

And these were the people who had the effrontery to call us enemies of the Soviet Union! We answered them: we would defend the real Soviet Union—the economic conquests of October—against Stalin and against the capitalist world, including Stalin's "friends." When the test came, we said, we would be found at our posts while the "friends" would have fled to the enemy. It has happened.

CRUDE, BUT CLEAR ENOUGH

Under the title "A Hint to the Rich," an editorial in the *New York World Telegram*, Dec. 20, appealed for funds for Finland:

"We want in this connection to point out a very practical proposition:

"Those who have been loudest in their hate of communism have been the ones who have the most to lose. Now is the time for them to show their sentiments."

"For the rich this is something in the nature of a bargain. They can get more than a dollar for every dollar subscribed."

"A word to the wise and a hint to the rich are sometimes sufficient. And as an insurance proposition for the rest of the world Finnish Relief, Inc., looks the best in our lifetime."

De Valera-Turncoat

The English haven't had to send new Black and Tan contingents to Ireland so far, because this time they've got De Valera working for them.

Having taken his pieces of silver from his English masters, the present-day head of the Irish government is turning on his former comrades of the Irish Republican Army with nothing less than Black and Tan savagery.

With the aid of a hysterical campaign seeking to tar the I.R.A. fighters with the Nazi brush—(de Valera himself was called an "agent of the Kaiser" the last time)—de Valera has put through the Dail a law authorizing imprisonment without trial for any persons whose liberty is deemed injurious to the safety of the State. What else did the Black and Tans try to enforce?

De Valera's police, cheered on by the Cosgrave "opposition," are hunting down members of the I.R.A. and all known friends and sympathizers of the struggle for Irish freedom. De Valera's challenge has been taken up by his former comrades, and days of struggle in the midst of a European war are ahead once more in Ireland.

De Valera is teaching the bold revolutionists of Ireland—had they need to learn it?—that compromise with England will never make their country free. It is our fervent hope that they will also learn in this struggle that they will never win that freedom in isolated skirmishes, however daring or audacious, or by bomb, grenade, rifle, and machine gun alone. When they rally the workers of all Ireland behind them in open, united, mass struggle, they will find the path to victory.

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

What Happened to the
Workers Alliance?

As the Roosevelt-Woodrum-Bricker-LaGuardia drive against the unemployed shifts into high, as federal, state and local relief standards are forced down to ever more subhuman levels, many of the unemployed are no doubt wondering what hit the Workers Alliance. How can it be that a once-militant union like the Alliance has collapsed so miserably?

For an excellent brief description of what has happened to the Workers Alliance we have only to go to Herbert Benjamin, who has been for years the Stalinist power behind the throne of Alliance president David Lasser. Writes Comrade Benjamin, in an article on "The Unemployed Movement in the U.S.A.":

"The great masses are still subject to the illusion that some easy and 'painless' way can be found of solving their urgent problems. Opportunist elements cater to these illusions. . . . They encourage the workers to believe that mass action is unnecessary, that the leaders can induce relief authorities to improve relief standards and eliminate abuses. In place of mass action they employ more or less friendly negotiations between unemployed leaders and relief officials, who are quite willing to encourage this kind of relationship because they realize that it will undermine the power of the unemployed organization. . . . The membership is deprived of its initiative, its militancy is vitiated, illusions are promoted, and its leadership becomes corrupted."

Comrade Benjamin is not "confessing." He wrote these words in *The Communist* for June, 1935. The history of the Workers Alliance—a history he himself is largely responsible for—bears out word for word the accuracy of his analysis. No, Comrade Benjamin is not "confessing"—but can he put off the day much longer?

Socialism Comes to Finland

For weeks now the *Daily Worker* has been reporting Red Army victories in Finland, victories which have been suppressed by the rest of the press. So, too, with the advance of socialism into Finland behind the tanks of the Red Army. Of the giant strides towards Stalin-socialism reported by the *Daily Worker* day after day, not a word in the *N. Y. Times*. But now at last a stride has been made that is so gigantic that even the lying bourgeois press doesn't dare to suppress it.

It seems that on December 11, 1939—historic date!—the inhabitants of the Finnish village of Karku assembled and elected a "committee of the Working People's Front in Karku." (*The Times* does not specify just where Karku is, but we may assume, considering the progress of the Red Army, that it is fairly close to the border.) This was no paper organization. At once the Working People's Front swung into action. Boldly, it took over the goods of a local trading company and, after making a careful inventory of them, it proclaimed—a reduction in the price

of matches from 2 marks to 1½ marks. Nor did the Working People's Front stop there in its headlong rush towards socialism. It marked salt down from 2½ to 1½ marks, and slashed the price of coffee from 20 to 16 marks a pound.

This revolutionary action—coming dangerously close to outright expropriation—was in line with the equally daring program of Comrade Kuusinen's "Finnish People's Government." It is true the Kuusinen regime felt it prudent to proclaim their respect for private property. (After all, they're respectable bureaucrats, not adventurists and putschists.) But they didn't hesitate to raise such revolutionary demands as the eight hour day and even vacations with pay. Nor can Comrade Kuusinen be blamed if these particular demands happen to have been won, years ago, by the Finnish labor unions. He hasn't been in Finland for a long time.

But it must be admitted that Comrade Kuusinen made a bad mistake when he omitted from his revolutionary program any reference to collective farming. He had excellent reasons for this omission: he thought the Finnish landlords wouldn't like it. But nonetheless it turns out to have been a bad tactical error. For now, according to the *N. Y. Times* of Jan. 5, the Mannerheim-Tanner regime is expected to introduce "the Russian collective farm system" itself in order to prosecute the war more successfully.

Discouraging days for Comrade Kuusinen, whose revolutionary program turns out to be lagging behind not only the Finnish labor fakers but even behind the Finnish bourgeois government itself. But anyway, matches now cost ½ mark less in Karku.

Correction

Towards the end of last week's column this amazing statement occurred: "The handful of families at the top, those with incomes of over \$10,000 a year (more than half the total number of families in the country) actually spend more each year than their incomes. . . ." This should read: "The handful of families at the top, those with incomes of over \$10,000 a year, save half their income, while all families with \$1,000 or less income (more than half the total number of families in the country) actually spend more each year than their income", etc., etc.

A Little Anthology of War
Poetry, No. 2

The British Broadcasting Company recently broadcast to the Empire a new war song, which goes as follows:

Run Adolf, run Adolf; run, run, run;
Look what you've been gone and done, done,
done;

We will knock the stuffing out of you,
Field Marshal Goering and Goebbels too.
You'll lose your place in the sun, sun, sun;
Soon you poor dog, you'll get none, none
none.

You will flop with Herr von Ribbentrop.
So run Adolf, run Adolf; run, run, run.
The title of this song, according to the British Broadcasting Company, is "Run, Adolf, Run."

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

News Briefs from France

By a decree issued November 15, working hours are increased to 72 per week, with a maximum of 14 hours set per day. For women and children, the limit is set at 60 hours per week and 10 hours per day!

It must be remembered, in addition, that the lengthening of the work week and day doesn't at all make for a larger pay envelope. Through a complicated system of overtime-pay-taxes and wage-taxes, the essential features of which we described in a previous column, the French worker now gets the same pay for 60 hours of work that he received for 40 hours before the outbreak of the war.

Strikes are, of course, outlawed. But, more than that, revisions in wage rates can be made only by government decree.

The shop steward system has been abolished. The men can no longer elect their representatives. They may be represented only by officials of the "loyal" trade unions—that is, unions that have been purged, with police aid, of all "non-conformist" elements.

The difference in working conditions under the French "democracy" and the Nazi dictatorship is practically at the vanishing point.

We mentioned here last week that the agitation of the bourgeois "pacifists" like Flandin, de Monzie and Bonnet is tolerated by the government. The same situation holds true, we learn, also for the Paul Faure wing of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.). It must be remembered that Paul Faure hailed the "Munich" peace. On the other hand, the Leon Blum wing of the party, although completely patriotic, is being harassed by the authorities. Some of its most prominent members are being sent to the front. Blum was, of course, militantly "anti-Munich." All of which would seem to indicate that the Daladier regime, on the fence most of the time, is at the least leaving the door open towards the conclusion of a truce with Germany, in order to direct its guns elsewhere.

Troubles of the British Empire

Latest to stir rebelliously against the Union Jack are the lowly Lascars, those native East Indian seamen who are the backbone of British shipping in the Far East.

The Lascars are simply walking off the ships when they reach ports which seem to them to be approaching the war zone. They are intent not to shed one drop of blood for the Empire.

Thus, in Sydney, Australia, Lascar crews who had quit refused 100 per cent increases in pay and preferred to remain on the beach. The government had to import, by airplane from Calcutta, a certain Khan Bahadur Fazlul Karim—a native "strong" man—to break their resistance. However, he has met only with partial success. Despite his presence, a Lascar crew held a public demonstration in Sydney at the end of November, declaring its firm intention to stay out of the war and demanding relief pending repatriation to India.

"There is no doubt in my mind," Mr. Fazlul explained to the Australian press, "that powerful influences have been at work somewhere to prevent the Lascars from going about their duties in the ordinary way. . . . We must not forget that it was they, largely, who kept the sea routes open by serving loyally in the Great War."

Can it be that the experience resulting from "serving loyally"—the continued enslavement of India—has something to do with the "powerful influences" at work?

Under pressure from the labor ranks, who have en masse defeated the government's voluntary recruiting drive, the Australian Labor Party has officially gone on record against conscription and "against the despatch of forces overseas." The leaders of the party are having difficulties, steering a course of social patriotism in which they cannot go the whole hog.

"Wheatgrowers in Victoria and Western Australia say they are determined not to deliver their wheat unless the Commonwealth government agrees to increase the guaranteed price."—item in the *Sydney Herald*.

The farmers are falling in line with what appears to be a pretty definite movement to give the British rulers a pack of headaches.

Labor Looks Through
The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

William S. Knudsen of General Motors says: "The place of America today, the American Standard of Living, depends more on the skill of our mechanics than any other class." That's why, no doubt, the mechanics—Knudsen's auto workers, for instance—don't get the American Standard of Living.

Said the late Edward A. Filene, multi-millionaire Boston merchant: "Why shouldn't the American people take half my income away from me? I took it all away from them!"

A bedbug doesn't reach maturity until it has taken five bites out of a human being. And a boss doesn't start getting rich until he has at least five persons working for him.

King George VI is delaying his visit to Durbar, India, to be crowned emperor because the way the Indians are acting up, he doesn't quite know how they'll do it. Some of his Indian subjects not only have invited him to come, but have dared him. They want to crown him, all right.

PEACE LOVER

The United States government has landed its troops on foreign soil on more than 100 occasions during the past 115 years.

Their Government
Roosevelt's War Budget
For Whose Defense?

Politicians ordinarily use key words not so much to describe clearly what they mean as for the sake of the feelings the words arouse. Imagine, for example, what a difference it would make in the public attitude if armament expenditures in the budget were listed under the title, "Imperialist Aggression," instead of "National Defense."

Now the funds for armaments which Roosevelt has proposed for the fiscal year 1940-41 are worth thinking about. \$1,800,000,000 are included for the "regular" expenses of the army and navy, \$272,000,000 are asked as an emergency deficiency appropriation for this year; and \$302,000,000 for "emergency" items during the coming fiscal year. These, totalling the colossal sum of \$2,374,000,000, only begin to indicate the true burden of war on the community.

Interest on the public debt will come to \$1,100,000,000. War and armament expenditures during the past twenty-five years have amounted to far more than the entire federal debt; and, since these expenditures serve no conceivably useful social function, it is entirely legitimate to charge the whole interest payment against war. Pensions will come to \$1,200,000,000; at least three-fourths resulting from war. Out of the \$1,100,000,000 listed for public works, a minimum of several hundred millions will go to war projects. Similarly with the \$1,300,000,000 allotted for work relief. The \$1,000,000,000 for "regular operating expenditures" includes at least a couple of hundred millions for activities of State, War, Navy, Justice departments that would have no place except for war.

Figured very conservatively, this will give us around \$5,300,000,000 which last week Roosevelt proposed for war—nearly two-thirds of the budget of the federal government. We can say without exaggeration that governments in the modern imperialist world have become, first and foremost, war-making machines.

What is to be Defended?

When the phrase "national defense" is used about armaments, it is designed to suggest certain pictures to the minds of the ordinary honest people of the country. We imagine bombers swarming over the cities, troops landing in California and Florida, tanks storming down from Canada or up from Mexico. And it seems most natural to think: should we not have the means to defend ourselves—our homes and children—from the invaders?

Even if we approached the problem from a purely military point of view, and thought carefully about what the money is being spent for, these pictures would rapidly disappear.

On the new program, for instance, are ten huge battleships either already begun or soon to be started. Two of them are at present designed to be of 45,000 tons displacement—the largest in the world, costing \$90,000,000 each. Still larger sizes are being debated.

But battleships are not suited to defend the shores of a country in a literal sense. They operate at a long distance from their bases. Shore defenses feature submarines, mines, coastal artillery, mosquito boats, etc. No imaginable attack against the shores of the United States would require these battleships (though, for that matter, no attack of any kind against the shores of the United States is imaginable).

The truth is that the military expert's idea of "defensive" and "offensive" is completely different from that of the layman. For the expert, the job is simply that of winning the given war; and he adopts a defensive or offensive strategy, or shifts them, in line with this single objective. He cannot permit himself the sentimental luxury of preferring defense merely because it gives him a better conscience.

And, in the case of a war against another nation or nations, the fighting machine of this country is designed to carry on war thousands of miles away from the shores. It is defensive only with respect to an internal war: that is, to suppress a workers' revolution.

Those who honestly support Roosevelt's "national defense" program because they believe its object is to safeguard home and children are, whether they like it or not, upholding a policy of aggressive external war. This can be clearly seen from a military analysis alone.

And Whose Nation?

As always, the military objective is subordinate to the social and political objectives. The government is building an aggressive military machine, designed for external combat far from the shores of this country, because the government has an aggressive social and political policy.

From this more fundamental point of view, it is correct to speak of "national defense," just as the armies and navies of France and Germany and England are all part of their national "defenses." The purpose of the armed forces is to defend the interests of the nation; and "nation" here means the imperialist government, representative of the big bankers and industrialists, of the Sixty Families.

But defense of these interests requires offense against the interests of the peoples of South America, China, and against rival powers and, above all, offense against the interests of the people of the United States. The new budget shows this last point in the most brazen fashion: in order to achieve funds for "national defense," the budget takes funds away from the people, from the starving and homeless unemployed. Roosevelt's first line of "national defense" is his attack on the living standards and rights of the people of the United States.

It is in every way legitimate for the people to wish to defend themselves and their homes and their freedom from any and all enemies. But the chief enemy attacking the people is neither Hitler nor Stalin nor the Mikado, but Roosevelt himself and his government: it is his G-men who are smashing labor and democratic rights, his whip that is slashing relief funds, his party that refuses to establish humanly decent wages and hours' standards, his general staff that is completing its plans to hurl the youth of the country into death far away, for the sake of his program of imperialist expansion.