

We propose that the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the United States shall enact emergency legislation to put into immediate effect the following:

1. Appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for unemployed workers.
2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works a maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of 30 dollars.
3. 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.
4. Appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

Socialist Appeal

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

Vol. IV, No. 12

NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 23, 1940

FIVE (5) CENTS

STOP FIRING OF 800,000 WPA WORKERS!

STALIN IN FINLAND

WHY HE INVADED IT AND WHY HE MADE PEACE

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Our party, in the resolution dealing with the invasion of Finland by the Red Army, (Socialist Appeal, Dec. 9) characterized that invasion as an incident in the Second World War. That is what it turned out to be—an incident which ended by the achievement of peace before it became the beginning of a major conflict between the Soviet Union and Allied imperialism.

That the invasion did not develop into an open conflict between English and French imperialism and the Soviet Union is primarily due to the fact that Stalin's chief aim is to keep from being involved in a major war.

That is what explains the Hitler-Stalin pact. The only enemy Stalin feared was Hitler who, of all the imperialists, had the best chance to attack the Soviet Union. A pact with Hitler would, Stalin thought, do away with the possibility of an immediate war. He was undoubtedly of the opinion that England and France would not go to war over the invasion of Poland and, if they did, he could avoid being involved in such a war.

Hitler Repays Stalin

As his compensation for relieving Hitler of the danger of facing enemy armies on Germany's eastern borders, Stalin received from Hitler guarantees, in the form of territorial concessions in Poland and the Baltic countries which make the Soviet frontiers more easily defended.

Why does Stalin want to avoid a major war? Because war threatens the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy either through revolution or through a successful attack of one or more imperialist countries.

But if he wants to avoid a major war, why did he invade Finland? Because his demands on Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania having been granted, he could not afford to permit Finland to defy him. His prestige was at stake and, besides, he was anxious to take advantage of the general situation to increase his defensive strength. He undoubtedly thought that he could settle matters with Finland very quickly.

Against whom is he trying to defend himself? Primarily against Hitler, for it must not be presumed that Stalin is so stupid as not to see that if Hitler is successful against the Allies, the Nazi war machine will turn to the East.

Stalin Drops His Puppet

The creation of the Kuusinen puppet government is evidence of the fact that Stalin at first thought of taking all of Finland. A few days after the invasion, in the early days of December, the Finnish government made a plea through Sweden to the Kremlin to renew negotiations. The Kremlin on Dec. 5 haughtily informed Sweden that there was no Finnish government other than the Peoples Government of Kuusinen with which the Soviet government had already "made" a treaty.

However, when Stalin found that his army, led by a general staff which he had decapitated and demoralized, could not repeat the exploits of Hitler's army in Poland and that, as a result, there was a real chance of his being involved in war with the Allies, he beat a retreat from his original purpose. After the Red Army cracked the Mannerheim line he was willing to call a halt, settle with the same Finnish government which he refused to recognize in December, and thus avoid an attack by the Allied armies.

Was it merely the Finnish capitalist army that was defeated? In coming out for the defense of the Soviet Union and for the victory of the Red Army as a lesser evil to the victory of the Finnish capitalist army, we took the position that essentially the Soviet Union was at war with the imperialist forces standing behind Finland. It was clear to us that Finland could not have decided to resist Stalin's demands without the encouragement of Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt. It was clear to us that Finland could not have held out so long without receiving substantial aid from the outside. Only when Finland was ready to capitulate did Chamberlain and Daladier reveal how much armament material they had actually sent and how much more material and how many men they were ready to send if Finland would only keep fighting. Our assertion that Finland was fighting the battle for imperialism was completely confirmed.

Why Finns Made Peace

The cracking of the Mannerheim line would by itself be a sufficient reason for the Finnish government to accept peace terms. True, the Allies offered to send 100,000 men and all the material necessary to withstand the attack of the Red Army. But in view of the time that it would require to get these men over to Finland and especially in view of the refusal of Sweden and Norway to permit transit facilities, the Finnish government saw no possibility of accepting that offer.

And then it was certain, as Prime Minister Rytty informed the Finnish Diet, that to accept the offer of the Allies would mean to invite Germany to send its armed forces into Finland. And they could get there faster than the Allied forces. That meant that Finland would become one of the major battlefields of the war. The Finnish bourgeoisie preferred at this juncture to get peace by surrendering to Stalin the strategic frontiers that he had demanded. They had refused to grant his demands when originally made, only on the mistaken assumption—undoubtedly based on promises made to them by the Allies—that the Allies were going to declare war against Soviet Russia as soon as the invasion began.

Why did not France and England openly declare war on the Soviet Union at the very beginning and immediately send a huge army to aid Finland? It must be recognized that there were serious practical difficulties in the way, chief of which was the attitude of the Swedish and Norwegian governments, unwilling to see their countries become a battle-ground.

Nor must it be forgotten that, while the contradiction between imperialism and the Soviet Union is real and fundamental, there are also inter-imperialist rivalries and, at this particular moment, those rivalries are in the forefront. British and French imperialism are of the opinion that if they can take care of German imperialism they will have no difficulty in settling scores with the Soviet Union.

Of course, if they conclude that, in order to get at German imperialism they must attack the Soviet Union, they will not hesitate to do so and try to kill two birds with one stone. To defend his government against the charge of cowardice in not

(Continued on Page 3)

SWP Polls 624 Votes In St. Paul Election

ST. PAUL, March 15—John McDonough, Democratic majority candidate backed by the Labor Progressive Association, received 31,399 votes in the primaries Tuesday, 6,000 more than the reactionary incumbent, Mayor Fallon.

Henry Rutzick, majority candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, received 624 votes. In the primary two years ago for the same office, the S.W.P. candidate, Jules Geller, received 559 votes.

Rutzick campaigned on a platform calling for revolutionary struggle against war and unemployment.

In a campaign for which they brought here Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker and spent plenty of money, the Stalinists polled 1,026 votes for their candidate, Rose Tillotson, a sharp decline in votes below 1938.

BOSE WARNS OF COMING CIVIL WAR IN INDIA

Left Wingers Meet, Map Struggle at Congress Session

A struggle against imperialism which would inevitably develop into civil war in India was outlined Tuesday by Subhas Chandra Bose in a speech to an "anti-compromise" conference of left-wing delegates to the Indian National Congress on the opening day of the congress.

Bose denounced Gandhi and the right-wing leadership of the congress in terms which indicate a split in the congress during the present session. Bose declared: "The problem of the hour is: will India remain under the thumb of the right wing or swing to the left once and for all? In the event of a compromise with imperialism being effected in this country, the Indian left-wing will have to fight not only imperialism but its new-fangled Indian allies as well. This must necessarily mean that the national struggle against imperialism will be converted into civil war between Indians themselves."

Bose bitterly attacked "Mr. Gandhi's hurried visit to the viceroy and his offer of unconditional help to Britain immediately after the outbreak of war."

The "anti-compromise conference" announced as its aim "the focussing of all anti-imperialist forces in the country which are now determined to resist compromise with Britain."

A few weeks ago the mass discontent with Gandhi's policy of futile negotiations with the British viceroy forced the Mahatma to promise the launching of a civil disobedience campaign. He is now doing everything in his power to prevent the actual campaign. "Civil disobedience will be started when I am sure that so far as is humanly possible non-violence will be strictly observed," declared Gandhi. Since every action entails the possibility of violent reaction, this time can be conveniently postponed forever. This is Gandhi's clearcut object.

Left Wing Forces

Leading the numerically strong left-wing forces at the Congress is Subhas Chandra Bose, the former Mayor of Calcutta and ex-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Gandhi and Bose

(Continued on Page 3)

War Deal to Drop One Man In Three From Work Rolls

More than eight hundred thousand WPA workers—more than one man in every three of the 2,321,000 now on WPA rolls—are to be fired during the coming weeks, the WPA Administration has announced. Two hundred thousand are to be fired during April, the rest in batches so that, by the end of the fiscal year, June 30, there shall be no more than 1,500,000 on the rolls.

Why? Are there, perhaps, jobs waiting for these 821,000 heads of families who are to be given pink slips? Not even the pollyanna government economists pretend that anymore. For everybody now knows that unemployment is increasing, not decreasing.

At the end of January there were twelve million unemployed, according to the unchallenged figures of the CIO's research division. And to these there must still be added those who lost their jobs during February and March, when production continued its precipitous decline.

The New Deal has transformed itself completely into the War Deal. Federal funds have one main purpose in the hands of Roosevelt: war preparations. The index for war expenditures has been going up like a skyrocket. The index for WPA expenditures has been going down nearly as fast.

Last year the appropriation for WPA was \$2,225,000,000. For this year—the fiscal year ending June 30—the appropriation was \$1,477,000,000, a cut from the previous year of three-quarters of a billion dollars. For the coming fiscal year, beginning July 1, Roosevelt's budget proposes an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000—another half-billion cut.

Just think! In the fiscal year July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939 there were fewer unemployed than there are now, yet during that period the unemployed received, in WPA jobs, ONE AND ONE-QUARTER BILLION DOLLARS MORE THAN THEY ARE DUE TO RECEIVE THIS COMING YEAR!

Organized Unemployed Force Gains In Flint

UAW-CIO Auxiliary Compels Granting of Union Demands

FLINT, Mich., March 15—The fast growing and militant WPA and Unemployed Auxiliary of the UAW-CIO chalked up another victory today, when after an all-day demonstration at the Welfare headquarters, the labor-hating relief administration was forced to recognize the union representatives and concede several of their demands.

(Continued on Page 4)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The Allies are getting another dose of Hitlerite diplomatic blitzkrieg.

The Soviet-Finnish peace prevented the Allies from establishing a northern front in Scandinavia. Hitler is now moving to make southeastern Europe an equally closed preserve. If he succeeds, he will have assured his northern and southern flanks and his rear, and will narrow the theater of actual military conflict to the west. From that strategic position he will try to dictate terms of a negotiated peace.

Such a negotiated peace, as the Allies fully understand, would be equivalent to Hitler's victory in the war. Because they realize this and because for the moment they seem frustrated in all efforts to turn some hapless neutral into a battlefield on which they can get at Germany, there is a distinct atmosphere of half-hysterical confusion in the Allied capitals.

In the week since the signing of the Soviet-Finnish peace, Nazi diplomacy has moved to knit Rumania and Italy into its desired pattern. Over Rumania he holds the threat of Stalin and although Carol is still trying to balance himself on the narrow path he has had to tread since the war began, it is evident that the Nazi pressure is producing results. Liberation of the imprisoned Iron Guards is evidence of this.

Around the Brenner Pass meeting between Hitler and Mussolini

They got then TWO AND A QUARTER TIMES AS MUCH AS THEY ARE GOING TO GET DURING THE COMING YEAR!

Roosevelt and his War Deal can be stopped! Congress is and will remain in session long enough for the trade unions and the unemployed to organize sufficient pressure to throw Roosevelt's WPA budget into the wastebasket and replace it with a budget which will begin to meet the emergency.

America's Sixty Families can be made to disgorge enough so that no man, woman or child shall lack food, shelter or clothing. It can be done!

It is on the way to being done in several cities where the trade unions and the unemployed have stayed together, organized close together, adopted a militant program and elected a militant leadership, and mobilized the workers' strength for action.

Flint, Michigan, in the heart of the auto industry, is a shining example. The WPA Administration hasn't got away with firing any member of the Unemployed and WPA Auxiliary of the United Auto Workers, CIO; those that got fired went back on the job after the union heard about it. The Flint city authorities have had to think up new WPA projects to sponsor, and there are more workers on WPA in Flint today proportionally than anywhere in the country. That's what union militancy is getting for the Flint workers.

But Flint and one or two other cities like it stand alone in the whole country. If that example were followed in the major cities everywhere, Roosevelt and Congress would find their budgets blowing up in their faces. The budget for jobs would have to reflect the size of that fighting labor movement that was demanding a job and a decent living for every worker in the country.

Flint has blazed the trail. Let's follow it in every working class neighborhood in the country!

FIVE WPA STRIKE DEFENDANTS PUT ON PROBATION

Last Five Cases Are Disposed of; Other Charges Dropped

MINNEAPOLIS, March 19—Last of the WPA strike defendants were sentenced Saturday morning in Judge Joyce's courtroom when the judge disposed of the cases of the five men who pleaded nolo contendere. Roy Organ, Louis Lindsay, Victor Chiodo and Glen Smith were given twelve months' probation, and Owen Jacobson received fifteen months' probation.

These five men were those who agreed to plead nolo contendere to the government's indictments when charges against the other 130 strike defendants were dropped through arrangements made late in January between the Central Labor Union's WPA Defense Committee and O. John Rogge of the criminal division of the Department of Justice.

Like most of the other WPA strikers sentenced, the five men are members of Local 544's Federal Workers Section.

Judge Joyce told Organ he evidenced the "exuberance of youth" during the strike and that he seems to think the department of welfare owes him special care. He said that Organ had written a threatening letter to the relief authorities, and warned him not to do it again while he is on probation.

Of Owen Jacobson, the judge said, "You and work don't get along well together." He criticized Jacobson for saying "we are the government" to other WPA workers during the strike.

Chiodo was criticized for making the same remark, and for his "demanding attitude" towards the relief department.

With these cases, the courts are through with the WPA trials—but organized labor isn't. Minneapolis labor is calling upon all unions in the country to demand of Roosevelt unconditional pardons for the 32 convicted.

Abuse of Labors' Rights In Sioux City to be Probed

Padway Announces Intervention Of LaFollette Committee; Four Unionists Are Indicted

OMAHA, Nebr., March 19—Investigators of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee will be assigned to investigate violations of the rights of Sioux City trade union members.

This was revealed here this morning by Joseph A. Padway, general counsel of the AFL and of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, in a statement to the press.

Padway said he was sure that the committee's investigators would particularly look into charges that the Businessmen's Association of Sioux City had acted in violation of federal statutes in its attempt to break up the organizing drive of the teamsters and other AFL unions.

He said the investigators also would look into the charges that a large part of the police department is under the control of the Businessmen's Association.

Conditions that exist in other Iowa cities also were discussed at an all-day Monday conference of Des Moines, Sioux City and Omaha union officials and attorneys, Padway revealed, and he said it was probable the LaFollette investigators would look into the situation in those cities.

Particular cities discussed at the conference were Fort Dodge, Mason City, Waterloo and Dubuque, he said.

Tobin Called Conference

The conference was called by Teamsters International President Daniel J. Tobin to discuss various arrests, prosecutions and convictions of union members that have occurred in Sioux City and this territory during the last two years. Padway attended the conference at Tobin's direction.

"Nowhere outside of the totalitarian countries of Europe can conditions be found more oppressive than those I have learned today exist in Sioux City," Padway declared. "The International Brotherhood of Teamsters will throw its full support into the defense of the Sioux City workers whose rights have been so consistently denied."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

(Continued on Page 2)

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.

Auto Workers Didn't Give for Finland

Editor: Recently the Chrysler Corp. donated \$2500 to the Finnish Relief Fund and at the same time they placed contribution cans throughout the factories so that the workers could contribute money.

In my department they collected about three dimes. I've talked to friends in other departments and they all say the same thing. Either nothing at all, or else, just a few coins. It is significant that the Corporation has not published the amount of the contributions received.

The attitude of the men is simply this: they don't want to get involved in any war. They sympathize in a mild sort of way for Finland but you can't get them very excited about the whole affair. Quite often you hear them say, "Why do they send money to Finland. There's plenty of people that need relief here at home."

It will take plenty of high pressure propaganda to get the workers steamed up so that they'll go to war.

J. D.

Detroit, Mich.

Lynn Labor Backs Anti-Lynch Bill

The Anti-Lynch Bill now before the Senate is receiving the unanimous support of organized labor in this section. The exact resolution passed by the St. Paul Labor Assembly was unanimously adopted here by the North Shore Industrial Council (CIO), representing more than twenty-five thousand workers in the greater Lynn area. The council called upon all of its affiliated unions to contact their senators and congressmen to support the act.

The resolution was also adopted by Local 20 of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union; and it is expected that the resolution will be adopted at the next regular business meeting of the Lynn Food Workers Union Local 701, (CIO).

John Travis

Lynn, Mass.

American Labor Aid To Hear I.B.E.W. On Anti-Labor Drive

Editor: The American Labor Aid is launching its campaign against Thurman Arnold's vicious anti-union, anti-labor drive with a meeting Friday, March 29th at 8

p.m., at the Cultural Center, 125 West 33rd Street, New York City. The principal speaker of the evening will be:

H. H. BROACH, EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, LOCAL NO. 3, whose union faces prosecution under this new "interpretation" of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

Assistant Attorney - General Thurman Arnold's anti-union crusade is a flagrant misuse of a federal law aimed at business monopolies. This law specifically exempts labor from prosecution. Under the guise of freeing the construction industry from unlawful restraints, Arnold's 200-man legal staff has indicted leaders of this nation's most powerful labor unions for the crime of exercising labor's hard-won rights.

The A.L.A. seeks to awaken the American public to the danger inherent in this sinister attack upon organized labor.

The A.L.A.—which defends labor, helps Negroes, Jews, foreign-born and aids anti-fascist refugees—is also pleased to present at the same meeting Philip Adler, noted labor attorney, who recently defended, in the name of the A.L.A., the 13 Jamaica relief clients who picketed the Central Queens Relief Bureau in protest against the inhuman treatment accorded the unemployed by the administration.

We urge all liberal-minded persons actively interested in preserving the democratic rights of the American people to attend. Come with your friends and participate with us in our work. Remember the time and place: Friday, March 29th, at 8 p.m., 125 West 33rd St., Room 201.

ARTHUR P. BUCH Secretary of Local New York American Labor Aid

Promoting A Better Social Order, Etc.

Editor: The Twentieth Century Association For the Promotion of a Finer Public Spirit and a Better Social Order whose headquarters at 3 Joy Street, Boston, are a gathering ground for well-placed bourgeois liberals announces a

HOBBY GROUP

On March 19th at six o'clock, a buffet supper (50c) will be served the members of the Hobby group and their friends, to be followed by a lecture by Capt. Harry Brown of the National Guard on "Chemical Warfare."

John Brooks Wheelwright Boston, Mass.

Steel Worker Reports Problems Of Uniting Black and White

We publish below a remarkable letter from a steel worker, describing the experiences of his section of the union in organizing Negro and white workers together. It gives many pointers which can be used to advantage by militants in other sections of the country and other industries. Let's have more letters like this!—Editor.

Editor:

During and after the war, in order to keep the wage scale down, Negro labor was induced by extensive advertisements to come North. In an effort, largely successful, to break the Iron Moulders Union, Negro labor was used to take the positions of iron moulders, striking for more pay.

Due to this the iron moulders in the foundries of Indianapolis, are practically all Negroes and wage rates are considerably below normal.

The meat packing industry in its search for cheap labor was likewise affected, except that strike action was not responsible for the induction of Negro labor; but rather the lack of appeal of many jobs in the packing industry to white labor during times of good work caused a large percentage of Negroes to be employed during the war.

The population of Indianapolis at the present time is approximately one-sixth colored and since these 45,000 Negroes have the right to vote they are quite a factor in local politics. So much so that local politicians, especially the township trustees who are responsible for relief distribution are giving lip service to no discrimination in order to appeal to the colored vote.

WHAT UNIONS MUST DO—SOME EXAMPLES

For some concrete examples of the methods of work that unions must carry out, I will cite first the case of the Armour Packing plant here. Shortly after the men had started organizing that plant the company, hoping to scare first the Negroes and eventually the whites away from the union, began their attack by calling an elderly Negro into the office and after some conversation asked him how he would like to be laid off—a faithful employee for 22 years.

This man knew what that meant. But his reaction was not what the company had hoped for. Although he had not at that time joined the union, he went to the president of the Lodge and asked him what to do about the layoff.

The president signed him up in the union, called a special meeting to take the matter up and the unanimous vote of the Lodge was "If the old Negro was laid off to go fishing, the whole plant would go along to bait his hook."

This action occurred almost three years ago and when the company was informed of the union's decision the old Negro did not go fishing but has worked ever since; and naturally every Negro worker signed up with the union. Today, there is not a non-union employee allowed to work in the shop and a Negro would not think of refusing to pay his dues. Wages were raised, hours shortened and conditions made better through the strength of the union.

At the plant of the Indiana Steel and Wire Company in Muncie the company laid off a colored crane man. Acting especially in defense of this man and also against other acts of bad faith on the part of the company, a strike was called and the Negro's return to the job was won.

In the SWOC lodge of the Indiana Steel and Wire some six months before this a case came up which shows how sensitive the Negro is toward the least act of slight or discrimination on the part of the white workers.

The Steel Lodges had voted to raise money to pay for a headquarters by means of a box social. (A box social is where the girls and women bring along a box and the men bid on the box-

es and eat lunch with the girl who prepared the box). Some of the white union members secretly started a move to have the box social changed to something else to avoid quite such close social relations with the Negroes.

They dared not bring up such an issue before the local union but tried to get it fixed up at the top. This they could not do especially because the leading white militant in the union would have forced their hand and brought the chauvinists out in the open on the Lodge or because he knew the reaction it would have on the Negro members.

To prove him correct it was only one or two days later that the Negro members sent an informal visitor to this militant white worker in whom they had confidence, to ask him what was going to be done about the box social. When he informed the colored spokesman that the box social was going ahead and for the Negro girls and women to be sure and be there with their boxes, the same as any one else, the reply of the Negro was "Fine, but if it had been called off we know why."

This was all that was ever said, but this lodge went ahead with the box social, a splendid time was had and money for four months' rent raised at the affair. What was more important, this lodge is another of the 100% lodges in this district and is getting wage increases and giving job protection to both white and colored members.

An entirely different situation is that at the Ewart plant of the Link Belt Co. where the company

made use of one of the leading Negroes to form a company union. Wages have not been raised, seniority rights are not respected and the employees are afraid to talk union for fear of discharge.

Behind the company's ability to use this Negro as head of this company union lies the fact that he was a member of the Railway Firemen and was discriminated against and let out of his job and a white man took his place.

Another instance of how the race question can wreck a union was shown in the Century Biscuit Company here. This union was formed in 1937, got a fair contract and increases in pay. There were a large number of colored workers in that plant and a Negro was elected president.

This man was as fine a man as ever served as president of any union but the white workers, no doubt due to stimulus of the company, started a whispering campaign against having a Negro for president. As a result, many white workers dropped out. The Negroes, sensing the situation played safe and dropped out too. Later the company found a chance to discharge the Negro president of the union.

One thing that has been attempted here is to create unity between Negro and white workers has been the setting up of a Racial Relations Committee by the CIO Council. The purpose of this committee is to seek out and bring forward within the unions issues which will tend to draw together the Negro and white workers.

The efforts so far have revolved around attempts at getting support for the Anti-Lynch Bill and to educate the white workers regarding the treatment of the Negroes in general, the real reasons underlying it, and dealing especially with the right of the Negro to vote in the South. Progress along this line has been slow, but encouraging.

Indianapolis, Indiana C.A.

Will Probe Abuse Of Labor's Rights

(Continued from Page 1) restrains trade. Yet such contracts have never been declared unlawful.

"The very life of the collective bargaining agreement is at stake in this issue before the federal commission. No matter what position the bakery companies, who also were named in the complaint, may take, we will fight the issue to the end."

SIoux CITY, Iowa, March 18—Joseph A. Padway, general counsel of the AFL and the I.B.T., is scheduled to arrive here this week to organize the defense of General Drivers Union Local 383 members who were indicted here last week on charges of "kidnaping and conspiracy."

Howard Fouts and Ralph Johnson, union organizers, Charles Cunningham, financial secretary, and Jack Webster, a union member, were those indicted. After much fanfare by authorities who refused previously to admit them to bail because the maximum penalty on the charge was death, bail was fixed at \$1,000 each on the conspiracy count and \$2,500 each on the kidnapping count.

What Really Happened In describing this, the latest of a long series of frameups against this local union which has borne much of the brunt of the fight to maintain the 14-state over-the-road drivers' contract, the Sioux City Unionist states:

"This present case is the most outrageous example of malicious persecution that has come to our attention during 40 years of active participation in labor union affairs. . . . Let no honest friend of justice stop to cry over this case. This case is destined to become famous. Let every man and woman who believes in honor and justice hold up his head and let there be no faltering."

Describing the circumstances under which the frameup occurred, the Unionist states: "One morning three truck drivers for a merchant of Havelock, Iowa, were in Sioux City. Two of

them were members of Drivers Union Local 383. The Havelock merchant has not signed the over-the-road drivers contract. . . .

"These three men went to the Sioux City office of Local 383. They went freely and of their own accord. They went into the office of Fouts, who is business agent of the union. The three drivers talked with Fouts, talked by phone from Fouts' office with their employer at Havelock, then, when they got ready to go, accepted Fouts' offer to drive them back to their trucks. . . .

"Nobody laid hands on anybody. The three drivers were at all times as free to go and come as is any person who enters any office in Sioux City. They came of their own accord, and departed when they got ready. . . .

"Next thing was the arrest of Cunningham, Fouts and Johnson on the charge of 'kidnaping for ransom' which 'carries a penalty of either life imprisonment or death.'"

A Revealing Contrast In stark contrast to the high bail set for union men on this flimsy charge was the \$1500 bail for two city policemen, recently suspended and now indicted on charges of protecting a dope ring and houses of prostitution.

Appropriately enough, these two cops were in a large measure responsible for securing convictions last winter against the same union officers, Fouts and Johnson, in a Sioux Falls case, resulting in four-year sentences against each unionist on a charge of damaging a truck. The case is now being appealed and the latest exploits of the prosecuting cops will look good in the appellate record!

Union Rejects Deal Overtures have been made to Local 383 officers to support certain boss politicians in the March 29 city elections with a promise that, in return, all the charges would be dropped. But the union is making it very clear to the bosses and their agents that this fight is not going to be settled behind closed doors, but right out in the open where it will hurt the bosses as they never got hurt before.

DOWNTOWN LABOR FORUM
51 East 7th Street
New York City

The Soviet-Finnish Conflict

Speaker: JOHN G. WRIGHT
(translator of Trotsky's works)
Sunday, March 24
AT 8 P.M.
Admission 10c
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

DOWNTOWN LABOR CENTER
51 East 7th Street

presents MARIONETTE SHOW & DANCE

of charm and "social significance" on SATURDAY, MARCH 23rd
Menu: Music, Entertainment, Refreshments and Fun.
Good time guaranteed.
Subscription: 25c



Chicago deserves top mention in this column for the excellent efforts it is making to liquidate its back debt. At this writing they have reduced it by more than half.

H. S. of Evansville, Indiana came through with a big payment. Comrades in other parts of the country should blush for shame and envy at mention of this Indiana comrade's work. He distributes more Appeals than branches ten times the number. And then he pays—even if it means a big sacrifice.

Detroit came through with a \$15 payment on its bundle account and said: "Sorry for not being able to send the full amount of \$18.45 but we will send another payment next week. Publishing the amount due the Appeal was a good idea. The only way to get branches to act is through pressure from the center. This applies to Detroit too. Keep it up."

Payments in general were better last week. We received from Minneapolis, St. Paul, Flint, Akron, Newark, New Haven, Quakertown, Allentown, Lynn, Hutchinson, Boston, Ann Arbor. Keep it up, and we'll be out of the red before it gets warm.

SELLING THE APPEAL

Comrades who find it difficult getting up Sunday mornings for special Appeal sales one day a week should take note of the activity of Howard S. in Quakertown. He writes: "I have to make a trip of 45 miles to deliver six copies. . . ." His remark, it would seem to me, is directly addressed to those comrades who won't go around the corner to sell an Appeal to a worker neighbor.

From St. Louis comes another letter from M.V., chief Appeal plugger in that area:

"I was frankly amazed the first week I passed out no papers. The questions asked were gratifying: 'Where's my Appeal, V—?' 'I thought the papers came out weekly.'"

"Are your papers all gone, V—?"

"Red Sunday sounds like a great idea, but when I mention it to the comrades here they despair. They are loyal enough to know they should try. But."

"However, I'm going to do something similar. Here it is. Next week I'll send copies to one apartment house. I'll repeat the following week (same house). Then I'll call on them personally and try to drum up a few subs. How does it sound?"

Sounds good, M.V. It's the way to get results.

HOW TO GET SUBSCRIPTIONS

From Mark Knight, Los Angeles:

"Enclosed you will find five six-month subscriptions to the Socialist Appeal."

"Each of these subscriptions were obtained from an auto plant in this locality. These men have just completed a successful election campaign for local union officers on the basis of a program suggested by the Appeal, which proves that our organ can be made a successful tool in the struggle for progressive trade unionism, and further, that our paper has a place in the home of all workers. We can sell the Appeal, if we try."

"Our worker-salesmen at General Motors promise us more subscriptions next week, and I promise, for them, more subscriptions in the following weeks. Their work indicates that it is possible to put into practice the slogan, 'More Appeals in the Factories!'"

LABOR UNION NOTES

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, will meet in convention at Chicago in May. The official policy is that it will not be a constitutional convention. However, influential Inland Steel, Lodge 1010 and Rubican Lodge 1014, representing the largest steel plant in the world, have passed resolutions proposing the contrary. Other lodges are following their lead. It may take something more than an old-fashioned Rah-Rah for the top officialdom to head off the demand for a constitutional convention.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union will meet in convention at New York City in May. This organization has remained independent since its withdrawal two years ago from the CIO. There is pressure from the top for reunification with the AFL. In the rank and file there is a fast growing progressive movement against giving support to the die-hard craft unionists of the Green, Wolf, Frey, Hutchinson and Co. camp.

ILGWU progressives are fighting for a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay, campaigns to unionize every garment shop in the country, and standardize agreements with uniform expiration dates. These slogans are arousing

a strong rank and file response. The jurisdictional agreement just concluded between the ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has two-fold significance. Inside both organizations, the top leadership has responded to strong pressure in the union for such an agreement as a first step in the fight for better job conditions—slated to be a big ILGWU convention issue.

Better relations between the ILGWU and ACW create another barrier against John L. Lewis' union-raiding policies in the AFL—CIO fight, and increase somewhat the pressure on Lewis to negotiate a settlement. This factor was more than a small part of Hillman's motive. Added to this is the desire of Dubinsky and Hillman to promote the interests of the Roosevelt third-term movement. Lewis has been more and more of a bull-in-the-china-shop to the third-term advocates.

The desire of both the ILGWU and the ACW rank and file in fighting for harmony between their unions and for unity in the national labor movement, is to promote the interest of the workers, not for the benefit of Roosevelt and his war plans.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, now almost a half million strong, will be heard from in no uncertain terms on the question of labor unity in its convention at Washington, D.C. in September. The I.B.T. laws will come in for a revamping at this convention to clear the decks for a stream-lined organization drive. The American labor movement may soon see its first million-membered union.

March New International

SYMPOSIUM:

ON

THE SOVIET-FINNISH WAR
THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE SOVIET STATE
THE ROLE OF STALINISM IN WAR
DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM
THE HISTORY OF MARXIST THEORY

Articles by

Leon Trotsky
Max Shachtman
and Others

20 CENTS PER COPY; 16 CENTS IN BUNDLES OF FIVE OR MORE

Order Copies Now From

NEW INTERNATIONAL
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y.

A Treasure Chest of Revolutionary Marxism ... For a SONG!

Bound Volume—New International

1938 \$2.00
1939 \$2.50

Together (incl. postage) \$3.50

Bound Volume—Socialist Appeal

SECOND SIX MONTHS 1939 \$2.00
FIRST SIX MONTHS 1939 \$2.00

Together (incl. postage) . . \$3.00

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y.

SPECIAL! \$4.50 SPECIAL!

LEON TROTSKY'S SPEECH IN ENGLISH \$6.00 for set

made for New York meeting celebrating Tenth Anniversary of founding of Fourth International in the U. S. Recorded on two discs.

LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX 90¢ a copy with introduction by Leon Trotsky, dealing in a large measure with the American scene.

Both for \$4.50

Offer good only until April 8th. Limited quantity on hand. Rush order.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK CITY

The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

(This column is written by Robert L. Birchenman in comrade Johnson's absence.)

In blasting the myth that this war is a conflict between the "totalitarians" and the "democracies," we have often pointed out that British democracy, such as it is, is limited to the small white minority of the British Empire's population of five hundred millions. English law and legal procedure is one thing; the laws dictated by Englishmen to the colored populations of the Empire is something else again. England's Privy Council has recently made this distinction with brazen clarity in connection with the laws governing one of the colonies, Sierra Leone in British West Africa. The story is worth telling.

At the sessions of the British-dominated Legislative Council in May, 1939 a series of bills were passed, providing for the deportation of undesirable subjects, for the punishment of "seditious acts," and prohibiting the publication and distribution of "undesirable literature." Under these ordinances there will be no writ of habeas corpus and "no other process calling in question the legality of any order made under these ordinances shall have any effect."

One of the main purposes of these ordinances is to guard against political activity in the armed forces. There was a mutiny among the native soldiers of the colony last summer, and eleven of them were court-martialed. They received sentences of from seven to ten years penal servitude. Unrest is widespread among the industrial workers, the civil services and the armed forces. This accounts for the large number of white troops stationed in Freetown.

The introduction of this dictatorial legislation aroused tremendous opposition among the people and thousands of natives demonstrated on the opening day of the legislature. The demonstrators represented the Trade Union Congress, the National Congress, Christian League, Citizens Committee, West Africa Bar Association, etc., and was the largest ever seen in Freetown. But the ordinances were pushed through the legislature in spite of this overwhelming sentiment.

Political Persecution of Wallace Johnson

The persecution under these ordinances of Wallace Johnson, secretary of the West African Youth League and of the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress, indicates the function of this legislation. At the outbreak of the war Johnson was subjected to "preventive arrest." His home was raided, his books confiscated, and he was imprisoned for the duration of the war. For under these ordinances the governor has the power to order the arrest of any native whom he considers undesirable. As a trade union organizer, he was most "undesirable" to the British colonial officials.

"Preventive arrest" without any crime charged was perhaps too much like Nazi procedure. The authorities decided to justify their persecution of Johnson by convicting him of a "crime." He was therefore convicted of sedition by the West African Court of Appeal for having written in the Gold Coast Spectator an article, "Has the African a God?"

Voicing the indignation of the natives of West Africa against the imperialists, Johnson had written:

"Personally I believe the European has a God in whom he believes and whom he is representing in his Churches all over Africa. He believes in the god whose name is spelled Deceit. He believes in the God whose law is 'Ye strong'; you must weaken the weak. Ye 'civilized' Europeans, you must 'civilize' the 'barbarous' Africans with machine guns. Ye 'Christian' Europeans you must 'Christianize' the 'pagan' Africans with bombs, poison gases, etc."

"In the colonies the Europeans believe in the god that commands: 'Ye administrators, make Sedition Bill to keep the African gagged. Make Forced Labor Bill to work the Africans as slaves. Make Deportation Ordinance to send the Africans to exile whenever they dare to question your authority.'"

"Make an ordinance to grab his money so that he cannot stand economically. . . . Send detectives to stay around the house of any African who is agitating for national independence and if possible to round him up in a 'criminal frame up' so that he could be kept behind the bars."

Two Kinds of "Law"

Johnson's conviction was appealed to England, to the Privy Council. In the argument on the appeal, the Gold Coast Government contended that publication of the article was seditious in that it brought the government into contempt and hatred. Johnson formally denied this, claiming that his article was a fair expression of opinion on matters of vital concern to the natives. His counsel, arguing the legal issue, contended that the prosecution had to prove that the words complained of were of such a nature as likely to incite violence. His counsel based his argument on numerous citations from English and Scottish court decisions.

The judges of the Privy Council dismissed the appeal, leaving Johnson convicted and subject to penalties. On what ground? On the ground that the law of sedition for the colony is to be found in the criminal code of the Gold Coast and not in English law! The colonial code, they said, was no doubt designed to suit the "circumstances" of the natives in the colony!

A clear-enough decision. One law for the white English; another law for the black natives. That is the foundation-stone of the British Empire: open and brutal dictatorship over the overwhelming majority of the population of the British Empire.

O'Dwyer, the Butcher of Amritsar, Meets His Fate In London

By SHERMAN STANLEY

Last week, in London's Westminster district, a young Sikh student and engineer named Mahomed Sing Azad interrupted a meeting of high Indian officials and retired British civil servants to put two bullets in the heart of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, former Governor General of India's province of the Punjab.

Azad, crying out that he was acting in the name of India's freedom, also wounded the Marquis of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, and two others.

Readers of the *Socialist Appeal* know that our movement does not support individual terrorist action which can never be a substitute for action on the part of the people of India for their independence. But if ever a man deserved the fate that was meted out to him it was Sir Michael O'Dwyer. That is why we, opponents of terrorism of this sort, must hasten to energetically condemn Mahatma Gandhi and his associates in the leadership of the Indian Nationalist Congress who instantly disowned Azad and threw his fate into the hands of the British authorities.

Who was Sir Michael O'Dwyer? It was he who, more than anyone else, bears responsibility for the worst massacre in India's history—the Amritsar massacre, which takes its place in world history alongside the Bloody Sunday of Czar Nicholas.

The Amritsar affair took place on April 13, 1919—almost 21 years ago. The Caxton hall assassination of last week was a reminder to British imperialism that the memory of April 13, 1919 can never be wiped out until it has been fully avenged.

THE POST-WAR WAVE OF REVOLT IN INDIA

After the last World War a revolutionary wave, stirred up by the actions of the Russian workers and peasants and by the total failure of the British to keep their hypocritical promises made during the war in exchange for support by India, held the country in its grip. The Indian Nationalist movement was progressing rapidly. In the historic Punjab city of Amritsar some 5,000 Sikh peasants and workers had gathered on April 13 to listen to Nationalist agitators. They were a crowd of men, women and children—totally unarmed—meeting in the city's open square known as Jallianwala Bagh.

Suddenly a contingent of British soldiers, with a few professional Indian troops, under the command of Brigadier General Dyer appeared. They had been sent by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to "restore order." These men were posted at the only exit to the walled-in square. Without warning—as General Dyer later boasted—they began to fire into the crowd. Before the slaughter was over 500 lay dead and 1,200 were wounded. Then the brave general withdrew.

The next day, as part of his admitted project of "striking terror into the whole of the Punjab," General Dyer issued his famous "crawling order" compelling all Indians to crawl on their hands and knees down the principal street of Amritsar. Such was British imperialism in action in the summer of 1919!

Never since India's first War of Independence of 1857 had the country been roused to such a fury. Dyer and his boss, Sir Michael O'Dwyer had to be withdrawn from India. Indian public opinion forced the creation of a Royal committee to investigate the horrible massacre. At the hearing both of these bloody imperialists defended and boasted of their actions. O'Dwyer assumed full responsibility and claimed that he had saved thereby British rule over the 400,000,000 Indian people.

BOSE WARNS OF COMING CIVIL WAR IN INDIA

(Continued from Page 1)

have been engaged in a bitter struggle for over a year. Gandhi and his die-hard right wing supporters have bent every effort to isolate Bose and strip him of his powers.

But Bose, supported by the jute workers of his home city of Calcutta, has fought back. Bose gave a clear statement of the platform around which he is seeking to overthrow the dead weight of Gandhi and his crowd.

Bose explained that he differs with Gandhi on three fundamental points: (1) The left-wing of the Congress, known as the For-

ward Bloc, wants complete independence from Great Britain. (2) Gandhi, at best, would take Dominion Status within the British Empire; Gandhi wants to indefinitely postpone the campaign for independence. Bose wants the campaign immediately launched. (3) Finally, Bose—even though in an extremely bewildered manner—understands that only socialism and industrialization can solve India's economic problems. To this Gandhi counterposes his Utopian and reactionary "hobbies" of religious worship, handicraft industry, prohibition, etc. The aim of these schemes is to return India to a stage which it had reached about 3,000 years ago.

The Ramgarh session of the Congress may well be of decisive importance for India's nationalist movement. Will it result in a split, with the radical and progressive elements going their own way? In next week's issue of the *Socialist Appeal* we will have a lengthy article on the results of this historic Congress session.

and cargo. The spray stops flying and the decks begin to dry. After three hours work (no overtime) the crew go below.

The break of a new day sees the ship driving ahead. The cold, wet spray is flying. The pigs lie together shivering like bowls of jelly. They are too tired to get up off the wet deck. Too tired even to get up and eat breakfast. They lie in three days accumulation of dung. The stench is terrific. The pig-man refuses to disturb the pigs to clean the pen. Phew! What a stink! With a tired crew and five thousand dollars damage the ship arrived thirty-two hours late. The ship could have arrived a few hours later but without any damage. Why did the captain disregard good seamanship and common sense to endanger the ship, cargo and crew? Pressure from the office to maintain a schedule.

What is this schedule that must be kept at any cost? Is it a new religion? A disease of the mind? Or just plain stupidity?

Before the depression the upper classes flocked to Europe by the thousands. Abysmally ignorant of the social sciences, they were easily taken in by the lies and hypocrisies that mask the rotten social structure of Europe.

They came back raving about "that wonderful man Mussolini. He makes the trains run on time!" This they repeated like parrots, until the entire boss-class believed 'trains on time' to be a modern miracle.

They proceeded to put this mental aberration into practice with religious fanaticism. All sorts of schedules were mapped out, with speed the essential factor. Men were driven nuts trying to make everything run on time.

Ships were no exception. Captains ashore and afloat had to maintain schedules or else. That is why ships are wrecked and sailors drowned when captains try to make port in a fog, cross treacherous bars in bad weather and plunge full speed into storms.

The stench of pigs and bosses get in our hair.

—S. U. P. No. 3248

(Reprinted from the "West Coast Sailor," March 1.)

STALIN IN FINLAND

(Continued from Page 1)

joining Finland, Christian E. Guenther, Swedish Foreign Minister, showed that the Allied proposal to send troops to Finland was designed more for the purpose of getting at Germany than to assure Finland's independence. To a certain extent Guenther is correct. But another primary motive of the Allies in sending troops to Finland would be to inflict a defeat on the Red Army, if possible, and if not, to keep Stalin busy so that he would not be in a position to help Hitler.

Why Hitler Wanted the Peace

It can be presumed that not only did Hitler agree to peace between the Soviet Union and Finland but he was actually pressing for it. While his general aim is to involve Stalin in a military conflict with the Allies, he obviously is of the opinion that, at this particular moment, Stalin can be of greater service to him if the Soviet Union is at peace. He was also anxious to avoid war in Sweden, for hostilities there meant a chance of having his supply of iron ore and other material cut off.

Nor is he very anxious to see Stalin entrench himself too strongly in the Baltic, for he realizes that any increase in the defensive strength of the Soviet Union makes his future task all the more difficult. However, his all-important problem is to defeat the Allies. He is perfectly willing to grant Stalin defensive positions if thereby the Nazi war machine can only achieve its main purpose at this moment.

What the Soviet Union Lost

It would be folly to deny that the defensive position of the Soviet Union, in a military sense, has been strengthened. But it would be greater folly not to realize that the defense of the Soviet Union depends primarily, not upon military strategic factors, but upon the sympathy of the masses throughout the world. Through the invasion Stalin brought discredit upon the Soviet Union; he destroyed the sympathy of the masses for the Soviet Union and tied them more firmly to the capitalist world. The loss to the Soviet Union because of that is far greater than the gains achieved in a military-strategic way.

No one except the misled people who blindly follow the Stalinist parties believed the absurd statements made by the Kremlin that Finland threatened to invade the Soviet Union and no one except those same people believe now that the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty is a tremendous victory for peace, as is claimed by Moscow and, of course, by the *Daily Worker*.

If and when the Allied imperialists should succeed in defeating Hitler and proceed with settling accounts with Stalin, or if the Allies should decide to invade the Soviet Union before defeating Hitler, it will be a thousand times more difficult to arouse the masses in opposition to such a war. Stalin has destroyed the faith of millions in the Soviet Union and has once more shown that the Stalinist bureaucracy is weakening the Soviet Union.

Stalin Is Not the Soviet Union

Millions of workers do not make the distinction that should be made between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Soviet Union. Stalin acts in the same manner as Hitler and from that they draw the false conclusion that the Soviet Union is the same as Germany. We condemned the invasion because we knew beforehand that no matter what victories the Red Army would gain, the Soviet Union would lose in the esteem of the working masses, because the masses, repelled by the invasion, would tend also to become indifferent or even hostile to the Soviet Union.

But we were staunch in our defense of the Soviet Union and favored the victory of the Red Army against the Finnish capitalist army representing the imperialist world. Recognizing that nationalized property still exists in the Soviet Union we must defend it in any war against a capitalist nation. All that one has to ask is: what would have been the result of a defeat of the Red Army in Finland? Nationalized property would have been endangered and that is what we defend both against imperialism and against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Has not the Stalinist bureaucracy strengthened itself because of the victory of the Red Army? Perhaps, yes, temporarily. But would not the Soviet Union be in danger if the Red Army had been defeated? We repeat what we have said a thousand times. The task of destroying the Stalinist bureaucracy is a privilege and a duty which the workers must reserve for themselves and not assign to the imperialists.

"Stalinist Imperialism" Theory Blasted

How will those profound theoreticians—the Socialist party, the Lovestonites and their similars—justify their theory of Stalinist imperialism? Undoubtedly they will make all kinds of gyrations to show that they are correct, but anyone who is not blinded by hatred of Stalin can easily see that what he is after primarily is to obtain defensive footholds. It is well-nigh impossible to explain what he has done thus far on the basis of the theory that he has entered into a partnership with Hitler to divide the British Empire or even (some have said it!) the whole world. Of course people do not have to consider facts; they can let their desires and imaginations run away with them. But then these people are not Marxists.

And when the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union will meet it will undoubtedly nationalize industry in that section of Finland ceded to the Soviet Union by the peace terms. It is true that this will be done in a bureaucratic manner and to that extent it is not what we want. But as against permitting industry to remain under capitalism, even bureaucratic nationalization is progressive. Let the middle-class democrats howl about "Stalinist imperialism," but Marxists will continue to make a distinction between imperialism and a degenerated workers' state which, when it annexes territory, takes property away from imperialism and narrows the base of world imperialism.

No one can say with certainty when and under what conditions the Soviet Union will find itself at war. All that our party states is: whenever the Soviet Union will be at war with any capitalist country we shall call upon the workers of the world to defend it because in doing so we are defending the first conquest of the World Revolution. For workers everywhere the main enemy is imperialism. The workers must do their utmost to destroy the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely in order to defend the Soviet Union most effectively.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING
PARIS COMMUNE
AND
LEON SEDOV MEMORIAL
Speakers:
Max Shachtman Editor, *New Internationalist*
Nathan Gould National Secretary, *YPSL*
FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 22
8:30 O'CLOCK
Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St., N.Y.C.
ADMISSION: TWENTY-FIVE CENTS
Socialist Workers Party, Local New York
Young Peoples Socialist League, N. Y. District
Aspices:

Centrism Did Its Bit During the Soviet-Finn War

By PAUL G. STEVENS

Among the centrists today united in the so-called "International Front Against War" (British Independent Labor Party, Lovestonites, French P.S.O.P., Dutch Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party, etc.), the Soviet-Finnish conflict has brought to the fore the deep contradictions which have been latent among them for years.

Thus we read in the German edition of the "Front's" information bulletin (January 1940): "Among adherents of the I.F.A.W. who have had an opportunity to discuss the question there are divergent views with regard to the character of the present regime in the Soviet Union." Some consider it, we are told, as still retaining the character of a "progressive workers state." Others, that it is no longer a workers state, that the bureaucracy is a new exploiting class and that therefore the workers should be for its defeat.

Some regard as motives for the war: the desire to strengthen the defense of Leningrad and to find other military-strategic guarantees for defense against Germany as well as the Allies—without excusing in the least Stalin's procedure in realizing these motives. Others think that the invasion of Finland is part of a great plan of conquest agreed upon by "Berlin-Moscow imperialism."

Some recall the counter-revolutionary character of the Finnish bourgeoisie under Mannerheim. Others regard the "resistance of the Finnish people against the Russian attack as a progressive national war." They believe that "the Finnish proletariat must participate actively in the defense of Finnish independence, maintaining their class independence in doing this, and desire the defeat of the Red Army."

After setting forth the existence of the divergent views in its ranks, the I.F.A.W. presents a resolution which contains the following main point: "Regardless of our opinions about the character of the present Russian state (!) and the motives for its invasion of Finland, that the methods employed by Stalin against the Finnish people must be condemned and attacked as counter-revolutionary . . . the Russian workers can not therefore be for the victory of the Russian (!) Army in Finland, but must desire the immediate cessation of the war. For a peace without annexations! For the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from occupied territories!" etc., etc.

How Do They Do It?

How anyone who still regards Soviet Russia as a workers state and considers Mannerheim's Finland as an outpost of world imperialism can consistently be "against the victory of the Red Army" in a struggle between the two is not explained. Nor can it be explained. For the centrists are here trying to reconcile two opposing class points of view.

How untenable this position is has been revealed by subsequent events. While the January resolution strained itself to avoid characterizing the Soviet Union in the terminology of Marxism, and in order to avoid commitments, speaks of the "Russian" state and the "Russian" army a resolution published by the same people in February throws all caution to the winds in this respect.

In "Independent News", the English language bulletin of the I.F.A.W. for February, we read something entirely different: "By appealing to the argument of 'strategic advantage' as a justification for a wanton attack against a small neighbor, Stalinist Russia puts itself in the category of imperialistic powers. . . ."

Logical Result of Their Theory

Whoever says "A" must say "B". Having discovered that Soviet Russia is an imperialist state, the I.F.A.W. now finds: "Because we sincerely believe in the principles of national self-determination, because we recognize the disastrous effects of Stalin's invasion from the standpoint not only of the Finnish people but also of the Russian people and of the international working class generally we sympathize with the Finnish struggle against the Russian invader. Of that there can be no doubt."

The new line permits their American section (the Lovestonites) and the Dutch (Sneevliet) to howl in chorus with the bourgeois press against "Soviet imperialism" and to identify the Communist Party with the German-American Bund, and to call for funds to be sent to Finnish "labor organizations", that is, to the social democracy which is in one bloc with Mannerheim. However, it does not yet prevent the Scottish Independent Labor Party from adopting a resolution which goes against the grain of this whole line: the latter, adopted at a conference on January 20-21 says:

"This conference, reviewing the events which led up to the present situation in Finland, condemns the foreign policy of the Russian government."

"We warn the workers, however, to be on guard against the intensive propaganda in which world capitalism seeks to canalize opinion against Russia. . . ."

"We therefore resolve to oppose the formation of a capitalist block against Russia and consider that we can best assist the workers and peasants of Russia by concentrating our energies against the capitalist, imperialist enemy at home."

The Finnish-Soviet war is concluded. But the imperialist war goes on. In this war, the class lines come boldly to the forefront. Within the workers' camp, in this war, is the Soviet Union which, despite Stalin and his degenerated bureaucracy, still retains the main economic conquests of the October revolution. Any attempt to slur over this fact, any attempt to find compromise formulas that reconcile two opposing class attitudes, are bound to shatter on the rocks of living reality. That is why centrism is doomed to disintegration. That is why one wing of the I.F.A.W. must of necessity go over to the camp of the treacherous social democracy. That is why another wing must approach ever closer the positions of the Fourth International. The actions of the Lovestonites, Sneevliet and company, on the one hand, and of the Scottish I.L.P. on the other, are merely portents of this trend.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. IV, No. 12 MARCH 23, 1940

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

Editors:
FELIX MORROW MAX SHACHTMAN
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—\$0-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.

The CIO on the FBI

At long last the Congress of Industrial Organizations has taken cognizance of the union-busting activities of Roosevelt's Gestapo, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The March 18 issue of the *CIO News* carries a full-page blast against Roosevelt's secret police.

Yet both the form and the content of this attack as it appears in the *CIO News* is of more than passing significance. The articles appear as signed news stories by two CIO newspapermen, reporting in semi-editorial fashion testimony given at hearings on the FBI before a Congressional appropriations committee and statements on the FBI by Senator Norris and various liberal newspapers. There is no official statement of the CIO itself or of any of its leading spokesmen on the FBI or on the Washington hearings. In this manner, the CIO leadership continues to avoid any definite public commitment.

Secondly, the articles are strangely abstract. They correctly state that the FBI "... is really directed at organized labor..." but the FBI activities to which they refer are: finger-printing industrial workers, compiling an index of subversive individuals, inviting snooping reports on activities and opinions of neighbors, and similar exploits. The MAIN anti-labor activities of the FBI during the last year are not mentioned by so much as a word!

Not a word on the prosecution of the Minneapolis WPA strikers, which was prepared by FBI agents acting as *agents-provocateur*—disguised as strikers. Not a word about the FBI frameup against the Sioux City, Omaha and Des Moines teamsters. Not a word about the recent FBI raid on the New York teamsters. Not a word on the hundreds of cases organized by order of the FBI's parent, the Department of Justice, against the AFL building trades unions, or its case against Joseph Ryan, the AFL longshoremen's leader. In short, not a word about the FBI attacks which are ripping into every section of the AFL.

Why is the CIO silent on the actual, current attempts to undermine and destroy a vital section of the American labor movement? Can it be inferred from this deliberate omission that CIO leaders, in flagrant disregard of the wishes of their own rank and file, are willing to stand by and do nothing and say nothing while the government savagely persecutes a "rival" union? Are the methods of the FBI any less anti-labor because they are directed against "rivals"? Do the CIO leaders nurture the secret hope that the anti-labor government will clear the field for them of their union "rivals"?

There is no information on their attitude—only these sinister indications and their tacit co-operation in the Arnold drive against building union officials. The CIO rank and file must be warned. If Lewis and Co. are toying with suicidal notions of using the FBI against the AFL they are playing with fire. The day after—and probably before—the G-Men finish their union-busting work in the AFL, they will move in on the CIO. The truth is that the government of bankers and industrialists in Washington, headed by Roosevelt, are much more concerned with smashing or domesticating the unions in the basic industries, auto, steel, rubber, coal, etc.—all CIO affiliates—than in crushing the AFL. If it is true—and it is, a thousand times over—that

the FBI is aiming its artillery primarily against the labor movement, what justification have the CIO leaders for not speaking up when the first shells have already fallen in the camp of the AFL?

It is a good sign that the CIO has finally observed the activities of FBI aircraft overhead. Now what are the CIO leaders going to do about it?

The Paris Commune

What happened in Paris on Monday—it was March 18, the sixty-ninth anniversary of the creation of the Paris Commune—? We scanned all the dispatches, but not a word had got past Daladier's censorship. But who, knowing the French proletariat, can believe that the anniversary of the Commune was not commemorated? In the darkest days of "national unity" during the last World War, when democratic illusions were far more pervasive than today, there were hundreds of thousands in 1914 and millions in 1918 who observed the day. And on May Sunday throughout the day a procession of workers wended their way to Pere Lachaise cemetery and there gazed on the Wall of the Federals, where French "democracy" perpetrated its greatest massacre of the Communards.

Remembering OUR heroic dead, the revolutionary martyrs who died for the World Socialist Republic, who died in the only war worth fighting and dying for, the workers of Paris were thereby remembering what is to be done.

To commemorate the Commune is to condemn as traitors to the working class the Leon Blums and Joulhaux, the "socialists" and trade union bureaucrats who clasp the hand of Daladier in "national unity" against the "Prussians."

For in 1871 the Prussians held the gates of Paris after a victorious war. The bourgeoisie called for "national unity" so that France might recover... for another war. In the name of national unity they attempted to disarm the Parisian working class which had armed itself during the war. For to the bourgeoisie, Paris in arms was the revolution—it had been that in 1792, 1830, 1848. This time the bourgeoisie did not have its way; the masses of Paris answered them by establishing the Commune.

Those renegades from Marxism, the "socialist" worshippers of legality at any price—they call it "democratic socialism"—have a hard time re-moulding Marx in their image. The Commune stands between them and Marx. He called it the work of "our party." In its justification he wrote *The Civil War in France*. The Commune, he declared, "will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society." Explain that away, Messrs. Norman Thomas and James O'Neal! Marx had a name for their kind: "parliamentary cretins."

The Social-Democrats have tried to reduce the meaning of the Paris Commune to a confused clash forced upon the workers, the revolutionary structure and legislation of the Commune being explained away as desperate defensive measures having no permanent significance for the international working class. But Marx and Engels declared that the Commune had taught them "the finally discovered political form under which the emancipation of labor could take place."

What that political form was, Engels sharply reminded the German socialists on the twentieth anniversary of the Commune:

"Of late the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

In accordance with their pseudo-left turn, the Stalinists have been celebrating the Commune. What a travesty! Stalin is as alien to the Commune as is Leon Blum. Not only because, like Blum, he was yesterday embracing the Daladiers.

We quote Engels on the lessons of the Commune:

"The working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it, and on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment... And in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers."

Stalin celebrates the Commune! Stalin, who can recall anybody but cannot himself be recalled; whose "elections" are a replica of Hitler's plebiscites; who more than a decade ago abolished on behalf of the parasitic bureaucracy the rigid rule which prevailed under Lenin and Trotsky that no Communist could receive more than a stipulated wage equivalent, as in the Commune, to that of the skilled worker.

Revolutionary struggle and workers' democracy—these two aspects sum up the meaning of the Commune. To these we remain faithful. For us the Commune is not the occasion for a perfunctory festival but the living sinew of our daily work and thought.

A Soberly-Compiled History
Of Kuusinen's 'Peoples Gov't'

By RUTH JEFFREY

All during the Finnish War there was, according to the *Daily Worker* and the rest of Moscow's press, a People's Government of Finland. It pleases us to compile for posterity the *Daily Worker* day-by-day History of the People's Government of Finland.

Dec. 2: One week after "the provocative firing on Soviet troops by Finnish army units stationed on the Isthmus of Karelia" (*Daily Worker*, Nov. 27), "A Finnish People's Government was established in the town of Terijoki in eastern Finland under the leadership of Otto Kuusinen, veteran Finnish working class leader. The first act of the new government was to proclaim its program for a free and sovereign and independent Democratic Republic of Finland. . . . Representatives of several Left parties and Finnish troops who had rebelled against the anti-Soviet war of the Finnish ruling class met in Terijoki and agreed on formation of the regime. . . . In the critical situation caused by the anti-Soviet war, says the government proclamation, 'the wide masses of the Finnish toiling people . . . consider it their elementary right and their sacred duty to take the fate of the fatherland into their own reliable hands.'"

Dec. 3: (front-page streamer headline)
"USSR, Finn Peoples Gov't. Pledge Mutual Aid; Soviet Cedes Karelia."

Dec. 4: "Revision of the frontiers between the Soviet Union and Finland, provided for in the treaty signed with the People's Government of Finland, was officially announced today. Soviet Karelia became part of Finland."

Dec. 5: The Soviet government refuses an offer, transmitted through Sweden, for new negotiations with the Rytty government of Finland, on the ground that the Soviet government only recognizes in Finland the existence of the People's Government.

Dec. 9: "Greetings to the People's Government of Finland have been adopted at numerous mass meetings in the liberated parts of Finland."

Dec. 11: "The People's Army of the Democratic Republic of Fin-

land is now engaged, with the aid of the civilian population, in clearing populated centers of Schutzcorps officers, wreckers and White Guards. The People's Army men look splendid and are well armed."

Dec. 15: (A headline)
"U.S. FINNS VOW SUPPORT FOR PEOPLE'S GOV'T"

Dec. 17: The Soviet Government quotes to the League of Nations its pact with the People's Government of Finland, which "insures peace."

Dec. 21: The D.W. denies that there is any truth in the N. Y. Times story of Dec. 20, which tells of "the People's Army of Finland" using medieval uniforms which came from a museum. The D.W. says: "Who ever heard of a museum containing enough uniforms—all of them over 200 years old!—to outfit an army?"

Dec. 21: (Stalin had a birthday.)

"KUUSINEN HAILS STALIN IN NAME OF FINN PEOPLE"

Dec. 29: "Finn People's Army Hails Stalin As First Defender of Freedom"

Jan. 7: (A biography)
"Who is Otto Kuusinen, the Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Government. . . .? 'Who is this Finnish leader who signed . . . a treaty . . . with Molotov. . . .?'"

Jan. 14: Paavo Prokkenen, "Minister for Karelian Affairs" praises Stalin for sending supplies to "Finnish towns freed by the Red Army."

Jan. 19: (Headline)
"Finnish People Create a New Life Behind Red Army Lines"
"The work of the People's Government is difficult, but is earning thanks. It is creating a new country in the midst of innumerable difficulties. The shoots of the new life are being nurtured."

Jan. 22: "Despite harsh censorship . . . news is leaking out of growing mass support which is being given directly and indirectly to the Democratic People's Government of Finland, headed by Otto Kuusinen."

Feb. 4: "Very important things are taking place in Eastern Finland, which has been liberated by the Red Army and the People's Finnish Army. In the villages of Salmi and Suojaarvi one can see the new life brought to the inhabitants. . . . As yet both villages are but sparsely populated. . . . (but) each district has a representative of the People's Government of Finland. . . ."

Feb. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; March 1, 2—Nothing.

Mar. 3: "In December 1939 the newspaper *Kansan Valta* (People's Power) began publication in the liberated districts of Finland. Every number of this paper, of by and for the Finnish people, published by the People's Government . . . discusses practical activities of the People's Government and the cultural and economic construction in the country."

Mar. 8: (A front-page feature article)
"As the Finnish White Guards totter to their fall, let us take a look at the old and the new ruling classes of Finland, as personified by Field Marshal Baron Carl Gustave von Mannerheim and Otto Kuusinen."

"The Finnish people know both of these men. . . . They know Kuusinen, the friend of Lenin and Stalin. . . . Finnish workers of New York tell many stories of their hero, Kuusinen. . . ."

Mar. 9: Very incidentally, in any editorial, he is termed "Otto Kuusinen, head of the Provisional People's Government of democratic Finland."

Mar. 13: "PEACE IN FINLAND!" Across the front page, the text of the peace treaty, beginning: "The peace treaty between the USSR and the Republic of Finland." What happened to the peace treaty between the USSR and the People's Government of Finland is not mentioned, that day or any other.

Mar. 20: "The economic and cultural life of the city of Viborg is under the supervision of the representative of the Leningrad Regional Soviet, Borisov."

Organized Unemployed
Force Gains In Flint

(Continued from Page 1)

This is the first time in the last couple of years that an unemployed union has actually made the local relief officials talk turkey, and like it, Welfare Administrator Van Geison has made a name for himself as "Flint's Little Hitler" and over and over again had declared he would never meet with union committees. But today he not only met with a union committee, while two hundred shouting, singing union members jammed the outer offices, but made a regular appointment to see the union welfare committee in weekly meetings.

The latest ruling this Van Geison had pushed through the Welfare Board was one tried in many localities, the confiscation of license plates of all car owners on relief, forbidding welfare clients to drive a car. That was particularly serious in this auto city where other forms of transportation are practically non-existent. The union demonstrators forced him to back down on this ruling, and have assurance that license plates of union members will be returned, after the formality of presenting their cases as grievances has been observed.

Previous to this demonstration the welfare department refused to give any medical aid to clients. Now it's a different story, and all due to the action of the union members.

This is only one in a series of successful actions recently carried out by the WPA-CIO union. Until today all the fire of the union has been turned on the WPA administration. In a rapid-fire campaign of five or six weeks of fighting, the union has succeeded in taming and training the WPA officials. The city administration has been forced to dig into its coffers and sponsor a half dozen new WPA projects, never thought of before the pressure of the unemployed was put on.

Now the first gun in the campaign to whip the local relief administration into line has been fired, and it hit the mark.

The demonstration began at 10:00 a.m., and gradually gained momentum. A picket line of a hundred men and women braved a snow storm to march up and down outside the Welfare build-

joining in the singing of "Solidarity" with their fellow CIO members who were out in the cold in more ways than one.

Van Geison, the relief administrator, was hung in effigy, and a black coffin was carried commemorating those who have starved while General Motors has piled up its profits of hundreds of millions of dollars every year. Picket signs carried such slogans as "Bread not Bullets", "All War Funds to the Unemployed". Especially popular was the slogan one sign bore, "General Motors has locked us out . . . Demand the 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay".

You need in your library
a copy of

- A HANDBOOK OF MARXISM by Emil Burns
- A HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by Trotsky
- THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MARX AND ENGELS
- A SET OF THE LITTLE LENIN LIBRARY SERIES

One of the above or any selection of books up to the value of \$3.00 is

Yours For The Asking!

Come in and HELP YOURSELF!
We will make you a gift of \$3.00 worth of books.

What Must You Do?

1. Join our Book Club by making any purchase, however small.
2. Purchase \$10 worth of books at their list price over a period of a year.

To make this remarkable offer even more irresistible, we are giving away with every initial purchase of \$2.50 or more your choice of one of the following:

"THE CLEFT STICK"

by WALTER GREENWOOD
author of "Love on the Dole", woodcuts by Wragg

"FAMINE"

by LIAM O'LAHERTY

both originally published at \$2.50

JOIN NOW! Membership Accepted on the Above Basis Only Until May First!

Modern Bookshop

27 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK CITY

Lovestone Weeps
With Pity for
The Bankers

By JOSEPH HANSEN

In his article published in the March 2 issue of the *Workers Age*, official organ of the Lovestoneites, Mr. Graham places the label "Trotskyite Super-Ham-and-Eggs' Plan" upon the emergency demands which the Socialist Workers Party suggests the labor movement make upon Congress. These demands include the following immediate legislation: \$10,000,000,000 for the unemployed, a 30-hour week at minimum pay of \$30, disability and old age pensions of \$30 a week, and \$3,000,000,000 for the youth.

Such demands, claims Mr. Graham, are not feasible under capitalism and therefore should not be raised by the labor movement. He attempts to prove this by pointing to the national income and the federal income and then deducing that these sums are not large enough to carry out the demands of the suggested program. Such arguments, we note in passing, are the stock in trade of all the attorneys of the capitalist system from the Chamber of Commerce right down to the most miserable pettifogging labor lieutenant of Wall Street.

(Mr. Graham draws the moral that our suggesting such demands indicates "again and once again the Stalinists and Trotskyists have something in common—an unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses." This from the Lovestoneites who white washed the Moscow Trials and who are now shouting that it is possible—under capitalism!—to "Keep America Out of War.") Are these emergency demands feasible? Is there not enough wealth available in the United States to provide food, clothing, shelter, and jobs for everyone immediately? Let us see.

It Can Be Done!

If it is merely a question of raising the national income or of providing the necessary funds which Mr. Graham believes the present federal income could not provide (under the present tax structure controlled by Wall Street), here are some practical proposals which if carried out would immediately make possible not only the granting of the above emergency demands but far bigger and more important needs of the poverty-stricken levels of the populace:

(1) Open the idle factories and run them at full capacity, providing jobs for all the unemployed in productive enterprises at trade union wages. This would immediately raise the national income, about which Mr. Graham worries, to many times its present figure. True, some of the coupon-clippers might have to take a factory job, but what they lost in dividends from their stock would be made up hundreds of times over by what the workers gained in wages. And who, aside from the Lovestoneites, would concern themselves about the whining objections of the stockholders who now live by exploiting and plundering the poor?

(2) Expropriate the parasitic Sixty Families who now dominate and control the nation's industries and who operate them for their private benefit at the expense of the rest of the population. This would immediately provide far more than the amount of funds necessary to carry out the proposed emergency program—thus answering the Lovestoneite objection that the federal income is inadequate to supply the funds we call for. True, the Sixty Families would find it somewhat distasteful but again who, aside from the Lovestoneites, feels any tenderness for these completely useless and decayed aristocrats of high society?

(3) Run the national industries under the control of factory committees elected by the workers. If the workers themselves controlled the industries, even though they were still "owned" by the capitalists they could be trusted to see to it that the productive system was run at maximum efficiency and that all the secret bookkeeping, the secret deals, the swindles and frauds which now bleed the enterprises of the nation would be ended. Under this control, the workers could even guarantee their former bosses \$30 a week (if they worked 30 hours a week) or a pension of \$30 a week if they were old or disabled. Under such control of industry by the workers there would be a tremendous leap in production that would immediately raise the national income and the federal income far above the present figures.

Any one of the above three proposals, or all three taken together, if carried out, would provide the answer to Mr. Graham's objections that there aren't enough funds available. And as a starter, just to relieve the worst cases now awaiting the pleasure of the relief authorities, how about the approximately \$18,000,000,000 in pure gold now lying idle in the vaults at Fort Knox? Why not put this money to work relieving human distress? Why not distribute it immediately as a bonus to the unemployed, the underpaid, the aged, the youth, and the disabled while Congress gets the machine greased to put into effect the proposals which would have a more permanent effect?

To add up our proposed demands on a capitalist adding machine as the Lovestoneites have done—in an attempt to prove solely on the basis of the present national income under capitalism in its death agony and the present tax structure as controlled by Wall Street that these demands are not feasible—is sheer blockheadedness, an unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses.

The Masses Are Not Doomed!

We cannot agree with the implications of Mr. Graham's article that the unemployed, the youth, the aged, and the disabled are doomed to suffer without hope of any gains whatsoever until socialism is securely established. A militant fight on the part of the masses for emergency appropriations by the present Congress would bring greater returns than even those outlined in the program carried on our front page masthead, if the militant fight mobilized the entire working class for the demands.

This program, we are the first to point out, does not offer a permanent solution. We have never claimed that it would. Only socialism can do that. Our entire program is designed to reach that permanent solution, to provide the oppressed masses with a program which will show them the road to that permanent solution.

But there is absolutely no reason for anyone in a land as rich as this going hungry, ill-clothed, or shelterless while the toilers are organizing for socialism. Emergency appropriations by Congress are in order to relieve the present nation-wide distress immediately. It is high time that the labor movement pitted its colossal power in a struggle for this elementary right.

(A third article on this question will appear next week.)