Turn War Funds Over to the Unemployed!

The Forgotten Man



BY LA GUARDIA

While 'Little Flower' Waxes Noble Over Cleveland!

Mayor LaGuardia, with his usual nose for good publicity, was piously indignant about the colhe were really concerned about the condition of the unemployed, however, his own backyard can stand plenty of cleaning up.

85,000 Families Dropped jobless families received either home or work relief. Now only 275,000 families are getting re- Nation," Paul Kellogg, editor lief

63,000 New York Some workers have been dropped from the WPA rolls. which. in 1938, averaged 163,000 a month and are now just over 100,000.

The same kind of slashes have taken place on the home relief rolls. In 1938 an average of 197,000 families and single individuals were on the relief rolls. According to the latest available figures (Dec. 1) there are now only 175,000 cases on home relief.

Needy Refused Relief The drop in the WPA and rejobs. Nearly one out of two fa-(Continued on Page 2)

N.Y.RELIEF ROLLS CIO and AFL Officials CUT TO SHREDS Protest Mpls. Frameup

Carey of CIO, Padway of AFL, and 22 Others Sign Message to Roosevelt on WPA Trial

Judge Joseph A. Padway, counsel to the American Federation of Labor; James B. Carey, secretary of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and 22 other labor and liberal figures, have joined in an appeal to President Roosevelt, asking him to direct the Department of Justice to cease such practices lapse of relief in Cleveland. If as the prosecution and conviction of WPA strikers in Minneapolis recently, it was made public Jan. 8 by the Workers Defense League.

Others included among the signers are Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, Roger Baldwin, Director of the Amer-Last year 360,000 of the city's ican Civil Liberties Union; Arthur Garfield Hays and John F. Finerty, Upton Sinclair, Fred Kirchway, editor of "The

> of the "Survey Graphic," Sleeping Car Porters.

The letter assailed the Minneapolis proceedings as "sublief rolls has been deliberately versive of the true interests of Barnes, the historian; Alfred engineered and doesn't at all justice and opposed to the let-Bingham, editor of "Common mean that those dropped have ter and spirit of Constitutionmilies applying for relief don't al guarantees for a fair trial."

violate the relief act' clause. under which the strikers had Harry W. Laidler, recently been indicted, had not been inelected Labor Party council-tended by Congress to "be used against organized labor" and deman of New York City; Jos- against organized and our eph Schlossberg, general sec-democracy that striking workers, Clothing Workers of America, and Ashley L. Totten, secica, and Ashley L. Totten, sec- ed to apply to such conduct and retary of the Brotherhood of tried en masse, thus being refused a fair trial."

Other signatories to the letter

Norman Thomas: Harry Elmer Sense"; J. R. Butler, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union; Prof. George S. Counts, It said that the "conspiracy to president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL); Mary Fox, executive secretary of the Sleeping Car Porters (AFL); and sums to arms expenditures." Dave Reed, district president of ica (AFL).

The letter follows: "Dear Mr. President:

"The undersigned view with grave concern the nature of the (Continued on Page 2)

Behind the Lines By GEORGE STERN It now appears to be the gen-

eral expectation that the spring of this year will witness the unfolding of the first really decisive phase of the second world war.

Those who with maps in hand try to gauge the plans and intentions of the warring powers now draw a wideswinging arc from Scandinavia through the Balkans to Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and India to indicate the probable scope of the war's extension in the coming months

And from India it is necessary to extend the blood-red line of early downfall of Hitler and war up into China, to the Philip- bringing Germany into the antipines and Japan, and across the Soviet front. Pacific to the United States.

calculations that the Soviet-Fin- strategists have not concluded nish war assumes its more exact that the Russians are a pushover. proportions. Hanson Baldwin, one But they have modified their earof the shrewdest of the clan of lier notions about Soviet strength military experts, writing in the and have acquired new confidence New York Times, says:

"The Finnish-Russian can no longer be viewed as a side show, dissociated from the main conflict. Clearly another manifestation of the same illless that convulses all of Europe, the war on the Northern Front is not only politically allied to the war in the West, but is undeniably becoming part of the same strategic picture. Finiand and the Scandinavian peninsula are the left flank of the the decisive flank."

Other dispatches, from London, have strongly suggested that the Anglo-French combination is more and more Federal indictment and prosecubasing its war plans on simultaneous struggle against the Soviet Union and Germany, discarding temporarily the previous strategy of breaking up the Moscow-Berlin axis by bringing about the

From the revelation of Soviet It is within the context of these weakness in Finland the Allied in their ability to cope with the pooled forces of the German-Soviet combination and to deal a decisive blow to this twin threat to Anglo-French supremacy on the

European continent. This new confidence and the changed strategy that flows from it is indicated in many

(Continued on Page 3)

RISE IN PARIS A rise in the price of Czarist bonds on the Paris Bourse was reported Jan. 3 by the Wall Street ticker service of

the Associated Press in the

following terms:

CZARIST BONDS

"Some series are quoted at 10 compared with 6 or 7 before Christmas and 4 or 5 three or four months ago. Owing to the almost negligible price of these bonds whose nominal value is 500 gold francs, some operators have been encouraged by the Russian failure thus far to overrun Finland and are speculating on an overthrow of the Soviet regime.'

Socialist Appeal

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

Vol. IV, No. 2

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 13, 1940

FIVE (5) CENTS

F.D.R. WAR DEAL BUDGET SLASHES RELIEF FUNDS

Million To Lose Jobs To Feed War Machine

Stripped down to its plain meaning for the working class Roosevelt's proposed budget for the coming year means:

650,000 to be fired from WPA-

250,000 to be fired from PWA-

Slashes in NYA and CCC equivalent to a loss of another 100,000 full-time jobs— ONE MILLION JOBS WIPED OUT BY ROOSEVELT'S BUDGET.

And all the money for these jobs, plus a lot of other money that should be going for ore jobs, is INSTEAD turned over to the WAR MACHINE.

Battleships and cannon are to be built, if Roosevelt has his way, out of the hides of

e unemployed workers and their children. The "needs" of "national defense" are the excuse for slashing the work relief and public

Rumbles of Revolt In French Army

The first report in the capitalist press of mutinies in the French army appeared in Time magazine, Jan. 8, the facts having "trickled into Paris at the heels of men home on this war's first furlough."

"Metropolitan troops from Tunis were said to have been n a state of near mutiny ever since their arrival in France, heaving bread and canned corned beef at their officers, obliging the French to keep them surrounded by a constant guard. The 31st French infantry, after marching 120 kilometres (72 miles) in three days, refused to march the ourth day, threw their arms into ditches, sat down in the road. They were not punished."

BITTER ECHO"

Open Attack On Administration

Taking alarm at the new war League for Industrial Democra-budget proposed by President cy; John C. Granbery, editor of Roosevelt, the CIO sharply critithe Georgetown, Texas, "Eman-cized his proposals "to put cipator"; Rev. John Haynes through deep slashes in relief, Holmes; A. Philip Randolph, public works and social services

"The cheers which rang from the Progressive Miners of Amer-the tory benches of Congress when President Roosevelt promised to slash appropriations for unemployment relief and all other than war purposes, will have a bitter echo in millions of Americans' homes in the coming year," the CIO News warned editorially,

Jan. 8. gress the next day," the editorial explained, "proposes drastic cuts for public works and other essential social services to make more money available for armaments.'

ment Director, estimated that the present budget means a cut of PWA, which has been providing about one quarter of a million jobs, is cut out entirely. NYA is population a decent living. cut from 100 million dollars to

Unemployment to Increase At the same time the research departmnet of the CIO found that 'All signs show that the United States production index will recede sharply in the first three months of 1940, bringing increas-(Continued on Page 2)

"The budget presented to Con-Ralph Hetzel, CIO Unemploy-

works employment rolls. But the same "needs" don't cost the coupon-clippers anything. MORE MONEY IS PROVIDED IN THE BUDGET TO PAY "INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT" THAN IS PROVIDED FOR WPA. There's a billion for WPA and a billion plus one hundred million dollars provided for the coupon-clippers! The ten million unemployed and their families get less than a tiny handful of

government bond-holders!

noney provided by the budget. The capitalist press, conniving with Roosevelt, reports a figure for "national defense" of \$1,800,000. That's bad enough — nearly twice as much as WPA gets-but it tells only part of the story. Roosevelt deliberately spread various armament items in different parts of the budget, and some of them he buried altogether under other headings, to make it impossible for the workers to know how much he really plans to spend for the war machine. But here

War Department ("non-military").....\$ 45,000,000 U.S. Maritime Commission (naval auxiliary). 149,000,000 "Civil" Aeronautics Authority..... Navy Department (under "public works").... 50.000.000 War Department (under "public works").... 223,000,000 "National Defense" — "regular"..... 1,539,000,000 "Emergency National Defense"...... 300,000,000

are some of the figures, so far as they can be located:

FOUR MILLIONS.

TO FDR BUDGET But even this is only part of the story. There are items hid-under no circumstances should be used for a period of more den under provisions for the Coast Guard, the Federal Bureau than six weeks. The allowances of the State of Michigan of Investigation, naval and military projects under work re- have been and are even more damnable. CIO News Voices First lief and public works. Other items chargeable to previous wars and war expenditures include a half billion for veterans' pen- troit welfare services. Emergency food orders have been dissions, most of the interest on the national debt, etc. The real figure, if we could go behind the smokescreen figures of the budget, would probably be close to FIVE BILLION DOL-LARS FOR THE WAR MACHINE.

That's FIVE TIMES AS MUCH AS THE UNEM-BACKED BY PLOYED ARE GETTING.

Not even the President pretended that America was in president of the Brotherhood of and agencies, while adding huge any danger of attack. No, that war machine is being built to

Whose interests will the war machine protect? NOT the interests of the ten million unemployed, whose fight for existence is right here and now and AGAINST the bosses and their government.

NOT the interests of the eight million families now certified by local relief authorities as without means of existence and when you're certified by those buzzards you're starving! militant South Jamaica organiza- the care of 4,500 Aid to De-

manage to live on a family income of less than \$1,000 a year. ion—was host, last Saturday aft- 1940. When these cases were be-The 8,000,000 families who are "continually facing star- ernoon, to twenty-five delegates ing taken care of under the city vation" and the other eleven million families who are "fighting or Queens 1200r and pro-1200r a mother and one child received organizations, called into confer-\$44.23 per month with which to poverty"—they are described in those terms in a chart in the ence to draw up a program of provide rent, heat, light, gas, record of the government's Monopoly Committee's hearingsamount to 76,000,000 men, women and children—the vast erable conditions of the tens of state a mother and one children—the vast thousands of underprivileged ceive \$24.00 per month with 650,000 WPA jobs below last majority of this country. They've got nothing abroad to pro- families in that borough of New which to pay for the same servicyear's average. In addition, the tect. THEIR enemies are right here at home: the bosses and York City. bosses' politicians who won't permit the great majority of the

> Since the crisis began in 1929, six million young men and lief Workers League; the Amerwomen have grown up and entered the market for jobs the Workmen's Sick and Death without finding them. Where are their enemies? Their en- Benefit Association; the Veteremies are those who won't give them jobs, right here in an's Benevolent Association, of time will leave its mark indel-

In a shabby attempt to justify wiping out one million jobs, Party, and several other organ-WPA JOBS—Roosevelt says he "has taken into considera- izations. (Continued on Page 2)

In order to meet the continuing employment and relief crisis, and to provide jobs and a decent living for the people of the United States, 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 all employable 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

4. Appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

vernment bond-holders! The banker-munitions-makers get directly most of the Relief Crisis Grows Acute In Detroit

Public Welfare Head Predicts "Crisis That Is a Crisis" This Month

DETROIT—Now in the first pangs of an approaching relief crisis, Detroit will, within a month, in the words of G. R. Harris, Superintendent of Public Welfare of the City of Detroit be faced with a "crisis that is a crisis".

Blame for the crisis is being used as a football, being kicked by the city to the state and the federal government and then back again. But the unemployed take the rap.

Relief budget allowances of the City of Detroit for the These easily identified items come to the staggering total past few years have been so low as to have been characterof TWO BILLIONS, THREE HUNDRED THIRTY ized by the United States Department of Agriculture in its health report as a "dangerous budget" and as a budget which But even this is only part of the story. There are items hid- under no circumstances should be used for a period of more

Now further retrenchment steps have been taken in De-

Queens; the Unemployed and Re- can only be termed outrageous,

To Push New York

ican Labor Aid; several locals of

(Continued on Page 2)

continued. Cases must now be completely investigated before any aid is given. This investigation often requires a period of two weeks for completion during which time the LABOR GROUPS applicant continues to starve. Curtailment of the services of one of the city hospitals and the abolition of one of the Form Permanent Body city pharmacies has already

been approved. Unemployed Demands Under the State Welfare Act, passed by the last session of The Unemployed and Relief the state legislature, the state Workers League of Queens- has taken over from the city tion affiliated with the Unem-pendent Children cases. This be-NOT the interests of another eleven million families who ployed and Project Workers Un- came effective on January 1, of Queens labor and pro-labor a mother and one child received united action to better the mis- food, clothing etc. Under the es. It must be remembered that Represented at the conference the city budget had been termed were the Ministerial Council of "dangerous." The state budget

> criminal, and death-dealing. Growing children are forced to subsist on a budget which even if used for only the shortest period comprised of WPA veterans of ibly stamped on their minds and Queens; the Socialist Workers bodies. Many of these mothers have already made known the

plight into which they have been (Continued on Page 2)

BLAMES LEADERS

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

FOR DIVISION

ing in the January issue of the Construction Workers Organizing solidarity." Teamsters International Magazine, Daniel J. Tobin, President minor disaster for the CIO. of the largest and most powerful union in the AFL calls upon the two organizations.

"Less than one dozen men on both sides are responsible for the tempting to sign contracts with division of eight million workers. the building trades bosses by esagainst labor, and labor leaders and poorer working conditions

part of our lives trying to enact sent time. legislation embodying in princi-Washington before committees, partment of Justice. disputing wth each other over the provisions of this act, arguing with one another, hating each

Calls For Mass Meetings

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

Tobin, it will be recalled, sharply criticized the Padway report on the AFL policy concern- get it, according to Welfare ing the Wagner Act at the 1938 Commissioner Hodson's own figconvention and made strong plea ures. for the resumption of peace ne-

twelve-state North Central Area bureau for assistance and that Committee two years ago and only 66,000 of these had been the subsequent organization of found "eligible." In his latest rehundreds of thousands of over- port to the Mayor, Commissioner the-road drivers, the Teamsters Hodson boasts that the relief bu-International has become the reau spent \$1,200,000 less in the most powerful labor union in this last few months than its budget country and probably — this is called for. This "saving" came disputed by the miners—the lar- right out of the hides of the city's gest. Tobin, for several years, has jobless been the most consistent advocate of labor unity and is a can- in the city's employment rate to didate, it is believed, for the Pres- justify this dropping from the idency of the united labor organ- rolls of 85,000 families and the

Dealer and a close political been particularly unimportant in friend of the White House. It is New York. Half the city's workentirely possible that this new ing population is engaged in perin cooperation with President portation-Roosevelt. Roosevelt is interested pations directly affected by war in seeing a united labor move- orders—and most of the other workers to fight more effectively as printing and the garment infor their rights, but because it dustry.

AFL and the CIO should, how- starving. Negro Harlem is espeever, take up this campaign to cially discriminated against in reforce through the resumption of lief, as in hospitals, schools, etc. movement, with full rights of the standards here are as high as ment, they understand most conjude to the standards here are as high as ment, they understand most conjude to the standards here are as finite source and the standards here are a industrial unions preserved, not anywhere in the country. That is sciousy and are most deeply after the death and begin to feed the huntirely. Drastic cuts in WPA and lects. drive but to strengthen the hand true. But what that means confected by the war measures and gry and provide jobs for the un-relief have, as their accompaniof labor and the effectiveness of cretely is shown by these figures: the trade union movement.

אוסל ואוסל ואוסל! The Spartacus Dance Group announces the opening of classes under the direction of Leah Dillon.

Mon. & Wed.-7:15p.m. 119 East 17th St., N. Y. C. (bet. Union Sq. & Irving Pl.)

Speech of Leon Trotsky

recorded on two discs; made for the New York meeting celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International in this country.

Only 50 sets available

\$6.00 each per set

Get Yours To-day! Send check or money ordernot cash.

Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York, N. Y.

Lewis Playing With Dynamite In Building Trades Drive

Committee, may yet end as a

Lewis is playing with dynamite. rank and file membership of both an industry that is organized by the CIO and the AFL to "rise the building trades unions, the up and demand" a complete ces- most powerful and richest group sation of hostilities between the of International unions in the AFL. Secondly, because he is at-

are facing reaction tablishing lower hourly wages 'We have spent the greater tion of the industry at the pre-

ple that contained in the Wag- the aid of and cooperating in the pending in Washington as a re- this country, CIO included. ner Act. Isn't it pitiful to see reactionary anti-union drive of sult of jurisdictional disputes and It is the duty of all progres men of labor down there in Thurman Arnold and the De- Justice Department agents are sives in the CIO today to demand

FBI Snooper Hired In last week's issue of the

of Assistant Attorney General putes are in restraint of trade apart.

ndustry, started with so much by Lewis to the staff of the trust statutes. noise and fanfare by John L. UCWOC and pointed out that Lewis and his brother, A. D. this short sighted move constitu- cently recognized jurisdictional

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

the building trades.' **CIO** Features Prosecution

Socialist Appeal, we pointed out building structure.] The Depart- wings of the trade union move that Russell Turner Sr., an aide ment's theory is that these dis-ment, not pushing them further

The CIO drive in the building Thurman Arnold, was appointed and hence illegal under the anti-

"Government officials have re In a notable editorial appear- Lewis, Chairman of the United ted "a shameful violation of union strikes and craft union restrictions as a major factor in retard ing the construction industry. Witnesses before the anti-monothis marvelous new acquisition to poly Committee have offered senextent of craft union abuses in this industry. .

A Suicidal Policy The CIO News gives the un

mistakable impression that it favors the insidious union bust ing campaign of the Department of Justice. It is either passively The same issue of the CIO tolerating or actively cooperating News carries the following story in this campaign, which if sucthan prevail in the organized sec- in connection with the Construc- cessful would not only weaken tion comittees organization work and eventually destroy the AFI in Washington, D. C.: "Several building trades unions, but the Third, because he is enlisting indictments of AFL officials are whole trade union movement of

reported investigating the cur-that Lewis call a halt to these rent tieup. [A strike of AFL la-| suicidal policies and devote his borers on the 12-story RFC time and energies to uniting both

NY RELIEF ROLLS CIO Foresees 'Bitter Echo' To FDR War Budget (Continued from Page 1)

(Continued from Page 1)

gotiations between the AFL and through October), Commissioner Since the formation of the people had applied to the relief

There has been no improvement unity campaign was worked out sonal service, trade and transment, not because it will help the workers are in such occupations

will aid him in integrating the labor movement behind the war machine.

Even if a family gets on relief, it now takes ten days to get "emergency relief"—"emergency"

WPA wages-these are the relief "aristocrats" were cut this fall. They now average about \$14

7c A Meal

a week.

But this is positively lavish by the Home Relief Bureau.

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

Such a family now gets about \$730 a year for all its expenses: the letter and spirit of constitu- from a government of law to a food, clothing, rent, gas, electric-

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

Labor Statistics, for a family less than the "emergency" budg- eting such projects, action similar since the jurors, who might recall et which Mayor LaGuardia's own other cities. On July 14, disorder only the more damaging evidence. Committee on Unemployment on the picket line resulted in the will apply such alike to all the Relief set up for a family of four. death of one picket and the defendants involved. The "Emergency" figure was wounding of several bystanders \$992.72. The Committee's nor- and pickets after police had dis- been guilty of any overt acts of mal" budget for a family of four persed the picket line with bul- violence, they are liable for these on relief was \$1399.68, almost lets and tear-gas. double the \$730 actually paid.

The Mayor's Committee recom-

ed unemployment and distress.' cmain unemployed.

that it "will continue to call for of the budget for work relief is more not less public works, un- a direct blow to the maintenance Reviewing four months (July til all the jobless have work at of their wage scales and their undecent wages; for more adequate ion contracts. Hodson reported that 120,000 social and security services; and for advance and not retreat in leadership reacts so quickly and their own. The first notice of legislation increasing govern- with such sensitivity to this braz- eviction has already been receivment's responsibility and effectiveness in promoting the public throw an additional million welfare.'

First CIO Attack

This marks the first official attack of the national CIO leadership upon the Roosevelt administration. Three months ago, to preserve their leadership. John L. Lewis told the CIO convention at San Francisco that the President's War program calls for the employment of 2 passed a motion urging the CIO "should be supported by the Conthree million workers on public Industrial Council to immediately dency of the united labor organication.

Two Kinds of Unity
Tobin has been an ardent New Dealer and a close positical rimited by the CIO leadership is forced to restrictly possible that this new particularly unimportant in generation with President no cooperation with president not cave and to consider and council to immediately three million workers on public greates and today the people and cave should be supported by the Cooperation with three million workers on public greates and today strike and all other interested groups, that this occur in the cave with providing journal council to immediately and all other interested groups, that this occur in the cave will incorporate the cave will incorporate the cave will incorporate the cave will unemployed young people to the corporation of president three million workers on public greates and today in three million workers on public constant to immediately and all other inte

Budget Hits CIO

anti-union moves of the Roose- employed.

The very existence of a stand-Although business has reached ing army of ten million unem-1929 levels, 10 millio nworkers ployed workers constitutes a terrible threat to their security and The CIO concludes by stating working conditions. The slashing That is why the present CIO

en provocation of Roosevelt to ed. Undoubtedly more will follow. workers out into the streets. Lewis and his advisors feel the that they must act if they are Workers of America, CIO, the

Militant Action Needed

The three million odd members is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-lief is a regular part of the cycle ant-families who formerly lived of the CIO consist, in the main, housed; even this program will of life for workers here. A mili- on the site; complete equality beof unskilled and semi-skilled remain a dead letter, unless the tant fight now to prevent cuts in tween white and Negro families mass production workers employ- rank and file membership begins relief is the only assurance that in the allocation of available ed in the very nerve-centers of an earnest fight to have the CIO, there will be any relief at all in apartments, that is, 50% white news in every conceivable man- more real workers' action in The rank and file of both the meaning the family is literally American economy: coal, steel, in cooperation with the AFL, inauto, glass, clothing, etc. They augurate a great national camcomprise in addition the most paign, relying on militant actions militant and aggressive section and labor demonstrations to force of American organized labor. By the U.S. Congress to stop wast- of the general relief crisis of the of the very small percentage of struck, and it included a stateregotiations for a united labor movement, with full rights of the movement, with full rights of the movement of sless of the movement of the mo

CIO and AFL Officials But this is positively lavish compared to the budgets allowed by the Home Relief Bureau. Protest Mpls. Frameup FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED must be made a keyslogan in this fight.

tion of 162 residents of Minne- tempts to defraud and cheat the ery issue of the Appeal must be apolis and St. Paul, charged with government; certainly, Congress part of every local fight for reconspiracy to violate the relief did not intend that this statute lief. act. The entire proceedings seem be used against organized labor. to be subversive of the true in- Such an interpretation of the law terests of justice and opposed to would transform this Republic ity, ice, medical care, carfare, tional guarantees for a fair trial government of men.

"The facts are relatively simple. During the recent WPA indicted reflects a kind of a strike, Minneapolis WPA officials witch-hunt rather than any true did not shut down the affected consideration of the facts involvprojects although the strike re- ed. The insistence of the prosecuceived overwhelming support in tion upon mass trials of as many that city. Under such circum- as 25 persons at one time (a prostances, the strikers and persons cess more suited to the mockery sympathetic to them began pick. than the respect of law) is preju-The relief bureau budget is also to that which took place in many dicial against the defendants

Perverts Law's Intent

"The indictments by a Federal striking workers, engaged in mended that both the food and grand jury took place soon after- peaceful picketing, are prosecuted rent allowances should be in- wards, charging 162 persons with under a Federal statute which creased "at once." That was in conspiracy to violate the relief was never intended to apply to 1935. The relief families are still act. It seems to us that the true such conduct and tried en masse, purpose of the conspiracy clause thus being refused a fair trial.

(Continued from Page 1) | in the statute was to punish at- | Congress now being carried in ev-

"Further, the number of people

"If any of the defendants have acts in the proper courts. It is inimical to our democracy that

Re-elected By 3-1

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

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

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

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

DETROIT GROWS Also on the executive committee is Otto Popovich, well-known

the same mail received a state- by the Queens Committee. ment of rent due of \$25.00. What which to feed, clothe, and pro- Hodson. The program includes: vide heat for herself and her child for one month? Should she refuse to pay the rent and face an eviction? This is the dilemma into which these mothers have been placed through no fault of

Labor Movement Acts

The first steps have been taken hot breath of dissatisfaction and by the labor movement to comrevolt on the part of millions of bat this situation. Local 79 of the their members, and understand State, County, and Municipal union of employees of the Detroit Welfare Department, at its The CIO legislative program membership meeting on January

inadequate as it is to meet the emphasized too strongly. Because now rising in South Jamaica. that were using products of so that the job may be done real needs that exist today among of the seasonal nature of many The unemployed organization destrike-bound plants. the "one third of the nation" that Detroit industries, a period on re- mands the rehousing of all ten-

Part of National Crisis

ment, tremendous increases in the budget for war.

Progressive workers must fight for more than merely to retain the miserable relief doles which we have at present. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEM-

The program of demands in

man's, Green & Co. publication.

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

Fascism and Big Business (paper cover) \$1.00

IN COMBINATION

Combination of 3 (3 of each) 3.50

Combination of 5 (5 of each) 6.00

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

A detailed exposition of fascism, its coming to power and

the forces that make it possible. 300-pages, by Daniel

BACKED BY LABOR GROUPS

(Continued from Page 1) Among the endorsements re ceived from organizations unable quirements substantially." to get delegates down to this first meeting, were those from the Painters District Council of

Queens.

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

Delegations to the conference voted to solidify the group into decline after December." a permanent organization, to be known as the Queens Committee for Unemployment Relief and end Reusle of the Ministerial Council was elected chairman. is Otto Popovich, well-known Queens unemployed leader. Local Relief Demands

A specific program of improvement in local handling of relief cases-which Otto Popovich together with other delegates of placed although the state took the Unemployed and Relief these cases over only two days Workers League presented perago. One mother and her child sonally to Borough President received a check for \$30.00 and in Harvey last week-was endorsed

The borough president declared should she do? Should she pay that he would take all points up jobless. the rent and have only \$5.00 with with Commissioner of Welfare (1) For the unemployed:

a. Relief for all needy in 72 hours. Emergency cases should be give naid within 24 hours. b. A 40% increase in relief to make up for the rise in the cost of living caused in part by the real estate gouging and

the World's Fair. c. Monthly clothing allowance of \$5 for each adult and \$3 for each minor

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

b. A \$50,000,000 program of

Workers League, in its immedi- breaking force of the law enforc- den that we could easily do withagainst relief slashes cannot be apartment slum-clearance projand 50% Negro; and the inclu-The Detroit crisis is only part live in South Jamaica, instead 7-Up Bottling Co. while it was

N.Y. Membership Meets Jan. 17 A Party membership meet-

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

NEW YORK, N. Y.

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

Dan Tobin Renews Demand for Labor Unity Million Jobs Cut TEAMSTER HEAD Local 544 Leaders Re-elected By 3-1 April 1 - Description of the property of the pro

(Continued from Page 1)

tion the current improvement in business conditions."

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

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

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

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

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

"Most observers expect that indexes of production will

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

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

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

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

WORKERS' FORUM

HOUSTON WORKERS SHOW ROAD TO ALL SOUTH

Editor: In a recent edition of the Appeal I read a very interesting letter in the Workers Forum from spend most of their time trying

worker in Memphis. ern characteristics. Houston is strikes. And while these big-shots not in any sense a paradise for are expounding their pacifist docworkers. But in this district the trines and preening their feathworkers have won privileges that ers, the rank and file have the

have been denied in other cities. | job of doing the real organizaand maintain our picket lines ning to see that these high-sal-The Unemployed and Relief without meeting direct strike- aried labor skates are only a bur-

ondary picketing of all places ourselves in organization work

Press Is Anti-Labor papers have constantly carried about, the workers are far from anti-labor propaganda in their being disheartened, and there columns and have distorted labor seem to be great prospects for ner. On one occasion, for in- Houston than we have ever sion of the same percentage of stance, the Houston Post carried known. relief families in the project as a full-page advertisement for the, picture of finks on the job to

> particular strike directly caused they will remember. the signing of agreements with five other bottling companies.

Of course, we have the Lewis and Green cliques here also, in the way of organizers and stoog-

es. These self-esteemed big-shots to show the men the advantages I realize there is a difference of the Labor Boards and the New of conditions between Memphis Deal, how much better it is to and Houston, but each of the cit- negotiate, arbitrate and comproies is heavily marked with South- mise than it is to have violent 1. We have been able to strike tional work, and they are begin-

Educate, Organize!

It is better that we educate right. In spite of all the disappointments that Roosevelt and On the other hand, the daily the labor fakers have brought

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

Memphis may be a tougher nut prove that there was no labor to crack than Houston, but no matter how tough the situation, Shortly therafter six of the there is always work than can be company's seven trucks were de- done. Organize if possible. If it molished on the streets so that is not possible to organize workthey were not in any shape to be ers at the present time, in your of use; and before these trucks district, you can keep agitating had been repaired, the company and explaining the injustices signed a closed shop contract that are being done. What you with the strikers and agreed that |tell the workers now may not no one would be prosecuted for seem to make an impression, but the so-called violence. And this never fear, when the crisis comes.

Pasadena, Texas

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

Below is the list of new subscriptions obtained during the past week. We point out to all literature agents that this represents a low point in subs obtain-

ments to visit contacts and for- ment!

NEW YORK CITY..... 3 PHILADELPHIA 3 Baltimore 2 Syracuse 1 Minneapolis 1 Akron 1 Newark 1 Glen Ellyn, Ill..... 1 Total:14

Monthly branch statements are ed in a one week period and urge now being sent out to all branch all agents to renew their efforts literature agents. Please make to get new subscribers as well as sure to put consideration of these bills on your local branch agenda Is your branch making assign- and send us in a substantial pay-

SPECIAL Living Thoughts of Marx \$1.00 A new 200-page condensation of Karl Marx's CAPITAL, Vol. I, with a brilliant introduction by Leon Trotsky, dealing in a large measure with the American scene. A Long-

Negro Question ≡By J. R. JOHNSON=

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

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

Recalling Another Film!

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

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

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

Langston Hughes' Role

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

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

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

"Rediscovers" Negro Question

In 1929 it was the policy of Moscow to carry on a vicious campaign against all capitalists, and every section of the labor movement that was not Stalinist. That was their notorious third period. In accordance with this line, they were prepared to make the film exposing American capitalism. As soon, however, as the capitalists gave any indication that they opposed it, the Moscow bureaucrats, as usual, capitulated. From 1934, on the other hand, they began their new policy of support to the "democracies" against the fascist imperialists. During this period, behind all their noisy talk, they capitulated on every front to what they called the "democratic forces." Roosevelt was their hero, Eleanor Roosevelt their heroine, and their chief care was to penetrate as far as possible into those elements of capitalist "democracy" which they thought might be useful in furthering the alliance between America and Russia. They shoved the Negro movement as far as possible into the Negro National Con-

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

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

Some Pertinent History-Past and Present

"POOR LITTLE FINLAND"

By CHRIS ANDREWS

open the door to Russia."

waging war against the Finnish the rule—not the exception. state, seeking to conquer by arms what he could not obtain by neneasure in a military sense—his e can close "the lock to Russia."

lickspittles, from Herbert Hoover asked were granted. on the right to Norman Thomas on the left, have denounced "Communist imperialism", and praised "Finnish heroism, Finnish patriotism, Finnish democracy"

ad nauseum. It is necessary to considerwhat is Finland? Is it a democthe workers and peasants? Are the Finns a united people behind parliamentary majority. General Mannerheim? Do they have something to defend? Does the class struggle exist in Fin-

FINNISH HISTORY—THE BACKGROUND OF TODAY

for 700 years. The descendants en pressing ahead of their Russtitute only one tenth of the population, but are the vast major-Many of them speak only Swedpeasantry and the city proletar- shevik Russia.

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

by the landlords; they became them."

the keys to Finland, and I will without regulations of labor, for Trotsky. a Finnish peasant, bound to his For five weeks Stalin has been landlord, a sixteen hour day was

From a social basis of such misery a new political force, the Let a bourgeois historian, J. gotiation-military bases in Fin-Social Democratic Party, finally Hampdon Jackson, describe it: land which would give him con- emerged by 1902 and grew raptrol of the main sea entrances to European Russia and to Leninthe rural poor. On the outbreak War of Finns against Finns, the large and leavest Societ either the rural poor. On the outbreak was a Civil have us believe that the Finns grad, second largest Soviet city. of the Russian Revolution of old Finland of yeomen farm are a united people. Stalin's invasion is a defensive 1905, the Swedo-Finnish ruling owners and pastors, led by the FINNISH "DEMOCRACY" position will be much stronger if when they were unable to take es, against the proletariat of the The brutality and stupidity of out toward independence from peasants. It was fought with the Stalin's attack, the clumsiness of Tsarist Russia. The city and agri- terrible brutality which is pecuhis campaign, have given the cultural workers demonstrated liar to class conflicts". world bourgeoisie a long-awaited the true weight of the proletaropportunity to attack the Soviet iat in the modern state—through Union upon moral grounds. Day their party they declared an allin and day out, their conscious inclusive general strike. The Tsar agents and their unconscious capitulated and all the reforms

THE BOLSHEVIKS OF FINLAND

in the world ever to receive a

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

In 1917 the revolutionary movement in Russia and Finland moved along parallel lines, with The Finns were conquered by the Bolshevik section of the Finthe Swedes and exploited by them | nish Social Democratic Party ev of the Swedish rulers are still sian comrades. Kerensky threatmilitary action and denied them independence. Lenin advocated ity of the ruling bourgeoisie. their right to independence; he had the highest admiration for ish and are ignorant of Finnish the Finnish proletariat, and knew which is the language of the they would not break from a Bol-

Of this period, Trotsky writes in his "History of the Russian "Finland became Revolution": who left the local government in from the first a thorn in the flesh of the February regime. Thanks to the bitterness of the agrarian The Industrial Revolution problem, in Finland a problem prought to the peasantry of Fin- of "torpars"—that is, small enland the same horrors as in Eng-slaved tenants—the industrial Hoover launched his "Help Fin- publishers of the daily swindle land—so powerfully described by workers, although comprising on-Marx in "Capital". Their com- ly 14 per cent of the population, drums and the strains of martial lots, besides leaders of Scandinamon land was ruthlessly seized carried the rural population with

landless laborers. Some fled to By September 1917 the Finns

Behind the Lines

(Continued from Page 1) ways and at many points along the prospective war fronts of the immediate future. The British and French are pressing hard upon Sweden a guarantee of aid against Germany in order to relieve that country's qualms and make it an open channel for large scale military aid to Finland.

In Rumania, where only yesterday there was a mood of capitulation to pressure from the Kremlin and from Berlin. King Carol now sings a new defiant tune. Italy has made it quite plain that extension of the war the anti-Soviet front. into the Balkans will bring her into the war, in effect on the side of the Allies. In Turkey large troop movements are taking place across the quake-devastated areas toward the Caucasion frontier. From India Britain has been bringing up large forces for action in the Near East.

On the Far Eastern front—the najor theater of American intera highly fluid state. The Krem-in's haste in yielding important their negotiations is proof that and pasted together, reads: Washington's pressure on Japan s bearing fruit.

The two pacts signed last week by Moscow and Tokyo were both diplomatic triumphs for Japan. Moscow agreed to conclude a long-term fisheries convention — which she had been refusing since 1936—and accepted the Manchukuo claims reducing the final payment due to the Soviet Union on the Chinese Eastern railway. Finally, Moscow agreed to negotiate border demarcation agreements everywhere along that vast 3.000-mile frontier marked so often by armed clashes during the last seven years.

Nothing loath to snap up such cheaply-won gains, the Japanese have at the same time apparently

with Moscow go too far. Only role in this farce, ably seconded some such assurance can lie be- by a supporting cast of other hind the tentative wait-and-see politicians and lackeys of the policy adopted by Roosevelt with bosses. There was Governor Stasespect to the expiration of the sen, of Anti-Labor-Bill fame, apanese-American trade treaty Mayor Leach, whose cops shot on Jan. 26. Instead of going right unarmed WPA strikers in the them with tear gas. He con-plause greeted the remark, that ahead with discriminatory levies streets last summer, and the renaimed at Japanese trade, the ad- egade, Senator Shipstead, who ployed to starve while he poured bit of a twinge! And there are ministration has dug up a moth cast the determining vote in the billions of dollars down the rat- any number of Finnish immidays of President Grant to just- appropriation. ify a "modus vivendi" leaving Chairman of the meeting was ministrator during the war, we like in the Finland from whose

On January 27, 1918 the class

class revealed their impotence Swedish-speaking educated class- IN ACTION advantage of the events to strike towns helped by the landless

1939. The bourgeoisie had pre-The Social Democrats advanc- butcher who commands the Fin- stricted only in regard to the For the land the landowners gave ed rapidly and by 1916 the class nish army today. They received struggle in Finland had reached arms and supplies from England. such a high level, the rural and financial support from the United city proletariat had become so States, and the Germans sent a

> Of 100,000 prisoners, men and women, taken by the bourgeoisie, they executed at least 15,000 in cold blood, and allowed 15,000 to 20,000 more to die of starvation and disease in their concentrathe documented record.

of the proletarian insurrection. brothers, sisters, fathers and mothers in the White Terror the struggle of January to yet the shameless scribblers and

Since 1918 the Finnish bourgeoisie has remained in absolute control of the Finnish state, set up by them to enforce and guarantee their property rights leading members being condemn-The detailed story of this pro- against the Finnish masses. The letarian tragedy has been faith- state checks, restricts, and finalfully told in Victor Serge's ac- ly dissolves at the dictates of count, reprinted in the Socialist the bourgeoisie the political and Appeal of Dec. 9, and Dec. 16, economic organizations of the workers, their unions and their pared their White Guards under parties. The President has extration, the bourgeoisie presented a General Mannerheim, the same ordinary decree powers; he is re-Budget, a matter of personal concern to Finnish capitalists.

ruling class.

the exploitation of the city; the were in open military opposition | It is upon this bloody pile of pled by the murder and imprisothers became the helpless vic- to the Kerensky regime. "Essen- slaughtered workers and peas- onment of its leaders. The bour-The German General Luden- tims of the landed gentry, and tially the Bolsheviks had here al- ants that the new Finnish "Re- geoisie has therefore found it dorf advised his officers: "Finland lived in squalor and misery, ready established a dictatorship public" rests. It happened only possible to permit parliamentary is the lock to Russia. Give me Without liberties, without unions, of the Soviets in Finland", writes 22 years ago, and there live to- activity—but not to the revoluday in Finland thousands of rev- tionists. The Bolsheviks of the olutionary men and women of Social Democratic Party left it struggle in Finland entered its the proletariat who took part in to become Communists—and highest point with the outbreak the struggle, were imprisoned were outlawed. The Social Demand suffered in the camps, lost ocrats remain legal; for that broken reformists.

The Army remains under the control of its reactionary officer what is Finland? Is it a democ-politically mature, that in spite whole army corps to intervene clique. Side by side with it, the of the rural poor, "cottagers", land? Are the reverses of the obstacles of the bourgeois against the workers. The Russian bourgeoisie maintain a private who only received two hectares Red Army due to the methods of Parliamentary system, the Social Bolsheviks were beaten back, the storm troop force of 100,000 (5 acres) maximum, had to pay the Stalinist bureaucracy, or to Democrats got 103 seats in a Diet Finnish Red Guards cut off and the Stalinist bureaucracy, or to of 200 the only Society Party Cyanybalmed after hearing agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the Stalinist bureaucracy, or to of 200 the only Society Party Cyanybalmed after hearing agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the Stalinist bureaucracy, or to of 200 the only Society Party Cyanybalmed after hearing agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the Stalinist bureaucracy, or to only Society Party Cyanybalmed after hearing agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the Stalinist bureaucracy, or to only Society Party Cyanybalmed after hearing agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the Stalinist bureaucracy, or to only Society Party Cyanybalmed after hearing agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy, or to only Society Party Cyanybalmed after hearing agreement to the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum, had to pay the stalinist bureaucracy agreement troop force of 100,000 (a acres) maximum agreement troop force of 100,000 (a the Stanmst bureaucracy, or to of 200, the only Socialist Party overwhelmed after heroic resist-outgrowth of the White Guard of stated that the "cottagers" could struggle for existence, the Fin- in the lumber camps in the winnish workers are confronted with ter time and had cash. the police power of the Finnish

> How does Finnish "democracy" work? What is its record? The no compunctions about "demoction camps—all this in a country bourgeoisie rules over a proleof only 3,500,000 people. This is tariat bled white by the Civil ed the protests in 1923 by arrest-War and the White Terror, crip-

the ruling class today. They constitute only one tenth of the popmilitary action and denied them Hoover Whoops It Up For 'Holy War' In Finn Drive

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

By HARÖLD SWANSON

auditorium here Dec. 29, Herbert anti-labor forces of this city; land" fund drive. To the blare of sheets, and high-salaried sky-pimusic, amid yards of colorful vian-American patriotic groups bunting and flowing streamers, These accompanied by a lot of flag- fought every progressive movesentiment for a holy war against strikes of 1934, not one of them the Soviet Union.

Anti-Labor "Humanitarians" of the fund, played the leading

crust. Among them may be found MINNEAPOLIS-At a meet- members of the Associated Ining assembled in the municipal dustries, citadel of the organized "humanitarians" waving, the meeting proved to be ment of the working class in this a propaganda device to whip up area. In the famous Teamster's lifted a finger of protest when "Bloody Mike" Johannes, police Hoover, as national chairman chief, murdered unarmed strikers. Now they are all yelling for the conviction of the 162 WPA strikers who have been indicted.

Recall Hoover's Record Washington to demand their bo- ty years ago. It wasn't much and nus payment, Hoover dispersed it wasn't clear, but a ripple of apdemned millions of the unemeaten ruling dating back to the Senate which cut the last relief holes of insolvent banks and degrants in these parts who recall funct corporations. As food ad- with a chill what conditions were matters approximately stationary Charles Bolles Rogers, treasurer remember him best for the meat-shores they departed not so many until a new pact is arranged with of the Van Dusen-Harrington Co., less, wheatless days, and the years ago. They know full well Japan. And to get that pact the grain firm. Patrons and patron- high prices of sugar and butter. that the workers have had to Japanese will have to enlist in esses of the cause include about In and out of the presidency he fight every inch of the way seventy families of the upper is part and parcel of the govern-lagainst the Mannerheims.

party is directed by the house-Under Finnish "democracy" there has been a continued and brutal repression of the elementary rights of the workers. The Socialist Workers Party was organized by 1920 and at once assumed control over the trade union movement. It affiliated itself to the Comintern and was

immediately banned; 20 of its ed to long prison terms. Nevertheless, in 1921 (campaigning under another name) the party received 128,000 votes, 14.5 of the total. In response to peasant agitafarcical "land reform" program. up, they received government bonds bearing 7% interest, which the peasants had to pay back to

the government. A large section 1918. At every step in their pay extra interest as they worked

In the agitation against this infamous scheme, the Communists played a leading role. With racy" the governing class silencing 140 leading members of the Party, including the 21 legally elected members of the Diet. More than 400 years of imprisonment were dealt to them. But in 1924, with a new party name, the Communists managed to receive 11.6 of the votes. And in spite of persecution, evading the ban by setting up a legal front under another name, in 1929 they were receiving almost 15% of the

(Continued next week)

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

Rest assured, however, that not all of the people at the meeting swallowed this pious fraud without a grain of salt. The renegade, Shipstead, made a reference to Germany's aid to capitalist Fin-When the veterans came to land against the revolution twen-

Lovestone Shows Norman Thomas How to Do It

By FELIX MORROW

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

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

Their Crushing Answer to Us

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

Thomas Was A Bit Hasty

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

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

Lovestone's "Clever" Formula

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

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

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

Lovestone Sets His Demands

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

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

Oakland Leader Gets Death Threat

"Get out of the union before it's too late. You had a TASTE of what happens to REBELS.

Don't count on your Trotsky

her: the Stalinists. Here is the record: Fought Stalinist Betrayals

The reference to a "taste" by trade, Mrs. Saturley got a job demanded names of union mem- nothing in the East Bay where it shows that the sender of the note on the WPA project, and immedibers. She refused and the police was once very strong. was involved in the attempted ately joined the new union. She gave up the investigation. kidnapping and blackjacking of was the first worker on her pro-Mrs. Saturley in July, 1938. In ject to join and helped organize view of the whole past record of the project. In April, 1936, there the case, her associates in the was a WPA strike and Mrs. Satthe struggle against the Stalinwhile the union member on guard urley to notify all labor papers of fighter on the picket line. She ists. Her car was tampered with was away, a man attempted to the situation in order as far as fought the Stalinists and they possible to publicize the facts and began a two-fold campaign thus hamper those whom they be- against her. On the one hand they lieve responsible for threatening tried to win her to join the CP, on the other hand they began a

against her.

2. That winter the PWUU was treated the police were called to Saturley and began to grow. The dissolved into the newly-formed investigate. Recognizing her as Workers Alliance, on the other Workers Alliance. A bookbinder a militant union organizer, they hand, has dwindled to almost

4. Prior to and after this blacksearched, etc.

Given Moscow Trial they will not let their flirtationWorks and Unemployed Union in fight for democracy in the union. She was charged as a Trotskyist, to safeguard Mrs. Saturley.

OAKLAND, California—Ailene | Oakland early in 1935 when she | The Stalinists increased their | disrupter, etc., and was given no Saturley, one of the most active first received relief. She soon be- threats. In July, 1938, Mrs. Sat- opportunity to answer the chargfigures in the militant Federal came known as an active militant urley was kidnapped by a man es Following the trial, the Youth Unemployed Union here, received in the struggle for better condi- she had never seen, and at the Local of the Workers Alliance major theater of American interest—the combinations are still in
the life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Kremher life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Kremher life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Kremher life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Kremher life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Kremher life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Kremher life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Kremher life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Kremher life, postmarked in Oakland a fighter against the Communist

The Krem
The K party machine which ruthlessly house near the corner of 14th of workers from all locals in the The letter, consisting of words controlled that union. In the fall and Linden. Outside the house East Bay either resigned or just The letter, consisting of words controlled that union. In the latter was and letters cut out of newspapers of 1935 she and fifteen other she broke loose. Her kidnapper walked out of the Alliance. workers resigned from the PW- beat her with a blackjack but she 6. The Federal Unemployed UU because of the betrayals of managed to break away and fled. Union was then organized with the unemployed by the Stalinists. At the hospital where she was the aid and leadership of Mrs.

Guarded By Union Members

7. Union members are on conjacking, Mrs. Saturley was "ad-stant guard at Mrs. Saturley's frequently, eavesdroppers kept get into the house. He failed. The watch on her, her rooms were next day the threatening note ar-

Since the GPU rats dread the 5. Finally in June, 1939, the light of day, exposing this in the campaign of slander and threats Communist party machine gave labor press may save Mrs. Saturher a typical Moscow trial in the ley. The Federal Unemployed Un-1. Mrs. Saturley, mother of two 3. Following the strike Mrs. union (the Socialist Appeal relion intends to issue a leaflet for indicated to Washington that grown children, joined the Public Saturley became the center of a ported the story at that time). distribution through the East Bay

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 2

Saturday, January 13, 1940

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

FELIX MORROW

Editors: MAX SHACHTMAN

General Manager: GEORGE CLARKE

Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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

Two of a Kind

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stalin's Friends

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

They claimed to number millions, only a few months ago. Loudly down the years they paraded, one after another, the swiftly changing slogans of their master in the Kremlin. They pro claimed themselves the stoutest defenders of Workers Alliance? Stalin's brutal purge and the witchcraft trials, As the Roosevelt-Woodrum-Bricker-LaGuardia

when they departed no one knows. Where and forced down to ever more subhuman levels, many by what vote and for what reasons they dissolved of the unemployed are no doubt wondering what themselves, no one knows. Their liquidation came hit the Workers Alliance. How can it be that a once-militant union like the Alliance has colto light just like the many "liquidations" they lapsed so miserably? hailed in Moscow. It was casually announced in For an excellent brief description of what has a statement about something else to the press by happened to the Workers Alliance we have only to go to Herbert Benjamin, who has been for their chairman, Corliss Lamont, gift of the Six- vears the Stalinist power behind the throne of ty Families to the Kremlin.

In the course of a statement apropos of the rade Benjamin, in an article on Dies Committee, Lamont said: "The American ployed Movement in the U.S.A." Friends of the Soviet Union, practically dormant as a national organization since 1936, actually went out of existence some time ago."

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

What has happened to these "friends" at a time when Stalin needs friends as never before? What has happened to all the hoarse professors, the Park Avenue pinks, the Fifth Avenue Fellow Travelers who filled the vociferous cheering section when the Kremlin Cæsar turned his wolves loose on the last remnants of the old Bolshevik Comrade Benjamin is not "confessing". He Party? Where today are all these writers of reso- wrote these words in The Communist for June, lutions, signers of telegrams, these sitters in soft history he himself is largely responsible for seats who were to be the bulwark of the Soviet bears out word for word the accuracy of his anland against those who traduced and attacked it? alysis. No, Comrade Benjamin is not "confessing"

They are gone, all gone in a great passing of —but can he put off the day much longer? wind, gone with the "friends" of the Vincent | Socialism Comes to Finland Sheehan stripe. Anybody who troubles to look reporting Red Army victories in Finland, vicinto the crowded compound of liberals, pacifists, tories which have been suppressed by the rest fakers, liars, cowards who have rushed with the of the press. So, too, with the advance of socialwar back into the folds of their capitalists mas- ism into Finland behind the tanks of the Red ters will find all Stalin's "friends" there. There, cialism reported by the **Daily Worker** day after after all, is where they always belonged. Having day, not a word in the N. Y. Times. But now at cheered when Stalin dealt blows at the October last a stride has been made that is so gigantic revolution, they are ready to cheer now as the capitalist world gots ready to cheer now as the capitalist world gots ready to child be to suppress it. capitalist world gets ready to strike both at Stalin It seems that on December 11, 1939—historic and what remains of the October revolution.

frontery to call us enemies of the Soviet Union! Times does not specify just where Karku is, but We answered them: we would defend the real we may assume, considering the progress of the Soviet Union—the economic conquests of Octo-ber—against Stalin and against the capitalist Working People's Front swung into action. world, including Stalin's "friends." When the Boldly, it took over the goods of a local trading test came, we said, we would be found at our posts while the "friends" would have fled to the company and, after making a careful inventory of them, it proclaimed—a reduction in the price enemy. It has happened.

CRUDE, BUT CLEAR ENOUGH

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

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

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

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

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

De Valera-Turncoat

The English haven't had to send new Black conformist" elements. and Tan contingents to Ireland so far, because this time they've got de Valera working for them. French democracy and the vanishing point.

Having taken his pieces of silver from his English masters, the present-day head of the Irish government is turning on his former com- Monzie and Bonnet is tolerated by the governrades of the Irish Republican Army with noth- ment. The same situation holds true, we learn, ing less than Black and Tan savagery.

With the aid of a hysterical campaign seeking that Paul Faure hailed the "Munich" peace. On to tar the I.R.A. fighters with the Nazi brush- the other hand, the Leon Blum wing of the party, (de Valera himself was called an "agent of the by the authorities. Some of its most prominent Kaiser" the last time)—de Valera has put members are being sent to the front. Blum was, through the Dail a law authorizing imprisonment of course, militantly "anti-Munich". All of which without trial for any persons whose liberty is would seem to indicate that the Daladier regime, on the fence most of the time, is at the least deemed injurious to the safety of the State. leaving the door open towards the conclusion of

De Valera's police, cheered on by the Cosgrave "opposition," are hunting down members of the Troubles of the British Empire I.R.A. and all known friends and sympathizers of the struggle for Irish freedom. De Valera's Indian seamen who are the backbone of British challenge has been taken up by his former com-shipping in the Far East. rades, and days of struggle in the midst of a when they reach ports which seem to them to

De Valera is teaching the bold revolutionists not to shed one drop of blood for the Empire. of Ireland—had they need to learn it?—that had quit refused 100 per cent increases in pay compromise with England will never make their and preferred to remain on the beach. The govcountry free. It is our fervent hope that they will ernment had to import, by airplane from Calalso learn in this struggle that they will never win that freedom in isolated elements have been dear a native "strong" man—to break their resistthat freedom in isolated skirmishes, however dar- ance. However, he has met only with partial sucing or audacious, or by bomb, grenade, rifle, and cess. Despite his presence, a Lascar crew held a machine gun alone. When they rally the workers public demonstration in Sydney at the end of of all Ireland behind them in open, united, mass out of the war and demanding relief pending restruggle, they will find the path to victory.

-By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

What Happened to the

Now of a sudden they are gone. How and federal, state and local relief standards are

Alliance president David Lasser. Writes Com-

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

date!--the inhabitants of the Finnish village of And these were the people who had the ef- Karku assembled and elected a "committee of the Working People's Front in Karku". (The of matches from 2 marks to 11/2 marks. Nor did the Working People's Front stop there in its headlong rush towards socialism. It marked salt down from 21/2 to 11/2 marks, and slashed the price of coffee from 20 to 16 marks a pound.

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

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

Discouraging days for Comrade Kuusinen whose revolutionary program turns out to be lagging behind not only the Finnish labor fakers but even behind the Finnish bourgeois government itself. But anyway, matches now cost 1/2 mark less in Karku.

Correction

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

A Little Anthology of War Poetry, No. 2

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

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

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

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

In the World of Labor 💳 By Paul G. Stevens 💳

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

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

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

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

The difference in working conditions under the French "democracy" and the Nazi dictatorship

We mentioned here last week that the agitation of the bourgeois "pacifists" like Flandin, dealso for the Paul Faure wing of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.). It must be remembered What else did the Black and Tans try to enforce? a truce with Germany, in order to direct its guns

Latest to stir rebelliously against the Union

Jack are the lowly Lascars, those native East

European war are ahead once more in Ireland be approaching the war zone. They are intent

November, declaring its firm intention to stay patriation to India.

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

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

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

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

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

Labor Looks Through The Press

By Arthur Hopkins =

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

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

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

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

PEACE LOVER

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

by James Burnham

Government

Roosevelt's War Budget For Whose Defense?

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

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

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

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

What is to be Defended?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And Whose Nation?

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

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

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

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