

# With Lenin! Against Capitalist War

## Socialist Appeal

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

LET THE PEOPLE  
VOTE ON WAR

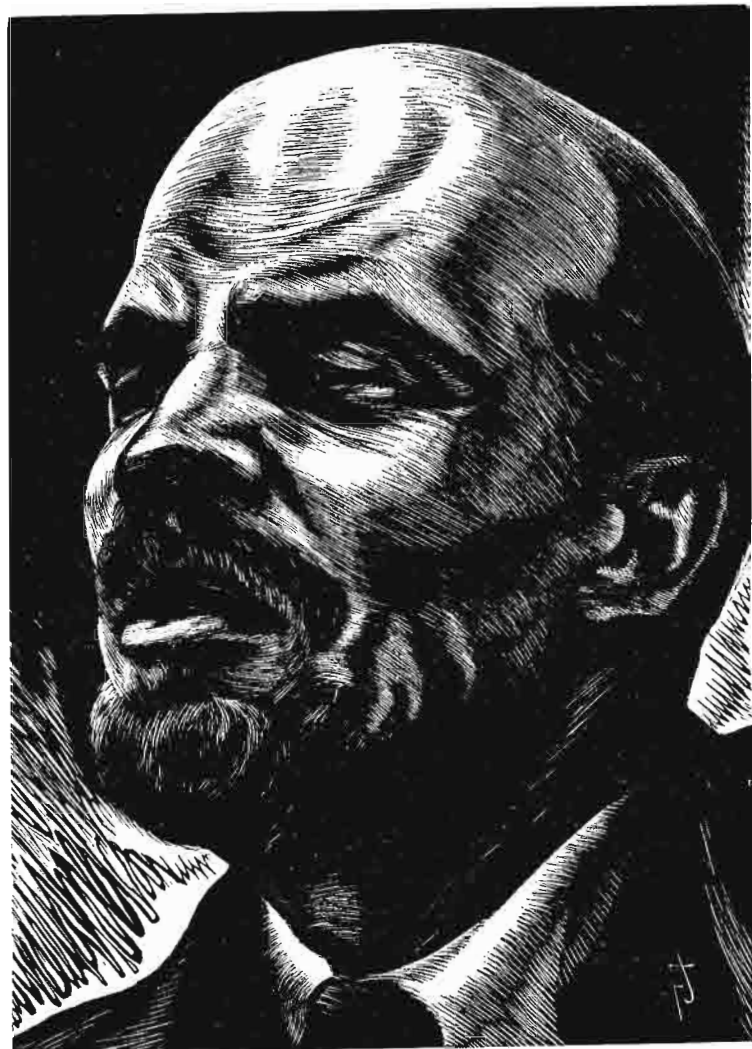
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# FDR MISERY BUDGET SWELLS ARMY OF STARVING MILLIONS



## Fourth International Flies Lenin's Banner

Tomorrow is the sixteenth anniversary of the death of Lenin.

We are followers of Lenin. We honor his memory, but not as an empty ritual. We honor his memory by continuing his work, by propagating his program for the world revolution.

It is not his death mask which we wish to recall, but the living leader of the revolutionary class which will rescue humanity from the inferno of war and hunger into which the capitalist rulers of the world have plunged us.

Remember Lenin as he stood before the Congress of the Soviets on the day after the victorious insurrection. There, while the world war raged, he stood holding in his hand the sheets of a message of peace to the peoples of the world.

He read that message of peace. It was addressed to the "warring peoples and their governments", proposing an immediate armistice in order to enter upon negotiations "for a just, democratic peace." Just conditions exclude annexations, it said. And by annexations it made clear that it meant not only annexations in Europe but also the forceful retention against their will of peoples in Asia, Africa and South America. Peace negotiations were to be conducted without any secrecy; on its part the Soviet government announced the abolition of secret diplomacy and the publication of the secret treaties entered into by the Czarist and Kerensky governments; and everything in those treaties directed towards the accruing of profit and privilege and oppression of other peoples, "the government declares unconditionally and immediately annulled." Although formally directed also to the governments, these proposals are addressed "especially to the conscious workers of the three most advanced countries," England, France and Germany, confident that it is they who will "help us successfully carry through the business of peace and therewith the business of liberating the toilers and the exploited masses of the population from all slavery and all exploitation."

The wave of revolutions which it inspired nearly put an end to the breeder of war, capitalism. Capitalism was saved, however, and thereby a second world war made certain, by the "socialists" of the Second International, who today repeat their support of the war, once again acting as recruiting sergeants for the capitalists. One of these "socialists" fired the bullet which hastened Lenin's death.

Beaten back for the time being, the wave of revolution receded. Capitalism, recovering, exerted enormous pressure upon the young workers' republic in Russia. Lenin warned, over and over again: "Anglo-French and American imperialism will inevitably strangle the independence and freedom of Russia unless world-wide socialist revolution, unless world-wide Bolshevism, conquers."

But after Lenin's death usurpers alien to his program seized control of the Soviet Union. Succumbing to the pressure of world capitalism, they turned their backs on the world revolution. They carried favor with this or that capitalist power, entering the League of Nations—which Lenin had called the "Thieves Kitchen"—and blessing it as an "instrument of peace". Now, near the end of their false road, these usurpers are currying favor with Hitler.

Compare Lenin's message of peace with the foul policy of Stalin! At no point do the two find common ground! Every provision which Lenin laid down for peace, Stalin now violates.

The Stalinists have made a mummy out of Lenin's dead body. They render it empty rituals. But the living spirit of Lenin finds no place in the camp of Stalin. The very generation which made the revolution with Lenin has been wiped out by Stalin's "trials" and purges.

Not for us the mummy. For us the living spirit, the revolutionary program of Lenin, as applicable today as in 1917, and even more desperately necessary if humanity is to be saved from destruction.

## TOBIN'S UNITY DEMAND GETS WIDE SUPPORT

Defeat of CIO, AFL  
At Endicott-Johnson  
Shows Need for Unity

The call issued last week by Daniel J. Tobin, President of the powerful Teamsters union, to all local unions, both AFL and CIO, to "rise up and demand" of their leaders the resumption of peace negotiations looking towards a united labor movement, has created unusual interest among trade unionists everywhere.

Local 3, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, well known in the New York labor movement for its spirited campaign for the thirty hour week, passed a resolution last week demanding the establishment of peace between the AFL and the CIO and requested their International President, Tracy, to work out practical proposals for presentation to the AFL Executive Council.

On the other hand, George Q. Lynch, President of the aristocratic Pattern Makers League of North America, and a member of the Wolf-Frey-Hutchinson clique of the AFL Executive Council, accused Tobin of advocating "revolution" in line with Communist "ideology" and that "he has become their latest and most important unwitting assistant."

**Two Kinds of Unity**  
Many progressive unionists are of the opinion that Tobin's bold challenge was issued with the approval of President Roosevelt, who is interested in seeing a united labor movement because he believes that he can thus more easily integrate it into the Wall Street war machine.

The progressives, however, are beginning to utilize the renewed interest in labor peace, in order to crystallize rank and file sentiment to force through a resumption of negotiations for a united labor movement on a militant basis.

**Peace Need Shown**  
The necessity for peace in labor's ranks and a new militant offensive on the part of the unions was demonstrated in last week's NLRB elections at the  
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## FDR's Washington Is Jim Crow Town

Negro Paper Advises Roosevelt His 'Fight  
For Democracy' Can Begin Close to Home;  
Racism Reigns in Government Itself

By MARTIN HARVEY

WASHINGTON, D. C.—As the local Negro newspaper, the *Washington Tribune*, puts it, President Roosevelt might very well try to lift the oppression bearing down on the Negro population in this city and the rest of the country, before starting any crusades to save "democracy" for England and France—those other great oppressors of the Negro people.

The opening here soon of the movie, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" brings strikingly to the fore the issue of Negro discrimination in the nation's capital. This picture of the emancipator of the Negro slaves will be barred to Negroes during its run at the Keith Theatre, downtown RKO show-place.

Only the subject of the movie, however, makes the situation unusual. Jim Crow rules in the capital's movies, restaurants, schools, etc., as effectively as anywhere in the deep South.

**Roosevelt Is Responsible**  
The city of Washington is administered by the national government—controlled at present by the "New Deal." It is this government, therefore, which

bears the responsibility for the Jim Crow system here.

The public school system of Washington is Jim Crow. The Negro schools are much more overcrowded, understaffed and under-equipped than the white schools.

**Jim Crow Government**  
The cafeterias in the government office buildings are also Jim Crow. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, whooping it up for the "New Deal" at a meeting of Negro educators in the South recently, called for racial equality. Mr. Wallace would, no doubt, deny vigorously any charge of vote-getting demagoguery.  
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## Daladier Names Fascist Prince To Head Legion

The ardently pro-French New Leader of the Social-Democratic Federation is authority in its Jan. 13 issue for the fact that "the Daladier government has made the unfortunate choice of backing efforts by former Vice-Chancellor Prince von Starhemberg to form an Austrian legion." The prince headed the Fascist Heimwehr which shot down the Vienna workers.

"Unfortunate"? Only for those who are trying to cover up the fact that this is an imperialist, predatory war of conquest on both sides of the Maginot Line.

"This work," whines the New Leader, "could have been given to Julius Deutsch, former Socialist Austrian War Minister, now in Paris." The New Leader forgets its history. "Socialists" of this stripe are reserved for much dirtier work than war-time military commissions—for shooting down revolutionists and striking workers, murdering Karl Liebknechts and Rosa Luxembourgs, in short, for times of revolution. At other times they merely serve as per prostitutes and recruiting sergeants.

## LOCALS SUPPORT CIO ATTACKS ON WAR BUDGET

But Letter-Writing of  
Lewis to Congressmen  
Won't Do the Job

The CIO continued this week to speak out against the war budget of President Roosevelt.

John L. Lewis, CIO President, sent personal letters to all U.S. Congressmen and Senators urging "approval and support" for the CIO legislative program, which calls for the employment of three million workers on public projects; a work program to give all unemployed young people public employment; increase in old age pensions to \$60 a month at the age of 60; increase in unemployed benefits and expansion of the housing program.

Lewis warned Congress that the American people "are looking toward Congress for concrete measures" to satisfy their hunger and bring them a measure of security. He further pointed out that "failure of the leaders of foreign nations to give heed to the problems of unemployment and the actual needs of human beings, gave rise to the very forces which... resulted in the present international wars."

**Locals Attack Budget**  
Local CIO unions and central labor bodies responded enthusiastically this week to the CIO attack on the Roosevelt War Budget and to the demands that jobs be provided for the unemployed.

The Newark Industrial Council passed a sharp resolution to "condemn and protest the President's budget with its emphasis on war preparations rather than on our great domestic problems."

**Steel Workers Protest**  
At a meeting of the Duquesne Lodge of Pittsburgh, which consists of the workers of the U.S. Steel Corporation, a sharp condemnation was expressed of the Roosevelt war budget.

Two hundred delegates attending a legislative conference of Labor's Non-Partisan League of New Jersey scored the Roosevelt War Budget and denounced  
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## Report Provides Stark Facts

Millions Already Living Below Most Meager  
Subsistence Level In Most of  
Leading Cities in Nation

Roosevelt's war budget will fire 650,000 workers off the WPA rolls.

The grand total of the men and women who have felt the benevolent axe of the President since November 1938 comes to 2,000,000, chipped off the WPA rolls.

What will happen to these two million workers and their families?

The war boom is a fraud. This is admitted by every competent authority in Washington. The factories are humming—but there are no jobs!

There are no jobs. But there is starvation. This is no figment of wild imagination; it is not "radical" propaganda. Ask the hungry men who pick garbage cans in New Orleans or who wait in the cold on Cleveland breadlines—if you are looking for the facts.

If you are still unconvinced read the reports of the social workers. True enough, they are hidden away in places like the catacombs of the Russell Sage Foundation and in professional social work magazines that few people see and the big dailies never write about.

Here is the grim picture of starvation in a land of plenty. Here are some facts from a typical report—that of an investigating committee of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, published in the January issue of *Survey* Monthly, a social work magazine. It describes the plight of the 245,000 people on relief in Chicago. The condition of the unemployed throughout the country can be judged from this report, if one keeps in mind that relief standards in Chicago are a little above the national average.

The Council's report says: "The 'minimum adequate' budget of the Chicago Relief Administration for a dependent family, even when the clients got all of it, was considerably lower than the conservative standard budget of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission. Of late citizens of our city on relief have been receiving only 65 per cent of the CRA 'minimum', or 44 per cent of what the IERC believes a dependent family needs: a family of four receives \$36.50 a month.

**Nobody Starves?**  
"Well, they won't starve on that," was the reaction of a Chicago editor who doubted if there was actual starvation. "There is some evidence of undernourishment," he said, "but even of this we cannot be quite certain."

In the effort to be "quite certain", the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, with the cooperation of twenty-four public and private agencies closely in touch with the CRA relief rolls, made a study. Hospitals, clinics, settlements, and the Infant Welfare Society of Chicago did the bulk of the fact finding. Staff members of these agencies, equipped with simple questionnaires, interviewed responsible members of 744 CRA families, asking such questions as:

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## PASS THIS IN YOUR UNION!

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 pensions.

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

## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The fall of the Abe government in Japan reflects symptomatically the acute strain in Japan's internal and external position.

The cabinet of Admiral Yonai which has been substituted for it is nothing but another stop-gap and will fall heir to the many-sided pressures which drove General Abe to cover. For the main difficulty is that Japanese imperialism has created for itself obstacles which it lacks the power to surmount.

It has won grandiose "victories" in China but it has not won and cannot win the war. To win those profitless victories it has strained its frail economic structure far beyond its capacity to withstand.

And in this weakened, bogged-down condition, it faces the implacable pressures of a world at war.

Above all it faces the dangerously insistent pressure of its

greatest and most powerful rival, Yankee imperialism.

From all evidence, the Japanese war machine has reached its maximum limits in the Chinese war. It holds thin lines flung over half of China, but the territory within those lines remains unconquered and the territory beyond them unconquerable. Every attempt made in the last six months to extend those lines has met ignominious failure. It is this impasse that has colored the negotiations between the Japanese army chiefs and their puppet-elect, Wang Ching-Wei. From the terms they are offering him, it is obvious that the Japanese are losing hope of completing their conquest by arms alone. Their main anxiety is to restore "peace" and through the Wang regime to begin realizing on their heavy investment.

Meanwhile in Japan the masses are paying with their mortgaged lives for the investment the generals have so recklessly undertaken. Soaring prices and deepening economic stringency have defied the artificial controls set up by successive Japanese governments. The dissatisfaction of the masses—indeed of almost all strata of the population except the tight small band of super-financiers at the top—has grown so great that the politicians who have clung so impotently these past eight years to the militarists' tails have grown bold enough to offer a half-frightened challenge to their acknowledged masters. The protest itself was a feeble enough demonstration. But the unmistakable discontent of far more powerful forces that lay silent behind it was enough to unseat General Abe.

But if the nether millstone on which Japan is ground bears the ironic label, "Made in China," the upper millstone that completes the dilemma  
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## Lenin Memorial Mass Meeting In N. Y., January 31

The program announced for this year's Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg Commemoration meeting, to be held at Irving Plaza on January 31, 8 p.m., under joint auspices of the New York locals of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League promises to make the occasion even more memorable than the dramatic and impressive meeting of last year. James P. Cannon, national secretary of the SWP, will speak for the Party and Ernest Erber, editor of the *Challenge of Youth*, organ of the YPSL, will speak for the youth organization.

**Drama Main Feature**  
The main feature of the pro-

gram will be a dramatic presentation, "There Were Three," performed by the YPSL Drama Group. The drama deals with the fight against war today in the light of the inspiring examples set by Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg during the last great war.

The YPSL Chorus will sing the "Lenin Memorial Hymn" and other labor songs.

A number of new members will be inducted into the youth organization at the meeting. The induction ceremony will be conducted by Max Shachtman.

Tickets for the meeting can be secured from branches of the SWP and units of the YPSL.



# A.L.P. JINGOES CHALLENGED ON FINLAND

## State Executive Hears Anti-War Speech Against Both Stalinists And Jingoists

The State Committee of the American Labor Party adopted a jingo resolution calling for American support to Finland, at its Jan. 6 meeting, but one anti-war voice was raised amid the wrangling jingoists and Stalinists.

The press reported merely the jingo resolution and the equally reactionary stand taken by the Stalinists, but we learn that one member of the State Committee, Sarah Rice of Manhattan, made an anti-war speech and then presented a resolution embodying her stand. The chairman did not permit consideration of the resolution by the body, but referred it to the executive committee.

The Rice resolution condemned Stalin's invasion of Finland but directed its main fire at the American attempts to use the pretext of Finland to drag us into war. It set forth a program of demands for jobs and relief.

Socialist Party and Loveston members of the committee voted for the jingo resolution of the A.L.P. leaders.

The text of the Rice resolution follows:

WHEREAS, today, utilizing Stalin's criminal and shameful invasion of Finland, the government, the employers' press and the radio and newsreels are engaged in a systematic campaign to create a jingoistic war spirit, directed particularly against the Soviet Union, and

WHEREAS, organized labor was deceived in the last "War to Make the World Safe for Democracy," which destroyed millions of lives and brought about reaction instead of democracy, and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt's message to the present session of Congress calls for drastic cuts in WPA and social service appropriations, and increased funds for war purposes, under the guise of national defense, and

WHEREAS, the government's preparations for war are a mortal danger to organized labor and the unemployed, as revealed by a study of the M-Day plans for a military dictatorship in war time, now

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the American Labor Party declares its unalterable opposition to any war launched by the government; that we demand that all war funds be transferred immediately to the relief of the unemployed; that we oppose intervention by the United States on either side of the present war in Europe; that we declare our support to the proposal for a national referendum binding on Congress for any and all wars;

AND FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED that the American Labor Party calls upon the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the United States to enact emergency legislation putting into 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 pensions.
4. Appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

### ANNOUNCEMENT

BRING YOUR BEST SET OF NERVES FOR THE GHOST SOCIAL OF THE BRONX SECTION OF THE Y.P.S.L. We've got a spooky evening arranged for you that will make this the Danse Macabre of the epoch. Bronx socials have long been famous for their array of ghostly personalities: The Ape, The Sheriff, JANUARY 20, 1934 WILLIE, et al. Make it a date SATURKINS AVENUE, (FREEMAN ST. STATION ON EAST BRONX LINE). Come all ye Ghouls! Adm. 20c with plenty of stuff to wet your appetite.

FOOD WORKERS BRANCH dance and social Saturday, January 27, beginning at 8:30 p. m. At Upper West Side branch headquarters, 916 Ninth Ave., N.Y.C. A hot time for all. Admission twenty-five cents.

JEFF RALL—Please communicate immediately with Ruth Jeffrey, c/o Socialist Appeal.

# SOCIETY NOTES

## The Best People Are Here, As Garbage Proves

MIAMI—The cold wave that last week gripped most of the country brought this resort into its full hothouse bloom. The gay, crowded beaches testify to one of the most prosperous seasons since the Depression began.

Train and plane reservations are full up to four weeks in advance. Impatient people, unable to get reservations, are even resorting to the busses. The best hotels are charging \$15, \$20 a day and up. Real estate lots which went begging in 1931 at \$15,000, are now selling from \$35,000 to \$50,000.

The city officials have announced that garbage has increased by 35%. This is an unflattering sign that the best people are back in town.

## They Think He's Crazy—But He's Jobless

NEW YORK—Emil Zuretti, 30 years old, an unemployed iron worker, could find nothing more sensible to do with his life than to risk it on a six-inch steel girder atop the 500-foot gas tank at Watson Avenue and 177th Street. Here, last Saturday, he did hand-springs, danced crazily on one foot and refused to come down. After an hour, exhausted, he was removed by police.

The police took him to the Psychopathic Ward at Bellevue because they decided he must be crazy not to care whether he lived or died.

Zuretti had his own idea about his behavior. To the police he explained: "I didn't want to be saved. I've got no job."

# CIO Locals Press War Budget Fight

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"economy at the expense of the workers and Farmers of America." "The budget," they stated, "does not serve the interests of the American people."

Eli Oliver, Vice-President of Labor's Non-Partisan League, declared that the budget was nothing but the initial move for America's participation in the European holocaust. "America must keep out of war," he stated. "We have no faith in politicians in Congress who prate about 'keeping out of war' but are under the control of Wall Street's financial interests."

### Akron Radio Attack

The Akron Industrial Council also expressed its vigorous opposition to the Roosevelt war budget over their weekly radio broadcast, "The Voice of Labor." Numerous other local unions all over the country have responded with equal dissatisfaction to the war budget and aims of the Roosevelt administration.

### Militant Action Needed

The passing of militant resolutions and the sending of letters to Congressmen is satisfactory as a first step in the inauguration of a campaign to smash the war budget of Roosevelt and to force through a real program of social legislation. Unfortunately, to all appearances, this first step is being considered by the national leaders of the CIO as the last. They are obviously seeking to restrict the campaign of organized labor to the passing of resolutions, the button-holding of individual con-

gressmen or Senators and releasing occasional statements for the public press.

### Stop Third Term Talk!

The sincerity of the CIO leadership becomes very questionable, when on the one hand, the CIO openly accuses the Roosevelt administration of introducing measures of the Wall Street masters, of preparing for war and slashing the relief and WPA budgets, and on the other hand, high CIO officials continue to blather about a "third term" for President Roosevelt.

Last week, Sidney Hillman repeated his previous statement for a third term for this "great humanitarian" who is proposing to dump an additional million workers into the streets. Hillman was confident, moreover, that the coming convention of his union would endorse this stand.

Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers of America, has likewise endorsed the President for a third term in the name of his union.

### Membership Must Act

It is obligatory that the rank and file rise up and demand of their leadership that they map out a militant program of labor action, and really involve the millions of American trade unionists in demonstrations and mass meetings to struggle for the achievement of this program. Only organizing and displaying the real power of American labor will put fear into the hearts of the Congressional and White House agents of the Wall Street "Invisible Government."

# Behind the Lines

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was "Made in the U.S.A." and the hand that turns the wheel is the hand of U.S. imperialism.

This is no exaggerated figure of speech, for the war in Europe has largely closed to Japan all other sources of vital supplies; even before the war Japan bought in this country 90 per cent of its scrap iron and steel, 91 per cent of its copper, 83 per cent of its ferro-alloys, 76 per cent of its airplanes and airplane parts, 65 per cent of its petroleum, 65 per cent of its automobiles, 45 per cent of its lead, similarly large percentages of other indispensable war materials—an aggregate of 56 per cent of all the war-making goods that Japan imports! In return the United States takes the bulk of Japan's silk—its lifeline export.

Taken together with the U.S. Fleet, this provides the man in the White House with a big stick of no mean proportions to hold over Japanese heads. And on both counts he is making it bigger. The demand of the U.S. Navy for more than another \$2,000,000,000 to double its present size is a demand aimed straight at Japan as a fearful warning. The revival of agitation for the fortification of Guam, 5,000 miles out in the Pacific from our shores is another. Still another is the clamor led by Col. Henry Stimson for an embargo against Japan to be applied right after expiration of the trade treaty on Jan. 26.

These pressures to an important degree contributed to the switch of cabinets in Tokyo. During the last five months, Rooseveltian diplomacy has been putting the screws on in

Tokyo. It has held a stop signal on the war in China and has waved under Japanese noses a "deal" at China's expense in return for Japanese collaboration in the anti-Soviet bloc that has become Roosevelt's dearest dream.

Since Japan's obvious strategy has been to maneuver between the warring camps in the world war in order to ensure to itself the maximum gains in Asia at the expense of all of them, the Abe government has been trying to play both sides to the middle, conducting negotiations simultaneously with Moscow and with Washington. That's one reason it fell in the middle and left to its successor the hopeless task of trying to keep aboard two trains going in opposite directions.

With the American pressure growing daily stronger, and the attractive force of the Kremlin weakening progressively in the land, Japan is being forced to a decision.

It is not at all surprising that the new Japanese premier, Yonai, and his foreign minister, Hachiro Arita, are looked upon as men of the "western orientation" bloc which favors a deal with the U.S. involving some division of the spoils in China and a joint offensive against the Soviet Union. But counsels are still divided in Tokyo's ruling circles and Yonai's main task will be not to bring the deal to fruition but somehow to put off the day of reckoning.

DANCE AND ENTERTAINMENT. Music by Savoy Bears. Saturday, Feb. 3, 1940. Harlem Branch, S.W.P. 186 Lenox Ave., N.Y.C. Sub. 49c.

# Tobin Unity Call Gets Wide Support

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Endicott-Johnson Corporation, involving workers employed at the Binghamton, Johnson City, Endicott and Owego City plants. The AFL Boot and Shoe Workers Union received 1,612 votes; the CIO United Shoe Workers of America received 1,079 votes and 12,693 votes were cast against any representation by a union. This crushing union defeat was suffered in spite of the great dissatisfaction existing among the Endicott-Johnson workers, the very low wages they receive and the cruel speed-up and rotten working conditions prevailing in the plants.

How explain this defeat? Last summer, the CIO inaugurated an organization drive which found immediate response among the shoe workers. The AFL union then quickly invaded the field and began its campaign. Soon, the two unions were engaged in a spirited battle, with their fire directed against each other, and very little against the company.

### AFL Red Scare

The AFL accused the CIO of being a bunch of Communists interested in starting a revolution in upstate New York. The CIO responded by revealing the sorry record and history of the partially racketeer-ridden Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

Here were these raw workers, living for years in the confined provincial atmosphere of company towns, under the constantly watchful eyes of the "paternal" Endicott-Johnson Corporation, receiving their first baptism of unionism—chiefly billingsgate, directed by two unions against each other.

This wretched performance was climaxed by the personal appearance of William Green, AFL President. Speaking at a mass meeting of the Endicott-Johnson workers he concerned himself very little about the company, the wages of the workers, the working conditions, what the purpose of the union was, what it intended to accomplish. Instead the bulk of his time was consumed by a wild attack against the CIO,

which he accused of being "more interested in promoting a revolution and destroying American ideals of freedom than getting workers better wages and better working conditions."

### A Suicidal Step

In this heated atmosphere, the AFL suddenly petitioned the Labor Board for an election. An obviously suicidal step! Not more than 10% of the workers in the plants were organized into both unions; the reaction of the workers was becoming very unfavorable under the indecent barrage of the two unions. The corporation which, with great cleverness leaned back before, now began to bear down. The company foremen proceeded to organize mass prayers in the churches for the 82-year old president of the company. Rumors were spread that the man was on his death-bed, because of worry over the fate of his employees, etc.

The result could have been predicted. The workers, completely confused and bewildered, fell easy prey to the company propaganda that the unions were nothing but a racket and interested solely in dues. The company did not have to invent any stories or arguments against the union. They simply repeated what the AFL said about the CIO union and what the CIO union said about the AFL. This is the simple explanation of the crushing defeat suffered by the AFL and the CIO in the labor board election.

### Lesson: For Unity

The lessons of this vote should impress themselves on the minds of every union man and woman in this country. Labor Unity must be achieved. A united labor organization must be built which offers full guarantees of the rights of the industrial unions and recognition of the industrial form of organization, coupled with a militant aggressive policy of labor action that relies for results not on labor boards, or governmental bureaus to solve the problems of labor, but solely upon the fighting strength of the unions themselves.

# Millions Starving, Social Workers Say

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"When did you receive your last relief check?" "How much do you pay for rent?" "What do you owe for rent, fuel, electricity, clothing?" "How much of these foods did you buy during the past week: fresh milk, vegetables, lean meat, eggs, fruit?"

### Simple, Terrible Truth

Complete information was secured from 512 CRA families, and here are our answers to the sceptics: "61 per cent of these families spent less than half as much money for food as is needed for an adequate diet at minimum cost.

"82 per cent had to pay more rent than the amount allowed in the CRA budget. "54 per cent exceeded the CRA allowance for fuel. "43 per cent found it necessary to buy clothing, in addition to the CRA clothing allowance and to some clothing distributed from the WPA workshop. "77 per cent of the families interviewed were in debt.

"And other facts equally pertinent and poignant." (italics theirs—Ed.)

### "... Or You Starve"

"Very simply and reasonably, in the body of the study, these facts are interpreted. If you must pay more rent than your budgeted relief allowance, and if your relief allowance includes no other items than rent, food and fuel, how do you pay your rent? Obviously, you tighten your belt and use the food money. If you need soap, or think you need it, and your budget includes nothing for cleaning purposes, with what do you buy soap? The food money, again. If you must have shoes and stockings, where do you get them? Of course, from the food money. And what do you do when you have done your best with your \$36.50 a month? You go in debt. Or you starve.

"Even the 'minimum adequate' budget of the CRA (now called the 'skeleton budget' in Chicago) is 38 per cent lower than public relief (7 cents per meal—Ed.) in New York City.

"What is starvation? Webster's Dictionary tells us: 'To starve: to perish with hunger. . . Hence to suffer from any want. To be in need.'

# Little Brenda Is Growing Up—Needs A Little More \$\$\$

Young ladies growing into maturity are very expensive—don't all parents know it? Clothes, education, etc.—it all mounts up. Working class parents know it all right; not only the other things, but even food becomes a problem.

So some of us (not all) can sympathize with Brenda Frazier's mother. Brenda is almost 19—and what with everything we already mentioned and the cost of living going up, she needs more money. So her mother has sought the court's permission to increase the money spent from the inheritance on Brenda to \$52,000 a year.

To the hungry, to the cold, to the 76 million Americans who live on less—a good many of them on much less—than \$1,000 a year per family, there will be something maddening in the cost of Brenda's upkeep.

One thousand dollars a week! If he's lucky enough to be on WPA, a man and his wife and their kids get \$14 a week for them all to live on. A family on relief—about eight million of them—live two years—in some states three years—on Brenda's allowance for one week.

The richest country in the world does well for its rich. Isn't that our pride and glory? And don't forget—a certain percentage of that \$52,000 goes for charity. Why, Brenda sometimes gets awfully tired, dancing at charity balls.

# WASHINGTON IS JIM CROW TOWN, GOV'T INCLUDED

(Continued from Page 1)

Yet in the Department of Agriculture only one - third of the smallest of the several cafeterias is set aside for Negroes. In the main cafeteria, the one with the complete choice of foods, Negroes are forbidden. Mr. Wallace's department is not an exception. Jim Crow cafeterias are well nigh universal—extending even to the eating places on Capitol Hill.

### Negroes Kept Down

The policy of government discrimination against Negroes is perhaps best illustrated by the personnel policies of the various departments, where theoretically the "merit" system prevails. Almost everywhere Negroes are restricted to custodial positions—laborers, elevator operators, messengers.

Any white person just entering the Civil Service as a messenger considers his job mainly as a springboard to higher positions—clerks, administrators, etc. To a Negro it is the upper limit. In countless bureaus, Negroes with all the necessary qualifications of education and ability and with long years of service, are simply refused the opportunity to take even clerk's examinations.

### Forced into Slums

Housing conditions are at least as bad. Negroes must pay higher rents for poorer living quarters. When we realize, in addition, that Negroes are the lowest paid workers in the community and that they are subject most to unemployment, we are no longer astonished at the miserable hovels in which so many of the Negroes are segregated. Only a few blocks from the Capitol, in the southwest section, are some of the worst slums in the country—inhabited mainly by Negroes.

It is widely believed that the chief reason the citizens of Washington do not have the right to vote is the fear of granting the large Negro population the same right. This seems to be borne out by the fact that, although both major parties and most civic and business groups have gone on record as favoring the extension of suffrage to Washington (leaving, it would seem, no one opposed), nothing has ever been done about it. In private conversations the opinion is often expressed by these Democrats and Republicans that no vote is better than a Negro vote.

# Washington Drivers Drop Negro Ban

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The hitherto "lily white" Truck Drivers union local here has finally accepted Negroes into its membership. This action will undoubtedly have far-reaching consequences for other industries in Washington which have excluded from the unions.

# WORKERS' FORUM

## A TEMPORARY JOB—THEN BACK TO THE HEAP

Editor: Around the holidays a few of the unemployed manage to get temporary jobs. Clerks in department stores, postal employees, in the luxury trades, etc. For a few weeks they are lifted off the heap of the unemployed.

It reminds me of a story I read in Barbusse's book, "The Things I Saw," in which he tells of some of the methods of torture used by the capitalists against the workers after the first World War. One May Day, the warden opens the cell and allows a group of imprisoned workers to come out in the prison yard, gives them a big feast and allows them to do as they please. It being May Day, the workers make speeches about the meaning of that day of struggle. So they enjoy a brief spell of freedom. But after the day is over, they are shoved back into their cell, and the horror of their imprisonment is impressed more than ever upon them.

### Unemployment A Prison

Those unemployed of whom I speak—I am one of them—are in the same situation as the imprisoned workers. For a brief spell we are taken out of the prison of unemployment and given a job. It is like water to a man dying of thirst. We have a little freedom. We actually have a bit of change in our pockets. We are enabled to buy a few clothes, we can spend an extra nickel with-

out regretting it. We can go out with the fellows and buy our share of the beer. We even can set the other fellows to a round of beers. We really think this ain't such a bad world.

Then our warden comes, in the form of a dismissal notice. It reads, "We are forced to dispense with your services, due to business conditions. Thanking you for your efforts," it is signed by the boss. We are shoved right back in our cell.

We won't get out of our prison by feeling sorry for ourselves. We'll have to fight to make the whole year a holiday season. That will be socialism. Only then will we be out of our prison.

University City, Mo. E. W.

### Editor:

The Editors of UNCENSORED have called to my attention the fact that in the January 6th issue of the Socialist Appeal it is stated that I originated the news service UNCENSORED. As a matter of fact, I knew nothing about the plan to launch UNCENSORED until I received the first copy in the mails.

I admit to an acquaintance with the editors, but I could admit also to an acquaintance with the editors of the Appeal and am sure they would not consider this sufficient ground for crediting me with the origin of their paper.

Yours truly, MARY FOX New York City



Foreign ..... 2
Fresno ..... 1
Detroit ..... 1
Chicago ..... 1
Total ..... 21

The following is the list of subscriptions obtained during the past week. This is a considerable improvement over the previous week, but still far below our former records and our needs:

PHILADELPHIA ..... 3
Massachusetts ..... 3
St. Paul ..... 2
Los Angeles ..... 2
New York City ..... 2
Baltimore ..... 2
California ..... 2

### RENEWAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

This week all branches will receive lists of subscriptions that are about to expire. Here is a fine opportunity for all literature agents to begin a subscription drive. Send out comrades on definite assignments to visit all former subscribers! Every ex-reader can become a regular reader of the Appeal again if he is visited.

# STANDING, QUOTAS OF BRANCHES IN ANTI-WAR FUND CAMPAIGN

The following Score Board shows the status of the various branches in the Anti-War Fund Campaign. These figures include the first half of the campaign.

Due to lack of space in the Socialist Appeal this campaign has been conducted by bulletins to the branches instead of in the Socialist Appeal.

Prizes are being awarded in this drive not only to the branches but also to the individual members in the branches who complete their quotas on a given date. See your Organizer about this if you are interested, or send for a copy of "Anti-War Fund Prizes" to the National Office of the S.W.P.

We are printing the Score Board this week so as to give every member of the party a chance to know exactly how his branch, and other branches he is interested in, stands with regard to this drive. We will print a final Score Board when the Drive is completed. Hurry your pledges and get your branch in the 100% row.

SCORE BOARD
Branch Quota Paid %
Fresno \$ 10.00 \$ 12.50 125
Baltimore 10.00 12.40 124
Reading 10.00 11.00 110
Boston 400.00 400.00 100
Calais 5.00 5.00 100
Conneaut 5.00 5.00 100
Durham 5.00 5.00 100
Evansville 5.00 5.00 100
Hartford 5.00 5.00 100
Indianapolis 5.00 5.00 100
Marston Mills 5.00 5.00 100
Omaha 10.00 10.00 100
Toledo 40.00 40.00 100
Washington 40.00 40.00 100
Worcester 20.00 20.00 100
Lynn 125.00 123.00 99
Allentown 35.00 33.08 95
St. Louis 100.00 89.49 89
St. Paul 300.00 264.00 88
Detroit 50.00 42.00 84
San Francisco 200.00 152.00 76
Rochester 50.00 35.75 72
Quakertown 20.00 14.00 70
Gloversville 15.00 10.00 67
Gardner-Fitchburg 15.00 9.00 60
Flint 30.50 16.50 54
Yellow Springs 5.00 2.60 52
Chicago 200.00 100.00 50
Lexington 10.00 5.00 50
Oakland 30.00 15.00 50
Newark 350.00 141.00 40
Los Angeles 200.00 74.00 37
Minneapolis 1100.00 400.00 36
Philadelphia 100.00 36.51 36
Cleveland 200.00 70.80 35
East Chicago 20.00 7.00 35
New York City 2000.00 673.00 34
Kansas 15.00 4.50 30
Youngstown 50.00 15.00 30
Texas 20.00 4.50 22
Pittsburgh 10.00 2.00 20
Woonsocket 5.00 1.00 20
South Bend 10.00 1.00 10
Akron 50.00 1.00 2
Columbus 15.00 0
New Haven 40.00 0



# The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

Two men went up into the temple to pray, the one a Pharisee and the other a publican. This famous tale of the holy scripture was re-enacted once more in 1932. You remember what happened in the Gospels. The Pharisee was the man who boasted of what he had done. He had paid his dues, he fasted so many days a week. He thanked God that he was a righteous man and not a scoundrel like the damned publican. But the publican didn't pretend, he didn't say he had done this and that and the other. He said he was a sinner. That's all. He begged for mercy, it is true, but that isn't important for us.

## Twentieth-Century Pharisees

Look at the New Dealers. These Pharisees have for years been telling the whole world and Negroes what fine fellows they are. The Negroes should love them. They are the men for "true" democracy; they want to build a new world of righteousness and peace, in which the lion will lie down with the lamb, in which the Southern plantation-owner will give a square deal to the sharecropper. They say, "Discriminate against the Negro? Not we. Look how many Negroes there are in the WPA white-collar jobs and working in relief bureaus, etc. We thank God," say the New Dealers, "that we are not like other men, even as these Republicans."

Now comes a fine exposure of these righteous rascals. A few days ago Miles Paige, a Negro Magistrate in Harlem, was named by Mayor LaGuardia for a seat on the Special Sessions bench at \$12,000 a year. The Negro press as usual hails this as proof of the "great progress" of Negroes. It is proof of nothing of the kind. No Negro who knows the history of his race needs any proof of its capacity to fill any office in this country. Furthermore, Paige's appointment does not raise the income of one Negro sharecropper or one Negro factory worker or one Negro unemployed. And these are the people with whom we are chiefly concerned. Appointments like this one of Paige cannot lift the great mass of oppressed Negroes. When the great masses of Negroes move, they will create opportunities for ten thousand Paiges. That is not to say that such appointments are not to be supported not only by Negroes but by the whole labor movement. The Negroes have a right to posts everywhere. The Socialist Workers Party, for instance, condemns those who join the bourgeois army. But as for the right of Negroes to join the army if they want to, and on equal terms with the whites—that we support.

## Where's the Catch?

But now comes a mystery. Paige was to be seated on Tuesday, January 2nd, but the ceremony was postponed indefinitely. The *Amsterdam News* of January 13 gives us some indication why.

LaGuardia is flirting with the New Dealers, with an eye to the presidential elections. He is typical of them, with his large words and small concessions. But since the Harlem riots of 1935, La Guardia has a wholesome respect for Harlem Negroes. And since Lehman defeated Dewey only by the aid of the Negroes' vote, all these progressive fakery are at their wits' end to keep the Negro vote. So LaGuardia runs around in Harlem, he has lunch with Bill Robinson sitting near him, he builds a housing project or two (where fifty are needed), and he appoints Negroes to posts they have not held before. First Justice Bolin. And now Paige.

But behold! Roosevelt in Washington lives only by grace of those Southern landlords, without whom the Democratic Party is nothing. These fellows are not going to stand for any vice-president or cabinet minister who is a "nigger-lover." So Washington warns LaGuardia. He is leaning too heavily towards the Negro race. You cannot discriminate in favor of Negroes, you know. One judge every twenty years or so is enough. If you go on like that you discredit yourself, and your future with us of the Democratic Party is gloomy. Hence, says the *Amsterdam News*, Paige's appointment still awaits confirmation.

## Tweedledum and . . .

So here we are, my friends, the "little flower" of "democracy" and the New Deal, herald angels of equality between man and man, conspiring to save their immortal souls and to placate the viciousness of Southern reactionaries at the expense of one Negro being made a judge—one Negro, be it noted.

Here and there a Negro may squeeze into an appointment. But salvation for the race from any of these Republicans or Democrats who have systematically deceived the Negro people for seventy-five years? No. The Republicans make no promises. The New Dealers make them but do not mean it. And that is the only difference between them.

## "NEITHER KING NOR FUEHRER"

United Press and Associated Press dispatches from London, dated January 2, repeated at face value a crude British slander linking the Irish Republicans with the Nazis. "I. R. A. reported seeking Nazi Aid" was the headline over the story in the *New York World Telegram* and the *Post*.

The alleged evidence cited in the story to justify the imputation that fighters for a free Ireland were inviting Nazi aid was that headquarters of the outlawed I. R. A. had sent questionnaires to all its units asking: "What part would you play in event of an invasion in this country?"

The dispatch thereupon identified the implication that the Irish Republicans would not defend the country against invasion with the proposition that the Republicans would collaborate with Nazi Germany in an invasion.

This is an old slander against Irish Republicans. It was best answered, in 1916, when James Connolly displayed outside the headquarters of the Transport Workers Union in Dublin, the famous slogan: "Neither King Nor Kaiser!" The only Ireland to be defended, said Connolly, was an Ireland free of British rulers and their Irish lackeys.

## Some Pertinent History-Past and Present

# "POOR LITTLE FINLAND"

By CHRIS ANDREWS

In 1930 a Fascist movement, the Lappo movement, broke out in Finland. Writes Jackson, ". . . the very classes which had been legality's greatest champions were the first to encourage terrorism. Gone was the belief in individual liberties; clergymen preached intolerance as a Christian duty, democrats urged the disenfranchisement of a large proportion of their fellow citizens, the farmers—(read "farm owners"—C.A.), individualists to a man, conspired to end the rights of speech and public meeting."

The Fascists attacked workers' meetings, smashed labor printing presses, kidnapped two left-wing members of the Diet from a Committee meeting, and brutally beat them. The leader of the Social Democratic Party was kidnapped—even a bourgeois politician, ex-President Stahlberg, was kidnapped by a reactionary General. The General, arrested, admitted his guilt and was freed.

As a result of the Fascist agitation, the Communist Party was again proscribed in 1930 and its 23 Diet members arrested. The Finnish Fascists rose up on the wave of mass unrest resulting from the economic crisis that had begun in Finland by 1928—a bad crop year. The crippled labor movement could not give aid or firm leadership to the suffering peasantry; the corrupt social-democratic leaders would not; the Fascists sought support among the peasants, ably assisted in this by the skilled agitators of the Lutheran clergy. This parasitic group, living off the peasantry, well understand the dynamics of the class struggle. As the liberal historian, Jackson, ruefully records, "The clergy supplied the most unforgiving

## "Jobs Not Battleships" Pamphlet for Workers

**JOBS NOT BATTLESHIPS!** by Dwight Macdonald is a simple and direct message of 16 pages to the New York workers, particularly the jobless—and sells for one penny.

Here is a clear summary of the important facts and statistics on the cuts in federal and local relief; the tremendous increases in military and naval expenditure; the development of Roosevelt's New Deal into the War Deal.

"Thus in three years, war funds have been tripled, while WPA funds have been cut in half. "The two and one half billion dollars which the War Deal plans to pour down the sink-hole of war preparations would build one million \$2,500 homes.

"It would buy five pair of \$4 shoes for every man, woman and child in the country. "If it were divided among the thirty million men, women and children in the ranks of the unemployed, each of them would get \$83. At present relief standards, this would be equal to a one-quarter to one-third increase in their annual income."

**Program of Action** Why there is a reactionary drive on relief standards and for war expenditures, and what the jobless must do, are told in language everyone can understand.

The pamphlet is published by the New York Local of the SWP. The branches of the Party are already started on an intensive drive to sell the edition of 10,000 within a period of three weeks through house to house canvassing, sales at employment agencies, home relief bureaus, at union halls, and in important shopping centers of the City. In addition public meetings on "Jobs Not Battleships" are being held throughout the City.

## 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.

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among the White leaders in the Civil War".

From the bankers came 15,000,000 marks for Fascist expenses. The former Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Kurt Waldheim (now the "hero" of the Finnish "waist-line" defense) was placed in charge of organizing attacks against working class leaders and newspapers. Heavy sums came from the timber exporters, facing a decline in world demand for timber, and planning to recoup by still further cutting the wages of their laborers. Last but not the least source of strength for Finnish Fascism was the richest section of the Cooperative Movement, the SOK, the Finnish Cooperative Wholesale Society.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE COOPERATIVES

The appearance of a section of the Finnish Cooperative movement on the side of Finnish Fascism will startle only those people who have been taken in by the "middle way" propaganda, peddled extensively in the United States in recent years.

The SOK, founded in 1904, later split apart when trade union elements of the cities clashed with the rural membership. The latter refused to hire only trade union members in the factories and stores of SOK, and insisted on the right to employ scabs. The trade union workers withdrew, forming OTK, the Progressive Cooperatives, predominantly a consumers' organization.

SOK buys and manufactures food, clothing, and household utensils and is predominantly a producers' cooperative. In the Finnish Fascist movement of the early thirties, SOK saw a two-fold opportunity—to smash its competitor and to protect itself against the demands of the trade union movement, once again increasing in strength and militancy.

One of the results of the Fascist agitation was precisely that—suppression by the government of the trade union federation with its 90,000 members in 1930—for "treasonable activities". Dissolved before by the bourgeoisie in 1918, the unions had been slowly fighting their way back. After 1930 the Fascist

movement receded; with the lightening of the economic crisis the bourgeoisie concluded that it could dispense with the services of the Fascist movement, and the unions have been permitted to begin again their laborious development.

Where will those 90,000 class-conscious men be today—(not their corrupt social-democratic officials but the workers?)—and all the other thousands of unorganized laborers who saw their right to have unions twice ruthlessly destroyed by the governing class? Will they be enthusiastic volunteers today in the army of the Finnish bourgeoisie?

Just like capitalist United States, capitalist Finland passed through the world depression at the expense of its working class and peasantry—and just like capitalist United States, capitalist Finland now enjoys "prosperity"—at the top.

The capitalists have the same characteristics everywhere—one being bland equanimity in the face of the suffering of the masses. Even Professor Jackson, admirer of Finland's government, Finland's cooperatives, and Finland's steam baths, is forced to admit of Finland's recovery:

"The benefits of debt reduction and capital improvement were naturally felt by the rich rather than by the poor. Bankers and shareholders prospered, substantial industrial fortunes were made, especially in cellulose, but the poor did not receive a proportionate share in the national prosperity. The revival of industry brought the unemployed back to work, but not at the old rate of pay".

The English Midland Bank Review finds in Finland, ". . . a general standard of living lower than might have been justified by the actual expansion of current trade". (WPA and relief workers, does this remind you of anything?)

## EXPLODING MYTHS ABOUT THE PEASANTS

The capitalist press tells us tirelessly that Finland is a nation of happy "land-owners". The Marxist, understanding Finland to be an agricultural country imprisoned in the permanent crisis of world agriculture, looks for

the lie underneath the capitalist testimony.

What has happened to the Finnish peasantry and rural poor who fought so desperately and bravely at the side of their city brothers in the proletarian insurrection of 1918? Did their defeat and massacre by the enraged bourgeoisie prepare the way for the bettering of their living conditions—by the same triumphant bourgeoisie?

Finland is 90 per cent woods and forest area and only 7 per cent cultivable. Of Finland's population of 3,800,000—over 2,000,000 fight for life and existence in the sphere of agriculture.

Finnish Government statistics tell us that of the farm population (1929) 61.6 per cent were "farm owners". Farm laborers and tenant farmers represent "only" 39.4 per cent. (Of these farm laborers, please remember this. The Finnish 8-hour law, now being ballyhooed the world over by the defenders of the Finnish bourgeoisie, does not apply to agriculture—i.e., it does not apply to the majority of the toilers!)

The Finnish bourgeoisie publish very incomplete unemployment figures—nothing for the nation as a whole. But in what they do publish occurs a very peculiar classification—the "unemployed land-owner". How does a "land-owner" become "unemployed"?

The census figures of Finland—the latest figures are those for 1929—report to us 285,390 farm families "owning land". Evidently a prosperous, contented peasantry—until we break the figures down.

37,987 "land-owning families" work from 1/2 an acre to 2 1/2 acres—no more. From this they live.

40,114 "land-owning" families work from 5 acres to 7 1/2 acres—no more.

108,642 "land-owning" families work from 7 1/2 acres to 25 acres—no more.

In other words, 218,736 families (76.5 per cent of the "land-owning" peasantry) before the depression in 1929 were struggling for a bare subsistence on "farms" ranging from 25 acres in size for the most fortunate down to "farms" of 1/2 acre. On this economic base the Finnish

peasant must fight for a living for himself and his family.

## TIMBER FORTUNES MADE FROM THESE PEASANTS

We can now understand the government statistics concerning "unemployed land-owners". In order to live at all, thousands upon thousands of the poverty-stricken peasantry must go to seek employment during the winter months in the lumber camps and the saw mills, side by side with the agricultural laborer. In this way they can add enough to their miserable income to eke out a living for the rest of the year.

For the timber capitalists, enjoying the exploitation of Finland's most valuable resources, this arrangement is excellent. It guarantees a plentiful supply of desperate laborers; it guarantees a low wage rate.

The government reports in its "Finland Year Book" (1936) that 45 per cent of the labor force in the timber industry consists of such "land-owners".

When the wages paid in the timber industry fell during the depression—from 1,959,000,000 marks (average before 1929)—to 788,000,000 (average during 1930-1932), this represented a slash of more than 50 per cent in the income that the peasantry and agricultural laborers received from this source. Meantime credit for farmers became much dearer—of vital importance to a peasantry where 80 per cent of farmers' debts consist of short term loans at an interest rate averaging 8 1/2 per cent.

Books kept by 802 farms, large and prosperous enough to require the keeping of books, indicated that the farmer's return on his investment between 1932 and 1934, fluctuated between 3.5 per cent to 4.6 per cent. It was natural then that the peasantry, unable to pay the interest rates on the money they borrowed to get their land in the first place, should have rapidly lost their "ownership" during the depression. Sales of farms at public auction were as prevalent in "happy" Finland as in our Middle West.

(Continued next week)

substitution of capitalist allies for the world working class. By his pact with Hitler and his brazen attempt to justify it as a "brilliant victory" Stalin alienated still further the sympathy and support of the world workers for the USSR. Already the consequences of this pact have forced Stalin to move westward and bureaucratically impose the Soviet regime upon the eastern part of Poland, with Finland now on the list. And these "victories," no matter what their temporary military advantages may be, including even the fact that Stalin is compelled to socialize property in the occupied territories, when compared with the blow to the world revolution of which these acts are in essence a substitution, can only mean that Stalin has brought the hour of direst danger to the Soviet Union appreciably close. The mere fact that the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact proved to be the signal for actual opening of hostilities in the second world war is evidence enough of that.

## PREPARING FOR THE PACT WITH HITLER

In the United States the Peoples Front policy put Liberty Bells on the coat lapel of the Communist Party member and the Star Spangled Banner on his lips. When the Nazi German-American Bund launched an offensive in New York City in February 1939 and the Socialist Workers Party called on the workers to picket the mass meeting of fascists in Madison Square Garden, the Stalinists boycotted the picket lines. Similarly the Stalinists made practical preparations for their coming pact with Coughlin's inspirer, Hitler, by boycotting the Aug. 19 counter-demonstrations initiated by the Socialist Workers Party.

In the nation-wide WPA strike of last summer against Roosevelt's slashes of relief, the Stalinists again boycotted the workers, piously accepting Roosevelt's notorious strike-breaking dictum, "You can't strike against the government," and attempting to instigate strike action.

Last August, Stalin without so much as tipping off any section of his rotted Third International, threw overboard his entire five-year Peoples Front policy against fascism, dropped on his knees before Hitler and signed a pact with this blood-stained henchman of the capitalist class. This cast a new spotlight on such "brilliant victories" of Stalin as the Moscow Trials in which the accused were charged as being "allies" of Hitler; the execution of the Red generals on the same charge; the murder of an entire generation of Bolsheviks in the purges; the barring of Soviet doors to Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler's pogroms.

Fundamentally this pact was only another capitulation forced on Stalin by his abandonment of the policy of world revolution and his

# A 'Marxist' Alibi For the Jingoes On Finland

By FELIX MORROW

During the first world war the jingo social democratic parties spoke in terms little different than those of their capitalist rulers. However, in each country the brazen jingoes carried, as protection on their left flanks, spokesmen and groups whose task it was to justify the war, or at least to justify the "socialist" jingoism, in pseudo-Marxist language. This division of labor was an important factor in preventing for a long time a break-away of the masses from the jingo to a revolutionary position. Workers discontented with Scheidemann could be taken in tow by Kautsky. Ramsay MacDonald caught those moving away from the British Labor Party. And so on.

The thing is already being repeated here in one small instance. It is instructive to describe it.

At its Jan. 6 meeting the American Labor Party state committee adopted a jingo resolution for American government aid to Finland, in line with the previous pro-Ally stand taken by the A.L.P. The Norman Thomas socialists and the Lovestonites voted for both resolutions.

But many needle-trades workers are anti-Stalinist, yet believe there is something dear to the working class in the Soviet Union which is worth defending. These workers do not take well to the stand of the A.L.P. leaders, who have been enemies of the Soviet Union from its first days. So . . . the Lovestonites undertake the task of taking these workers into camp. As usual, this type of job goes to Will Herberg.

Ostensibly he agrees with these workers. "We want to defend what remains of the Russian Revolution, the economic foundations, the nationalized economy, from the danger of restoration of private capitalism. "Defend how and against whom? Of course, against invaders and forces of restoration. But also against the Stalin dictatorship." (Workers Age, Jan. 13)

So far, so good. One begins to wonder how Herberg is going to reconcile these correct statements with the A.L.P. position.

## A Pickpocket's Kind of Skill

The fact is that Herberg makes no attempt to reconcile the two. Having presumably satisfied the questioning workers by agreeing with them that there is a basic working class stake in the Soviet Union worthy of defense, he then simply goes on to drop that stake from his further calculations. It is a bit of sleight of hand. It is illuminating to quote him:

"Easy victory for the Russian invader in Finland—which hardly seems possible any longer—would immensely strengthen the totalitarian dictatorship in Russia; any sort of victory would operate to some degree in the same direction. Victory for the Russian invader would greatly stimulate the predatory appetites of the new Stalin imperialism and would further demoralize what remains of the Russian Revolution. Hence (! ! ! ) a Stalin victory in Finland would most emphatically not serve the best interests of the Russian people or of world socialism.

"The inescapable conclusion of all this is that the 'defense of the Soviet Union' has no meaning whatever for international socialism at the present (!) moment, in connection with the invasion of Finland. It may (!) arise again as a significant slogan tomorrow (!), or it may not. Certainly it has no significance today."

## How He Does It

The sleight of hand comes with the "hence" in the first paragraph. That Stalin cannot defend the Soviet Union, that successful defense of the Soviet Union requires the overthrow of Stalin by the workers, that the strengthening of the totalitarian dictatorship is bad for world socialism—all this we said already at a time when, for saying it, we were denounced by the Lovestonites as enemies of the Soviet Union. But what follows from these facts? That Stalin's overthrow by the workers is imperative. This, and nothing more. There does NOT follow from this the consciously dishonest piece of sleight of hand that "Hence a Stalin victory in Finland would most emphatically not serve" etc.

The Russian workers, aided by the international proletariat, must and will overthrow Stalin. But until then? Until then, if we are loyal to the cause of socialism, we defend the Soviet Union against the capitalist world. The Soviet Union cannot be defended by Stalin? The working class efforts for his overthrow must be redoubled. But his overthrow can have meaning only if in the interim we defend the Soviet Union against its capitalist enemies. The defeat of Stalin by the capitalists means capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. Not a political revolution will come in the wake of invading capitalist armies, but the overturn of the national economy.

That is what the lackeys of imperialism, the A.L.P. leaders, want. That is not what the workers want. The role of the Lovestonites is to mollify the workers—and support the A.L.P. leaders.

Roosevelt, Daladier, Chamberlain, Hoover, the Scandinavian rulers, etc., etc., want to defeat the Soviet Union for the benefit of the capitalist world—that, I hope, nobody will deny. From somewhere in the capacious pockets of the imperialist juggernaut comes the squeak of Lovestone-Thomas and their European similars: "we want the Finnish armies to defeat the Soviet Union for the benefit of socialism." Is this not the exact counterpart of the spectacle of the "left" British Labor Party and French Socialist Party leaders proclaiming that they support the war against Germany for very different objectives than those of Chamberlain and Daladier?

Is the analogy unfair? Then let somebody explain why.

Are Norman Thomas and Lovestone prepared to defend their patriotic position before working class audiences, in debate with Trotskyist spokesmen? We, for our part, would more than welcome coming to grips with these people.

# Stalin Claims "A Year Of Bolshevik Victories"

By JOSEPH HANSEN

In the New Year's issue of the *Daily Worker*, a feature story from Moscow, reprinted from Pravda, "Sums Up a Year of Socialist Victories With Stalin," as the headline puts it. "The year 1939 can rightfully be called a year of brilliant Bolshevik victories," says the article.

As first on the list of "brilliant victories" the article places the mere holding of the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia. This Congress was a "brilliant victory." Why? It is not explained. Perhaps because it succeeded in convening without so much as placing on the agenda the impending defeat of the socialist revolution in Spain in 1939, the catastrophe of the People's Front policy in France and elsewhere, the work of the other sections of the Communist International, or the plight of the refugees from Spain and Germany.

As second of the "brilliant victories," the *Daily Worker* lists the "internment" of Poland. The chief grave-digger in this interment, Hitler, is not mentioned by name, but praise for his major role in the job is nonetheless apparent.

Then follow as "brilliant victories" under the leadership of Stalin the holding of an agricultural exhibit, an increase in the grain harvest, "moral and political unity of the Soviet people, so brilliantly revealed in the elections," the "Stalinist policy" which "averted" the danger of the Soviet Union being drawn into war, the pact with Germany, and the " fraternal assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the Finnish people." A year indeed of brilliant victories under Stalin's brilliant leadership!

## AND WATER IN THE FERGHANA CANAL!

But this was not all by any means. Stalin's cup of victories is filled to overflowing. There was an industrial "increase" in certain Soviet industries which exceeded expectations (in other words, dislocated industry), an increased speed-up of the workers through further extension of Stakhanovism, and . . . the building of a canal. "On Dec. 31 the canal will be opened—water (!!) will rush into the Ferghana Canal."

With so many brilliant accomplishments reeking like fresh scalps on Stalin's hatchet-belt, it might not seem quite genteel to discuss those Stalinist "victories" in 1939 which Moscow did not deem brilliant enough to mention in the article. Nevertheless in drawing up a balance sheet for 1939 there are certain events—victories in Stalinist language, but in any other language terrible defeats—which are of more concern to the working class of the world than even water rushing into the Ferghana Canal.

## THE REAL BALANCE SHEET THEY DON'T MENTION

We list as first, the strangling of the socialist revolution in Spain. The Stalinists, it will be recalled, "brilliantly" delivered up Barcelona and the richest industrial section of Spain to Franco's fascist hordes without so much as a fight. They "brilliantly" executed thousands of revolutionaries who were fighting in the Republican camp against Franco. General Miaja, still a member in good standing of the Communist Party today, was in charge of the practical work connected with these "brilliant victories." Stalin added the final niceties of his executioner's touch to the tragedy of Spain by refusing admittance of the Spanish refugees to the Soviet Union and thus condemning them to Franco's axe or to starvation in the French concentration camps if they were lucky enough to be able to escape Spain alive.

The Spanish collapse was the major defeat suffered by the working class during the five years of the Peoples Front policy of Stalin. Inasmuch as this policy saw its definitive collapse in 1939 it is proper to review its course briefly, as part of Stalin's balance sheet of "victories."

**STALIN POLISHED UP THE "INSTRUMENT" OF PEACE** The Peoples Front policy began in 1935, taking the USSR into the League of Nations, that "thieves' kitchen," as Lenin had termed it, but which Stalin dubbed an "instrument of peace."

In France the Peoples Front policy cost the working class all the gains they had made from 1934 to 1936 by militant strike action; 1939 ended with a mili-

tary dictatorship in full sway, militant workers hounded and persecuted, and even the Communist Party itself declared illegal.

In China the Peoples Front chained the Chinese workers once again to the chariot of the butcher Chiang Kai Shek, who with Stalin's aid had put down the revolution in China in 1927-28.

## PREPARING FOR THE PACT WITH HITLER

In the United States the Peoples Front policy put Liberty Bells on the coat lapel of the Communist Party member and the Star Spangled Banner on his lips. When the Nazi German-American Bund launched an offensive in New York City in February 1939 and the Socialist Workers Party called on the workers to picket the mass meeting of fascists in Madison Square Garden, the Stalinists boycotted the picket lines. Similarly the Stalinists made practical preparations for their coming pact with Coughlin's inspirer, Hitler, by boycotting the Aug. 19 counter-demonstrations initiated by the Socialist Workers Party.

In the nation-wide WPA strike of last summer against Roosevelt's slashes of relief, the Stalinists again boycotted the workers, piously accepting Roosevelt's notorious strike-breaking dictum, "You can't strike against the government," and attempting to instigate strike action.

Last August, Stalin without so much as tipping off any section of his rotted Third International, threw overboard his entire five-year Peoples Front policy against fascism, dropped on his knees before Hitler and signed a pact with this blood-stained henchman of the capitalist class. This cast a new spotlight on such "brilliant victories" of Stalin as the Moscow Trials in which the accused were charged as being "allies" of Hitler; the execution of the Red generals on the same charge; the murder of an entire generation of Bolsheviks in the purges; the barring of Soviet doors to Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler's pogroms.

Fundamentally this pact was only another capitulation forced on Stalin by his abandonment of the policy of world revolution and his



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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty—\$30-weekly minimum wage—\$0-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

## Roosevelt's Latest

Let no one be lulled into security by the cautious and rather queasy letter that Roosevelt sent on January 16 to Garner and Bankhead concerning aid to Finland. It demonstrated that Roosevelt doesn't believe the claims of his own crowd that the American people are overwhelmingly desirous of government aid to Finland. It was, indeed, a tacit confession that six weeks of incessant propaganda have not gotten very far. As ardent a partisan of the Finns as Arthur Krock was constrained to report from Washington that opposition to Finnish aid "springs from an intense popular wish, especially noticeable beyond the Alleghenies, to avoid any acts which could possibly lead to entanglement in the European war." (New York Times, January 17.)

Nevertheless, Roosevelt and his cohorts have not abandoned for one moment their intention to join England and France in financing the Finnish spearhead against the Soviet Union. Popular opposition represents to them only a problem to get around. The lengths they are ready to go were made clear Tuesday when Majority Leader Rayburn rose in the House to say that Finland could exchange the agricultural products provided by American loans for "other products" abroad, i. e., arms. By hook or by crook the capitalist rulers of this country intend to strike through Finland a blow against the Soviet Union. They will utilize to the utmost Stalin's invasion.

Efforts must be redoubled in the trade unions to secure adoption of resolutions denouncing the propaganda for Finland as a deliberate move to drag us into war. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union and other bodies have already adopted such resolutions and shown the way for the labor movement.

## A Bit Tardy

On December 31 the United States Maritime Commission, a Roosevelt-appointed body, approved an application of the United States Lines for the "sale" of eight of its ships to a Norwegian dummy. It was a flagrant trick to violate the Neutrality Law, but the Commission connived at it, and the press played the story down to help the game along. A similar attempt earlier by the same company to switch to Panama registry in order to continue to sail the war zone, also approved by the Commission, had to be withdrawn in face of the protest it aroused. The Commission and the shipowners hoped that this time they would get away with it.

Both the Norwegian Ship Owners Association and the Norwegian government have since flatly stated they first learned of the move through the Maritime Commission's announcement of its approval. That is sufficient commentary on the Commission's "investigation" of the bona-fide character of the Norwegian "corporation" to which transfer was made. On January 6 the Norwegian government advised the United States Lines that it would not permit the deal to go through. The Norwegian government plainly had no desire to provide a front for the United States Lines to continue sailing the war zone.

By this time the thing smelled so, that Senator Clark of Missouri on January 15 introduced a

resolution into the Senate, calling for an investigation of the validity of the "sale."

Finally, on January 16, "Official quarters revealed today that the State Department was looking askance at approval by the Maritime Commission of the proposed transfer. . . . To make it look still better, the New York Times published the story the next day under the headline: "State Department blocked ship sale!"

Query: Why did it take the State Department 16 days to make public its "askance"? Are we really, really and truly, being asked to believe that the State Department didn't know that the Maritime Commission was doing it? Who can believe that such moves are made without agreement, especially after the Panama uproar?

And these people talk about Stalin's morality!

## How Fight Fascism

There is plenty of hokum in the publicity surrounding the arrest of the 17 rats of the "Christian Front" who are charged with an attempt to overthrow the U.S. government. There is also much that must be taken with dead seriousness.

Nobody takes seriously the fanfare of Edgar Hoover, killer-diller champ No. 1 of the U.S. government, that he nipped in the bud a plot to overthrow "our" government. Hoover is a skilled hand at self-advertisement even if his knowledge of history wouldn't get him a passing mark in a high school examination. Twenty-three men didn't overthrow the Czarist government, as Hoover ignorantly lectures, and seventeen or seventeen thousand won't overthrow the U.S. government which is slightly stronger. It took an upheaval of the overwhelming majority of the masses in the first case; it will take a far stronger movement in the second.

It can safely be predicted that before the trial is over the fascist comic-opera "revolutionists" will be transformed from beer-hall putschists into deadly "foreign spies" in the pay of Hitler. Already the New York Times headlines "sabotage against American supply and transport of munitions in the event of war as the real motive of the plot." This makes better propaganda for Roosevelt's war drive. Hoover's angle would have made a personal side-show.

The Christian Front was organized by Father Coughlin as his fascist storm troops. During the last several months, they conducted intensive activity against "Jews" and "communists" throughout the country, particularly in New York. Coughlin thundered over the radio on July 30, 1939: "The Christian Front is no longer a dream, it is a reality in America. . . . defending ourselves against the invaders of our spiritual and national rights, the Franco way."

At the last moment, when the FBI picked up his seventeen lieutenants, Coughlin issued a cowardly public disavowal. That only proved that the yellow streak is the outstanding moral characteristic of the fascists including their "fuhrers." It did not in any way change the fact of Coughlin's known leadership and direction of the Christian Front. The eighteen men in the dock of the Federal Court are tools and dupes. The real criminal is not under indictment: his name is Coughlin.

Equally significant is the fact that the investigation is deliberately overlooking the very place that should be investigated: the National Guard and the Police Department of New York. The fascist arsenal was admittedly stolen from the National Guard armory. One of the chief ring-leaders was an officer in the National Guard. How could the arms have been stolen except in collusion with more important men at the top? Today's paper reveals that a Lieutenant of the Police Department had been investigated on charges of adhering to the Christian Front. He was cleared on his own assertion that he had dropped from membership. How many other cops were and are members of the fascist Christian Front? Why aren't they investigated and prosecuted?

That reason is easy to find. The American capitalist government is not seriously interested in uprooting fascism in this country. How can it, when tomorrow it will utilize the fascists against the organized labor movement just as the bosses did in Italy and Germany?

Don't be taken in by Hoover's grandstand play. The fascists can only be undermined and smashed by the workers themselves and by action. We saw that almost a year ago when the New York Bundists and Coughlinites organized their Madison Square demonstration. LaGuardia's cops protected the fascists and slugged the workers who had been mobilized by the Socialist Workers Party in protest. Once again the way to fight the fascists was shown when the Christian Front march on Union Square in New York was stymied by the counter-action called for by the Socialist Workers Party. The Christian Front never fully recovered from this defeat.

But the fascist danger is still here—big as a zoo-full of snakes. It can be met and conquered only by the workers. Don't trust the bosses government. Organize your own defense guards!

## In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

A Political Strike  
in War-Time London

Tucked away in obscure corners of inside pages in the daily press we find a little item that is nevertheless of considerable significance. We refer to the strike of 3,000 "black-coated" (the British equivalent of our "white collar") civil service employees in London. They are striking against their "evacuation" to Blackpool. Their action is directed against the government. Their complaint: the wages they receive in the metropolis are inadequate to meet the living standard in the rural community.

Only the other day Chamberlain called for sacrifices from the nation to meet the emergency created by the war situation. As is usually the case, although sacrifices are demanded of all classes "alike," the brunt has to be borne by those in the lower income brackets. That the latter realize this and are by no means reconciled to their fate—that is what the strike of the "black-coated" workers shows.

The dislocation in economy brought about by the inter-imperialist struggle is bound to create a wave of struggle on the part of the workers. The fact that it is among the most backward section of the working class—the usually timid, submissive and patriotic clerks who most readily accept the "national" and "democratic" ideology of the bourgeoisie—that the one of the very first symptoms of this wave are in evidence, shows the elementary force of the class struggle will break through the sham of this "war for democracy" with extraordinary speed and violence. It is an indication of the degree of decay and disintegration, incomparably greater than during the last war, that capitalism has actually reached.

An American Legion  
for Finnish "Independence"

Another modestly displayed item in the press (N. Y. Times January 15) announces that "American volunteers who have been arriving in Finland by the hundreds since the war with Soviet Russia began, are being organized into a separate legion." Apparently the Hoover Committee is getting down to brass tacks.

In line with their policy of giving "independent" support to the "Finnish people," shall we soon see a Lovestone Brigade and a Norman Thomas brigade helping Mannerheim "independently" against the Soviet Union? And will the Lovestone Brigade stop at the borders of the Soviet Union or will it go right on with the American Legion and the doughty baron towards the liberation of the "Russian people" too? And if Mannerheim and Hoover afterwards declare for the restoration of "Western civilization" in Russia, Lovestone and Thomas can always reserve their right to an "independent" interpretation of this boon.

## SPARKS IN THE NEWS

The Stalinists Discover  
Who Roosevelt Is

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

## Jekyll into Hyde

In the past year, President Roosevelt has openly put himself at the head of the reactionary crusade to cut down relief and reintroduce Hoover starvation for the unemployed. (Hoover gave them breadlines and played with the idea of processing and sterilizing garbage for use by the nation's jobless. Roosevelt gives them surplus commodities—and they have to dig out their own garbage, unprocessed and unsterilized.)

This has provoked a great wailing and gnashing of teeth among Roosevelt's friends or ex-friends in the labor movement. Since his budget message, advocating drastic WPA cuts, there has begun in some quarters a campaign to put across the fairy tale that Roosevelt has only now "yielded" to reactionary pressure on relief, that up to 1939, he was the peerless champion of the unemployed. This line is now being peddled in the Daily Worker and the CIO News. It is an attempt to get out from under. These papers now claim the Roosevelt they so loyally supported for so long was a different fellow entirely from the Roosevelt of today. The good Dr. Jekyll has suddenly changed into the wicked Mr. Hyde.

## Nothing Left But the Smile

Today's paper brings a report of the convention of the New York state Workers Alliance. The Alliance has now become very critical of Roosevelt, for reasons which have nothing to do with the interests of the unemployed but a great deal to do with the interests of Stalin—and Hitler. "There has been a drastic change in the policies of President Roosevelt in the past year," reported the Alliance bureaucrats, and they led the convention in singing a song which began:

There was a man named Roosevelt  
Began to do what the people felt;  
The New Deal came and stayed a while,  
But all that's left is Roosevelt's smile.

Especially disillusioned by Roosevelt's recent actions was Herbert Benjamin, the Stalinist secretary of the Alliance. "WPA is not what she used to be," he said sadly. As for Roosevelt—"His beautiful phrases of yesterday ring hollow today."

## A Glance at the Record

Let's look at the record as to Roosevelt and relief. When did he begin his campaign against the unemployed? I told the story in great detail in the September, 1939, issue of the New International, but a few of the basic facts may well be repeated here.

(1) The only time in the entire history of the Roosevelt Administration that its relief program

Another "Solution"  
for the Indian "Controversy"

Trouble in India seems to have no end for the harassed British imperialists. Even an artificial enthusiasm for the war is difficult to stage-manage. On the other hand, we have such outbursts as that of the strikes of the Lascars, reported here last week. Reliable sources also report that about a month ago a one-day strike against the war was successfully carried out in Bombay, involving in the main some 60,000 textile workers of the Gani Kamgar unions.

To allay these disturbances, the Colonial Office is working overtime. Rumor has it that Sir Stafford Cripps, noted millionaire Labour lawyer and outstanding advocate of the "People's Front" in England, is currently engaged in putting over a "radical"-seeming settlement in close conjunction with the government. Meanwhile, the papers announce that the Marquess of Linlithgow, Viceroy of India "saw many political leaders and the feeling is growing that these meetings will assist toward a settlement of the current disagreement over Indian support for the British Government in the war."

The political leaders here referred to are obviously none other than the usual colonial toadies of the imperialist masters who have always put their rubber stamp on whatever the Viceroy expresses as "India's goal." According to a recent speech by the latter, that goal is now "dominion status at the earliest practicable moment." That is, the same vague, paternal promises that have always characterized British policy.

Not even the extreme Right wing of the Indian nationalists—the All-India Congress—can now be expected to be in the slightest satisfied with such promises. Thus, Gandhi, the foremost spokesman of this conservative wing, recently declared in a statement to the British press:

"The proposed Constituent Assembly is the only body that can evolve a proper and lasting solution. Any other can only be a makeshift carrying no popular sanction. . . . No wonder Hitler has challenged the British Government to prove her sincerity by recognizing India as a free nation. Whatever may be his intention in issuing the challenge, it cannot be denied that it is pertinent."

The reference to popular sanction is the key to an understanding of the problem. The masses are on the move and anxious to take advantage of British difficulties in order to settle accounts with their oppressors. Not even a Gandhi has any hope of strangling their will to struggle, without first yielding to it. No matter what the instigation, no matter what the intentions of a Hitler in this matter may be or what the purpose of the Stalinists who are active in direct support of Indian rebellion may be, a storm is brewing in India whose explosiveness is bound to sweep aside not only British imperialism, but its German opponent as well—and with them the Gandhist leaders of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist leaders of the unions.

## The "Christian Front" Arrests

By GEORGE STERN

Without relaxing for a single instant their main task of ferreting out and framing up militant unionists and unemployed workers, the "G-men" have turned up in New York City a conspiratorial band of Fascists of the "Christian Front," which had actually begun to collect an arsenal and to train men for the avowed purpose of an armed campaign against radical workers, Jews, and the government.

Simultaneously the same Federal body indicted 44 labor leaders in New Orleans and a score of others in Chicago, making a total of 400 indictments, mostly of unionists in the "anti-trust" union-busting campaign of the Department of Justice.

If the G-men have gone after this Fascist gang it is because the American capitalists do not feel as yet any need for help of this kind in crushing working class protest in this country. They have sufficient confidence so far in the ability of their Army and Navy, police and G-men, their courts and prisons, to keep working class protest in check.

## Purpose of the Arrests

For our rulers the exposure and arrest of this Fascist gang serves a double purpose. First of all, at the present time they have no need of such gangs and "suppress" them just as Daladier "suppressed" them in France. Like the French bosses, they expect to be able to chain the workers to the war machine with the state power already at their disposal and with the aid of their lieutenants within the working class itself, the reactionary labor leaders.

Secondly, the small-scale G-man drive against Fascists helps take some of the curse of the large-scale drive being conducted against militant workers throughout the country, right now especially in the ranks of the unemployed. The Minneapolis WPA trials have focussed attention of workers on the real meaning of the "anti-radical" drive which the Department of Justice has launched. The arrest of a handful of un-needed fascists helps give this drive a false appearance of "impartiality."

But whatever the motives or the calculations of the Federal agents and their bosses, the uncovering of this Fascist band in New York is a grave warning to the workers of the whole country.

That such a band should have come into existence, that it acquired arms and conducted military training is a fact that should stand out before the workers like a blazing red danger signal.

It is not an isolated phenomenon. This New York gang is blood brother to the Bund, the Black Legion, the Klan, the scores and hundreds of vigilante gangs which have come into action in as many strikes, the Silver Shirts, and their like. It was directly linked to Father Coughlin and his "Christian Front"—although the Detroit Fuehrer quickly disavowed the gang, while admitting that he received contributions from it.

## Government Make-Believe

It would be a mortal error for any trade unionist to believe that the government proceeds against these gangs in any serious manner. Its pressure against them is nothing compared to its pressure against militant workers and working class revolutionists. And its pressure against the Fascists decreases as its pressure increases against the workers. Let us make no mistake about that.

Think of any single strike and the way the police and vigilantes work TOGETHER in perfect harmony against the strikers, and you get a real idea of what it will be like when things really get tough on a national scale.

## The Example of Germany

This is not plain guesswork. We have before us the experience of workers in Germany, Austria, Spain, France, and other countries. The Fascist movements rose in those countries for the same reasons that it is beginning to raise its head here. Out of an insoluble economic crisis, growing mass privation and starvation, out of the inadequacy of all existing forms of capitalist rule, the Fascist movement "rises, like an ugly reptile rising out of the slime."

Where, as in Germany, the bosses realize they have no other way out and no other way of effectively countering the rising storm of working class protest against such conditions, they seize upon the Fascist slime and use it to suffocate the working class movement—and indeed all freedom of thought and action in every sphere—in order to perpetuate their rule.

In Germany for years the official police proceeded "against" the Fascists just like Roosevelt's G-men are doing now. They arrested them, imprisoned them, suppressed their organizations, and newspapers—but in the end they joined hands with the Hitler hordes to crush the workers, to enslave them, and hurl them into the horrors of war.

In France the same combination of elements worked out a little differently—but the end result was the same. The Fascist gangs grew like a festering sore in the sick body of the nation. The workers, organized in mighty millions and ready and willing to fight for and establish their own power, were bamboozled by the "left" and "pro-labor" People's Front government of Leon Blum, Daladier and Stalin's French lackeys, into leaving to the government the task of "suppressing the Fascists." Drastic decrees were adopted, voted for with both hands by Blum and his Socialist Party and Thorez and his Stalin-Communist Party.

So what happened? The Fascist gangs were put conveniently in the background because the easy compliance of the working class leaders made it unnecessary for the French bosses to use them. The great strikes of 1936 were crushed by the government and with the approach of the war in 1939 and 1940 all the decrees supposedly passed against the Fascists were turned against the workers organizations! The Communist Party itself was one of the first to feel the whip it had helped to make.

And when war came Daladier swept aside the last vestiges of democratic rule, established a complete dictatorship, declared all strikes treasonable, suppressed newspapers, dissolved working class organizations, unseated properly elected working class representatives, and led the chained masses into the war holocaust for the greater glory of the French and British boss empires!

This is what really happens if we put any reliance in the government's apparent moves against the Fascist gangs. It happened over there. It can happen here.

That is, it can happen here unless the workers of America learn the lessons paid for so dearly with the lives and liberties of their brother workers in Europe. And the first of these lessons must be: We rely on our own strength, our own organizations, our own forces, to deal with the Fascist menace wherever it raises its head!

That is the meaning of the plank in the platform of the Socialist Workers Party that calls for the creation of Workers' Defense Guards by every union, by every workers' organization.

The New York Fascist gang shows that our mortal enemies are not sleeping. Woe unto us if we are asleep when the showdown comes! If we awake, if we prepare now to defend ourselves, the end of the story here will be a different one from that in Europe.