

# Socialist Appeal

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

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## WHERE ARE THOSE JOBS, MR. ROOSEVELT?

### U.S.-London Notes Echoes of 1914-16

Disputes Last Time Brought War Threats But Did Not Prevent U. S. Entry; This Time the "Silent Partnership" Is Already a Fact

The dispute that has arisen between the British and U. S. governments over seizure and search of American mails bound for Europe once more brings echoing from the past the "disputes" with England in 1915 and 1916 which did not prevent this country in the end from being swept into the war on England's side.

Edwin L. James, who helps frame the powerful pro-Ally policy of the New York Times, of which he is managing editor, warned the British in his paper last Sunday that the present issue over the mails "risks resembling the argument of World War days over the British contraband bar against Germany."

The exchange of diplomatic protests at that time, he recalls with pointed significance, "became acrimonious for a while, but when the United States entered the war in April of 1917, the issue was no longer posed."

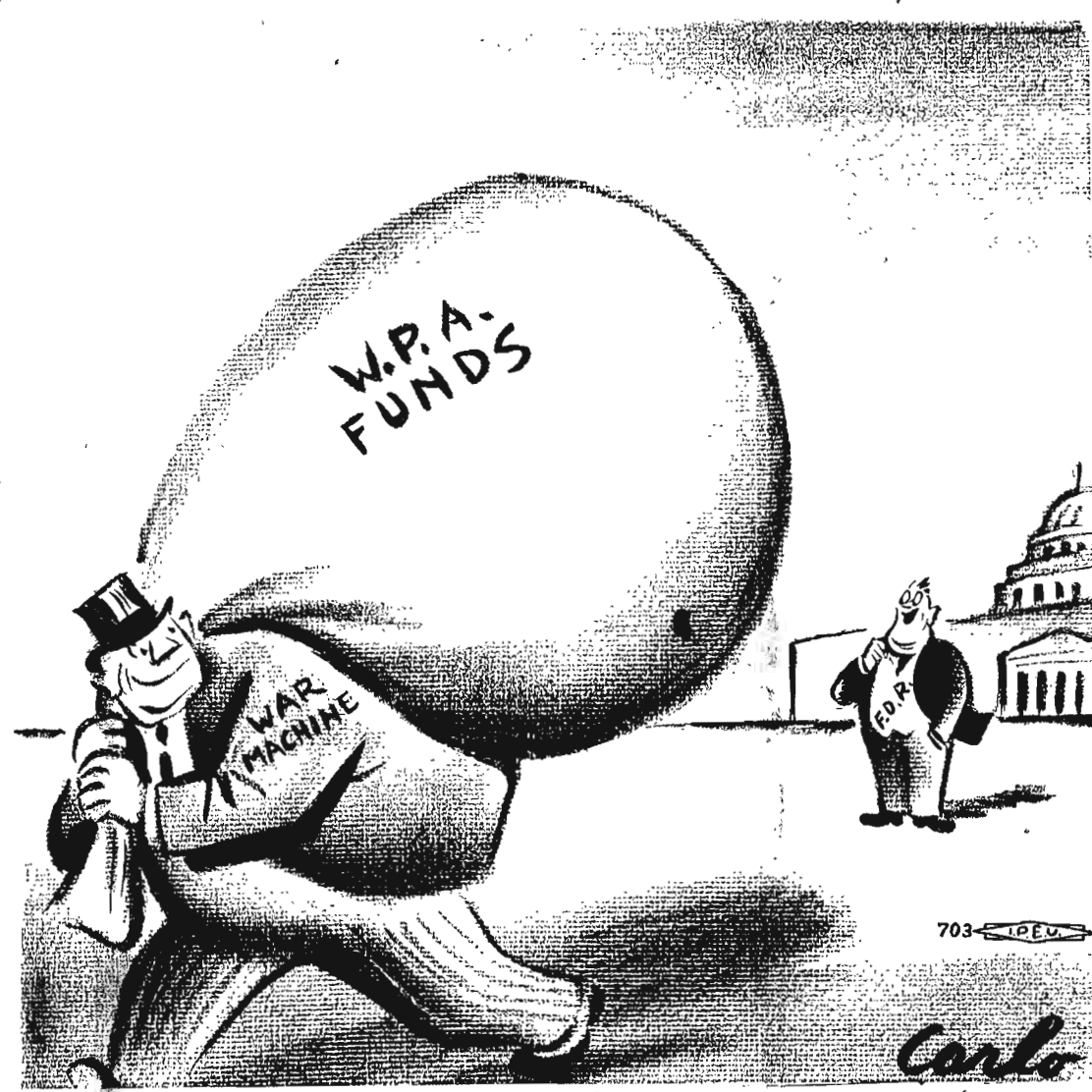
And he concludes by gently reminding his British friends, reminding them that in contrast to that last time, American opinion is in the present situation "80 per cent on the side of Britain and France"—a factor, he adds, "too valuable to risk modifying by searching the United States mails on the high seas."

But the British remember quite well the history of their

### U.S. Army Purchase Anticipates 40,000 Casualties At Once

The War Department's Medical Division has just placed an order for \$797,500 of bathrobes with S. Rosenbloom, Inc., of Baltimore, a non-union shop, to be delivered by March 1, 1940. The shop underbid unionized firms. Assuming that the army hasn't a bathrobe to its name, it is evidently anticipating the hospitalization of some 40,000 men at a clip. The robes are not intended for veterans' hospitals, for such purchases are made by the Veterans Administration.

"disputes" with the U. S. government in 1914-16—and anybody who takes hope for a single instant from Washington's present "irritation" in the unlikelihood of our involvement would do well to review that history himself. From the pages of a book like (Continued on Page 3)



### FDR Alibi For Cuts Blows Up

As if at a cue from Roosevelt's budget message to Congress, January 4, production indices have been sliding downward and unemployment increasing, in the ensuing weeks.

In his budget message, Roosevelt justified his slashes of relief appropriations on an asserted expectation of expansion of employment. He said: "In submitting estimates for these agencies (WPA, NYA, CCC, FSA) I have taken into consideration the current improvement in business conditions. . . . While the estimates are appreciably less than those for the current year, I am hopeful that they will prove adequate."

"Increasing Prosperity" The day before, in his annual message to Congress, he had stated even more baldly "the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit."

That "increasing economic prosperity" existed only in the fertile brains of Madame Perkins and other government manipulators of statistics; only they were predicting increased employment. All other sources, from AFL and CIO to bank reports—were predicting a decline in production.

In the intervening weeks all the signs point to a complete refutation of the government's perspective. The New York Times' business index is coasting downward. Time magazine, whose index of business conditions is designed "to report not on business volume but on changes in underlying conditions likely to affect the volume of U. S. business," dropped two points last week, because of "a sharp reduction in trade-center spending to the lowest weekly figure since last August." The stock market has been gliding downward since the first of the year. All signs point to increasing unemployment.

Condemned to Starve In the face of this prospect, the WPA rolls, which on Jan. 6 stood at 2,159,000, are to be cut down to 1,350,000 for the coming fiscal year, and about 250,000 PWA jobs are to be liquidated in the course of the year. It is plain that these workers—more than a million of them—are being dropped from government employment rolls into the streets. CIO research department figures demonstrate that there is (Continued on Page 2)

### Tobin Unity Appeal Gets Big Response

Thousands of Letters Reported Pouring Into AFL and CIO Offices Demanding Resumption of Peace Parleys

The unity call of Daniel J. Tobin, President of the Teamsters Union, continued to hold the center of the stage in numerous gatherings and discussions of the trade union movement.

William Green, President of the AFL, attempted to shift responsibility for the split in labor's ranks to the CIO, immediately after the appearance of Tobin's unity editorial. He stated at that time: "The committee has been unable to meet because the CIO refused to meet with it, etc. . . ."

### UNITED MINERS CONVENE AT KEY MOMENT

Lewis Expected To State CIO Stand On Anti-War Fight

The Golden Jubilee Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, which opened on January 23 at Columbus, Ohio, is being watched with great attention by every unionist throughout the country.

The United Mine Workers of America, with its 600,000 members in the United States and Canada is probably the largest union in the country today. Behind it is a rich history, replete with militant class struggles and heroic sacrifices. Hundreds of miners have laid down their lives in the mine fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois and Colorado, so that the union could live and grow strong enough to protect the lives and the interests of the miners. Mother Jones is but the representative of these hundreds of nameless American working class heroes who blazed the path for modern unionism.

Within the past year, the miners union has signed one of the best contracts with the coal operators, securing a union shop in practically every major mine field of the country. Especially noteworthy was the contract signed with the coal operators of "Bloody Harlan", who until that time successfully resisted unionism.

(Continued on Page 2)

Since the issuance of the Tobin call, however, it is reported that thousands of letters from rank and file unionists have been pouring into Washington, to both the AFL and CIO offices, demanding the immediate resumption of peace negotiations, looking toward the formation of a united labor organization.

Green Changes Tune William Green, under this pressure, has changed his tune and made a new unofficial bid to the CIO. Speaking at a mass meeting this week in East St. Louis, Ill., celebrating the 41st anniversary of the local central trades and Labor Union, Green declared that the restoration of peace was labor's most pressing problem. Despite previous failures, the AFL stood ready to discuss "any reasonable proposal or compromise."

The "unity" wind was blowing so strong, that even Matthew Woll, the reactionary die-hard of the AFL Executive Council and Federation Red-Baiter No. 1, was apparently converted this week to the unity idea. Speaking at the 25th Annual meeting of Local No. 1 of the New York Photo-Engravers Union, Mr. Woll declared that "There is nothing about industrial unionism that is foreign to the AFL." (A year ago, Woll would curse a blue streak at the mere mention of industrial unionism.)

Await CIO Response The federation officials are now waiting for the CIO reaction to these "feelers." It is expected that John L. Lewis will state his position on the problem of labor unity in his President's report to the 50th convention of the United Mine Workers of America, now meeting at Columbus, Ohio.

### New NMU Pact Up to Members

Gaping Loopholes for Bosses Seen in New Contract Okayed by Union Leaders

A two-year contract with seventeen major East Coast and Gulf shipping companies has just been signed by the National Maritime Union leadership and is now up for referendum vote by the union membership.

The text of the proposed contract appears in the January 12 issue of the PILOT, organ of the union. The main issue in the protracted negotiations was job control through the union hiring hall and the rotary shipping system. In publishing the agreement which they had already signed, the union leaders claimed that "rotary shipping through the union hall is guaranteed in the new contract."

An examination of the contract reveals, however, a number of gaping loopholes in the contract, which can be used to the hilt by the employers. Most significant is the key section of the contract, Section 6, titled "Employment." Section 6 (a) states: "The Company agrees that

during the period this agreement is in effect it will give all its employment except for the positions set forth in subsection (f) to members of the Union, when available in the Deck, Engine, and Stewards' Departments, provided that the prospective employees are SATISFACTORY to the Company. This section shall not be construed to prevent or postpone a re-employment of employees who may be absent on account of illness, accident, leaves of absence or vacations. The intent of this clause is that vacations or leaves of absence shall be granted in writing when leaving the vessel and shall not exceed a period of one round voyage or thirty days, whichever may be the greater."

What the Boss Means Ask any seaman, or any worker for that matter, what the boss means by SATISFACTORY, and the answer comes back: A COMPANY. (Continued on Page 2)

### TERROR ON WEST COAST EXPOSED IN TESTIMONY

La Follette Group Gets Evidence of Class Brutality

SAN FRANCISCO—As witness after witness before the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee hearing's records a grim picture of employer violence and terror against California's agricultural workers, the fury of the reactionary "Associated Farmers" and their bitterly expressed contempt for the Committee and its investigation, reflect the increasing class tension in this state.

Philip Bancroft, last year's Republican candidate for the Senate, has denounced the Committee, told La Follette to get out of the state and to stop "giving aid and comfort to the Communists." Sheriffs controlled by the Associated Farmers have defied the subpoenas of the United States Senate, and have been supported by the California State Attorney General Earl Warren. The determination of the California capitalists to maintain their class in (Continued on Page 2)

### Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

On Jan. 26 the Japanese-American trade treaty of 1911, denounced by the Roosevelt government, expired. Guns did not actually start booming on the Pacific nor did American planes start out from their bases in Oceania to begin the attack on the Japanese fleet. Nevertheless this date will occupy a significant and symbolic place in the history of the coming war between Japanese and American imperialism.

With the expiration of this pact, Washington has cleared the legal, juridical, and diplomatic decks for the action many foresee in the more or less near future. It climaxes the long series of sharp notes and protests and demands and reservations with which the U. S. government has "made the record" to justify the eventual use of armed force to assert its rule in the Pacific basin.

This is not a needlessly alarmist view confined to these columns. The most serious and authoritative organs of American big business now face it as a fact. Discerning readers of the New York Times, prime organ of Yankee imperialism, have of course been long and carefully prepared for this eventuality. Now other, even blunter voices, join in. Take for instance the brief note of informative warning which the Journal of Commerce recently gave its Wall Street readers in its column of Washington comment:

"Subsurface signs of tension with Japan have been viewed by Washington observers rather more seriously than usual. Although the attitude of Admiral Yonai, the new Japanese premier, appears highly conciliatory, fears have not been wholly removed that differences regarding trade policies will lead to inflammatory incidents. Our armed forces in the Pacific, which keep in fighting trim as a matter of routine,

are in more than a usual state of preparedness. An Executive order of a few weeks ago, which went generally unnoticed, waived application of the wage-hour law to work on Midway Island fortifications by reason of emergency."

The Washington correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune wrote last Sunday that American-Japanese relations "are much more strained than the American public generally realize and may possibly reach a grave stage after Jan. 26. . . . The prospect that the United States may become involved in war with Japan is one of the reasons why the navy is building warships on an unprecedented scale and is seeking Congressional approval for improvements of the Guam naval base. . . ."

This same correspondent advances the theory that the reluctance of the Administration to grant openly military loans to Finland is part of basic American diplomatic strategy "which will be successful if she avoids a war with the combined Russo-Japanese forces"—i.e., a gesture of "appeasement" aimed "to keep Russia out of the arms of the Japanese."

Actually, however, the situation is the other way around. The fundamental American diplomatic strategy at the present time is to hammer Japan into an anti-Soviet line. The threat of both economic and armed action is now being used primarily to this end. Only if Washington fails of this objective will armed action directly against Japan become a matter of immediate policy.

Consequently the date Jan. 26 passes for the moment without any spectacular change in the situation. But the hearings that are to open in Washington on American Far Eastern policy, Senator Key Pittman's clamor for an embargo, the navy plans, will each do its part in exerting the desired pressure on Tokyo.

### Browder Convicted on Flimsy Charges

Earl Browder, leader of the American Stalinist Party, has been convicted on passport charges and sentenced to four years' imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. The fact that the charges against Browder arise out of acts that occurred years ago is alone sufficient proof that the court action at this time is no mere accident. It is not a case of justice belatedly catching up with a wrongdoer. It is a case of direct political action by the government through the courts aimed at the leader of an "undesirable" minority.

Our readers are doubtless well aware of our opinion of Earl Browder and the Stalinists generally. We have more than once characterized everything that Browder stands for as a vile poison which the American working class must throw off if it is to advance victoriously to the establishment of workers' power in this country. But there, precisely, is our point. It is the working class itself which must deal with the Browners and all their ilk. The workers themselves must reject the Stalinists and render them completely ineffectual—and they must do this to serve the cause of their own class. This is quite a different matter from permitting the bosses to crack down at will, even on the Browners. Because let us make no mistake: today it is Browder, tomorrow it will be real working class militants, real fighting unionists.

Our party, aiming to fight and defeat boss rule and to set up in its place a true workers' government, has as part of its job the fight against the syphilitic germ of Stalinism. But against any assault of the bosses we defend the Stalinists too, just as we de-

fend a Social Democrat or an ordinary labor faker—fundamentally they are birds of a feather—because we realize that any such assault will prove to be nothing but the prelude to an attack on a far wider front against all workers' organizations. That is why we join in protesting the Browder conviction as a fraudulent piece of political persecution.

The Federal government is moving right now against Browder and the Stalinists for several reasons. First of all, the Stalinists are open agents in this country for the Stalin regime and, as such, agents of the prospective foes of this country in the war. Secondly, it was only a few months ago that Browder & Co. were the most ardent supporters of the Roosevelt War Deal administration and the present action against Browder represents an effort by Roosevelt and his regime to scratch some of the tar off their backsides.

Browder unconsciously gave proof of this at a meeting he addressed the night he was sentenced when he boasted that Frank Murphy, ex-attorney general and now Supreme Court justice, "gladly accepted" Communist support when he ran unsuccessfully for the governorship in Michigan. He also claimed credit for his party in electing Herbert Lehman as Democratic governor of New York—all claims that go back to the recent days when the Browder Stalinist Party was whooping it up for Roosevelt's war policies. Browder now cries "betrayal" by the New Deal, but actually, the New or War Deal is still the same. It is Browder who has switched horses because Stalin switched horses in the European line-up.

### EVERY SUNDAY A RED SUNDAY!

The APPEAL is the only revolutionary Marxist newspaper in this country. It provides a Marxist analysis and program for the American and international class struggle. It tells the truth where all other papers lie. It proclaims the struggle against war while the others wave the banner of jingoism. It speaks in a language workers can understand.

Yet our circulation has declined. Why? Has there been a slackening of workers' interest in the APPEAL? We think not. There has been, however, a slackening of efforts in the sales of the APPEAL. The bundle orders—most important item in our financial budget—have dropped considerably. This is the nub of the problem. Solve it—and our troubles are more than half over. Our proposal is a simple one: double the sales of the APPEAL in the next period. Let us expand, not contract. How?

A special sales campaign must be undertaken by the branches to assure the sale of, and payment for, the weekly bundle of APPEALS. The old revolutionary practise of making every Sunday a Red Sunday must be revived: experience shows that Sunday sales are a sure-fire expansionist method for circulating a workers' weekly.

EVERY SUNDAY MUST BE A RED SUNDAY, with hundreds of militants throughout the country going from house to house to put the press of the Fourth International solidly on its feet. There is a vital period of anti-war work ahead of us and we must be capable of publishing special issues as frequently as the situation demands.

The branches must get behind this campaign and SELL THEIR PAPERS, PAY THEIR BILLS AND SET AS THEIR GOAL THE DOUBLING OF BUNDLE ORDERS. LAUNCH THE DRIVE FOR TWICE AS MANY APPEALS! MAKE EVERY SUNDAY A RED SUNDAY! —THE APPEAL MANAGEMENT



CLERKS PICKET LAGUARDIA SCAB MARKET

Local 338 Charges Hit New Essex Street Establishment

Six union pickets, distributing handbills in LaGuardia's new market, asking customers not to patronize the non-union grocery and dairy stores, were arrested by the special market police on Monday.

"MR. MAYOR! WE WANT JOBS!" "MR. MARKET COMMISSIONER! WE WANT JOBS!"

Bearing these and other signs, pickets last week began to march up and down in front of the entrances to New York City Mayor LaGuardia's latest pride: the huge new Essex Street Retail Market, which stretches for three blocks from Broome to Stanton Streets on the Lower East Side. The pickets are members of Local 338 of the Retail Dairy Grocery and Fruit Clerks Union (CIO), which has 5,000 members in the city. They will continue to march until LaGuardia reverses the present scab labor policy of the market.

Cheap Goods—Cheap Labor The Essex Street Market was allegedly built to house the pushcart men of the Orchard Street district. But the city authorities have allowed many regular grocery and dairy store owners to open up complete stores there. Because of the open shop labor policy instituted at the new market, wages are far below the union scale. Rents are also low. The result is that prices, according to City Market Commissioner Morgan, are from 8 per cent to 17 per cent lower in the market than they are in neighborhood stores. The reduction comes mostly out of the hide of the clerks employed in the market.

The LaGuardia Administration has been giving the union the run-around in the best "friend-of-labor" tradition. Two weeks before the market opened, Local 338 officials wrote LaGuardia a letter asking whether scab shops would be permitted in the new market. No answer. Another letter, again no answer. Finally, on the day before the grand opening, the Mayor's Secretary, A. Palmieri, saw Union President Meyer Winokur and Business Agent Julius Sum.

The Run-Around "Don't picket the market tomorrow," begged Palmieri. "Don't embarrass the Mayor. He's the best friend labor ever had in New York." When the union official seemed unmoved by this plea, Palmieri hinted that the Mayor "had ways" of getting even if they went through with the demonstration. "But why should he want to get even if he's such a good friend of ours?" asked Sum innocently. No answer. Winokur and Sum finally agreed to hold off the pickets on promise of an interview with the Mayor the next morning. The opening ceremonies went off smoothly, with LaGuardia getting—or dishing out—plenty of oratorical soft soap about "his" great gift to the people of the Lower East Side.

But when Winokur and Sum came down to City Hall afterward, the Mayor was out. The next morning the picket line went on and will stay until the market is unionized. A picky line patrols each of the fifteen entrances to the market, and a special squad of cops patrol the pickets. There have been no arrests so far. The complaints of the storekeepers inside the market, which increase every day, are testimony to the effectiveness of the picketing.

An Important Issue Stakes in the struggle go far beyond this one market, huge as it is. The city is now completing similar markets in the Bronx, in Brooklyn and elsewhere in Manhattan. Local 338 is fighting to force the "liberal" LaGuardia Administration to put in a general union labor policy throughout all these markets. This fight is all the more vital because shops in the city markets can undersell shops outside, thus driving out of business many unionized retail food stores—or forcing them to take refuge inside the market to escape paying union wages.

One thing is sure: the concession will be granted by "labor's best friend in New York" only if the picket lines force it out of him. Until then, every day from seven in the morning to seven at night, in rain and snow and freezing cold, the pickets tramp up and down in front of the huge flag-decorated buildings.

"MR. MAYOR! WE WANT JOBS!" "MR. MARKET COMMISSIONER! WE WANT JOBS!"

Ready for Ten Million Of Us—Draft Notices!

When the United States declares war, some 10,000,000 men between the ages of 21 and 31 will be registered for the first draft in accordance with the Selective Service Act which Congress would pass immediately.

Between three and four million of these men will be placed in Class I and will thus be liable for immediate induction into military service. The following form (S.S. Form 150) is already prepared to bring them the news:

S.S. Form 150-Order of Induction into Military Service of the United States. (Stamp of Local Board) (United States Seal) (Date of mailing)

ORDER OF INDUCTION INTO MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. To: (First name) (Middle name) (Last name) (Order Number) (Serial No.)

GREETING: Having submitted yourself to a Local Board composed of your neighbors for the purpose of determining the capacity in which you can best serve the United States in the present emergency, you are hereby notified that you have now been selected for immediate military service.

You will, therefore, report to the Local Board named above at (Place of reporting) at (Hour of reporting) m., on the (day) of (month), 19 (year), for military service.

From and after the day and hour just named you will be in the military service of the United States.

(Member of Local Board) (The term "military" shall comprehend both Army and Navy including Marine Corps, except where such construction would be unreasonable.)

IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO ALL MEN SELECTED FOR MILITARY SERVICE AND ORDERED TO REPORT TO A LOCAL BOARD FOR MILITARY SERVICE

The day and hour specified on the Classification Record of this Local Board, and on the order and notice of induction into military service contained in this notice for you to report to this Local Board for military service is the time that marks the change in your status from civil to military.

Failure to report promptly at the hour and on the day named is a grave military offense for which you may be court-martialed. Willful failure to report with an intent to evade military service constitutes desertion, which, in time of war, is a capital offense.

Upon reporting to your Local Board, you will not need, and you should not bring with you, anything except hand baggage. You will not be permitted to take trunks or boxes with you on the train.

You should wear rough strong clothing and a flannel shirt, preferably an olive-drab shirt of the kind issued to soldiers.

Wander of ILGWU Pleads He is 'Guilty as Charged'

Admits He Flouted Decision of 1,000 Union Members in Bayonne Negotiations

By E. R. FRANK

In the January 6 issue of the Socialist Appeal, we called attention to the signing of a new agreement between Local 160, attached to the out-of-town department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the Maiden Form Brassiere Company of Bayonne, New Jersey.

The negotiations revealed, we pointed out, the absence of all democratic procedure in the out-of-town department and the reactionary policies pursued by its general manager, Harry Wander.

In the January 15 issue of "Justice," official publication of the ILGWU, Harry Wander attempts to answer our accusations.

He states: "Their (Socialist Appeal) accusation is that we refused to support the action of the shop when in the midst of negotiating a contract, one committee was abruptly withdrawn and another committee substituted.

"To this accusation I plead guilty as charged. My action was that of a responsible unionist," etc.

A DICTATOR'S IDEA OF UNIONISM

Doesn't it strike you as strange Mr. Wander, that you, one man, should possess the power to overturn the decision of a thousand union members? You state you did not think their decision was a wise one, therefore you would not recognize their regularly elected negotiating committee and you decided to discontinue the negotiations with the company.

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be incomplete without its tearful reference to "Russia's ruthless attack upon Finland" and the "cold and deliberate mass slaughter, including the bombing of open cities."

When Hoover, Roosevelt, the U.S. Steel Corporation or the Chase National Bank get all worked up about "poor little Finland," it is easily understandable. Finland is a semi-colony of the U.S. and the Wall Street men have a stake in a Finnish victory.

What are you all excited about, Mr. Wander? Your trepidation is as indecent as that of a butler, who is in seventh heaven when his master's stocks and bonds soar upward and who is down in the dumps when the master's securities sharply decline.

Stalin's invasion of Finland has been used by all of the open shop manufacturers and their lackeys to divert attention away from America's ten million unemployed, the starvation and suffering stalking of other American cities, the billions of dollars that are being spent on armaments in preparation for war.

These phony democrats have one-track minds. They can understand suffering and starvation in Finland. But they cannot recognize it in the United States.

You and your friends are the younger brothers of these phony democrats. You are ready to fight for democracy in "Poor Little Finland." But you do not have a very great interest in democracy in the ILGWU.

Like all worshippers of "bourgeois democracy," you do not have a very high regard for it in your own labor organization. Before you get worked up about "Poor Little Finland" again, remember the words of a very wise man: "Charity begins at home."

Your article, I suppose, would serve only to underscore the crying need for reforms in the out-of-town department of the ILGWU by the introduction of democratic procedure in the negotiation of union contracts and the granting of full autonomy to all local unions.

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WORKERS' FORUM

MILITANT LOCAL QUILTS WAA

Editor: At a meeting on Jan. 3 of the Quakertown, Pa., Local No. G-1901 of the Workers Alliance, the membership decided to sever all connections with the Workers Alliance, and form an independent organization to be called the Project Workers Association of Bucks County.

At the last meeting in December, a number of members had been assigned to get the sentiment of the non-union project workers. The reports brought back were unanimous in favor of an independent union, several members reported that their projects would join an independent union 100%, and numerous Alliance members from other locals expressed their desire to join the new organization and expressed their disgust at the bureaucratic way in which business of the Alliance and some of its locals is conducted.

Grievances Against WAA One grievance the Quakertown Local had when it received a letter from the Pa. state office of the Workers Alliance about "death watch against the Pierston forced labor bill," urging locals to rush funds to help keep the death watch going, and also send more pickets to show our strength. The WAA national paper, Work, stated that there were 400 pickets in line. The Quakertown Local decided to send money and three pickets. When these pickets arrived in Harrisburg they found 30 pickets, who dwindled down to a half dozen by Saturday morning. Then I believe the legislators felt safe to pass the Bill which they did Saturday night.

A second grievance was when we received the report of the delegate to the "Right to Work Congress," after which a committee was appointed to send a letter to Pres. Lasser in which the committee stated:

"It was the most unprofitable and wasteful expenditure of time and money in which this Local had ever been engaged.

"It is with the keenest regret that Quakertown Local laborers under the necessity of recording its disappointment in the meager results attained by the Right to Work Congress and condemns the dictatorial and autocratic methods in vogue during the session

Lasser's Reply In reply Mr. Lasser says that "your officers have no business to write the kind of letter you have."

In reply the Quakertown Local wrote that "You assume a far greater power than the office you hold confers. We would indict the

Hungry workers demand that their immediate needs be satisfied in the inevitable struggle for existence, they are driven by their stomachs to follow a militant class struggle policy. An organization devoted to democratic principles and program, where the right of initiative and action on the part of the individual is encouraged. Where confidence is maintained by permitting free expression of thought and action and where judgment is depended upon to indicate the right and proper course to pursue.

HOWARD STUMP, Quakertown, Pa.

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

TERROR ON WEST COAST EXPOSED IN TESTIMONY

(Continued from Page 1)

terests against the "reformers" was given its most brutal expression when O. L. Baker, a cotton grower, told La Follette that the cotton growers were "the people" in his county. Meanwhile the capitalist press here has carefully sabotaged the hearings.

Vigilante Violence Described The violence used by the cotton growers to break the Madera County cotton pickers strike was told in detail before the Committee. State officials who were there testified how five hundred or more vigilantes, armed with pick handles, clubs, auto cranks, rubber hose, bludgeons, and tire chains, attacked a strikers' mass meeting being held peaceably within the Madera public park.

While the state Highway Patrol and the Sheriff made no move to interfere, the vigilantes beat up the unarmed men and women they found there. The strike was broken.

The same O. L. Baker told Senator La Follette, "I'm a Southerner from Georgia and when a big buck nigger gets up on a platform at a strike meeting and walks back and forth and agitates, I don't like it." He said the vigilante attack upon the mass meeting had "removed the core from the boil" and the cotton growers were proud of it.

In the Stockton Cannery strike in San Joaquin County the strike was broken by vigilantes who were supplied by the Sheriff with 446 pick handles, \$2,200 worth of assorted ammunition. These figures were obtained by the Committee from the county auditor.

Legionnaires Vigilantes The vigilantes were recruited through the American Legion Posts and "were the better type of citizens." Forty-five strikers were treated for injuries, twenty-seven for gunshot wounds. Thirteen vigilantes were also injured, but none of them by gunshot wounds.

Elaborate Blacklists The employers keep elaborate files on "reds." Just as the Nazis had a list of thousands of men and women upon whom they took revenge after Hitler seized power, just as Franco's agents before and during the Civil War, prepared lists of thousands of anti-Fascists, so, as revealed by the testimony, "Associated Farmers" has a list of some 20,000 men and women in California—liberals, reformers, "reds" of one political belief or another, who have incurred the enmity of the employer class.

All of American labor is today turning its eyes towards the convention sessions in progress at Columbus, Ohio, waiting to hear the answer to the unpostponable problems that face the millions of America's toilers.

New NMU Pact Up for Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

PANY STOOGES. Without the shipowners having to define, or limit what is meant by "scab factory," we can only reach one conclusion—that the shipowner has the right to REJECT any seaman he doesn't like. The blacklist will automatically be again introduced, this time with the sanction of the union leaders.

Any militant seaman who so much as opens his mouth, will find himself blacklisted and rejected as UNSATISFACTORY.

The same clause also delivers a deadly blow at the rotary shipping system. Rotary shipping is the sole guarantee of equal shipping rights for the rank and file. The rotary method absolutely requires that the seamen register at the UNION hall when they want to ship, and take out a shipping card, stamped with the date of issuance. The seaman longest on the beach, that is, with the oldest date, is sent to the job if he is in the hall when the job comes up. Regardless of WHO the man is, the shipowner must accept him, or if rejected for any VALID reason, the man next in line gets the job. This rotary formula, does not vary. It does not recognize any exceptions but one: Only when men quit a ship because of strike action, are they allowed to return to the ship without going thru the rotary system.

The contract, however, allows the company freedom to give company stooges vacations, leaves of absence, etc., then to re-hire them without a by-your-leave from the union!

Clause (b) states: "Unlicensed personnel may remain continuously in the employment of the Company, provided the Company and the employee desire such employment to continue."

Union's Hands Tied Bona fide union men have a valid reason for asking the following questions in connection with this clause. Does it mean that the union no longer has the right to remove from the job a man who is not a member of the union, or who does not conduct himself as a union man, or who refuses to pay dues, or refuses to ship thru the union hall, or who violates the working rules? The union no longer has the right to interfere with the shipowner's continuing to employ any man he sees fit, according to the very clear wording of this clause.

Company Controls Promotions Clause (c) states: "Unlicensed personnel may be promoted at the option of the Company." This is in direct contradiction with previous union regulations governing promotion, in order to avoid the evils of competition among the crew for pro-

motions. A boatswain, for instance, had to register and ship as such from the union hall. When he terminated his employment, a new boatswain was sent from the union hall, or in some cases a boatswain was chosen from the rank and file crew with union consent. According to the new contract, the company can at will fill the supervisory ratings from its stooges.

Clause (d) delivers another damaging blow at the hiring hall, and job control: "Unlicensed personnel available may be transferred to another vessel on the basis of seniority within the company, seniority to be construed as continuous service with a company in a particular rating."

Thus if a ship is laid up for any reason, the company stooges can be retained by the company merely by transferring the stooges to another ship. Which again raises the question of discrimination, for if certain men can be transferred without going through the Union Hall and rotary shipping, if they can be shifted from ship to ship (from line to job) at the option of the Company, while the rest of the crew must register and wait their turn, the rotary shipping system, guaranteeing EQUAL shipping rights, might as well not exist.

Freedom For Finks Clause (e) specifically gives the company the right to hire non-union men and to maintain them in CONTINUOUS employment. Just examine this clause: "Whenever an employee furnished by the union is deemed unsatisfactory to the Company, the Company shall promptly notify the union of its decision not to accept and the union agrees promptly to furnish a replacement. If for any reasons, persons who are entitled to employment under this agreement are not available to fill vacancies at a time fixed by the Master, the Company shall be free to fill such vacancies from any source. It is further agreed that any personnel selected under this section by the Company, shall not be discriminated against by the union."

In plain English, if the union sends a man who is arbitrarily called unsatisfactory by the shipowner, the union cannot take any immediate action, even if it is a clear case of blacklist or discrimination, but must immediately send a replacement to the ship, within whatever time the Master specifies. Thus the shipowners are assured that the ship under no conditions will be held up, that no job action can be taken by the union to fight discrimination. Otherwise the Company has the right to hire any fink, scab or landlubber. The man so hired

does not have to join the union at any time, the union cannot take any action to replace him, and he can remain on the job for any length of time!

Smashes At Union Thus Section six of the new contract, like a sledge-hammer in the hands of the shipowners, delivers blow after blow at the fundamental pillars of the union structure—JOB CONTROL, UNION HIRING HALL, and the ROTARY SHIPPING SYSTEM.

The proposed contract is replete with many other union-smashing clauses. For example, in Section 2, titled "Stoppages of Work," any sort of immediate action is absolutely prohibited—no strikes, sit downs, quickies or any other stoppages of work. A refusal to sign articles for any reason, or participation by any seaman in economic action of any kind, is sufficient grounds for being discharged (and blacklisted).

Section 7, titled "Physical Examinations" is patently another blacklist method, for if the company doctor rejects a seaman as "unfit for duty," another replacement must be immediately sent down by the union (the ship must not be held up) and the rejected individual must seek for redress in a maze of red tape and complicated procedure.

Vote No. Count Ballots Every militant union man in the N.M.U. will not only vote against this sellout contract in the referendum, but will also call for guarantees that the ballots will be honestly counted. If the Curran leadership, who negotiated this contract and are committed to it, are permitted to take all the ballots to New York and "count" them through a stooge committee, they will announce that the contract has been accepted by the referendum.

Stalinists Did This The explanation for this rotten contract is the Stalinist misleadership of the N.M.U. The negotiating committee—all Stalinists—was not primarily interested in winning union conditions now, any more than it was at any time in the three years during which the Stalinists have ruled the union. The Stalinists, now as throughout these years, are interested primarily in using the union as a tool for their reactionary political support of Stalin's foreign policy.

Some union men might have thought that the new Stalinist line dictated by the Stalin-Hitler pact, which forces them to renounce their previous support of the government, would lead them to fight the bosses. The N.M.U. sell-out contract shows that, under the new line, as under the old, the Stalinists are incapable and unwilling to defend the economic interests of the workers.

Can you HOLD YOUR OWN in discussions on: PHILOSOPHY? ECONOMICS? HISTORY?

Table listing books and prices: Feuerbach, the Roots of Socialist Philosophy, Engels... \$ .60; A Textbook of Dialectical Materialism, David Guest... .60; Creative Revolution, by Cedar and Eden Paul... .98; Capital and Other Writings, including Marx's Theory of History, edited by Eastman... .89; Marx, Engels, Marxism by Lenin... .75; Thinking, Its History and Science, by Fred Casey... 1.00; Poverty of Philosophy by Marx... .50; Marxism and Modern Thought by Bukharin, Deborin... 1.50; The Positive Outcome of Philosophy, Dietzgen... 1.50; Fundamental Problems of Marxism by Plekhanov... 1.50; Materialism and Empirio-Criticism by Lenin... 1.50; Handbook of Marxism, Emil Burns... 1.75; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Riazanov... 2.00; Introduction to Dialectical Materialism, Thalheimer... 1.00; Anti-Dühring, Marx... 2.00; German Ideology, Marx and Engels... 2.00; Correspondence of Marx and Engels... 2.25; A Philosophy for a Modern Man (Dialectical Materialism) by H. Levy... 2.50

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The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Anti-Lynch Bill will now go before the Senate. The S.W.P. must tirelessly work, by itself and with all other organizations, in order to bring all possible pressure upon the Senate to pass it.

The Southern landowners and their satellites try to make out that lynching is the only safeguard for the "purity" of their women from Negro assault. Lie No. 1. Of four thousand cases of lynching during the last fifty years, in only one-fifth were the Negroes even charged with any sort of assault on white women.

But these very advocates of lynching, for that is what they are who oppose the anti-lynching bill, are the same odious hypocrites who will tell you how the Southern slave-owners went off to war and left their wives and children in the safekeeping of faithful slaves.

In the West Indies, where slavery has been abolished for one hundred years, there is not, as far as we know, one single case, not one, of assault upon a white woman by a Negro.

Do Glands Change in the South? And the Negro in the North and West and East of America? What transformation in his glands takes place that allows him to meet any number of women in the parks and lonely places on the outskirts of New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles and not give vent to the uncontrollable lusts which are supposed to dominate him in the South?

No, let us once and for all chase from civilized society this monstrous myth, and wherever we speak, not only meet the question if it is raised, but bring it out into the open and show it up for the lying fraud that it is.

There is, I am convinced, a deliberate tendency in the Southern States to exaggerate the desire of the Negro for a sexual union with white women. . . . A few exceptional Negroes in West and South Africa, and in America, are attracted towards a white consort, but almost invariably for honest and pure-minded reasons, because of some intellectual affinity or sympathy.

Lynching Not a Sex Question Among very highly developed urban people, particularly writers, artists, revolutionaries, intellectuals, stage-people, one finds a tendency towards interracial sexual relationships, but it is precisely among the large masses of workers or farmers that such tendencies are absent.

Lynching is not a sexual question, but a social and political question. Marxists have not only to know that themselves. They must propagate it with as much assiduousness and energy as the Southerners propagate their lies about the Negro's desire for white women.

IT'S BEGINNING AGAIN! "America did not enter (the last World War) under the siren spell of British propaganda, or to safeguard our bankers' loans to the Allies, or even on account of the Lusitania. . . . The United States cast in its fortunes with the Allies primarily because of William Shakespeare and John Bunyan and Magna Carta and General Lafayette."

Some Pertinent History-Past and Present

"POOR LITTLE FINLAND"

By CHRIS ANDREWS

There are in Finland on an average twenty years of famine per hundred. Who tells us this? The Finnish Government itself calmly reports the fact in its "Finland Year Book" (1938). Naturally the rich landowner escapes the suffering; it is upon those 950,000 human beings who struggle for existence upon farms ranging from 1/2 an acre in size to a maximum of 25 acres; upon the 112,000 members of tenant families, and upon the 616,000 farm laborers and their families, that the tragedy of "a bad crop year" falls with the utmost cruelty.

A report of the dietary standards of the Finnish peasantry was prepared for the League of Nations Conference on Rural Life, 1939. Among the poorer families—the vast majority—the investigator discovered an abnormally low use of sugar, potatoes, cereals, and even of butter and milk (Finland has a large dairy industry). It says: "Such low figures bear witness to the poverty of these households. The housewives are generally incompetent cooks, for in 19.1% of the families, cooked food was eaten only once a day."

In describing the peasantry, the government-published "Finland Year Book" discusses "the primitiveness of their living conditions." It states: "Rural dwellings consist for the most part of small one or two-roomed houses, the majority of them over-crowded, cramped, ill-

lit, badly ventilated, draughty or damp, and often infested with vermin."

Upon this level of rural poverty, it is only natural that disease should flourish. Tuberculosis is the great scourge of the rural population (and of the city worker—a recent peasant). It strikes with especial havoc among farm hands and timber workers. Great Britain, a capitalist country with a permanent unemployed and slum class, had a deathrate of 7.4 per 10,000 from tuberculosis in 1935; Finland's deathrate was 18.5—equalled only by two of the most poverty-stricken and backward countries of Europe—Rumania, 18.2% and Poland, 18%.

The cause of these desperate conditions of the Finnish peasantry today can be traced directly to the failure of the proletarian insurrection of 1918. In the test of power by civil war, the bourgeoisie triumphed—with the aid of English munitions and a German Army Corps. The Finnish landowners thus escaped the expropriations which took place in other parts of Europe. Victors have no need to give concessions to the vanquished.

THE MYTH OF LAND REFORMS

The League of Nations Conference Report on Rural Life—1939—divides the agrarian reforms of post-war Europe into three classes:

- 1. Almost complete liquidation of large estates.
2. Fairly extensive reduction of large estates.
3. Relatively slight modification of land tenure.

Finland is listed in the third group. In fact, the reporter adds, "In general, the expression 'agrarian reform' is not applicable to the land policy of the Finnish Government. . . ."

The Kallis law of 1922 provided that estates of 494 acres or less were completely exempt. From an estate of 741 acres the most that could be required for sale to peasants was—22 acres. From an estate of 988 acres the most that could be taken was 39 1/2 acres—and so on. No wonder the League of Nations report declines to call this "agrarian reform."

And for the land actually made available to the peasants, they had to pay the landlord the price he asked and go into perpetual debt to the government. The landlord received good government bonds bearing 7% interest. The peasant paid the government 7% interest for a maximum of 49 acres arable land and 49 acres for firewood. The "cottagers," receiving only 5 acres for a "house" and garden, had to pay 9% interest—because they had to work in the timber camps in the winter and would have more cash.

By this sleight-of-hand the Finnish bourgeoisie placed the burden of the agricultural crisis more squarely upon the peasantry and through the government were able to handle the collection of their revenues more efficiently.

Reappearing as the Finnish Labor Party, the Bolsheviks conducted a fight against the infamous Lex Kallis. The "Republic" disposed of them by arresting the legally elected 27 Diet members in 1923 and condemning them to prison for long terms.

There has been a steady flight of the peasantry from the land—the United States was a refuge for thousands of Finns until emigration there was curtailed. Today there is still a steady movement of the peasantry to the city.

The city worker now represents some 16% of the population.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE CITY WORKERS

The Finnish trade unions were controlled by the Bolsheviks in 1918 and took an active part in the civil war. As a result of the defeat, they were outlawed, their officials and militants murdered or imprisoned. The following ten years was a slow struggle back for the union men. As they gradually became more militant and outspoken, the bourgeoisie unleashed both government and Fascist attacks upon the labor movement lasting from 1930 to 1932 (described in last week's issue of the Appeal).

The "Finland Year Book" (1936) justifies the repressions against the organized labor movement by saying that ". . . to some extent the present weak organization of labor in Finland is due also to the fact that the trade unions have not kept strictly to purely professional questions in their activities but acquired a political character and consequently, had to suffer for all the mistakes made by the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties."

In 1917 some months before the outbreak of Civil War the trade unions had 160,000 members. In the years that followed the White Terror they slowly reorganized until by 1928 they had once again some 90,000 members. Two years later the government smashed the unions again under pretext of "treasonable activities."

Intervening in the trade unions through its Social Democratic servants, the government now keeps a sharp restraint over the workers. Once again struggling to revive the unions, the workers are further confused by the presence of three organizations, the Central Federation, the Independent Labor League, and National Trade Union Organization. The vast majority of workers in private industry are unorganized. The unions represent some 70,000 members of whom 16,000 are women.

THAT FAMOUS EIGHT-HOUR DAY

The capitalist press of the whole world has been proudly boasting of the fact that the Finnish bourgeoisie gave their workers the eight hour day as far back as 1916. Further details they do not bother to cite.

The International Labor Office in Geneva lists the following exceptions to the Eight-Hour Day in its study of working conditions in Finland (1935). Under "Permanent Exceptions" we find seasonal industries and all of agriculture. The majority of the Finns are engaged in agriculture—the 1930 census gives us 68,291 farm servants, 13,864 "overseers," 58,689 share-croppers (who pay back their landlord not only with produce but also with their personal labor) and 475,837 rural day laborers—all in all, some 616,000 Finns, the overwhelming major-

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Get it at once! It contains the article of W.H. on the War in Finland, a commentary on the Riots in Bohemia, and the important article by L. Trotsky, the USSR in War.

ity of wage workers, engaged in the hardest kind of work—from whom the benefits of an eight-hour day is specifically excluded. "But what about the 379,861 workers in Industry, Transport, Commerce?" says the indignant petty-bourgeois defender of Finland. "They enjoy the eight-hour day. It's the law."

Underneath the "law," the Marxist must look for the reality—the relation of class forces. In 1916 a powerful and rising trade union movement in Finland wrested the Eight-Hour Day Law from the bourgeoisie.

A revolutionary Marxist remembers that to carry a law against the bourgeoisie into practical application requires a tireless fight by the workers. What happened after 1916 in Finland? By 1918 the class struggle matured to the point of Civil War. The workers lost and their unions were destroyed. Do the bourgeoisie enforce the laws against themselves?

Twice since then the bourgeoisie have arrested the legally elected workers' representatives in the Diet and imprisoned them—1923 and 1930. The slowly reviving trade union movement was ruthlessly dissolved in 1930. Such is the relation of class forces in Baron Mannerheim's Finland.

Finland's industries are largely decentralized—in a manner to rejoice the heart of Henry Ford. Finland is studded with "company towns." All workers understand that such an arrangement

U.S. Notes to London Evoke 1914-16 Echoes

(Continued from Page 1)

Walter Millis' "Road to War" he will quickly realize how much of a sham the present little diplomatic skirmish is, how little it really affects the basic trend of the Washington government toward throwing this country's weight into the bloody holocaust of war.

Millis sums up the diplomatic conflict before 1917 in words which can be offered as eloquent comment on the present situation:

"Every issue which arose between the United States and Great Britain was settled in accordance with the British view. The completeness of this reverse was due partly to Mr. Page (the Anglophile U. S. envoy in London) . . . but chiefly to the emotional sympathy for the Allied cause entertained at that time not only by the American press and vocal public, but by (Col. Edward) House, the State Department and the President himself. They could not bring themselves to contemplate a German victory; and the strongest argument of the British was . . . their plea that the measures they took were 'essential to our existence.' As long as that plea carried weight with our statesmen and the corresponding plea from Germany did not, the United States was unavoidably a silent partner of the Entente."

makes repression by the bosses much simpler. The militant worker is easily isolated in the small population. There are no unions in timber or the other large industries of Finland—there is no collective bargaining or job security.

Besides "Permanent Exceptions," the International Labor Office lists the following "Temporary Exceptions"—"urgent repairs to machinery of plant"; "technical reasons"; "force majeure"; "if, owing to the technical condition of the work, it is impossible to enforce the Act in practice"; "if interruption of the work may damage property, manufactured products, or raw materials"; and "in special circumstances or for exceptional reasons subject to the consent of the workers."

When the boss interprets the "exception," who resists his interpretation—where there is no union? Where there is no union to protect the job, what happens to the militant worker who doesn't give his "consent"? And more than 300,000 out of 379,000 are unorganized.

It is only necessary now to add that the Act specifically allows additional overtime work of 200 hours a year, plus "an additional 150 hours a year"—making 350 hours a year.

Class conscious workers will know how to judge the capitalist propaganda about the Finnish Eight-Hour Day!

(Continued next week)

Illinois Socialists Condemn Jingo Attacks on USSR

By FELIX MORROW

A letter in the January 20 issue of Norman Thomas' Call is worth reprinting in full:

"The Jewish section of the Socialist party, Chicago, affiliated with the Jewish labor committee, whose function is to lead the fight against Fascism and anti-Semitism, expresses its dissatisfaction with the plans for a meeting to protest at the same time Nazism and Stalinism. Such a meeting is arranged in conjunction with the Czech, Polish and Finnish national councils.

"The Jewish section has more than once declared its opposition to Stalinism and the dictatorship practiced by the Soviet Union. We believe, however, that to protest against the brutal barbarism of Nazism, especially the savage persecution of the Jewish masses, and at the same time against the dictatorship of the Soviet Union, will detract from the effect of a protest against Nazism.

"Furthermore, we believe that such a protest meeting held in common with the bourgeois national councils, will be used primarily to attack the Soviet Union, with the object of severing diplomatic relations in keeping with the demand of the most reactionary forces in America.

"The Jewish section in Chicago declares that such action of the Jewish Labor committee is unjustified and harmful both from the Jewish, and from the Labor and Socialist standpoint. We hold it is especially important that our criticism of the Soviet Union be made as a working-class organization, that our protest against Stalinism be conducted independently of bourgeois and reactionary elements.

"Therefore, the Jewish section of the Socialist party, Chicago, is compelled not to participate in the planned protest meeting, disclaiming all responsibility for this action of the Jewish Labor committee.

—Mordecai Shulman, Chairman, Nathan Miller, Secretary."

Also A Condemnation of Thomas

This letter is very much in point. It indicates that there are people in the Socialist party who are not going along with the reactionary Thomas-Symes-Trager line of uniting with war-mongers in attacks upon the Soviet Union. The letter is, logically, not only a condemnation of the Chicago Jewish Labor committee's action, but also a condemnation of the Socialist party's support of the anti-Soviet resolutions, of the jingo leaders of the American Labor party, its support of bourgeois Finland, etc.

The sentiment expressed in this letter must be widespread among the rank and file of the Socialist party, for there has been a change of tone in the Call. It is no longer screaming at the top of its voice for arms for Finland. It has made no attempt to answer our criticism of its jingo editorials on behalf of "democratic" Finland.

The change of tone is not, however, a change of policy. Underneath, the line remains the same reactionary line of backing Finland in the war, a "left" formulation of it, to hold on to class-conscious workers who are outraged by the brazen Hoover formulations with which the Call began.

The letter of the Chicago Socialists correctly denounces the Jewish Labor committee for joining with bourgeois groups in attacks on the Soviet Union. Is there any difference between that crime and that committed by Thomas? He writes, for example, in the January 20 Call: "We should do ourselves, and even encourage the government to do all that can be done for the Finns. . . ." He adds, glibly, "That is, all that can be done without involving or threatening to involve America in war." To call upon the War Deal government of America to aid Finland—is that "a protest against Stalinism conducted independently of bourgeois and reactionary elements"? The letter of the Chicago Socialists should have been directed against Thomas and the Call as much as against the Jewish Labor committee.

Thomas says: "The aid given should be non-military." Why? Either the cause of Finland is one deserving working class support, in which case it should be supported with arms, or it is unworthy of support, in which case it should get nothing at all. Thomas' is a dishonest formula, designed to placate class-conscious workers in his ranks, while continuing his united front with Hoover for Finland.

Henry Haskell, in the same issue of the Call, makes a contribution which would provoke much merriment, if the issue were not so deadly serious. He writes:

"Socialists should make a sharp distinction between workers' aid to Finland, and aid by reactionaries like Hoover and also the Hoover administration. . . . When the workers all over the world come to the aid of Finland, that is something else again, and must be of great concern to the leaders in the Kremlin."

By the same token, every worker in the world coming to the support of the Anglo-French camp, would change the class-character of that war. And that, in fact, is what the "democratic," "anti-imperialist" wing of Anglo-French jingoism is trying to sell the American workers.

Let us hope that the Chicago Socialists, and every worker in the Socialist party, applies to the Socialist party's line the principles enunciated in their letter. If they do, we shall gladly join hands with them in a revolutionary Marxist struggle against Stalinism, the only kind of struggle which can destroy Stalinism, win independence for a Soviet Finland, and save the Soviet Union from capitalist restoration.

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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.

**Twenty Two Years...**

A couple of weeks ago we published a news item in these columns reporting increased activity of Czarist bonds on the Paris Bourse. Anticipation of a Russian defeat in Finland and the overthrow of the Soviet government was the reason stated for this activity.

Last Sunday we got the sequel to this story. At a meeting of Russian White Guards held in New York for assistance to Finland, a direct plea was made for the organization of a White Russian army to fight on the side of Mannerheim against the Soviet Union.

The main speaker, Boris Sergievsky, a Czarist aviation officer, was cheered to the echo by his White Guard friends in attendance. What he said is of more than passing interest:

"For twenty-two years we have been waiting for this moment. Now there is a place where we can go back from."

There in two sentences is the whole story of all the tear-jerking, money-raising committees to aid "poor little Finland" against "Russian Imperialism," from Hoover down to the wretched Lovestongetes and Thomasites.

"Twenty-two years ago" the Russian Bolsheviks, leading the armed workers and peasants, smashed on one-sixth of the earth the most brutal tyranny of landlords, capitalists and degenerate noblemen in the world. For "twenty-two years" this pack of vultures has been waiting abroad for the opportunity to overthrow the Soviet rule.

"Now"—they think—the time has come. Finland "is a place where we can go back from."

Mr. Sergievsky is a little previous. The Russian workers will have a few words to say about the "moment" for the restoration of Czarism or its fascist equivalent.

But what about Finland's "struggle for independence"? Yes, what about it? Who ever heard of a fight for freedom with the bloody Czarist banner flying from the battlements?

**G-men: Union Busters**

Over a period of a year we have been analyzing in detail, first the ideological preparations and then the actual execution, of the U. S. Department of Justice's onslaught against the building trades unions. This week the onslaught is extended beyond the building trades unions, with the indictment of Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, and five other longshoremen's officials, together with five officers of New York locals of the Teamsters.

The number of indictments secured in this so-called "anti-trust" campaign against the unions has now reached 411—practically all, of course, indictments of unionists, with just a few bosses added in a few of the cases to make it look right.

In most of the cases the G-men have dropped all pretense of having found what might be considered trust cases—that is, situations where collusion is alleged between union officials and businessmen to bar outside firms, to raise prices, etc. In most of the cases, no boss appears in the picture. For example, in the indictment of the eleven mentioned above, and in the indictment of 22 building trades union officials in New Orleans on January 15, the "crime" of the AFL unions con-

sists in defending their jurisdictions against invading CIO unions. Thus the anti-trust law has become a club wielded by the government in jurisdictional fights between unions!

The most alarming fact about this situation is not the government's anti-union moves; they are to be expected, as part of the government's preparations for war. The really alarming fact is the attitude of the CIO. The prosecutions—so far—are directed against AFL unions, and the CIO leadership has yet to say a word against the indictments. AFL officials have charged that the CIO leadership is supporting these prosecutions—mainly directed against the building trades unions of the AFL—in hopes of having the way thereby cleared for the invasion of the building trades industry by the newly-formed CIO union in this field. The CIO has yet to deny this charge.

The latest cases put the issue squarely up to the CIO. In the New Orleans case the indictment is based on refusal of the indicted union officials to handle building materials brought to jobs by trucks driven by CIO members. In the New York case the indictment charges refusal to work together with members of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, CIO, in handling lumber at the docks and on trucks. The longshoremen have held jurisdiction over the employment of lumber dealers involved, but the CIO union has organized some firms and obtained contracts.

This puts the issue up to the CIO, regardless of the merits of the jurisdictional fight, for the CIO is named by the Department of Justice as the "injured union." The bottom will drop out of the case, at least so far as public opinion is concerned, if the CIO blasts this statement of the Department of Justice as a fraud and sham and demands that the government cease interfering in the internal affairs of the labor movement.

The CIO has a remarkable opportunity, by doing this, to deal a heavy blow to the general anti-union campaign of the Department of Justice.

But if the CIO leaders don't do this, when the opportunity so clearly presents itself, then the charge that the CIO leaders are conniving with the G-men becomes established. In that case the issue should be carried to the floor of every CIO union; every CIO militant should demand that the CIO solidarize itself with the AFL against the boss government. It is up to the CIO to speak out!

**Coughlin Confesses**

What happened in the week intervening between the arrest and Coughlin's Sunday sermon to change his mind about taking responsibility for the Christian Front? The first disavowal was, as we said last week, a spontaneous exhibition that "the yellow streak is the outstanding moral characteristic of the fascists." The second statement of responsibility was undoubtedly made after consultation with his backers.

The world knew of Coughlin's organizing activities with the Christian Front and of his exhortations to them to act "in the Franco way." The press published extended references to these remarks. For Coughlin to deny them under these circumstances would be a terrific blow to the fascist movement he is building. For him to leave his seventeen New York lieutenants in the lurch would militate permanently against Coughlin ever again holding the reins of the fascist storm troops.

Caught red-handed, the radio priest has decided to brazen it out. As his statement indicates, Coughlin will attempt to convert the case into a "martyr's" trial of innocent men upholding "pro-American, pro-Christian, anti-Communist and anti-Nazi" principles. With J. Edgar Hoover's help, he will probably succeed. Since the prosecution will avoid the real program of the Christian Front: anti-semitism and anti-labor, Coughlin will be given an excellent opportunity to crawl out from under and even score some propagandistic successes.

The FBI cannot and does not want to press the real charges of anti-labor activities against the men on trial. The FBI is itself now engaged in a gigantic frame-up campaign against organized labor. The conviction of the Minneapolis WPA strikers, the indictment of Joe Ryan of the longshoremen and the prosecution of hundreds of others in the trade unions shows where the real fire of the government is concentrated: against the workers.

The trial of the Christian Fronters is staged for exhibition purposes, the aim of which is to prove that the government is "equally" against the "right" and the "left." Should the court take any action against the Christian Fronters, you can rest assured it will not make the slightest impression on the fascist gangs. It will however serve as a prelude for action against the radical and labor movement. In this direction Coughlin points his crooked finger, howling for action. The Federal Government will not be slow in following his advice.

For protection against the fascist gangs the workers can look only to themselves. The boss government is the enemy, even as is Coughlin and his fascist gangs.

*Organize the workers defense guards!*

**In the World of Labor**

By Paul G. Stevens

**Greetings to Illegal  
Organ of French Comrades**

**L'Étincelle**—"The Spark"—organ of the French Fourth Internationalists is appearing regularly! From the November and December issues of the paper, which have just reached these shores, we get a picture of close contact with the masses of workers, the politics and the French colonialists as well as of intensive activity on the part of our valiant comrades. **L'Étincelle** appears illegally and is bound up with tremendous sacrifices. That it appears at all is a tribute to the heroism of the comrades engaged in the work. That its pages are filled with a wealth of pertinent information and with pungent revolutionary directives is a token of the vitality of our movement.

Our warmest fraternal greetings to **L'Étincelle**, a great pioneer in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, a powerful front-fighter against imperialist war!

**News from the Front  
—Uncensored**

From the organ of our French comrades we cull the following items which show what is really going on at the front:

The 31st Infantry Regiment, after a march of 120 kilometers in three days, threw their arms into the ditches along the fighting zone and refused to continue. No reprisals were possible.

Metropolitan troops from Tunis were surrounded by gendarmes on their arrival. They had thrown their knapsacks at their superior officers.

At Kairouan native troops rebelled and were quelled only by machine-gun fire.

A regiment composed in the main of former volunteers in Spain, part of the famous **Bat' d'Al** shock troops, refused to march. It was subdued, disarmed, dissolved and interned at the Mally Concentration Camp. The young workers, who two and three years ago left everything to defend labor's rights in Spain, had apparently seen through the patriotic speeches and the useless slaughter.

**In the Navy—the Same  
Rebellious Spirit**

In Marseilles one of our comrades received a month in prison for demanding immediate furlough permits. Four thousand sailors followed up this punitive action with a demonstration against the maritime authorities. P.S.: Furlough permits were granted at once.

In Cherbourg the issuance of furlough permits is announced. Everybody rushes to get a permit. Soon word is passed around that those returning from furlough are to be shipped out. A mass refusal of permits follows.

Volunteers for Syria are called for constantly. At the same time communiques are issued: "All's quiet in Syria."

The 126th Line Regiment is punished for singing the "International" by being sent to the Warndt Forest for action. A large number of casualties results.

The 103rd Regiment has refused to march. The 105th has had to replace it.

**Dissolution of the Federation  
Of Technicians by the C.G.T.**

The Federation of Technicians had taken a clear revolutionary position right from the start of the war. It had opposed the Stalin-Hitler as well as the Paris-London-Warsaw pacts. Unable to discipline the Federation as part of its police-controlled anti-Stalinist drive in the unions because of the Technicians' well-known opposition to Stalinism, the C.G.T. (General Federation of Labor) officialdom has finally decided to expel the Technicians for "delay in payment of its per capita."

**Arrests of Workers  
In the Factories**

Militants are being arrested right at their place of work in the Paris district. In the "Lorraine" factory (whose protest actions were reported in a previous column) the cops have been picking militants off one by one, taking them away in their work clothes. At the **Mureaux** factory the whole shop committee (non-Communists included) has been sent to the front after a period of imprisonment. At the **Gnome et Rhone** factory the militants are sent to the barracks under guard—and often directly to the front—long before their ninety days' period (of assigned work) is up.

Our comrades are carrying on a vigorous campaign against the arrests in the factories, against the persecution of the Communist Party militants by the police and the trade union fakers and for the maintenance of trade union unity—the right of the local unions and shop councils to retain their regularly elected officers even if these are Stalinists. The campaign is bearing fruit with a steady influx of former C.P. militants into the ranks of the Fourth International.

**Class Struggle Continues in  
Germany—Despite Hitler Terror**

In the great Siemens automobile works near Berlin the workers are demanding the return of the eight-hour day and increases in wages. Illegal leaflets are circulating in all departments under the heading: "We Don't Want to Work for the War! Soldiers, Refuse to Shoot!"

In several munitions plants in the same area the following slogan is found inscribed on walls: "To Fight for Higher Wages Is to Fight Against War!"

**Demonstrations by Workers  
And Women in Vienna**

At a munitions plant in the proletarian quarter of Brigittenau in Vienna, a protest resolution of the entire personnel against the non-payment of overtime was adopted at a shop meeting and transmitted to the "Labor Front." The former shop committee men were subsequently all arrested.

At an "educational meeting" of the Nazi party in the Ottakring section, women interrupted the speaker, Nazi-leader Krebs, with continual complaints about the difficulty they encounter in buying food staples. Several women were arrested.

At the Karmeliter Market there was a demonstration of housewives who formed lines displaying empty baskets and shouting: "We thank our Fuehrer."

**SPARKS IN THE NEWS**

by Dwight Macdonald

**Pocket Money for Brenda**

It costs a lot to keep a debutante in operation. It has been revealed, for example, that the upkeep and running expenses on Brenda Frazier will come to about \$52,000 for the coming year. At least that is the amount which Surrogate James A. Foley has authorized Brenda's mama to spend "for the support and maintenance" of her nineteen year old daughter next year. (Brenda is still a minor, hence her mother must get legal permission to spend any of her daughter's income.) The \$52,000 will be spent on "living expenses, entertainment, and social and charitable activities." As Brenda's mama explained to the surrogate, although Brenda is a minor in the eyes of the law, "she is in fact a grown woman moving in the society in which, because of her parents' and grandparents' background, she has taken a definite place". Very definite, in fact just \$52,000 a year.

**What Is Happening to the  
Soviet Economy?**

The question of what is happening to Soviet production becomes more and more important. The military significance is clear. One reason for the remarkably effective resistance the Finns have put up to the Red Army is the comparatively vigorous and healthy state of Finland's economy. (I am speaking, of course, in terms of production, not social relations.) According to the January 15 issue of the *Cleveland Trust Company's Business Bulletin*, Finland's record of industrial production since 1926 is internationally outstanding. Taking 1929 as 100, the index of production for Finland now stands at 162, and even in the depth of the depression it never went below 80. (The American index, on the other hand, sunk below 60 at the depth of the depression, and is now only about 90.) The difficulties Stalin has been having with the third Five Year Plan, on the other hand, are well known.

But the significance of the breakdown that seems to be more and more evident in Soviet production goes beyond its effect on the conduct of the war. The more acute becomes the contradiction between the interests of the bureaucracy and the nationalized economy and the more the latter is strangled by the bureaucratic clutch, then the greater becomes the need for Stalin to cement fast his alliance with Nazi Germany, which has the industrial machinery and technicians to prop up a while longer the collapsing Soviet industrial structure. The tightening of the Nazi-Soviet alliance may therefore be expected to keep equal pace with the mounting difficulties of Soviet production.

Since I do not read Russian, I am cut off from the chief sources of information on this subject. But the N. Y. Times has lately carried a few items of interest.

In a Moscow report dated January 17, it was stated that, although the State Planning Commission's 1939 production figures claim a gain over 1938 they do not specify, as has hitherto been the case, what percentage of the Plan was fulfilled. This would seem to indicate that the Plan was not carried out.

There were several significant accounts of the blackout which has been attempted in Moscow. It seems that this was unsuccessful because of the fact that 90% of Moscow's families have no window curtains because of the "acute textile shortage", and cannot paste up black paper because there is also a paper shortage. The only alternative is to use blue electric light bulbs, but it seems there is also a shortage of blue electric light bulbs.

Another report, dated Dec. 10, states: "During the blackout, robberies and thefts have increased." Theft is a social manifestation which can have only one origin: unequal distribution and scarcity of material goods.

In this connection, it is interesting to note Trotsky's statement in a recent issue of *Liberty*: "In the USSR there are twelve to fifteen million privileged individuals who concentrate in their hands about one half of the national incomes, and who call this regime 'Socialism'. On the other hand, there are about 160,000,000 people oppressed by the bureaucracy and caught in the grip of poverty." If this is "socialism," as the lying Stalinist press claims, then we have socialism over here right now—and even a more advanced stage of socialism, since, according to the National Resources Committee, the richest tenth of the nation's families concentrate in their hands not half, but "only" 36% of the national income.

Finally, the *Times* of Jan. 19 carried a government report on exports of gasoline which showed that exports to the USSR jumped from 48,000 barrels in October to 318,500 in November and have remained at that level ever since. This increase, it is believed, is going not to Germany via Russia, but is being used by the Red Army in the Finnish invasion. Considering that oil is one thing the USSR is especially rich in, and that Germany hopes to get much of her oil supply from the USSR, this is startling news indeed. Apparently, Soviet oil production is in such a bad state that it is necessary to increase imports of American gasoline six times in order to supply the Red Army. (This may be due to a decline in crude oil production, but more probably it is due to the inability of Russian refineries to produce sufficient gasoline of high enough quality for airplane motors.) Russian crude oil exports, which were 7,000,000 tons in 1932, by 1938 had sunk to 1,000,000 tons. No wonder Stalin looks with increasing desperation to Hitler's technicians and machinery to save the Kremlin bureaucracy from the economic impasse they are now in.

**Their Government  
Roosevelt's Third Term  
—Who Supports It?**

National politics, in its narrower aspects, continues to be dominated by "the third term issue." Roosevelt, as always, plays his cards shrewdly—close to his chest, as the gamblers say. By his careful silence, broken only by the smiling wisecracks, he has kept in domination of the whole field, in both parties. The entire struggle for the Presidency centers around him; every eager candidate is measured first and last against him, not against his fellow-hopefuls.

The best-informed opinion runs at present about as follows: Within the next month or two Roosevelt will issue a statement on his candidacy. In this he will give a Rooseveltian version of Coolidge's famous 1928 "I do not choose to run." Meanwhile, he will continue leaning toward Secretary of State Hull, following up the boost he gave in the annual message to Congress. Hull (who, in spite of his white hair and his innocent honest expression is well known as a hardened and skillful machine man) is acceptable to the right wing of the Democratic party, and looks right now like the ideal compromise between the New Deal and the Garner factions. Garner, according to this perspective, would withdraw his name, since he has entered the race chiefly to block a third term.

For Vice President, Roosevelt is supposed to be supporting his newly appointed Attorney-General, Robert H. Jackson, whom last year the Corcoran-Cohen group favored for Governor of New York. Jackson, however, would be stiffly fought by Garner and, probably, Farley.

**To Run or Not to Run?**

It should not be imagined, however, that the "I do not choose" statement (and the rumors expecting it are doubtless correct) will end the third term issue. The potential candidate who does not choose, can always be "drafted"—for, as it would be explained, the good of the Party and the country. Even if Roosevelt had actually reached an irrevocable decision not to run again, he would hardly say so with 100% clarity, since this would eliminate him not only as a candidate but as a factor in the party machine and at the convention.

But there is no reason to believe that Roosevelt has reached such an irrevocable decision. On the contrary, it seems fairly clear that Roosevelt is ready to run again if he thinks he can get away with it.

It is even clearer that most of the leaders in the national party machine do not want him to run. Some of them, like Garner and Glass, do really consider him dangerous politically. Others are afraid of the popular effect of a break from the anti-third term tradition. Many, like Farley, get disturbed by his often erratic and headstrong moves, and would like someone in office who would be more docile and "regular".

Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that the overwhelming majority of the rank and file Democratic voters are in favor of Roosevelt's running again; and that a decisive majority of the voters of all parties are still pro-Roosevelt. As a public personality, no candidate in either party comes within striking distance of Roosevelt. Party machines are very powerful, but they run a suicidal risk when they go headlong against popular sentiment.

The drawing appeal of the Presidential candidate is, as Attorney-General Jackson took recent occasion to point out, of particular importance to the Democratic party. Since the World War, the Republicans have always been able to count on at least 14,000,000 votes in a Presidential election; but the Democratic vote has varied from 8,000,000 to Roosevelt's 27,000,000 in 1936. These figures show that the Democrats must be able to swing the unattached voters in order to win, and it is hard to see that a man so old, and so colorless as a public figure, as Hull could be safely counted on to do the trick.

It is of the greatest significance to observe that the firmest support for a third term (apart from the playboys in the Administration, who don't count much when it comes to votes) is appearing from the hardened big-city bosses, like Hague in New Jersey and the Kelly-Nash gang in Chicago. Tammany, in New York, is reported ready to go along. The *New Leader*, which is also 100% third term, has embarrassing allies!

**Will Roosevelt Run Again?**

Roosevelt's New Deal lives now only as a memory. In most respects he is to the right even of the current Congress. He has dropped all mention of the "Lend-Spend" program that he got so many headlines for last summer. He has proposed such drastic reductions in relief that Congress will probably increase them over his budget figures. He is ready, without resistance, to let the NLRB and the Wage-Hour Administration be altered further in favor of the bosses. He is backing the G-Men to the hilt in their drive against labor rights.

On the domestic front, Roosevelt's program is a complete shambles. All that he has left is the war, toward which he is driving with such recklessness that Congress, feeling something of the pressure of the people, is compelled now and then to draw him back—as in attempts to cut down armament expenditures or to block an outright war loan to Finland.

But it is precisely his bold attitude toward the war that recommends Roosevelt to widening circles in Wall Street; and even the memory of the New Deal has more substance in the eyes of the people than any program that his opponents have brought forth.

Roosevelt is so strong because none of the other representatives of the bosses have anything at all to offer—except the war, and Roosevelt has monopolized first claim on the war; and because labor has failed to strike out on an independent road. If the only shelter to be seen is in a pig-sty, then it will seem that we will have to remain in the pig-sty, even that we will try to pretend to ourselves that the pig-sty is a palace.

Since these things are so, it seems probable that the Democratic party will have to re-nominate Roosevelt, that it cannot risk losing that smile, those memories, and that ruthless hand on the reins of the war chariot. And if he runs, how can the New York cop, Dewey, or the Ohio platitude, Taft, or the Michigan vacuum, Vandenberg, expect to beat him?