

# STARVATION STALKS AMERICA'S CITIES; ROOSEVELT FEEDS BILLIONS TO WAR FUNDS

## Stalin's Invasion of Finland

Statement of Policy by the Political Committee  
of the Socialist Workers Party

1. The invasion of Finland by the Red Army is an incident in the Second World War which is now only in its tentative and initial stages of development.

2. The character of the Second World War is that of an imperialist struggle for the redivision of the earth. Despite present alliances, or future changes in the alignment of the powers, the class antagonism between the imperialist states and the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state retains its full force. From this must follow an inevitable attempt on the part of the imperialists of one camp or another or in a combination, to attack the Soviet Union in order to destroy the economic conquests of the October Revolution and open up the territory of the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation.

3. Finland is not an independent small state fighting for its independence against an imperialist power. Bourgeois Finland is and always has been a vassal state of the imperialists and an outpost of imperialism on the Russian border.

4. In the present conflict the imperialist powers of the United States and Great Britain stand behind Finland and inspire its foreign policy in relation to the Soviet Union. The diplomatic and propagandistic intervention of the Roosevelt administration on the side of bourgeois Finland is not motivated by "humanitarian" considerations but by the class interests and the future military designs of the Wall Street masters of the government.

5. Stalinist policy in the conflict with Finland is characteristic of Stalinist policy as a whole: the protection of the interests and privileges of the bureaucracy in utter disregard of the sentiments and interests of the world proletariat. The means and methods it employs to gain military and strategic advantages repel the sympathy and support of the workers and oppressed peoples, and thus undermine the real defense of the Soviet Union to such an extent as to outweigh by far the immediate military and strategic advantages that may be gained by the conflict with Finland. From this point of view—that is, the real defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialists—the Fourth International has always condemned the foreign policy of Stalinism and condemns it in the present situation. The real defense of the conquests of the October Revolution requires, now more than ever, an unceasing struggle of the workers for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by means of a political revolution.

6. Proceeding from the foregoing points, in accord with the program of the Fourth International, our basic attitude in the present military conflict between the Soviet Union and Finland is as follows:

(a) For the Fourth Internationalists in the United States: Revolutionary defeatism—the main enemy is in our own country! No support, direct or indirect, to the imperialist government of the United States or its Finnish satellite. Expose and denounce the policy of Washington as political and diplomatic preparation for war against the Soviet Union. For the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. Expose and denounce the methods of Stalinism which compromise the Soviet Union and weaken its defense.

(b) For the Fourth Internationalists in Finland: revolutionary defeatism—the main enemy is in our own country! The first task of the Finnish workers remains an irreconcilable struggle for the overthrow of their own bourgeoisie. Not a man, not a gun, not a cent for the war of the Finnish bourgeois government against the Soviet Union. Work for the defeat of the Finnish bourgeois government in the war. Aim at the creation of an independent Soviet Finland free from the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy. If that is not possible in the immediate situation because of the unfavorable relation of forces, political unpreparedness, and military weakness—as is almost certainly the case in the present circumstances—utilize the defeat of the bourgeois Finnish Army by the Red Army to arouse the masses to press forward for the complete expropriation of the Finnish capitalists and landlords immediately after the victory of the Red Army. Organize for the maximum independence of the workers from the Stalinist bureaucracy, and thus prepare its future overthrow. In the present military struggle a victory of the Red Army is a "lesser evil" than the victory of the army of

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## FDR INCITES WAR AGAINST SOVIET UNION

Stalin's Crimes Are  
Springboard for  
War Deal Drive

Led by President Roosevelt in person, the chorus of war incitement against the Soviet Union has reached a new pitch of violence following Stalin's invasion of Finland.

"Poor little Finland" is being crammed down the throats of millions who face a winter of starvation.

"Poor little Finland" is being offered as a substitute for relief checks to millions of workers' families.

"Poor little Finland" is being drummed up as Cause No. 1 for dragging the workers of this country into the imperialist war for the re-division of the earth.

Stalin's invasion of Finland is the latest in his long record of crimes against the cause of the world workers' revolution. We condemn it, on our part, because it endangers the conquests of the Russian revolution, which Stalin usurped, and which we seek to defend against the united assault of world reaction and against Stalin.

Roosevelt, Hoover, and all the boss newspapers condemn the invasion of Finland precisely because it provides them with powerful weapons in their effort to destroy what remains in the Soviet Union of the workers' conquests.

We have been fighting the butcher Stalin for years but we do so in the interests of the workers' revolution. We tell the

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## FBI Railroads 25 Workers to Prison; They Fought for Relief in Minnesota

### Charge Was Conspiracy Against the Government

Hunger-Fighters Feel  
Fist of the 'War  
For Democracy'

Exclusive to Socialist Appeal  
By CARL O'SHEA  
MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 4

—If you won't starve in silence, you're guilty of conspiracy against the government—that was the verdict handed down last night against fourteen women and eleven men in Federal court, in the third trial of WPA and relief workers who in July participated in the nationwide WPA strike against the wage cuts and dismissals dictated by the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law.

By instruction of U.S. Attorney General Frank Murphy, the strikers were indicted for "conspiracy" to violate the relief law which Roosevelt signed June 30. Murphy's representative here, U.S. District At-

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## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

As in every other move he makes in defense of the power and privileges of his bureaucratic ruling clique, Stalin in his invasion of Finland deals another heavy blow to the cause of the international workers' revolution.

Throughout the capitalist world rulers whose own hands drip with the blood of helpless and subjugated peoples have clutched greedily at the new weapon Stalin has placed in their hands.

To workers caught in the vicious grip of capitalist crisis and war, the bosses hold up the horrible example of Stalin. Identifying him with Communism, with workers' power, they seek to destroy whatever remains of the hopes and aspirations that all mankind, in one degree or another, have associated with the October revolution in Russia.

They can use the fact of Stalin's murderous tyranny a thousand times more effectively than in all these years they have used lies to besmirch the shining cause of the world revolution.

They use Stalin's crimes to cloak their own. They use Stalin's grotesque deformation of the revolution in Russia to dull the edge of threatened revolutions in their own countries. They use Stalin's gross violation of the enlightened consciences of all men to further their own cause of war incitement against the workers of Russia.

This is Stalin's crime of all crimes. He translates the defense of the Soviet Union to mean the defense of his own power and pelf. To his nationalist, totalitarian mind a few miserable strategic advantages, a few bases, a few square miles of territory, outweigh the solidarity and support of the masses throughout a war-torn crisis-ridden world.

Unable to conceive, no less execute, a policy which would bring the united workers of Finland willingly and enthusiastically into a firm world front of defense of the workers' cause against capitalism, he uses against them the same methods of blind terror, lies and open assault which he employed to usurp and hold power in Russia.

In doing so he repels the Finnish workers and the workers of the entire world, and makes them easy pickings and easy victims for the lying war propaganda and incitement of the bosses everywhere.

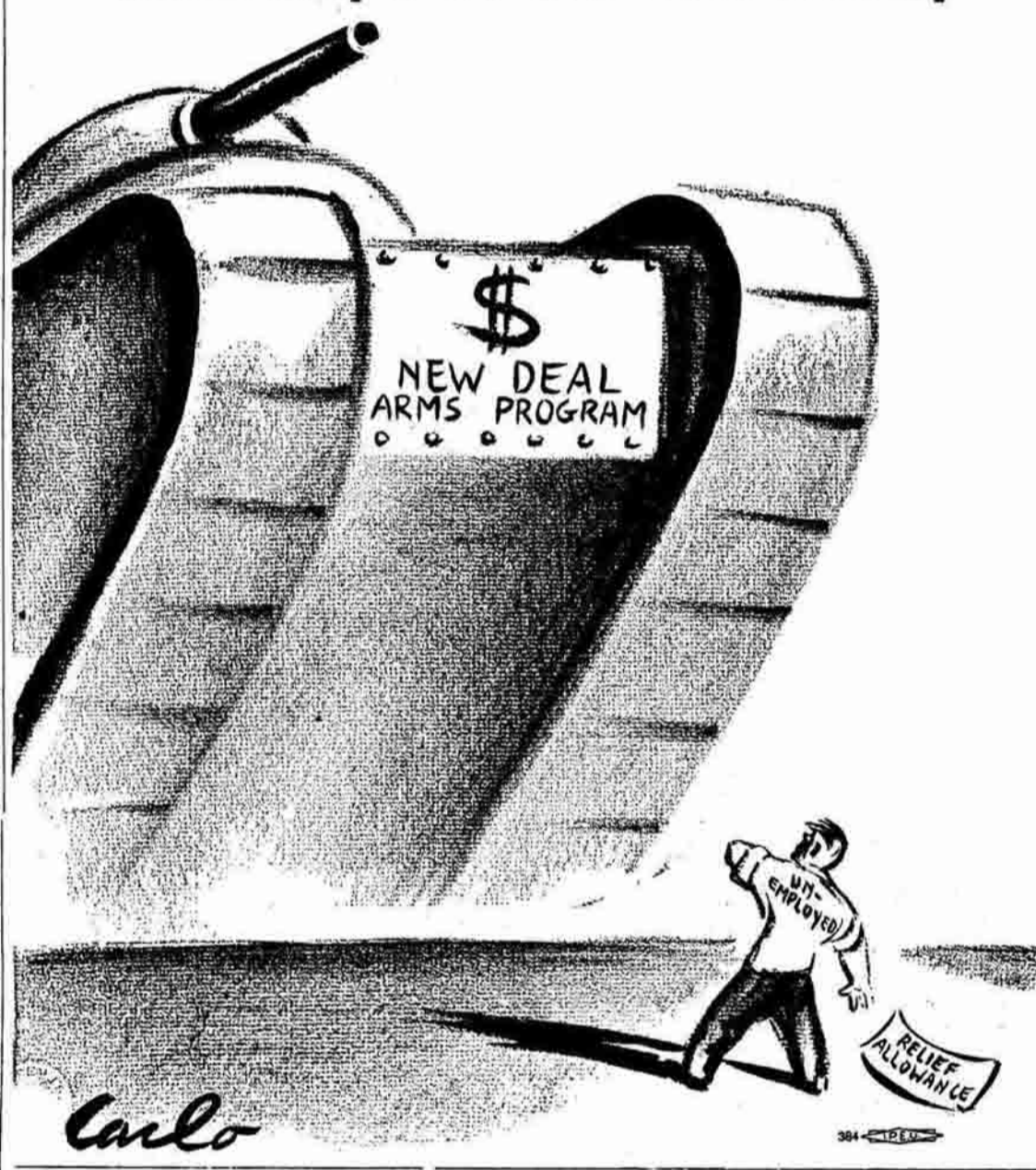
He throws the Finnish workers into the arms of the butcher Mannerheim and the Finnish capitalists who sloshed to power two decades ago hip-deep in working class blood.

He hands to Roosevelt ready-furnished and complete in every detail — down to the merciless bombing of women and children — the propaganda weapons — the Roosevelt whip among the workers of this country.

But let's not fall for the crocodile tears over "poor little Finland" and for the accompanying notion that for the greater power and majesty of the starvation regime of Wall Street-Roosevelt-Daladier-Chamberlain & Co., we should let ourselves be dragged into a bloody war out of which can come only greater misery and privation for peoples everywhere.

The workers in Russia will put an end to the bloody regime of Stalin and we here have the job of putting an end to the boss power that offers us starvation and war as the only choice for the future. That's the road away from tyranny, away from wars, and toward the real liberation of all peoples everywhere.

### "The Enemy Is in Our Own Country"



## Cleveland Jobless Demand Food; City Council Passes the Buck

But Governor Refuses to Call Legislature  
In Special Session to Vote Relief Funds;  
Passes Buck Back to Cities

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CLEVELAND, Dec. 5—Over 1,000 unemployed jammed the meeting of the City Council here last night to demand the restoration of relief to the 75,000 men, women and children struck by the relief crisis.

The demonstration was called jointly by the Federal Workers Union and the Association of Unemployed.

The Council passed a resolution calling upon the Mayor and the Department of Welfare to restore the relief cuts immediately. Mayor Burton stated to the Council, amid resounding boos from the assembled workers, that he would not initiate the bond issue from which funds would be secured for relief, as the Council motion requested. Such legislation must be initiated by the Mayor.

The Council members refused to introduce a motion to permit the representatives of the unemployed to address it. Fearful of exposure, they hastily made and passed an adjournment motion.

A mass meeting was held on the steps of the City Hall immediately following the adjournment. C. B. Cowan of the Association of Unemployed and Art Preis of the Federal Workers Union addressed the meeting, calling upon the workers to continue the fight and to reassemble at a special session of Council

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
CLEVELAND, Ohio, Dec. 3—Almost 100,000 men, women and children face immediate starvation in this great industrial city. 12,000 cases on relief, including single men and women—and

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## 'War Boom' Brings Few Jobs; Less Relief

Social Workers Head  
Says Relief Cuts  
"Not Justified"

By TONY CHAPMAN

Cleveland's 16,000 needy families are without food. Toledo's unemployed have not been fed for the past six weeks.

Sixty percent of Chicago's relief budget has been slashed. Colorado's jobless live below subsistence levels.

The situation in the South is described as "desperate."

And while the unemployed starve and shiver, the Roosevelt Administration proposes to spend two and a quarter billion dollars this coming year—for the Army and Navy.

In the face of a rapid worsening in relief conditions throughout the nation, the conservative but alarmed American Association of Social Workers warned yesterday that the cuts in relief appropriations cannot be justified by the boom in industry.

"Improvements in industry have not substantially affected any decrease in the size of the national relief burden," declared Miss Dorothy Kahn, assistant Executive Secretary of the Association, interview at her offices in the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22nd Street, New York City.

"On the basis of the heavy load of relief cases throughout the country," she stated, "neither the cuts in relief nor their complete elimination is justified."

The recent WPA cuts put through at the last regular session of Congress were also unjustified, Miss Kahn said in answer to the writer's question.

"The WPA cuts are not justified on the basis of 'disappearing need,'" she declared.

Asked to comment on the Roosevelt Administration's policy of engineering heavy cuts in WPA in marked contrast to its policy of substantial increases in the military budget, Miss Kahn stated, "We do not believe that money should be taken from our social program and diverted to other purposes. It weakens our national resources."

Questioned on the government's policy of dodging direct aid to the needy and shifting responsibility for relief onto the shoulders of municipal agencies, Miss Kahn declared, "If the Federal government discredits assistance it discredits the people who need it."

Commenting on relief conditions in the South, Miss Kahn stated, "They have been desperate right along. Except for limited WPA funds, the needy have received little assistance there."

"The WPA cuts have been unevenly distributed throughout the country," she pointed out. "Certainly business improvements did not justify the cuts."

Only a small number of cities account for the bulk of the present relief expenditures, she said.

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## No Food For 41,000 Toledo Unemployed

Schools Close Down;  
Boss Politicians  
Vote No Funds

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TOLEDO, Dec. 4—Since Sept. 15 this city has been steadily moving into the worst relief crisis in its history, worse even than in the Hooverville days.

On Sept. 15 the wholesale grocers refused to extend any further credit to the city. By October 15 the city stopped feeding the unemployed altogether. That includes not only the 41,000 persons on relief on Sept. 15, but the many others who sought relief since then.

During the last six weeks the only public relief that has been given at all has been given to those certified as ill, the very old and children.

One way to eat is to have the ravages of hunger make you ill enough to be admitted to a hospital. Then a few days of food, certification that you have recovered—and out again to starve.

The only energetic action taken by the authorities has been police action against picketing of relief stations.

## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Behind the headlines of the news that the Hollywood technicians obtained a ten per cent wage increase from the movie producers is the story of a long struggle conducted by rank and file movements within the AFL unions there.

For nearly two years, the agitation among the membership of the American Federation of Studio Workers, an affiliate of the International Alliance of the Theatrical Stage Employees, rocked the hide-bound conservatism of the union leadership.

### Accuse "Czar"

William Bioff, "czar" of the AFL unions in Hollywood, was accused, among other things, of receiving a "cut" of \$100,000 from movie producers to keep the union in line. Subsequently, his defense against the charge was that he had merely borrowed the money.

Conditions in the AFL unions there created a basis for the entry of the CIO through an industrial union. A National Labor Relations Board election held this fall brought victory to the AFL partly because Bioff announced a determination to obtain a wage increase for all the employees, and actually did negotiate raises for 12,000 craftsmen in the industry.

Stimulated by this success, greater sections of the AFL membership demanded wage increases. Negotiations began between Bioff and the producers.

Failure of the movie producers to yield an inch brought the threat of a strike, which could have enlisted the support of the entire I.T.A.S.E. with 40,000 movie projection workers in 25,000 theaters, tying up an industry of 250,000 employees.

### Win Increase

This threat brought a last-minute compromise which was accepted by the union. A ten per cent wage increase was given to 23,000 technicians effective until Feb. 15, 1940.

The employers submitted the following written proposal to the union: "On or about Feb. 15, 1940 you will give us an opportunity to show you that the condition of this industry makes a continuation of wage increases impossible, and further to show you that we have taken every step possible within our power to readjust our business so as to make it possible to continue without recalling these wage increases."

The movie employers hope to prove that the wages cannot be paid, and thus the raises would be rescinded from the day they were put into effect.

In event of a disagreement, an arbitration board will be agreed upon with final decision in their hands. Of course, there will be plenty of disagreement, since the union would hardly give up the increases it has already won.

The pay increases mean a total of \$3,000,000 more in wages for the workers in one year. Because of the seasonal nature of present employment the studio craftsmen actually earn only \$900 a year, and the raises are a good step forward.

### A Shady Past

During the negotiations the employers dug up an old conviction against Bioff for which he has not yet served his time, in an effort to discredit the union.

Actually, that conviction had nothing to do with unionism. Bioff was convicted in 1923 in Chicago of collecting money from women in the red-light section of the city.

Subsequently, he became the bodyguard of George Browne, president of the I.A.T.S.E., during a bitter and bloody inter-union fight in Chicago marked by a couple of mysterious killings.

From there he rose to vice-president of the union, a position he now holds. He was connected with the attempted raid of the I.A.T.S.E. on the Actor's union this fall, an attempt that failed.

The AFL unions in the movie industry would be in a much stronger position to defend themselves from the employers if the dictatorial rule of Bioff were overthrown.

Perhaps the present victories of the union on the wage issue will spur the rank and file movements in their struggle against the Bioff leadership.

A house-cleaning from below rather than allowing the courts to settle the question is the only progressive method of removing Bioff.

## F.D.R. INCITES WAR AGAINST SOVIET UNION

(Continued from Page 1)  
workers of Russia to free themselves of this grotesque beast that has fastened itself upon their backs. And we say at the same time to the American workers: fight the bosses at home. Fight starvation and misery at home. That's the way we'll end wars and the threats of wars.

What a foul travesty it is to hear Roosevelt crying over "poor little Finland!"

**Roosevelt's Foul Record**  
When Spain was being crushed under the Fascist boot, the Democratic hero in the White House ruthlessly choked off in this country the sources of material supplies that would have helped the Loyalists to equalize the struggle.

When his friends Neville Chamberlain and Edouard Daladier made a deal with Hitler over the dismembered corpse of Czechoslovakia, Roosevelt gave forth a fervent prayer of thanksgiving.

Nobody has ever heard Roosevelt get indignant over British bombing of defenseless villages on the Indian frontier, the ruthless dynamiting of Arab towns in Palestine, or the brutal French suppression by bombing plane, machine gun and sword of rebel tribesmen in Syria.

**Roosevelt's War Plans**  
Roosevelt's moral indignation comes to light only in the cases of prospective enemies of Wall Street imperialism—Germany, Japan, and now above all, the Soviet Union. Above all, the Soviet Union, because Roosevelt, helped by Stalin's brutal course, is moving rapidly into fresh efforts to transform the war among the Powers into a war of some or all of them against Russia. And in aiming at Russia, Roosevelt is not aiming at the rapacity or totalitarianism of Stalin—F.D.R. will be plenty to-talitarian himself when war comes—but against the very basis of the workers' state that still remains despite the Stalin dictatorship—the collectivized property, the national ownership of all the plants and factories.

## TOLEDO SCHOOLS CLOSED DOWN, 'LACK OF FUNDS'

TOLEDO, Ohio—All our public schools have been closed since Nov. 22 and will remain closed until after Jan. 1—a total of six weeks—because the funds of the school board are "exhausted."

Y.P.S.L. and Socialist Workers Party leaflets were issued on the three days prior to the closing of the schools, and distributed at the high schools. The leaflets contrasted the lack of funds for schools with the growing expenditure of public funds for the army and navy. It denounced the reactionary attempts to blame the teachers and the over-taxed parents, and fixed the blame for the closing of the schools on the big industrialists and landlords and their political tools.

ATTENTION MINNEAPOLIS READERS! Christmas Turkey Party. Benefit Anti-War Fund. Wednesday, December 20, 1939 at 8 p.m., 919 Marquette Avenue. Entertainment—Refreshments—Adm. 10c.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

THEATER PARTY tendered by the Friends of the Russian Opposition Bulletin. "Chaver Nachman," by I. J. Singer, a Jewish play based on the Russian Revolution, with Joseph Ben-Ami, Celia Adler, and Ludwig Satz. At the National Theater, 2nd Ave. at Houston St., N.Y.C., on Tuesday evening, Dec. 12. Tickets are available at the National Office, 116 University Pl. Get yours early for choice seats.

## NEXT WEEK! Analysis of the Chrysler Agreement

Lack of space kept out of this issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL an important article dealing with the lessons of the Chrysler lockout and an analysis of the agreement recently signed by the Auto Union and the corporation. Watch for it in next week's SOCIALIST APPEAL.

# 25 Hunger-Fighters Are Railroaded by the FBI

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torney Victor Anderson, prosecuted the case in a flag-waving orgy. Federal Judge M. M. Joyce gave the jury a "definition" of conspiracy broad enough to hang the strikers. The jury itself was hand-picked from rural parts of the federal district to insure a minimum of sympathy for organized labor.

Shortly before midnight Sunday jurors in the third trial of WPA strikers arrived at their decision, 36 hours after receiving the case. The court was notified this morning and at ten o'clock all 25 defendants took their seats in the federal courtroom. Ed Palmquist, leader of the Federal Workers Section and one of the defendants in the present trial, addressed his fellow workers, instructing them to remain silent at the verdict and not to express themselves until they were in the Union Hall.

At 10:30 the jury filed in and it was immediately apparent it had heeded the plea of the United States District Attorney and the instructions of the judge to find all defendants guilty.

Not a single juror could look across the courtroom at the defendants sitting opposite.

The jury foreman—L.H. Rouse, Minneapolis accountant, the only local person on the jury—handed a sealed envelope containing the verdict to the clerk of court. The clerk opened the envelope, showed the verdict to the judge, turned to the court and read it quickly: "We, the jury, find the following defendants guilty of conspiracy: Eddie Alberts, Victor Nicholas, Margaret Schoenfeld, Ralph Core", etc., etc.

There wasn't a sound in the courtroom. Not a single defendant, man or woman, batted an eye. Reporters for the boss press tiptoed hurriedly to the judge's chambers to phone their papers. The black-robed judge turned to the defendants and told them what he had told the eight defendants found guilty in the first two trials: that he was referring their cases to the probation office prior to passing sentence. The empty legal formality of asking counsel for the defense and for the United States government if they were satisfied with the verdict was observed, after which the defendants filed silently from the room and were driven to the Drivers Union Hall.

The judge was praising the jury as onlookers filed out after the defendants.

**Union Hall Meeting**  
At the Union Hall, no defendant expressed himself or herself as surprised at the verdict. They understood, just as does the Minneapolis labor movement which has supported them from the beginning, that they never had a chance. There was quiet, bitter laughter at the judicial farce.

At the meeting which followed, George Murk, chairman of the AFL-WPA Defense Committee, V. R. Dunne of the General Drivers Union, and Walter Frank of the Lathers Union, spoke.

**Government Is Guilty**  
Murk, placing the blame for the persecution of these poor men and women directly on the federal government and its reactionary accomplices in Minnesota and Minneapolis, pledged the group that organized labor would continue to support them to the bitter end, would stand by them, would carry their case to the highest court in the land, and would not stop until it had vindicated them, if not before the government, at least before the people of America.

Defense counsel had already announced the convictions would be appealed to the United States circuit court of appeals.

Dunne briefly explained that the verdict was only the latest in the growing series of government persecutions directed against organized labor, and that the defendants were being persecuted because they symbolized the struggle of organized labor.

One defendant arose to ask a question of Gilbert Carlson, defense attorney: "Does this verdict mean that we are deprived of our citizenship?"

"Yes, that is what it means." "I just wanted to know. I don't think much of this country any more."

**Union Goes On**  
Max Goldman, chairman, announced that the regular stewards' meeting of Local 544's Federal Workers Section would convene this evening, and that the work of building the organization must continue exactly as before.

"This is the democracy my husband gave his life for in France," one woman defendant observed bitterly at the meeting adjourned.

In the three trials to date, five out of eight were convicted of a conspiracy in the first trial; three

out of four in the second; twenty-five out of twenty-five in the third. Those convicted today are among ninety charged with conspiracy in a single indictment. One hundred and sixty-two men and women have been indicted so far on federal charges of conspiracy. It is not yet known when the fourth trial will get under way. All the cases are to be appealed to the higher courts by the AFL-WPA Defense Committee.

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 2—After five weeks of testimony, the third WPA trial ended today when Judge Joyce gave the case to the jury.

### Two Defendants Collapse

During the last week of the trial two of the women defendants collapsed in the courtroom from strain and malnutrition. On Tuesday afternoon, during a particularly grueling cross-examination by the U.S. District Attorney, Mrs. Sigrid Assumma, one of the 25 defendants, collapsed in court, forcing adjournment of the case. Defense counsel several times objected strenuously to Anderson's tactics involving lengthy questioning, and the judge twice rebuked Anderson for covering ground often covered before. Anderson persisted, however, until finally the elderly defendant crumpled in her chair. The examining physician attributed her collapse to hunger. Like most of the defendants, she is in desperate poverty.

At the court's insistence, the trial was convened on Thanksgiving morning, but was adjourned abruptly when another of the defendants, Mrs. Lois Driscoll Viens, collapsed. Mrs. Viens, wife of George Viens, a leader of the Federal Workers Section, had been under a physician's care because of illness.

### Refuses Dismissal Motion

Earlier Thanksgiving morning Tom Davis presented a brief listing 42 reasons for dismissing all charges in the present trial. Davis held that the evidence was insufficient to sustain the government's charge of conspiracy. He also attacked the prosecution on the ground that the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law was faulty as a criminal statute, and that the defendants had been denied a fair trial, trial of 25 persons at one time violating the constitutional rights of each defendant. The court overrode the defense's motion in short order.

### Justify Conspiracy Law

Friday morning the federal courtroom was packed as Assistant U.S. District Attorney Giblin concluded his closing argument. Giblin's approach indicated the government's eagerness to justify its "conspiracy" charge. "From time immemorial all sovereign governments have had conspiracy laws," Giblin argued. "The danger to the U.S. government" from the Minneapolis WPA strike was his theme. Painting a horrendous picture of the strike spreading to all parts of the nation and challenging the government, both Giblin and District Attorney Anderson defended the Minneapolis police's murderous brutality against the strikers and bystanders.

Giblin named Ed Palmquist and Max Goldman of the Federal Workers Section of Local 544 as the "very fountainhead of the Minneapolis WPA strike conspiracy." He made a big point of the fact that 24 of the 25 defendants in the third trial are members of the Federal Workers Section, that the FWS was the backbone of the strike, and that Workers Alliance members, on the other hand, opposed picketing of projects.

In his final argument Defense Attorney Tom Davis told the jury that "While some of the defendants may have been guilty of individual acts, they could not be found guilty of conspiracy against the government. All that could be laid against the defendants could be covered by assault charges to be tried in state or city courts."

**Government Is Real Conspirator**  
Describing the trial as the most unusual case ever tried in the United States, he defended the right of workers to protest wages and working conditions, which were the issues involved in the strike. "If there was any conspiracy in this case, it was a conspiracy of the U.S. Department of Justice to fasten a crime against these helpless defendants," Davis stated.

**Brings in "Moscow"**  
U.S. District Attorney Anderson put on a typical ham act in his summation. "Minneapolis, so long as I am here, is not going to be the Moscow of America. I have no fear of invasion by a foreign foe," he told the bug-

## Negroes Arm Against Ku Klux Terrorists

Terroristic Ku Klux Klan parades through the Negro section of Greenville, S.C., are being answered: the Negroes are arming to defend themselves, says a report in the Dec. 3 Chicago Bee, Negro weekly.

The Klan has been parading nightly through the Negro district, hunting Jim Brier, who was active in getting Negroes to register for the recent election.

"Colored citizens are reported this week as heavily armed and their patience almost exhausted," says the Bee. "A large mail order house reported Saturday that its entire stock of shotguns had been sold out to Negroes. One of the biggest hardware stores reported the largest sale of shells in its history the past week to Negroes."

## THREE STRIKES STAY SOLID IN CAIRO, ILL.

CAIRO, Ill.—The Labor Board election which was scheduled for Saturday, Dec. 2, was called off at the request of AFL Federal Local 22199 because of the actions of the Valley Steel Co. and the Cairo Association of Commerce in attempting to buy votes at \$10 a throw. The moment the union agreed to end the month-old strike for recognition by consenting to an election, the company agents and the business men began to circulate the rumor that the plant would move if the union won the election and offering \$10 to any man who informed them that he had voted against the union provided, of course that the union lost the election. As soon as these events took place the union called off the election and decided to continue to show the company officials their majority—on the picket line.

**Negro Strikers Firm**  
The two other strikes in this town are still completely effective with the 170 Negro workers holding the lines militantly. These strikes are in progress at two of the four cotton seed oil mills in town.

The business men, who boast that their greatest contribution to Cairo is a low wages scale, are bending every effort to stir up racial antagonism between the Negro and white workers on the picket line and turn the strikes into race riots. These business men deserted the town when there was a flood danger in the winter of 1936 and returned only after the workers had saved the town by working day and night on the levee. They are the same men who broke up the unemployed strike early in 1937 with guns and bloodshed and then held the strike leader, Eddie Parker, incommunicado for weeks.

A test of strength will take place in the Valley Steel Co. strike on Dec. 4 when the company will once more try to lead a back to work movement through the picket lines. As this is being written foremen are going among the workers offering ten dollars bonus to anyone who will try to break the strike. The last time this was tried, Nov. 13, thirty-one scabs and one hundred and fifty armed deputies marched up to the unarmed mass picket line which didn't yield an inch. At this point they found that they didn't have the guts to push through. The scab herders are having a hard time overcoming the memory of this event.

eyed jury of rural folk. "I am concerned with conditions within our borders. Forty-seven states are watching Minnesota and this jury. Eighty-seven counties in this state are watching it, too, to see what tomorrow will bring."

The labor movement here understands well that the cards are all stacked against their brothers and sisters whom the government is victimizing, that the system of picking federal juries and the court's definition of "conspiracy" makes a "guilty" verdict almost certain.

**Next Trial Postponed**  
Friday morning the judge indicated that the fourth WPA trial, involving other defendants charged with "conspiracy," would be postponed at least until after he has completed a federal court calendar in another part of the state. The significance of the postponement is not clear.

## ILLINOIS MINERS UNITED IN FIGHT AGAINST BOSSES

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

GILLESPIE, Ill.—United action against the Superior Coal Co. in fighting that companies lock-out of 2,200 miners has been announced by the CIO United Mine Workers and the AFL Progressive Mine Workers. This fighting united front climaxes a series of unity moves on the part of these two unions in the state of Illinois.

Ray Edmundson, President of District 12 (Illinois) of the UMW pledged the support of his organization to the strikers.

"In this situation," Edmundson stated, "the UMW of D does not intend to be used as an instrumentality for breaking down conditions of employment prevailing in the mines of this state. We hope that the dispute between local union No. 1 of the PMA and the Superior Coal Co. will be settled at once in the interest of employees, the company and community welfare. To this end we pledge our full and complete cooperation."

The cause of the dispute is the refusal of the company to continue to recognize the division of work which has been in effect for the last six years and which was won and maintained by militant struggle on the part of the miners. This same fight over giving the lower-paid men more hours of work during the slack season in order that their total revenue will be equal to that received by the higher paid workers was the cause of the militant stay-down strike in 1937.

The company is attempting to institute an hour for hour division of work between the high and low paid employees which would automatically reduce the wages of 75 per cent of the workers. The company claims that the union has resisted this by calling a slow-down strike and so, without first calling the matter to the attention of the joint board as provided for in their contract, closed their mines and locked out the men.

**Progressive Gives Union Position**  
John Battuello, militant District Board member of the Progressive Miners, pointed out:

"In this instance, the Superior Coal Co. elected to ignore the contract, and locked out its employees. The miners being confronted with an action that is entirely outside of the courts of joint relations, are compelled to meet the situation in a similar manner."

"In this connection local No. 1 and board member district No. 6 of the PMA welcomes the assurance that the miners of both unions will co-operate to the end that the miners' organizations and the few conditions still remaining in the mines are not completely destroyed. This assurance of co-operation by the UMW of A and the PMA is being rendered specifically because it is realized that if the Superior Coal Co. succeeds in setting aside the courts provided for by the contract, it will thereby render the unions helpless in defending the interests of the miners." (The courts referred to in this statement are the arbitration courts of miner and employer representatives provided for in the contract.)

### Reactionary Against Unity

This fighting unity has naturally not been achieved without opposition from the reactionaries. George P. Ritchie, State vice-president and a conservative even among the reactionaries, mutters that neither Dave Reed, state president, nor John Battuello (the two leaders who negotiated the unity move with the UMW) "is vested with the authority to cooperate with the UMW of A in such a manner." Ritchie further claims that in securing the assistance of one of the most powerful unions in America in their fight against the boss these two men "do not express the sentiment of the district executive board... nor the desires of the membership."

Wm. Campion, president of local No. 1, all of whose members are involved in the lockout replied, "The question raised by Vice President Ritchie is a regrettable one. Since he should have the interests of his own men in mind, how can he refuse help from anyone."

"However, if he represents the operators in this case it is well that the miners know it before the case gets to any court in which he might be the judge. As president of No. 1 local, I invite Vice President Ritchie to attend the local union meeting, when they, the miners, will tell him officially what they think of the present controversy and of him."

Battuello and Reed refused to dignify Ritchie's attack on them with a reply. Battuello's only comment was, "Who is George Ritchie?"

# WORKERS' FORUM

TWO AUTO WORKERS BELIEVED "REINCARNATION"—AND WHAT HAPPENED

Editor:

I see by the papers that the New York City police have a "Reincarnation File" of fingerprints of people wishing to "establish their identity on returning to earth." I knew two fellows who believed in "Reincarnation" and if what happened to them means anything, those New York fingerprints won't do anybody any good.

These two fellows worked next to me at the Fisher Body plant here in St. Louis. They made a deal that if one should pass away he should come back and let the other know.

One of the fellows, Bill, was playing pinocle, he got a 1500 hand, it was too much for his heart, he passed away, that was in 1933. The other day Joe—the other fellow—was going to work, he was waiting for the street car. No one happened to be on the car stop that morning, so Joe was very puzzled when he heard a voice say, "Hello Joe." He looked all around, saw no one. The voice again said hello. Joe looked up to the buildings, he looked all around him again. By this time he thought his studies of the occult had cussed him into insanity, or maybe the work on the trim line was getting him.

Then the voice again said "Hello Joe. Don't you know me? Here I am, Joe, your old friend Bill, hitched up to this ice wagon." And Joe sees this horse—talking to him!

"Yes, Joe," says the horse, "reincarnation is authentic, I came back."

"Joe," said the horse, "you are lucky. Remember how you and I used to beef about the long hours. Well, I sure wish I had that easy job on the trim line."

Joe said: "Why Bill, we don't work those long hours, anymore, we got a union now and get twice as much dough." Gee, says the horse, "I wish us horses had a union. I get hitched up to this ice wagon at three in the morning. I haul ice until noon, and then I get unhitched from the ice wagon only to get hitched up to a coal wagon. Until six or seven, and then the bosses' kids hitch me to the old buggy, they run me around until twelve o'clock."

Just about this time the horse looked around and saw a man coming. The horse said: "Cheese it Joe, that's my boss. If he finds out I can talk, he will make me yell Ice too."

The motto of this tale is that we need a writer like Bill Morgan again, with his funny pokes at the bosses, and fewer of these multiloquenceists.

St. Louis, Mo. M. V. Romer  
P.S.: Many of the auto workers here are reading the Appeal.

As we explained in last week's issue of the Appeal, unfavorable circumstances made it necessary for us to temporarily retreat to weekly publication.

We issued the Appeal twice each week on the dot for a ten month period. This was done during a period of great defeats for the working class, culminating in the launching of the present imperialist world war. It is a sure sign of the vitality of our movement, that we were able thus to work against the stream. It is also a sure indication that our present retreat is only a temporary affair—and that we should resume the twice-weekly publication before long.

**Readjustments necessary:**  
(1) The Socialist Appeal is now published weekly and is off the press every Wednesday of the week.

(2) The price for each copy is now 5 cents. The price to the branches is 3 cents per copy.

(3) The subscription price remains the same as before—\$1.00 for 6 months; \$2.00 for 1 year. This includes Bronx and Manhattan in New York City.

(4) All those who subscribed before suspension of the twice-weekly will be given the full benefit of their subscriptions.

(5) Branch literature agents should take immediate steps to readjust their bundle orders. Branches and members of our Party are now completely used to handling the Appeal twice each week at a minimum. This means that every branch should be able to handle much larger bundle orders of the weekly Appeal.

We expect all branch literature agents to send in greatly increased bundle orders shortly. Up to

date statements on bundle order accounts are being mailed out this week.

Subscriptions received during the last two weeks:

**NEW SUBS**

Minneapolis	5
Allentown, Pa.	2
Columbus	2
Worcester	2
Chicago	4
Madison	1
Philadelphia	2
St. Paul	1
Akron	3
Evansville	1
New York City	2
St. Louis	2
Pasadena	1
Foreign	1
Total	29

**RENEWALS**

Washington, D.C.	2
Chicago	1
Columbus	1
New York City	3
Flint	1
Worcester	1
San Diego	1
Detroit	2
Los Angeles	1
Trenton	1
Akron	3
Youngstown	1
Minneapolis	2
Total	20

If the Party branches continue to make prompt payments on their bundle orders and if an attempt is made to obtain many new subscriptions for the Appeal, then we may be able to return to the twice-weekly paper sooner than we expect. The entire thing depends upon the activity of the branches and their response to our needs.

## Party Statement on Stalin's Invasion of Finland

(Continued from Page 1)

the Finnish puppet government of Wall Street and London. The Finnish Fourth Internationalists are partisans of an independent Soviet Finland and the irreconcilable foes of the treacherous and blood-spotted Kremlin bureaucracy and its hand-picked Kuusinen regime in Finland.

(c) *For the Fourth Internationalists in the Soviet Union:* Soviet patriotism—the main enemy is world imperialism. Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the capitalist world. Only agents of imperialism, standing for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, can desire the defeat of the Red Army by the bourgeois Finnish outpost of the imperialist armies. Irreconcilable struggle for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which betrays the world proletariat and undermines the defense of the Soviet Union. Against the military-bureaucratic annexation of Finnish territory. For the independence of Soviet Finland. Unceasing criticism and exposure of the Stalinist methods of starting and conducting the war, but not the slightest relaxation of material and military support. The Fourth Internationalists in the Soviet Union will be the best soldiers in the Red Army and inspire it to victory over the imperialist bandits and the Stalinist betrayers.

# THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

(Outline of Course at the Marxist School)

## Destiny of the Negro

Let us for a moment review our analysis of the Negro in his contact with Western civilization. In previous articles in this series we established that the Negroes in Africa had built high if simple civilizations up to the Fourteenth Century. It was necessary to emphasize this, to destroy the imperialist-fostered conception of Africa as a land of eternal savagery and barbarism from which it has to some degree been raised by the gentle hand of the European invaders.

European contact with Africa began with the rise of European imperialism. A new continent, America, was discovered and Africa, which had always lain within easy reach of European ships, was penetrated. Commercial capitalism developed the mercantile system, which needed labor in the American tropical plantations. When the Indians proved unsatisfactory, slaves were brought from Africa. On the basis of the wealth created by the slave trade and the colonial trade directly dependent upon it, the commercial capitalists of Europe and America built up from their ranks a new section of the capitalist class, the industrial capitalists. These, whose chief function was the application of large-scale organization and science to industry, came inevitably into conflict with the planters: slave labor was too expensive, too backward, for the new methods. This economic conflict was the basis for political conflict. The commercial bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy still had the political power their former economic predominance had given them, and for the new rising class of industrial bourgeoisie to wrest it from them meant a struggle.

## The Bourgeois Revolutions

This was a progressive struggle. It took place in great revolutions in France and in America, and in Britain it took not only the threat but the actual beginning of a revolution to break the power of the feudal aristocrats. In all these the Negro played a tremendous part. In America he was given the opportunity of doing this because his emancipation was in the interest of the Northern industrial bourgeoisie. All these great movements of politics thrust the color question into subordination and unimportance. It is economics and politics, not color, that are decisive in history.

To see what happened after the industrialist bourgeoisie took power, it would be best to follow the course of one country, say Great Britain. The industrialists seized power in 1832. They struck a terrific blow at the landed aristocracy in 1847 by abolishing the "corn laws." Through these laws the feudal aristocrats had artificially maintained the price of grain by restricting foreign competition with the produce of their fields. Rising with the industrial bourgeoisie was a new class—the industrial working class, the proletariat. And by 1848 the Chartist Movement of the workers was feeling its way towards revolution.

But in this year began a great era of prosperity. So prosperous was the industrial bourgeoisie, thanks to the home market its victory had given it, that it treated the idea of colonies in Africa with scorn. Disraeli wrote in 1866 that the British had all that they wanted in Asia. For, he continued, "what is the use of these colonial deadweights, the West Indian and West Africa colonies? . . . Leave the Canadians to govern themselves; recall the African squadrons; give up the settlements on the southeast coast of Africa, and we shall make a saving which will at the same time enable us to build ships and have a good budget." In the year he wrote, only one-tenth or less of Africa was in the hands of European imperialists. They had devastated the continent for slaves, but now they wanted the slaves no longer. For a while it almost seemed that Africa would be left in peace.

## A New Need For Africa

But capitalist production leads inevitably to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and the corresponding increasing poverty of the masses. The workers cannot buy what they produce. The capitalists must find abroad new markets, sources of raw materials, places to invest their capital.

In 1885 Jules Ferry, the French statesman, used the famous words:

"Colonies for rich countries are one of the most lucrative methods of utilizing capital. . . . I say that France, which is glutted with capital, has a reason for looking on this side of the colonial question. . . . European consumption is saturated; it is necessary to raise new masses of consumers in other parts of the globe, else we shall put modern society into bankruptcy and prepare for social liquidation with the dawn of the twentieth century. . . ."

Cecil Rhodes once told a friend, "If you want to free civilization, become an imperialist." With the glut in the home market, colonies were no longer "deadweight." While in 1880 only one-tenth of Africa was in the hands of European imperialists, by 1900 less than one-tenth of the land remained in the hands of the African people. That saturation of European consumption to which Ferry referred and the part that Africa played can be shown by the following simple calculation. Great Britain has invested abroad roughly twenty billion dollars. The total investment in Africa from all sources is roughly six billion dollars, and of this almost five billion is in British territory. That is to say, almost one-fourth of British foreign investment is to be found in Africa.

But this process of "saturation" that forced the imperialists to expand to the colonies has now itself spread to the colonies. The increasing accumulation of great wealth in the hands of the few and the increasing poverty of the masses is now not only a European but a world phenomenon. Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, is bankrupt. The war of 1914-1918, the worldwide crisis since 1929, the new world war of 1939—these are items from the ledger of imperialism. Only the overthrowing of the bankrupt class by a new class, only the triumphant proletarian revolution, can balance the budget of civilization.

And in the same way as the Negroes played an important role in the revolution of the industrialists in unseating the feudal aristocracy, so tomorrow the Negroes will play a decisive role in the struggle between finance-capital and the working class. Against his declared intentions, Lincoln was forced to free the slaves. Revolutionary France had to recognize the revolution of the Santo Domingo blacks. In the stress of economic and political conflict, color was forgotten and the rising class took help where it could get it. The Negroes in Africa and in America, wherever they are the most oppressed of people, are going to strike even more deadly blows for freedom, against the capitalist system of exploitation, in alliance with the white workers of the world.

## Marxist School For the Coming Week

The following lectures will be given at the Marxist School, 125 West 33rd Street, Room 201, New York City, during the week beginning December 11:

1. War and Inflation—Frank Denby—Monday at 7:15.
2. The Tradition and Teachings of Marx and Engels—German and Italian National Unity—The Irish and Polish Questions—Pan Slavism—Max Shachtman—Monday at 8:50.
3. Africa Today—The Position of the Native African—J. R. Johnson—Tuesday at 7:15.
4. Class Society and the State—George Novack—Tuesday at 8:50.
5. Stalinism in the C.I.O.—Wednesday at 7:15.
6. Civil Liberties—What Can We Expect After M-Day—James Burnham—Wednesday at 8:50.

## YORKVILLE FORUM

Felix Morrow, editor of the *Socialist Appeal*, will be the speaker at the Yorkville Branch forum of the Socialist Workers Party, at the National Bohemian Hall, 321 East 73 Street, New York City, Friday, Dec. 8, at 8 p.m. "Will Roosevelt Keep Us Out of War?" is the topic of the lecture.

## WILLIAMSBURG FORUM

"War and the Negro People" will be discussed by James Burnham, E. R. McKinney, and other prominent speakers, at a free educational meeting Friday, December 8, 8:00 p.m. at St. Augustine's Church, Lafayette and Marcy Avenues, Brooklyn. The meeting is sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, Williamsburg Branch.

# A Page from Finnish History

## Mannerheim and Kuusinen Destroyed the Socialist Revolution Once Before, in 1918

By VICTOR SERGE

"This war is nothing except the continuation and the last act of our war for liberation," declared General Baron Mannerheim, commander of Finland's army, on December 2. The "war for liberation" of 1918 to which he refers was, however, nothing of the kind. Finland's right to national independence was guaranteed by one of the first acts of the Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky: the "Decree on the Rights of the Russian Peoples", promulgated on November 2, 1917.

This decree established the equality and sovereignty of the different nations in the former Czarist territories and their right to determine their own destiny, even to the point of separating and forming independent states. The issue in Finland in 1918 therefore, was not the question of independence but whether Finland would be a workers' republic or a bourgeois state. That issue was decided by a civil war precipitated by this same Mannerheim, in which the White Guards were victorious thanks to two things:

1. The aid of German imperialism, purchased by the Finnish bourgeoisie at the price of be-

coming a vassal of the Kaiser. The Kaiser's generals inserted into the Brest-Litovsk treaty a provision forcing the evacuation of Soviet troops from Finland, and provided Mannerheim with German regiments against the Finnish Red Guards. When Germany lost the war, Finland became a British sphere of influence.

2. The same Kuusinen whom Stalin has set up as a puppet government was in 1918 leader of the Finnish social democracy and led the Finnish workers to disaster. An opponent of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he opposed the expropriation of the capitalists; he did not summon the workers to take up arms against the White Guards until it was too late. In Stalin's service Kuusinen remains, as before, an opponent of proletarian revolution, cynically serving the Kremlin bureaucracy in its annexation of Finland.

The story of the civil war of 1918 is a damning indictment of both Mannerheim and Kuusinen—then and now. The story is told in a chapter of Victor Serge's "The Year I of the Russian Revolution", which we pub-

lish here for the first time in English—Editors.

## FINLAND WAS READY FOR SOCIALISM

If Russia was, as Lenin often remarked, one of the most backward countries of Europe, Finland was one of the most advanced in the world. Her customs, her advanced political education, the victories of her socialist movement, even her industrial structure, seemed to ensure the easy victory of socialism.

A part of Sweden since the Twelfth Century, a country of small proprietors whom feudalism had never overcome, Finland passed to Russia in 1809, through the alliance between Napoleon and Alexander I. Constituted as a Grand Duchy, she enjoyed a large degree of autonomy, all the larger as the Finns were able to defend their autonomy against the attacks of her Grand Dukes, the Czars of Russia. Finland kept her Diet, her own money, her postal system, her schools, her own army, and her own internal administration. She grew up, like the other Scandinavian countries, as a part of Western Europe.

Nicholas II made brutal attempts at Russification of Finland; he only succeeded in estranging the entire Finnish people. Two years after the Revolution of 1905, which forced the Czar to grant her a constitution, Finland instituted universal suffrage. In the first election, in 1907, the social democrats obtained eighty seats out of two hundred in the Sejm (parliament). The 1916 elections gave them an absolute majority, one hundred three out of two hundred. This majority voted the eight-hour day and an intelligent program of public legislation. Then parliamentary socialism found itself at the point of death. Was it possible to continue peacefully marching toward socialism with ballot in hand?

The Finnish bourgeoisie allied itself with Kerensky against the Red social democratic Diet; the Provisional Government in Petrograd, following the line of the autocracy, declared the Diet dissolved. Russian soldiers guarded its closed doors. In the following elections, the social democrats gained—from 375,000 votes the year before, to 440,000 votes—but lost some of their seats—from 103 to 92. This result was

obtained by cynical fraud on the part of the bourgeois parties.

But no more than the Finnish proletariat could resign itself to this electoral defeat, could the bourgeoisie content itself with so precarious a victory. An extra-parliamentary settlement was on the order of the day. The bourgeoisie had foreseen it for long, and prepared seriously for civil war. But the social democracy, twenty years in the school of the "powerful" German social democracy, and dominated by reformist illusions, hoped to avoid the conflict.

Three thousand young Finns of the wealthier classes were in the 27th Jaegers battalion of the German army, fighting against their hereditary enemy, Russia. Clandestine military schools existed in various places throughout the country. After the fall of the Czar, a volunteer rifle corps was formed in the North to maintain law and order. This was General Herrieh's Schutzkorps, the first White Guard unit formed in the open. Its headquarters were at Vasa on the Gulf of Bothnia; it received arms from Sweden and Germany.

## GENERAL STRIKE OF NOVEMBER, 1918

The October Revolution provoked an echo in Finland: a great general strike, in mid-November, brought on by a serious famine, which affected only the poorer classes, and by the reactionary policies of the Finnish Senate, which seemed inclined to place the reactionary Svinhufvud, at the head of a dictatorial Directorate.

The workers quit work everywhere. The railways stopped. Workers' Red Guards, supported by Soviet Russian troops in places, occupied all public buildings. Bloody encounters occurred between the Whites and the Reds. The deputies argued. The frightened bourgeoisie consented to the application of the eight-hour law and to the enactment of a new program of social legislation, as well as to the democratization of power, which passed from the Senate to the Diet.

And the victorious general strike of the workers ended in the constitution of a bourgeois cabinet, headed by the same reactionary Svinhufvud! It was the abortion of a revolution. Finnish revolutionists are of the opinion that the seizure of power was possible at that time; it would even have been easy; the support of the Bolsheviks would have been decisive. Otto Kuusinen, then one of the leaders of the Center wing of the Finnish social democracy, later wrote: "Not wishing to risk our democratic conquests, and hoping to skip that great historical turning-point by clever parliamentary maneuvers, we decided to elude the revolution. . . . We did not believe in the revolution; we had no hope in the revolution, we did not want it at all." (Kuusinen, *The Finnish Revolution, an Essay in Self-Criticism*, 1919). With leaders of such mind, the cause of the Finnish proletariat was certain to lose.

## BOURGEOISIE PREPARES FOR CIVIL WAR

But the general strike revealed their own strength to the workers, and to the bourgeoisie their peril. The Finnish bourgeoisie understood that it was lost without reinforcements. Svinhufvud asked the Swedes to intervene. The Whites armed feverishly in the North, where they collected large stocks of food. The government cleverly extended the famine in working class centers by holding back reserve food supplies. The proclamation of Finnish independence changed nothing. The possibility of Swedish or German intervention alarmed the workers more and more.

To cap matters, the Diet voted, by 97-87, a motion containing unmistakable allusions to the necessity for a bourgeois dictatorship. The problem of power was posed once more, even more seriously than on the eve of the November general strike. This time the social democrats realized that all chances of a parliamentary solution were exhausted. It was necessary to fight.

The red flag was hoisted over the Workers' House in Helsinki during the night of January 27. The rest of the city was rapidly captured, and the Senate and the government took refuge at Vasa. In a few days, the workers mastered the larger cities of Abo, Vyborg and Tammerfors, and the whole southern section of the country, without meeting any serious resistance.

The social democratic leaders, Kuusinen, Tanner, Sirola, formed the Council of People's Delegates, under the control of a supreme Workers' Council of 35 delegates—ten from the social democratic party, ten from the Red Guard, five from the Helsingfors workers' organizations. What were they to do? "To march day by day toward the socialist revolution," declared the People's Delegates. They instituted workers' control of production, made easy by the high degree of concentration of the main industries, lumber, paper and textiles; they put a stop to the sabotage of the banks. Public life and industrial production soon returned to an almost normal state.

## KUUSINEN THROWS AWAY THE REVOLUTION

Was the dictatorship of the proletariat possible? Was it necessary? The social democratic leaders did not think so, although five hundred thousand, of a total population of three million, were engaged in industry. The workers and agricultural laborers together numbered half a million men. The small and middle farmers, the rural majority, could be won over or neutralized by the revolution. Unfortunately, "Until they were defeated, the majority of the leaders were not at all clear as to the goals of the revolution" (Kuusinen). Without either establishing the dictatorship of the laboring masses or expropriating the wealthy classes, the social democrats tried to establish a parliamentary democracy in which the proletariat was the leading class.

The principal measures taken by the Council of People's Delegates were: the institution of the eight-hour day, the payment of wages for time out during the revolutionary strike, the emancipation of servants and bondsmen from the farms (they were hired by the year by the farmers and subject to very severe laws), the abolition of the old method of allocating land, which was based on a system of corvée and tribute, the abolition of rents for small tenants, the institution of judicial reform, abolition of the death penalty, tax exemption for the poor, a special tax on incomes of more than twenty thousand marks, a tax on apartments of more than one room, liberation of the press from ancient regulations, workers' control of the factories.

The Council drew up a constitution, to be adopted by referendum, which expressed the Ideal Democracy which motivated the social democrats. An assembly of people's representatives, elected every three years by universal direct secret suffrage (women voting, the age limit twenty years), according to proportional representation, was to be the supreme authority of the "People's Republic of Finland." Any amendments to the constitution were to be submitted to a referendum. A minority in the assembly which mustered one-third of the votes had the right to veto all but tax legislation. The import of prime commodities was exempted from all taxation. Officials and magistrates were to be elected every five years and subject to recall by one-fifth of the electors at any time. The government was to be checked by a "control commission for the administration and application of laws," two members of which could veto any new legislation, etc., etc.

A Finnish revolutionist has remarked of this constitution: "In theory, it attained the widest development of bourgeois democracy, a development actually impossible under a capitalist system. This bourgeois democracy could only go forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat if the workers were victorious, or backward to a bourgeois dictatorship if they were defeated." It was a beautiful and completely utopian project. "The weakness of the bourgeoisie," Kuusinen said, "let us into democratic illusions, and we decided to march toward socialism by parliamentary debate and the democratization of the government." Such was the terrible effect of reformism on the Finnish socialists. Such was their fatal misunderstanding of the laws of the class struggle.

(How, in return for these democratic illusions, one hundred thousand Finnish workers—altogether about one quarter of the working class—were struck down by the White Terror, will be told next week, in the concluding instalment of Victor Serge's story.)

# 1. "We Want to Go Home!"

## MUTINY! 1917: The Mutinies of the Russian Brigades in France

by "Spartacus"

(Concluded from last week)

Both Russian brigades were marched into the interior, to a camp of huts near the village of La Courtine, some two hundred miles south of Paris. Their numbers are variously put at from 10,000 to 15,000. No attempt was made to disarm the men. The French were too busy dealing with the widespread mutinies in their own army to pay any attention to the Russians once they had been safely "interned", so to speak. The Russian officers, not relishing the new democratic manners of their men, and perhaps a little alarmed for the safety of their own skins, went off to Limoges to live.

For four months the camp at La Courtine presented an extraordinary spectacle of democratic communal living. The thousands of soldiers in the huge camp, left strictly to themselves, showed the talent for social organization which is usually shown by the masses under such conditions—and which never fails to astonish bourgeois observers, who cannot conceive of an army existing without officers bawling "orders" and keeping "discipline", any more than they can imagine a factory producing goods without high-salaried executives sitting behind mahogany desks.

According to the later official reports, the Russians raped and looted the whole countryside for miles around. But the local villagers seem to have been completely unaware of any of these outrages. They said afterwards that the Russians were "doux et correctes" ("gentle and well-mannered")—fine men who liked nothing better than to play with the children. The villagers distinctly preferred them to the Americans who came to La Courtine later on.

## The Social Patriots Try Oratory

Frequent political meetings were held in the camp. Various eminent Russian exiles of a respectable social-patriot complexion, of course—were sent in by the French authorities to show these ignorant and stubborn soldiers why they should die for la gloire, la victoire, liberté, égalité, fraternité, etc., etc.

For all their eloquence, these patriotic democrats were never able to make clear to the soldiers what the revolution was all about. Always their fine words about freedom and democracy rang false when thrown on the hard counter of the soldiers' single, unalterable demand: We want to go home.

But Miliukov and his successor, Kerensky, had enough rebellious troops on their hands at home. They wanted these to stay and help France win the war.

The best efforts of all these dignitaries and "distinguished former exiles" were not enough to persuade these simple soldiers to keep on fighting and dying, any more than Kerensky's brilliant oratory was enough to hold together the Russian armies at home. It was necessary to brand these brigades as "rebels" and let the French deal with them—at bayonet point. For these troops at La Courtine were fellow countrymen of the soldiers who had overthrown the Czar. They too were infected with the bacilli of revolution. Trotsky writes:

The Russian soldiers had carried this dreadful infection with them across the sea in their canvas knapsacks, in the lining of their coats, in the secret places of their hearts. This dramatic episode at La Courtine is significant. It was a kind of consciously arranged ideal experiment, almost as though under a bell-glass, for testing out those inner processes in the Russian army, the foundation for which had been laid by the whole past history of the country.

When they had finally mastered the mutinies in their own army, the French authorities turned their attention again to the Russians at La Courtine. It was decided to get rid of

them by sending them to the deadly, fever-ridden Salonika front. The Russian commander, General Zankievitch, issued orders to break up camp and march to a nearby town. The social composition of the two brigades was quite different. The first had been recruited in Moscow from clerks and workers, the second was made up almost wholly of Siberian peasants. In this final crisis—heavy artillery had already been moved up within range of the camp—the peasant brigade obeyed Zankievitch's order and marched out of the camp. The first brigade refused to move. Now, with French bayonets at their backs, the second brigade was forced to attack their comrades. Trotsky describes the operation:

The second Russian brigade was brought into action against the first. The artillery occupied positions on the nearby mountain slopes, the infantry, employing all the rules of engineering science, dug trenches and approaches to La Courtine. The surroundings were strongly occupied by Alpine sharpshooters, to make sure that no single Frenchman should enter the theatre of war of the two Russian brigades. Thus the military authorities of France set the stage on their territory for a Russian civil war, prudently surrounding it with a hedge of bayonets. This was merely a rehearsal. Later on the French ruling classes organized a civil war on the territory of Russia herself, surrounding it with the barbed ring of the blockade.

A methodical bombardment of the camp began. Several hundred soldiers came out of the camp, agreeing to surrender. They were received, and the artillery fire immediately began again. This lasted for four days and four nights. The La Courtine men surrendered in detachments. On the sixth of September there remained about two hundred men who had decided not to give themselves up alive. At their head stood a Ukrainian, Globa, a Baptist, a fanatic: in Russia they would have called him a Bolshevik. Under cover of artillery, machine gun and rifle fire, combining in one general roar, the place was stormed.

According to Wintringham, two hundred of the rebels were executed on the spot, and another eight hundred were officially declared to be "missing".

## The End of the Story

The first brigade was rewarded for its loyalty by being sent to Africa, together with the thousands in the second brigade who had surrendered before the final assault on the camp. More thousands were added from Russian regiments serving on the Salonika front, who had also been demanding to be allowed to go home. Instead they were all shipped off to Africa, where, in the words of Henri Barbusse, who years later talked to some of the survivors, "they melted down. They were dragged from camp to camp, from inferno to inferno."

Finally, the French sent the survivors home—to fight in the army of Denikin against the Bolsheviks! Once more they mutinied, once more they were decimated. But they stood fast and refused to fight against their brothers in the Red Army. Finally the adventurer Denikin was beaten and fled to Paris. Those remnants of the Russian brigades who had survived the bombardment of La Courtine, the sun and fever of Africa, and the brutal reprisals of Denikin—these veteran rebels at last were able to return home and take part in building up the new Russia.

"And now at last," writes Barbusse, "the little throng of Russian soldiers have triumphed over events. At last they have become true soldiers of the revolution. They have encompassed that definite thing which they saw in their dreams when they refused to serve the ends of those who massacre the peoples. . . . Never, in all the history of mankind, was promise more splendidly kept by a band of men both greater and more human than their fellows."

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 92 Saturday, December 9, 1939

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

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Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.  
Foreign: \$3.00 per year; \$1.50 for six months. Bundle  
orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents  
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter December 4,  
1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the  
Act of March 3, 1879."

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

## Roosevelt vs. Labor

The systematic starvation of the unemployed, of which the examples of Toledo, Cleveland, Chicago, Colorado, the South, are merely the most glaring; the Federal persecution of the unemployed in Minneapolis who dared to protest against hunger; the frameup engineered by the G-men against teamsters union leaders in Sioux City, Omaha and Des Moines; U.S. Attorney General Murphy's prosecution of the Chicago and Washington, D.C. teamsters; U.S. Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold's announcement of forthcoming widespread prosecutions of labor unions under the anti-trust laws, and Murphy's flat answer to the AFL that Arnold is acting under orders from him—all these incidents are part of a single pattern: the war of the Roosevelt Administration against the working class.

Murphy hypocritically refers to U.S. Supreme Court decisions as his guide in employing the anti-trust laws against the unions. But those decisions were there all these years. Not since the notorious days of Attorney General Palmer in the post-war years, however, has the Department of Justice been as systematically directed against the unions as today. Moreover, at least as expert a legal luminary as Murphy—New York State Solicitor General Henry Epstein—has declared that the Clayton Act specifically exempts unions from anti-trust prosecutions and has denounced Arnold's announcements as a deliberate plan against the unions. No, the actual legal texts are no guide to what is happening. We must look elsewhere for the explanation.

The explanation is clear enough, if we realize that the anti-trust prosecutions are linked to the other events we have listed above; and if we study them in the light of Roosevelt's gigantic armament program, his open leaning to the side of Anglo-French imperialism in the war, and his campaign of war-incitement against the Soviet Union.

Roosevelt is preparing to plunge America into this war for the re-division of the earth. Six years of internal measures have failed to end the economic crisis and provide adequate markets. Roosevelt therefore is taking the external "way out"—the only other alternative which capitalism permits.

To fight a modern war means dictatorship at home. The labor movement, both AFL and CIO, is a potential menace to that dictatorship. Strong and healthy unions will fight against the dictatorial measures of a war government and, in the course of that fight, will learn to understand that the fight for labor's rights is also the fight against the war and its makers.

To make that fight of organized labor impossible, Roosevelt is conducting a preventive war against the workers now. That is the explanation for the mounting number of anti-labor moves of the government.

And to conduct the war itself, money and cannon fodder are needed. Both can be had, the Roosevelt government conceives, by starving the unemployed. The money taken away from WPA and relief goes into munitions. The starving unemployed will be glad to eat in the army until they are killed in the trenches.

These are the plans of the government. They are well thought out, and are being executed according to schedule.

But organized labor is not fighting back ac-

ording to a plan. The CIO and the AFL are disunited, not even joining hands against the common enemy. Neither of the national labor organizations is solidly getting behind the local labor movements which have been picked first for persecution by the government. Nor have the CIO and AFL gotten it through their heads that the fight of the unemployed for relief is a direct responsibility of the labor unions.

To understand that the starvation of the unemployed, the frameups in Sioux City and Minneapolis, the anti-trust prosecutions, etc., are all part of one general war against the unions—

To understand that this war is part of Roosevelt's preparations for entry into the imperialist war—

To understand that the fight for labor's rights is at one and the same time the fight against the war-makers—

All this will have to be understood by the labor movement if it is going to survive and throw back the Roosevelt assault.

The American revolutionists and labor militants bear the responsibility to explain, patiently and clearly, to every worker, the meaning of Roosevelt's moves. That responsibility is also a great opportunity—to tear the workers away from the grip of capitalist politicians and their agents in the trade unions, once and for all.

## Cain-Stalin

For the first statement in his own name in nine months, Stalin chose a task appropriate to his nature: the whitewash of Hitler. We quote from the *Daily Worker*, Nov. 30, the ineffable words of the Master:

"It was not Germany who attacked France and England, but France and England who attacked Germany, assuming responsibility for the present war."

As late as September 17 the Stalinist press was still denouncing Hitler as the aggressor. As late as October 31 it was calling both camps "equally guilty." Until November 29, Dimitroff's formula of "two stages"—the first one in which Hitler was the aggressor, the second in which Britain becomes the aggressor—prevailed. On that day Stalin spoke and completed the whitewashing of Hitler.

Brutality toward the weak and servility toward the strong—a gangster's mentality; that is Stalin. He never serves his ally half-way. He licks the boot all the way up and down.

In the midst of his invasion of Finland, he turns with a beatific smile to assure the world that Hitler is an angel of peace.

Cain only slew his brother, Cain-Stalin slays his brothers and makes of their bodies a pedestal on which he raises their enemies. No infamy in history approaches his.

## Britain and the Jews

On the day that Britain declared war, the London office of the World Zionist Organization sent a letter to Chamberlain, assuring him that the differences between the Zionists and Britain would be shelved "before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time"; the Zionists would "place ourselves, in matters big and small, under the coordinating direction of His Majesty's Government."

What happened then? Taking Jewish support for granted, the British turned to negotiations with the Mufti, reactionary leader of the Arab nationalists, and with the Arab kings, in order to assure their support of Britain in the war. The deal is to be made at the expense of the Jews in Palestine and of the Arab peasants.

"So the honeymoon between Britain and the Zionists is already over. Stephen S. Wise is already whining that Jewish hostility to Hitler should 'not be seized upon by the Colonial office' and 'made an excuse for driving a bargain with the unspeakable Mufti that will still further disadvantage the loyal Jewish population of Palestine.' But we have heard such language from Rabbi Wise before, every time the British move against the Jews in Palestine—and each time he and the other Zionist spokesmen go on to make an ever more slimy 'compromise' with Britain.

To the eternal honor of the Jews of Palestine, not all of them have followed the dictates of the Zionist leaders. How much resistance to Britain's war is developing in Palestine is not easy to ascertain, for a rigid British censorship has stifled most of the news from there. But we learn from *Hashomer-Hatzair*, organ of the Zionist youth, that when, in the early days of the war, the Zionist organizations mobilized men and women for certain tasks, "at least ten per cent of all the mobilized Jewish men and women refused to sign to the third point in this call, namely, the clause offering aid to the British army."

This anti-British minority must become the majority. It would be a disgrace to the Jewish workers and farmers of Palestine if they remained "loyal" supporters of the British army while that army is launched against the revolting masses of India. The refusal of the India peoples to give any support to Britain in the war—that is also the road for both the Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

By Dwight Macdonald

## SPARKS IN THE NEWS

## Franklin D. Roosevelt, Union Buster

As the *Appeal* has pointed out editorially, the recent announcement of Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold that the Department of Justice is preparing to prosecute trade unions under the anti-trust laws, is a frontal attack on the American labor movement. This is the first time in several decades that the Department of Justice has dared thus to pervert the anti-trust laws. It marks a new high point in the War Deal's current offensive against workers' organizations. First the trial of scores of WPA strikers in Minneapolis, then the Sioux City frame-up of teamsters' union officials, carefully staged by FBI agents, and now, after this skirmishing, comes the full-dress legal onslaught.

## Epstein on Arnold

In the *N.Y. Times* for November 26, there is a lengthy communication which thoroughly exposes the reactionary nature of Attorney General Arnold's proposal. It carries especial weight because it is signed not by a radical, not by a trade unionist, but by the Solicitor General of the State of New York, Henry Epstein.

"One must read and reread Mr. Arnold's letter several times before its terrific impact on the development of a bill of rights for American trade unions can be fully appreciated," writes Mr. Epstein. "Sugar coat it how you may, it remains a throwback to the Danbury Hatter's Duplex Printing cases."

Here I might parenthetically interject that the editors of that great liberal organ, *The New Republic*, didn't get below the sugar-coating. Believe it or not, in the issue of November 29, they editorially approve Arnold's letter, complacently remarking: "We think sensible people will agree with Mr. Arnold's plan of attack."

Solicitor General Epstein's letter destroys completely the legal alibi for Arnold's plan. He points out that Congress in 1916 made a special point of including in the Clayton Act sections 6 and 20, expressly exempting unions from the operation of the anti-trust laws. He also shows in detail how almost any trade union activity could be legally attacked under Arnold's interpretation of the anti-trust laws.

"This warning of Mr. Arnold's," he concludes, "gives evidence of some careful planning. Scarcely hidden, however, is its actual threat to labor unions and their only effective weapons. The danger lies in the fact that labor cannot know when its acts will run into criminal prosecution, to say nothing of civil damage suits."

"The warning is equally applicable to AFL and CIO. Here is an issue on which they can unite, to combine forces and prevent the nullification of labor's gains through distortion and misapplication of anti-trust laws. They have not long to wait."

## This Peculiar Boom

Since the Reichswehr crossed the Polish frontier on September 1, American industrial production has increased 20 per cent, which is very nearly the largest increase in such a short period ever recorded. The steel industry, backbone of our industrial system, is now operating at around 92 per cent of capacity. Between July and November of this year, the number of blast furnaces in operation increased from 40 per cent of the total in existence to 80 per cent—a more rapid rise than took place even during the last war.

Steel's prosperity has spread to all the other sectors of our economic system. Third quarter earnings of the big corporations are way above those for the same period of last year. Even the railroads are making money these days. As for such industries as airplane building (which now

has almost \$200,000,000 worth of new contracts for planes on its books) and naval shipbuilding (where the War Deal recently, without any publicity, gave up competitive bidding and restored the old "cost-plus-10%" system which produced such scandals in the last war)—these especially favored sectors are coining money right and left.

But there is something phoney about this boom, just as there is something phoney about this war. This is shown by the peculiar action of the stock market in the last two months. In the opening weeks of the war, there was a wild rise in stock prices. Then this hectic boom slowed down, stopped, and for many weeks now the stock market has been hanging in the doldrums—no great activity, prices fluctuating back and forth without getting anywhere. The *N. Y. Times* average of stock prices, which shot up to 114 in the opening days of the war, has now declined to 110. A month or so ago, when the corporations were reporting huge earnings for the quarter, the Dow-Jones index of industrial stocks stood at 156. Its reaction to these reports has been to decline slowly to a present level of 151.

This odd behavior of the stock market seems to have two main causes. (1) Wall Street, which looks beneath the surface in such matters, knows that there has not been enough of a rise in domestic consumption to support the rise in production and earnings. (2) Therefore, unless the war becomes "serious" and large orders from the Allies flood the American market, the industrial boom will collapse in the next few months. At present, this boom is as phoney as the war—since it is based on the expectation of huge war orders and not on any large amount of actual orders.

## Will the War Solve Unemployment?

Recent propaganda from Washington has spread wide the impression that the present war boom in industry is giving jobs at a rapid rate to the nation's jobless. In a few months, one gathers, the huge total of the unemployed will have been whittled down to "reasonable" proportions.

This is—propaganda. The fact is that already the 1929 level of production has been passed, and there are still at least ten million unemployed workers. And even if the war boom reaches heights which at present seem unlikely, even then there will be no important decrease in the total of unemployed. Howard Hunter, a WPA official, recently estimated that even if our exports to Europe increased by \$1,000,000,000 in the next year, which would mean a 100% increase, this would employ only 600,000 more American workers—which is about the net increase (after deaths, etc., have been allowed for) in the country's labor force every year. If exports to South America were similarly increased, another 600,000 workers might find jobs. Add in another million who would be employed because of the internal expansion that would probably accompany such a rise in foreign trade, and you still have reduced the unemployed only to 8,000,000. "We should have done with the will o' the wisp notion that a war boom is going to wipe out unemployment," Hunter concludes.

Politicians who talk about the tremendous effect a war boom would have on unemployment are really thinking—the more sophisticated among them, at least—in terms not of a neutral America selling goods to the Allies, but of an America that is itself in the war as a belligerent. When they speak of the labor shortage in the last war, they are really talking about the period after we had gone in, when we were feeding and equipping an army of four million men and had extended unlimited credits to the Allies.

All this talk about a war boom solving the unemployment problem, therefore, is no more and no less than propaganda to ease the working class into the war.

Hunger Stalks in the Cities  
As the War Machine Grows1,000 Protest  
In Cleveland

(Continued from Page 1)

childless couples, have been ruthlessly cut off relief entirely. An additional number of family cases have been reduced to a day to day starvation diet that is but two-thirds of the present "normal" relief budget which, in turn, has been cut twice this year already.

While the "City Fathers" chase up and down the state to the state capital in Columbus or to Washington, D.C., to request additional funds from the very henchmen whom they applauded so recently for their "economy" programs, crowds of starving unemployed are besieging the various relief stations at all hours of the day. Squads of police brutally herd the desperate workers around.

## Union Calls Demonstration

Tonight, despite a heavy rainstorm, a mass meeting was held by the Federal Workers Union, a new independent union of WPA workers, and the call is going out for a demonstration at the City Council meeting Monday night.

Principal speaker at the meeting was Art Preis, who last Friday represented the union before the City Welfare Committee.

men, smoking their cigars, last Friday, had no more idea of the feelings and sufferings of the unemployed than you could know how a drowning man feels by putting your foot in a bucket of water.

"Relief to those parasites is just a form of riot insurance. But it's about time that the workers march before these gentlemen in one huge mass body and cry, 'If you think relief is riot insurance then we're here to tell you that your premium is too low!'"

Harold Burton, Republican mayor of the city, who has been boasting of his economy program, returned from a trip to Washington yesterday empty-handed.

He indignantly repudiated any suggestion of touching any of the city's remaining operating funds to feed the unemployed, just as did the high-salaried council members in the City Welfare Committee Friday when it was proposed by the Federal Workers Union committee to discontinue the salaries of all politicians making over \$3,000 per year off the city and using these funds to feed the unemployed.

The present relief crisis is the latest stage of a continuous process in Cleveland. It rivals the relief breakdown of two years ago, when Roosevelt first made big slashes in WPA and threw thousands of WPA workers upon the tender mercies of local charity relief. Included in the present starving workers are thousands of those who were thrown off WPA by the Roosevelt-Woodrum hunger bill of last summer.

The failure of the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance to put up any fight for the unemployed during their pro-Roosevelt

NO JOBS, RELIEF  
IN 'WAR BOOM'

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This contrasts with the heavy number of persons actually in need.

"Almost Incredible Inadequacy" Last May, the Association made public a systematic survey of the conditions of the more than seven million unemployed families on relief.

"The almost incredible inadequacy in the relief provided" was politely but authoritatively documented by that report.

"Today the millions dependent on relief are refugees just as truly as the victims of Old World repression. They are American refugees with no place to go," said Walter West, executive Secretary of the Association, in issuing the report.

The same report stated that even at its peak WPA had failed to absorb the bulk of the unemployed. Since the report was made, Roosevelt has cut WPA to the bone, one of the main causes of the now worsened relief situation throughout the country.

honeycomb before the Stalin-Hitler pact, gave the tip-off to the city officials that they could cut relief to the bone and get away with it. Despite all the past betrayals, however, the unemployed are in a fighting mood and beginning to rally around the new banner of the Federal Workers Union which offers a program of fighting mass action.

Their  
Government

By James Burnham

## The Relief Crisis

The relief crisis in Cleveland, rapidly coming to a head also in other Ohio cities, serves to remind us in a very grim and dramatic manner that the war is not an isolated symptom of the frightful decay of capitalist civilization, and that the United States is in no way immune from the international spread of that decay. 16,000 persons, with no resources and no chance for any job, public or private, have been cut entirely off home relief. They and many tens of thousands more are subsisting on a diet, provided by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, which is demonstrably unable to maintain a minimum health level, in many cases not even life itself.

The Mayor of Cleveland, the Governor of Ohio and the Federal government are engaged in a vigorous game of three-cornered buck-passing, each trying to get rid of the responsibility. It can hardly make much difference to the unemployed under whose auspices they are condemned to starve and freeze.

The fact of the matter, of course, is that during the past year, at the bidding of big business, a combined drive against the unemployed has been pushed steadily forward by federal, State and local governments, Republican and Democratic parties alike.

At the head of this drive stands Franklin Roosevelt, who, a little more than a year ago, began the rapid transformation of the New Deal into the War Deal.

## Plans for the Next Congress

There is nothing to be astonished at in the Cleveland crisis. It is just one more blow in a long and linked series which is by no means ended. It ties up plainly with the way in which, last November and December, Roosevelt dropped 300,000 from the WPA rolls, and, in March of this year, threw 50,000 foreign-born residents into the streets. It is bound closely to this year's WPA appropriation figure, which, at Roosevelt's demand, is a billion dollars less than last year. It is related directly to Roosevelt's slashing of WPA rolls by 1,700,000 between November 1, 1938 and September 1, 1939 (they have risen only slightly from the low point of 1,600,000 which they reached in September). It is comparable, plainly, to the dropping of all WPA workers who had been on the rolls more than eighteen months, to the elimination of the theater projects and most of the arts and cultural projects, to the smashing of the wage scales on the building projects.

And, when anyone actively resists the process, we know already what happens: the current Minneapolis trials, prepared by the F.B.I. and directed by Roosevelt's favorite, Frank Murphy, are samples of the answers that the administration gives to its serious critics. According to Murphy and the Minneapolis judge, unwillingness on the part of the unemployed to starve and freeze constitutes conspiracy.

Let no one imagine that what is happening in Ohio will suggest to Roosevelt that he has perhaps gone "too far" and that more adequate appropriations for the unemployed should be restricted. He hasn't started yet. The present plan of the administration is to recommend to the next session of Congress a total WPA appropriation of one billion dollars—a further cut, from the figure of this year's budget, of approximately half a billion dollars.

The size of the WPA and other public works appropriations is necessarily related to the home relief conditions in the cities, since less public works money means more home relief needed; and the bankers who control the city and State finances are not prepared to meet the additional financial strains.

## Relief, WPA and the War

The cartoonists of the boss press are fond of showing us that the slogan of Goering and the other Nazis is "Guns, not butter." That is what Nazism means, they tell us: you get armaments and war instead of food. They say this today in order to ask us to fight in their war tomorrow.

But the cartoonists, like Roosevelt, seem to be suffering from severe cases of far-sightedness. They can distinguish events much more clearly at 4,000 miles than in their own front yards.

And their far-sightedness seems to affect not merely their eyes but their feelings. Their horror, sympathy and indignation are most easily and immensely aroused at the plight of Marshal Mannerheim—murderer of tens of thousands of Finnish workers and peasants—and the plight of Polish colonels and landlords—inventors of modern pogroms (not to mention Chinese cities bombed by planes and ammunition constructed in their factories), but they have only G-men and cops for the conspirators in Minneapolis and Cleveland who want, of all things, a little food, and medicine for their children.

And while quietly preparing the new WPA bill with the half-billion cut, the administration announces—not so quietly—that at the least half a billion will have to be added to the armament appropriations. Somehow, when you stop to think about it, it's not so easy to see just exactly where this whole policy differs from the Goering guns-not-butter principle.

Doubtless we should sympathize with Roosevelt: with all the mighty events in Europe and Asia to keep him busy, he probably has no time left to worry about a dozen million unemployed and their families at home. But the unemployed themselves, not having jobs to waste their energies on, can profitably devote some time to the question of how they are going to continue living.

In reply to Roosevelt's weekly declarations to the world about democracy and humanity, the unemployed might well issue statements of their own on such subjects as "A job and a decent living for every worker," "All war funds to the unemployed," "A thirty dollar weekly minimum income for every worker, employed or unemployed," "Expropriate the Sixty Families, and use the money for a gigantic scheme of public works." . . . And if the statements did not receive the notice that Roosevelt is granted in the press, militant action under the banner of such statements will be sure to do so.

Nor will such action by the unemployed be separated from the struggle against the war itself. The fight against the war is the fight against the war-makers and their whole rotten system. The War Deal plans to reduce the unemployed to an outcast, coolie caste. Successful resistance to these plans by the unemployed will be their heaviest blow at the war.

## N. Y. Party Members! Attention!

A Special membership meeting of the Socialist Workers Party will be held this coming

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10th, at 2 P.M. SHARP

at the  
STUYVESANT CASINO, 9th St. and 2nd Ave.  
New York City

Admission by membership card only. Members of the Y.P.S.L. also admitted through membership card.