

All War Funds to the Unemployed!

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!

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LET THE PEOPLE
VOTE ON WAR

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ROOSEVELT FORGETS THE 'FORGOTTEN MAN'

Minneapolis Unions Fight F. B. I. Frame-Up

Stalin's Real Crime In Finland

AN EDITORIAL

Put your capitalist newspaper aside, shake your head loose from the endless din of capitalist propaganda over the radio, the newsreels, the press, everywhere—and ask yourself a few fundamental questions about what is really happening in and about Finland.

Yes, Stalin committed a crime in Finland. But exactly what was the crime? And against whom was it committed? We know what answers are given to those questions by the capitalist press. But if you are a class-conscious worker, you don't take your answers to political questions from the kept press of the capitalists.

Yes, Stalin committed a crime in Finland. Here is how we define and analyze his crime.

Finland is an outpost of imperialism on the Russian border, a spearhead pointed at Leningrad. There is no question about that. How would real revolutionists, if they were at the helm of the Soviet Union, put an end to that hostile spearhead?

They would solve it hand in hand with the Finnish working class. In the first instance, the Finnish working class itself would solve the problem. The Red Army of the Soviet Union would help them, if necessary. By making a socialist revolution, the Finnish workers would transform Finland from a bourgeois enemy into a proletarian ally of the Soviet Union. Then, if the imperialists attempted to destroy the Finnish Workers Republic, the Red Army of the Soviet Union would defend its proletarian ally.

That's the way the problem would be solved—if revolutionists stood at the helm of the Soviet Union. Certainly the Finnish workers have shown that they want to make a socialist revolution. In 1919 they tried to make one. They were defeated, not by the Finnish bourgeoisie over whom they were victorious, but by German troops placed by the Kaiser at the service of Mannerheim's Finnish White Guards. After the German Revolution of 1918, the Finnish bourgeoisie remained in power thanks to the backing of English and French imperialism. Given the opportunity, it is certain that the Finnish workers would make their own revolution.

But in the intervening fifteen years, the Finnish workers have been learning what has been happening across the border in the Soviet Union since Lenin died and a clique of usurpers entrenched themselves in the Kremlin. They have learned, and they shrank back from the Soviet Union of Stalin. That is when Stalin's crime against the Finnish workers began—fifteen years ago. He drove them back into the arms of the Finnish bourgeoisie.

Stalin Wanted No Revolutions

Stalin therefore could not appeal to the Finnish workers to protect Leningrad by making their own revolution. Nor would he issue such an appeal. For Stalin fears nothing so much as revolutions. If the horizons of the Soviet Union were ringed with red instead of brown and white, all the social hatred of the Soviet workers against the Stalinist clique would overflow and put an end to the Kremlin bureaucrats.

So Stalin added to all his other crimes against the Finnish workers—which are the same crimes that he has committed against the workers everywhere—the crime of invading Finland against the will and desires of the international working class. For the sake of whatever military-strategic advantages he might gain as a result, he dealt a terrible blow to the most important defense of the Soviet Union: the faith and friendship of the international working class.

Who can wipe out Stalin's crimes, including this latest one?

NOT the army of Mannerheim, now backed by the political support of the imperialist world, by considerable material support from Mussolini, Roosevelt and Chamberlain, and tomorrow perhaps backed decisively by imperialist armies!

Who Are the Real Belligerents?

Already it is clear that this is NOT a war between "little Finland" and the Soviet Union. Finland is an outpost of British and French imperialism—and of American imperialism. Already the "democratic" imperialists—including Mussolini—are utilizing the war to the fullest extent possible for political and propagandist preparation for a war against the Soviet Union. Already the propagandist stage is being overstepped by direct material support against the Red Army. Not merely by the Hoover-led "relief commission"—which is primarily a propaganda agency for preparing war against the Soviet Union—but by direct governmental intervention. The ten million dollar credits provided by the Roosevelt government is only "its first material step," declares a weighty spokesman for the American ruling class:

"This action, taken under a law whose purpose is to sustain farm prices, is highly commendable; but it will not meet Finland's most pressing need. . . . It needs planes and cannon. . . . Americans . . . hope and feel confident that ways can be found to give prompt aid where it is most needed." (New York Times editorial, Dec. 12.)

Even more open is the declaration of British imperialism's most responsible organ, the Times of London, which on Dec. 11 declares:

"If Finland is to be saved, she must be saved now. . . . But Russia has not declared war upon Finland—is not on her own showing warring against her now. Everything short of war, therefore, can and must be done by other countries to help Finland—and the standard of what can be done without formal war is very different today from what it was a quarter of a century ago."

Amid the voices of the imperialist powers are heard also the shrill screams of their lackeys in the labor movement. For such war-mongering gangs as the Social Democratic Federation and the Jewish Daily Forward, the latest events become merely an additional opportunity to demand the expulsion from this country of

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Approaching the Breaking Point



Carlo

'Conspiracy' Trial In Mpls. Aped Moscow

Hand-Picked Jury of Wealthy Farmers and Businessmen Found WPA Defendants Guilty Before "Conspiracy" Trial Began

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 11—The trade union movement here has answered the "guilty" verdict in the third WPA-strikers' trial by voting to recommend to the membership of every union an assessment of \$1 per capita for the defense fund. First of the unions to hold membership meetings and adopt the recommendation last week were the Furniture Workers and the Private Chauffeurs Union.

In the past few days, the truth has come to light about what the jurors really discussed in the jury room. They didn't

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Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Roosevelt showed a little more of his hand in the diplomatic poker game at Tokio this week. He has in effect informed Tokio that any improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations, e.g., conclusion of a non-aggression pact, would imperil the "friendly" relations between Washington and Tokio.

One aspect of this American intervention in the Soviet-Japanese negotiations was officially confirmed.

Eugene Dooman, the counselor of the U. S. Embassy, asked the chief of the American Bureau of the Tokio Foreign Office, Seijiro Yoshizawa,

whether Japan intended to negotiate a non-aggression pact with Russia. Yoshizawa replied evasively that such a pact was "not at present on the Japanese program."

In connection with this incident, the Foreign Office left it be known through newspaper channels that a few days earlier, on Dec. 4, Joseph Clark Grew, the U. S. Ambassador, had bluntly informed Japan's foreign minister that Japanese-American and Japanese-Soviet "friendship" were mutually exclusive, or, as the Japanese newspapers put it, that "Japanese-American friendship

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TROTSKY RAPS PRESS LIES ON DIES QUERY

Has No Secrets to Reveal; Gave No Documents to Dies

Leon Trotsky issued last week a statement to the press, explaining under what conditions he would appear before the Dies Committee, and characterizing as fabrications the United States press stories which reported that he would testify about Stalinist activities in Latin America.

Trotsky's statement follows in full:

In the Mexican press yesterday, dispatches from the United States reported that I might appear as a witness before the Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States and make depositions concerning the activities of the Mexican and Latin American Communists, particularly in connection with the oil question. These dispatches are so worded as to imply that for several years I have turned documents over to the agents of this Committee, that I was visited in Mexico by the Committee's representatives, and so on. These implications represent a pure invention from beginning to end.

Matthews' Proposal

On October 12, I received the following telegram from the Committee:

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Ten Million Jobless Starving Amid Plenty; Fired from WPA, Get No Jobs, Almost No Relief

Federal funds for feeding the war machine for one year will shortly reach the Three Billion Dollar mark. Federal funds for feeding the unemployed for the same period will hit a low of one billion dollars.

But the relief crisis exploding all over the country doesn't bother Roosevelt, he made clear Saturday, when pressed by reporters for a statement on the relief situation.

"Over and over again", the New York Times of Dec. 9 reports, "he stressed that home relief cases were not the concern of the Federal government but were a peculiarly state governmental problem. Federal responsibility ends," said this man who became president as the spokesman of the Forgotten Man, "with the provision of WPA jobs for those able and willing to work and unemployed through no fault of their own."

What hypocrisy! Roosevelt never provided more than three million WPA jobs for fifteen million unemployed able and willing to work, and in the last year he has cut the WPA rolls down, throwing into the streets a million and a half WPA workers. Over a million men now on relief rolls are certified for WPA jobs—not to mention the millions whom the authorities now refuse to certify.

What has happened to the workers who got thrown off the WPA rolls? The social work journal, "Survey Midmonthly," made an investigation to discover "what has become

JOBLESS FORCE RELIEF IN CLEVELAND

Picket Line Crashes Council Sessions; Compels Action

CLEVELAND, Dec. 11—Relief will be restored in this city by Friday of this week, the City Council meeting this afternoon decided. Hundreds of unemployed and WPA workers thronged the session, despite a "sneak" play by the Council, which held its meeting without previous public notice at 4 p.m., instead of the regular evening session.

Anticipating a huge and militant demonstration called by the Federal Workers Union and Workers Security Federation for the regular session in the evening, the Council hastily passed legislation authorizing the sale of \$1,050,000 in tax delinquency bonds to finance relief for the rest of the year until the 1940 appropriations are voted.

Getting word of the "sneak" session, the Federal Workers Union and Workers Security Federation put out a last minute call for the unemployed to mobilize, and organized a colorful picket-line before City Hall to greet the Council members and city officials as they arrived.

Picket Line Marches In

Before the Council convened, the entire picket line marched in to the Council meeting with their banners which carried slogans in red letters reading, "Stop playing politics with relief", "Stop passing the buck", "We refuse to starve", etc.

Frantic Councilmen and city officials first pleaded with, then threatened the leaders of the unemployed to remove the banners, as out-of-town newspaper photographers took dozens of photos. The publicity of the past 26 days of relief crisis has been so damning, that the city officials were trying to give the impression that their subsequent action in restoring relief was voluntary.

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THE REAL CASE OF CONSPIRACY IN MINNEAPOLIS

MINNEAPOLIS—Just what the WPA strikers were fighting against, what they were railroaded to jail for protesting, can be made clear by a few figures.

One year ago there were 14,379 families here on WPA. Now, according to a report made by Ole Pearson, city relief superintendent, on Dec. 8, there are only 6,967—more than one out of two WPA workers have been fired.

"If people dropped from WPA had come back on direct relief, our total would be crowding 20,000 families on relief," Pearson reported. "But they haven't come back. Nearly 8,000 families have managed to find some private means of support."

Which is just Pearson's fancy way of saying that the people thrown off WPA by the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law are being denied direct relief. There are even fewer families permitted direct relief today than a year ago, despite the WPA firings.

In addition, direct relief per family has suffered a 25 per cent cut, put through in October.

For daring to protest against these conditions, the WPA strikers and their militant leaders have been indicted—162 of them so far—and 33 of them so far convicted in the first three WPA trials.

UNEMPLOYED FACE EVICTION IN TOLEDO

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TOLEDO, Ohio, Dec. 11—Cut off from relief for nearly three months, Toledo's unemployed now face the additional horror of evictions from their homes. Some thirty eviction orders are now awaiting execution, and another sixty-odd families have received the necessary three-day notice. Hundreds of other families are threatened with a similar fate by landlords unless their rent is paid this week.

Faced with this situation, the city fathers are doing exactly what they have been doing for three months—nothing. The Toledo Blade—a Paul Block newspaper—started a fund to give school children of the unemployed milk once a day. But the schools have been closed for six weeks for "lack of funds" and the children

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of this economically lost battalion and what effect WPA cuts have had on current relief situations." The October "Survey" published its findings. Here are ten reports, from among those made, shocking even in the staid language of a social work journal:

90% Get No Jobs

ATLANTA, Ga.—Since early this year WPA employment in Fulton and De Kalb counties has been reduced from 16,000 to 8,800, with further reduction expected. . . . About 5,000 project workers were affected by the eighteen-months rule and public relief agencies are swamped with applications, most of them for re-certification and for "emergency" aid. Private agencies, without adequate funds to meet even "normal" needs, likewise are swamped. Because of quota restrictions it seems "extremely unlikely" that WPA will be able to reinstate many of these people, and probably not even 10 percent of them will be able to get private employment even with the industrial pick-up in the area.

Social workers say: "In some mysterious way people are getting by, but they are undergoing a process of slow starvation with no means of making themselves heard by those who control relief appropriations."

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Before WPA layoffs began, the situation already was critical with upwards of 5,000 heads of families certified for many months but unassigned to projects. With the layoff came hundreds of new relief applications every day. There are no local relief funds and the only assistance available is surplus commodities. WPA is beginning to make replacements, but the prospect is slight that these will reduce greatly the reservoir of accumulated certifications. Evidence of growing distress is seen in the increase of evictions, of patients at the pellagra clinic and the children's hospital, and in irregular attendance at school.

The city is facing a greatly reduced budget for the coming year, but it seems unlikely that the relief situation, critical as it is, will break through the surface of public apathy and the tragic docility of the relief population. Private employment is showing a slight improvement, but "it holds no prospect for the thousands who, while they wait for WPA assignment, continue to live in ways that no one but they can know."

Apply, But No Relief
CHICAGO, Ill.—The great majority of former WPA workers

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THE CHRYSLER SETTLEMENT

What the Union Asked And What They Got In 54-Day "Lockout"

By GEORGE CLARKE

The agreement signed by the Chrysler Corporation and the United Automobile Workers (CIO) ending the 54-day "lockout" represents a major development for the American labor movement. The calamity-howlers, who have been predicting the death of the CIO and its proud acquisition, the auto workers union, received a major disappointment. Confronted with a major attack by one of the "Big Three" of the auto industry, the UAW-CIO emerged from the conflict a formidable power.

The Chrysler Corporation entertained some extravagant illusions regarding the union. The auto barons believed—they hoped—that the union had been weakened and disintegrated by years of internal struggle and unemployment. Hence, they concluded, if we lock the workers out at a time when production is high, the workers will desert their organizations and even march through picket lines to get in a few months of steady pay.

The corporation was prepared to lose millions in profits at the peak of the season if the backbone of the union could be broken. The infamous Mohawk Valley formula was trotted out of the dusty files. Every faucet of propaganda was turned on full force. Full page paid advertisements appeared daily in the local press. Business and professional men were circularized by mail with a wad of lies about the alleged crimes of the union. Chrysler dealers were squeezed into a denunciation of the UAW. The fascist spiels, Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith, were amply provided with funds to pour their venom against the workers over the radio. A huge meeting was called to organize fascist gangs. A back-to-work movement, with Homer Martin and his scab AFL outfit in the leadership, was launched several times. Misguided Negro workers were led through the picket line in an attempt to provoke a race riot. Even doddering Governor Dickinson was dragged off his knees long enough to threaten National Guard assistance to strikebreakers.

COMPANY PLANS BREAK ON UNION ROCK
And yet—all of Chrysler's plans went wrong. The union remained solid as a rock. Despite five weeks of privation, denied unemployment insurance, by a Chrysler stooge committee, denied relief except in the most miserly allotments, the ranks of the Chrysler workers were unbreakable. Every rumor of scab movements brought thousands of workers to the picket line before the Dodge main plant. Only a few days before the agreement was signed, 10,000 workers formed the largest strike line ever seen in Detroit. Fifty thousand auto

workers jammed Cadillac Square when it appeared the corporation would take aggressive strike-breaking steps.

The frontal attack of the auto barons was smashed decisively by the Chrysler workers. Unanswerable proof was given in this battle that the lesson of unionism has been burned so deeply into former "hill-billies" and "farmers" that only a veritable civil war can bring a return to the open shop days. The automobile workers union is a tower of strength after the Chrysler strike and no boss in the auto industry will henceforth lightly play with the notion that he can break the union by "old-fashioned" methods.

The defeat of Chrysler plans is a great positive achievement. The agreement resulting from the struggle, on the other hand, cannot be viewed in such unqualified terms.

WHAT THE UNION ACTUALLY GOT

What did the union get? How close did the union approach these demands after 54 days of the lockout? When considering the settlement it must be borne in mind that a union very rarely gets everything it asks for in a strike. But the extent of the compromise is usually determined by the strength of the union at the time of the settlement. The ranks of the UAW were intact in the Chrysler "lockout", the picket lines were the largest ever seen in Detroit on the eve of the settlement.

The corporation granted a general three cents an hour wage increase. The union had demanded a 10 per cent wage increase. Only a few classifications received this increase.

The corporation granted sole collective bargaining to the UAW. The union asked for the "union shop". It had already won "sole collective bargaining" by the huge majority vote it polled in the NLRB election before the lockout.

The corporation conceded an improved grievance procedure whereby a committee of two from the management and two from the union are to render decisions on grievances within 30 days from the time they are submitted. The union asked for a voice in setting production standards. The company rejected this demand and returned the procedure described above which union leaders claim rectify previous abuses.

The new agreement abolishes the "no-strike" clause. Under its terms a strike may be called five days after the union has complied with all the steps of the grievance procedure. This is a decided advantage from a propaganda point of view. In the past the corporation could charge the union with "irresponsibility" and violation of the agreement when the company made a strike incapable.

NO GAINS ON SENIORITY ISSUE

The union did not get the six weeks seniority clause. New workers, mostly young militant elements, have little opportunity to establish the six months seniority required by the agreement as it stands now. This will not enhance the popularity of the union among thousands of young workers who attribute—falsely—their failure to get steady jobs to union regulations.

The union did not get the "war seniority" provision. It did not get the vacation with pay. This gain had been won by smaller and weaker local unions, in the Bohn Aluminum and Packard plants, through a two and one-half per cent yearly bonus.

To summarize: the union gained some substantial improvements in bargaining procedure and some slight concessions in wages. And that's all.

LEADERS FRIGHTENED BY FDR PRESSURE

It is clear from a comparison of the terms of the settlement with the original demands that Philip Murray, Frankenstein and Thomas traded too much of the workers' demands. The leadership of the union was frightened by the pressure of the War Deal administration. Murray rushed into Detroit to conclude any kind of settlement quickly so long as only a few concessions could be gained to justify it in the workers' eyes. The workers were ready to fight. The CIO leadership was prepared to capitulate. The ranks were not organized to push the leadership. Hence the settlement on poor terms, far below those which might have been gained from the struggle.

Why, then, did the workers vote in their local unions with such unanimity for the acceptance of the agreement? It is not

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"seem to have had to apply for relief." However, because of drastic intake policies imposed on public agencies by financial stringency, many of them are ruled ineligible. Those who have been accepted for relief sink into the relief population which for the third successive month has existed on allowances 35% below minimum subsistence budgets.

Family society and settlement workers report that the WPA layoff has added to a relief situation "already shocking." "There is suffering. There is lack of food. There is much distress and anxiety. So great is the overcrowding of the relief offices that long waits are inevitable. The people feel their utter helplessness and endure with unbelievable patience. They can see no way out."

DENVER, Colo. — Some 98% of those laid off under the eighteen-months requirement have been reemployed by WPA, but very few have been reinstated and, because of the shortage of funds, only about 40% have been accepted for relief. "What is happening to the other 60% no one seems to know." Funds for general relief are so limited that grants amount to only 40% of minimum budget requirements. Unless more funds are found "there will be serious suffering during the winter months."

No Relief At All
HOUSTON, Texas—WPA layoffs occurred against a background of no general public as-

sistance to say that they lacked leadership of their own. Spontaneous resistance would have certainly arisen under other circumstances. In these conditions lies the significance of the Chrysler strike from a broader standpoint.

The workers did not feel that the demands pressed by the union leadership over the conference table warranted a continuation of the struggle. The workers wanted the thirty hour week at forty hours pay as they so overwhelmingly indicated at the UAW convention last April. Conditions of permanent unemployment for a large section of auto workers and only intermittent employment for those more fortunate, put the 30-hour week at the very heart of the auto workers' struggles. The UAW leadership has not lifted a finger—besides a few articles in the *United Auto Worker*—to fight for this demand—since the convention.

The auto workers wanted a substantial increase in wages. This demand was buried for almost the entire duration of the "lockout" and finally raised towards the last few days in the public press but only in a horse-trading manner. To force a ten per cent wage increase for the Chrysler workers it was necessary to organize a militant strike. The UAW leaders surrendered this policy for the dubious advantage of unemployment insurance. Which the workers didn't get.

The real demands were lost in the loud publicity of the union for a union shop and a voice in control of production. But the workers were completely baffled when, after a few days, the negotiating committee publicly announced that they had withdrawn both these demands.

THE NEW STRATEGY OF THE BOSSES

What then was the struggle about? That was precisely the question the corporation was attempting to get the workers to ask. The same strategy was used in the General Motors strike early last summer. The workers were out on strike for several weeks. They got only a few minor concessions in the agreement—and for that matter the original demands did not represent the basic improvements required by the workers.

The corporations are laying the groundwork by this strategy for a mass revolution against the unions. They throw the onus for the long weeks of privation on the unions, and at the conclusion when they refuse to grant decent concessions, they ask the question: what do you get out of the union but a swift kick in the teeth?

It is a futile business at attempt to counteract this propaganda by foaming at the mouth at company lies. The workers want results. They are willing to fight, but they want their fights to be fruitful. They are ready to be defeated, if necessary, if only the struggle is organized on real basic demands.

The corporations are preparing a tremendous debacle for the auto workers. The union leadership by its weak, vacillating and capitulationist policy is facilitating the game of the auto barons.

Only a rank and file progressive organization of auto workers can force the UAW leadership to organize the auto workers' struggles on the basis of bold demands, can carry the struggles through militantly and defeat the bosses on the major issues of the day.

The rank and file must begin.

sistance for employable cases. The men who came under the eighteen-month clause at first took the layoff as a vacation "but had a rude awakening when they found that reinstatement was neither prompt nor certain." Those who applied for relief got a month's issue of surplus commodities. "It seems unlikely that more than 10% of the layoffs can do anything but wait for doubtful WPA reinstatement. How do they live? You tell me."

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — WPA layoffs in August numbered about 2,500; since January there has been a continuous reduction totaling about 7,000. The situation is complicated by an August 1 ruling of the state relief office requiring local officials to eliminate all families with any employable member. This ruling has served to bar WPA layoffs from relief and has created "the most depressing and acute situation since the onset of the depression."

A Double Purge
ST. LOUIS, Mo. — A "purge" of all relief families with one employable member was coincident with the WPA layoff. The WPA layoff served to make more so a situation already acute. "It is

hard to estimate the extent of suffering, but there are many authenticated instances of extreme privation. Poverty is not new to these people and they are 'getting by' as they have in other crises, appealing to churches, settlement houses, schools, even to the police, picking up food (polite for 'scavenging') where they can find it. The fact that they are inarticulate and make no forceful protest blurs the acuteness of the problem and makes it easy for the public to believe that 'everything is all right.'

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Following the midsummer announcements of impending layoffs there were strikes on practically every project in the city and county. The strikers were orderly, "but seemed to lack leadership and to be confused as to their objectives."

Public agencies have had a "sizeable increase in applications. Intake policies have been tightened and acceptance is reluctant. Relief funds are running low. 'There's a long cold winter ahead and the fuel bins are empty.'

Toledo Stops Relief
TOLEDO, Ohio—WPA policies have aggravated an already seri-

ous relief situation. When about 2,000 were laid off WPA, relief rolls immediately increased by about 1,000, but not all can be attributed to WPA. What became of the other WPA people is not known.

The relief crisis became acute after a proposed special tax levy for relief purposes was voted down. On September 22 the city, unable to meet its share of relief expenditure, discontinued relief. "No solution is in sight."

The Nation's Capital
WASHINGTON, D. C. — The layoffs "were accepted quietly," the workers confident that at the end of 30 days they "would go right back to work." Their first jolt came when they found that "it wasn't like that"; their second when they found how long they must wait before they could be considered for relief. To staff limitations in the public department are attributed the large number of applicants awaiting interview and investigation. Probably a third of them are from WPA. "An increasing number of evictions would indicate that there is actual suffering."

TROTSKY RAPS PRESS LIES ON DIES QUERY

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"Leon Trotsky, Mexico City, Dies Committee of the United States House of Representatives invites you to appear as witness before it in the city of Austin, Texas. City designated with a view to your personal convenience. . . . The Committee desires to have a complete record of the history of Stalinism and invites you to answer questions which can be submitted to you in advance if you so desire. Your name has been mentioned frequently by such witnesses as Browder and Foster. This Committee will accord you opportunity to answer their charges. . . ."

"J. B. Matthews, Chief Investigator, Special Committee on Un-American Activities." Independently of the political tendency of the Chairman of this Committee, I could not find it permissible to avoid appearing as a witness in a public investigation. My answer was: "I accept your invitation as a political duty. . . ."

Exposes Press Lies
It was a matter thus of my testimony about the "history of Stalinism" but in no case about the inner life of the Latin-American countries. I have never had and I don't have a single document concerning the activities of the Latin-American Communists or the oil question, and I could in no way present anything on this before the Committee. None of its representatives have visited me in Mexico. I have never had and I don't have any connection with the unmasking of the real or pretended plans of the Latin-American Communists.

If I should actually have to appear as a witness before the Dies Committee of the House of Representatives it would be upon the questions specified in the above-quoted telegram bearing the signature of Mr. Matthews. All the rest represents, as I have said, the product of a fabrication. Coyoacan, D.F. L. Trotsky December 7, 1939

**JOBLESS FORCE
RELIEF IN
CLEVELAND**

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After holding all sorts of caucuses among themselves, and confabs with the unemployed delegation, the president of the Council finally called the session to order and publicly requested the unemployed to leave their banners outside.

Art Preis Speaks
Art Preis, representative of the Federal Workers Union, then took the floor in spite of the attempts of the council chairman to rap him down, and stated that the banners would be left outside only under compulsion and under protest. The session finally got under way after the picketers removed the banners from the council chambers under heavy police escort.

The restoration of full relief in Cleveland, including relief for the 14,000 single men and women and childless couples who had been entirely cut off, is a real victory for the workers of Cleveland and real testimony to the effectiveness of mass action.

Another Crisis Coming
Following the adjournment of the Council session, a mass meet-

ing of the unemployed was held on the City Hall steps, where speakers warned the workers that today's victory was only temporary and to immediately prepare steps for further action to prevent a recurrence of the crisis in another month.

The Workers Alliance, Stalinist-dominated unemployed union, was again conspicuous by its absence at the demonstration, which spells the end of its influence and misleadership among the Cleveland unemployed.

UNIONS FIGHT FBI FRAMEUP

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analyze the testimony, the evidence; they didn't argue about which of the 25 WPA strikers on trial were innocent or guilty and of what specific acts they were innocent or guilty. No, according to the stories the jurors themselves tell, they sat around in an amiable mood, discussing which defendant put up a "clever" defense, who told "the best story". For as far as that jury was concerned, the defendants were guilty even before the trial got under way—before the jurors arrived in Minneapolis.

When Washington stages a "Moscow trial," it is much cleverer than Moscow. It permits the defendants to defend themselves. It doesn't use the third-degree or solitary confinement or dictate to the defendants what they must say. It just does one little thing—it picks its juries very carefully, under a procedure in federal courts which permits virtual hand-picking. Like good Marxists, the federal government understands that the class prejudices of well-off farmers and small town business men just about parallel the prejudices of the very wealthy. This is an important reason why convictions in federal court run about 98 per cent of those tried; in labor cases, a bit higher.

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"The Flint branch regrets very deeply the necessity of returning to the weekly Appeal. However, regrets will not remedy the situation, and we believe we can alleviate this situation only by following up the shock of the return to the once-a-week Appeal with a redoubled campaign for subscriptions.

"Our reply to all those who point a finger and say 'I told you so' is the enclosed neat little package of seven subs. I hope all branches give similar fighting responses to our press needs. "Let it be recorded that our press has suffered a temporary setback, followed by doubled and tripled efforts of a determined membership, which will quickly lead back to the publication of a twice-weekly Appeal."

—Jules Geller, Flint, Mich.
We have sent a letter to each literature agent in the country explaining the necessity for every branch to increase the bundle order of the weekly Appeal, and likewise to organize a holiday subscription campaign based on the special gift combinations. The gift combinations are advertised in this week's Appeal. This offer will last from today until December 31, which gives all branches plenty of time to take advantage of this opportunity to increase subscriptions.

Increased bundle orders and increased subscriptions—these are two necessities which will guarantee an early return to the twice-weekly.

The following branches came through with subscriptions last week:

FLINT	7
New York City	4
Lynn	3
St. Paul	2
Boston	2
Chicago	2
Youngstown	2
San Francisco	1
Toledo	1
Waterbury	1
Los Angeles	1
Baltimore	1
Washington, D. C.	1
Foreign	1
Total	29

The sincere effort of the Flint branch is the first worthy response to the changed situation of the Appeal. No sooner had we informed the branches of the necessity to temporarily retreat than this splendid response came through. We are sure that every single branch of the country will make similar efforts so that our return from the semi-weekly will be of the shortest possible duration.

Special X-mas and New Year Gift Offer!

May we suggest that one of the following offers will make an ideal gift for your friends and comrades during the holiday season.

These special offers hold good until DECEMBER 31:

- (1) One year of the SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL. **\$3.00** (reg. price \$4.00)
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ANNOUNCEMENTS

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DON'T GO WHACKY! This Saturday night, December 16. Go Happy! at the Bronx Branch's Game, Party and Surreal Dance. Headquarters: 1324 Wilkins Ave. (Freeman St. Station—29 minutes from Union Square.)

YPSL XMAS SOCIAL—916 9th Ave., at 59th St. Meet you under the mistletoe at the greatest affair yet. Dancing, refreshments, entertainment. Admission, 25 cents. Auspices, New York Division YPSL.

PRE-XMAS SOCIAL of the Joe Hill Unit of the YPSL Games, Dancing, Community Sing, Entertainment. Washington Heights Youth Center, 4374 Broadway (187 St.) 8:30 p.m., Saturday, Dec. 16.

SCENES OF PARTY LIFE in movies: May Day, Coughlin Union Sq. stabbing, YPSL hike, etc. Free refreshments, original games, dancing in private ballroom. Sat. Dec. 16, at 1181 East 49th St., Brooklyn. (I.R.T. to Flatbush Ave., Boro Park Branch.)

UNSER WORT with the declaration of the I.K.D. on war is on the press; order it now.

WE NEED MONEY to pay the printer! Send in your advance orders for the German pamphlet by H. David: The New World War and the International Labor Movement. This extensive 60-page pamphlet is an excellent study of the problems and the tasks confronting us today. 20 cents a copy. Write to: Box 137, Sta. D, N.Y.C.

WANTED: apartment to share with or without furniture, for couple. See S. Stanley, care of Socialist Appeal.

The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

Periodically one comes across statements in the Negro press, more often one hears remarks from individual Negroes, which betray with what facility some Negro politicians slip into racial chauvinism to cover political bankruptcy. The latest addition to the list is Roy Wilkins.

Roy Wilkins is the editor of *The Crisis*, writes a weekly column in the *Amsterdam News*, and is known everywhere as a "progressive" person. He, with other Negro intellectuals, was a great friend of the Stalinists in the days when they were rooting for "F.D.R.," throwing their cloaks in the mud for Eleanor Roosevelt to walk on, and fraternizing with Negro bishops and Father Divine as the future leaders of Negro emancipation. All these rascally tools of Stalin were after was to get America into war with Hitler, then Stalin's enemy. The moment Stalin came to terms with Hitler, the Stalinists began to see that the war against Hitler was not so good after all, that in fact it was a very bad war—it was an imperialist war. They opened fire on F.D.R., Eleanor, Murphy, and all their old friends, and sure as day they are going to instruct Ford, Patterson, Richard Moore and the other Negro Browder to pour a special stream of abuse on Walter White, Roy Wilkins, and the other Negro New Dealers, whom not four months ago the Stalinists flattered and fawned upon.

The Bedfellows Part

Now the New Dealers are bitter. Eleanor, in particular, is very bitter. She says the Stalinists "ought to go to Russia." One day she will even send a letter to David Lasser of the Workers Alliance, resigning her honorary membership, unless Dave Lasser first expels her. All the liberals, once friends of the Stalinists, are now howling for their blood. And high among them is Roy Wilkins. He cursed the Hitler-Stalin pact and now, in his column in the *Amsterdam News* of November 9th, he denounces the invasion of Finland and the lies of Molotov.

The Fourth International denounces and will continue to denounce the policies of Moscow, which remain the chief obstacle in the working class on the road of the world revolution and the emancipation of the workers. But we are no supporters of Mannerheim and the Finnish bourgeoisie, who in 1918-1919 massacred Finnish workers by the thousands. No word of this appears in Wilkins' comment. He is for Mannerheim against Stalin. Wilkins is no revolutionary and has the same ideas about politics as the Roosevelt, Attorney-General Murphy, and the whole gang of New Dealers, white and black.

What, however, is most revealing is the last paragraph of his column. In it he says:

"Aside from everything else, this means that the dark brother in America, who had been hoping for the emergence of some international leadership sympathetic to his problems, must turn elsewhere, for the opportunism of the Stalinites is on a par with the opportunism of the Republican party. Both have tossed the brother overboard as soon as they got what they wanted from him."

Wilkins Deceives the Negroes

This is one of the most mischievous and despicable misstatements that could be made by a man in Wilkins' position. In what way have the Stalinists, scoundrels though they are, tossed the black brother overboard when they got what they wanted from him? Stalin and the bureaucrats exiled Trotsky, a white man, and murdered nearly every member of his family. They shot Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Tomsky, Bucharin, Yagoda, and thousands upon thousands of other Russians, all white men. As Wilkins knows, they massacred the Spanish revolutionists, white people all. When they wanted to push America into war against Hitler, they became New Dealers, they praised the "democracies," they said they would make capitalism work, they shook hands with Wilkins and presented their foreheads to be blessed by Father Divine and the behinds to be kicked by Walter White.

Now that they want to keep America from going to war with Hitler, they abuse Roosevelt, they curse the New Deal, they condemn capitalism, they use phrases about socialism, and they open up a big drive in Harlem to recapture the national militancy of the Negroes. All this is part of the Stalinist policy.

But how can Wilkins say that they have specifically used the black man and now want to drop him when they have no more use for him? Wilkins has committed a great crime against the Negro people.

Why Wilkins Raises the Race Issue

Today, in the world crisis we face, we need unity in the working class, particularly between black and white. The workers may differ among themselves, this one Stalinist, the other one Socialist, another Trotskyite, etc. But against the capitalist class and their capitalist war we must be united. We of the Fourth International know the Stalinists for the treacherous corruption that they are. We point out their political crimes, the political reasons for them, and we ask the workers to break with them.

But Wilkins, who ought to know better, says to the Negroes, "It is merely some more whites fooling the Negroes again." While some Detroit Negroes printed leaflets and distributed them to the Negro workers telling them not to scab on the white workers, thereby building up class solidarity, Wilkins goes out of his way to make the Stalinist crimes a race question and thus accentuate racial differences.

Every Negro worker, with three hundred years of oppression behind him, is naturally inclined to see race prejudice in every political move. That is understandable. We must explain. Wilkins deliberately confuses. And why? Because he is not a Marxist; he is not a revolutionary. He is bourgeois to the bone. He, like so many others, wanted to be imperialist with Roosevelt and play at being revolutionary with the Stalinists. But the Stalinists have only one god—Stalin. They get their orders and they leave all the New Dealers naked. Wilkins has nothing to fall back on. But he knows one cry which will always catch the ears of Negroes—"Race. They do it because we are black."

In reality the racial traitor is not the Stalinist, who twists his policy for reactionary political reasons, but Wilkins himself. Yes, Wilkins himself, who uses the race issue to cover up his political bankruptcy.

(Concluded from last week)

(Finland secured its independence as a result of the October Russian Revolution. Fatally misunderstanding the laws of the class struggle, the social democrats set up an "Ideal Democracy" which left untouched the property and, consequently, the power of the bourgeoisie. Kuusinen, who, at the head of the social democrats, led the Finnish workers to disaster then, is the same Kuusinen who now heads Stalin's hand-picked "government" in Finland. In both roles he exemplified his hostility to the real socialist revolution. Mannerheim, who led the Whites against the Reds in 1918, leads the Finnish Army today.—Editors.)

The bourgeoisie displayed much greater realism than the social democrats. It immediately set on foot a small White army, the backbone of which was the 27th Jaegers battalion of the German army, composed of young Finns—about five thousand altogether. A former general of the Russian army, a Swede by birth, Mannerheim, took command of these troops and promised to "re-establish law and order in fifteen days."

At the beginning of hostilities the Red Guard was composed of only fifteen hundred poorly armed men. The Whites, who were masters of the Bothnian Gulf cities in addition to the agrarian provinces, took the offensive along a front that stretched from the Gulf of Bothnia to Lake Ladoga.

There were Russian garrisons in the cities of Sveaborg, Vyborg and Tammerfors. A section of the Baltic fleet was anchored in Helsingfors. Antonov - Ovsyenko, Smilga and Dybenko had formed Bolshevik organizations among these troops and sailors. The Russian garrison at Tammerfors, commanded by the revolutionary officer Svechnikov, repulsed Mannerheim's first attacks. Thus protected by the Russians, the Finnish Red Guard could have armed and organized. But at this moment the Brest-Litovsk treaty forced the Soviet Republic to withdraw its troops.

GERMANY TURNS THE TIDE OF BATTLE

There remained only a thousand or so volunteers incorporated in the Red Guard. Svechnikov together with a Finnish socialist, Ero Happonen, directed the operations. The government's

The year 1917 was the high tension point of the last war. The peoples of all the belligerents were war-weary, the armies were "fed up." There were strikes and peace demonstrations in Berlin, London, Paris. The socialist peace conferences of Stockholm and Zimmerwald that year dramatized the issue. The German fleet was paralyzed by a long drawn-out mutiny. In Russia the strikes and mutinies led to actual revolution. And in the spring of that fateful year the French Army was swept by a series of mutinies which, at their height, involved hundreds of thousands of men in sixteen army corps. The French Army reported 509 desertions in 1914. The 1917 total was 21,174. "So general was the riot," writes Liddell Hart in his *History of the World War*, "that, according to the Minister of War, only two divisions in the Champagne sector could be relied on fully, and in places the trenches were scarcely even guarded."

The immediate cause of the mutinies was the failure of the Nivelle offensive in April, 1917. General Robert Nivelle had succeeded the incompetent Joffre early in 1917 as the commander-in-chief of the French armies. Nivelle was a dashing soldier who won fame at Verdun and whose slogan was, "Speed! Force! Brutality!" (Not until too late was it discovered he was a romantic dreamer who liked to pose as a "man of action.") His right-hand man was General Mangin, known to his troops as "The Butcher."

Nothing disturbs the general's peace of mind. Nivelle promised nothing less than a complete break-through and the speedy end of the war. He planned to smash the German lines "at a single stroke by a sudden attack in 24 or 48 hours" and to achieve "the destruction of the principal mass of the enemy." His reply to all doubters was the same: "La victoire est certaine!" Nivelle was not at all perturbed when the Germans captured his complete plan of attack

efforts at organization, from January 15 until April 1, resulted in a workers' army of about sixty thousand men (thirty thousand of them in reserve), and in numerous partially successful battles.

The leader of the White government, Svinhufvud, obtained the help of the Kaiser. Twenty thousand German soldiers under von der Goltz disembarked at Hango, Helsingfors and Lovisa, taking the Reds from the rear. The capture of Helsingfors, after a stubborn street battle in which the Germans and the Whites used workers' wives and children as a cover (one hundred were killed), was followed by ferocious reprisals. Artillery bombarded the Workers' House. A Swedish newspaper published the following information: "Forty Red women, who were said to be carrying arms, were led out on the ice and shot without trial." More than three hundred dead were picked up in the streets.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ASSURE THE WHITE VICTORY

The moderate tendency in the social democratic government, represented by Tanner, prevented rigorous measures against the Whites in the interior until it was too late. The courts frequently condemned counter-revolutionists to nothing more than a fine or to the mild pains of imprisonment. If there were any summary executions, they were entirely on the initiative of the Red Guard. The indecision of the government, differences among the leaders, refusal to push forward with the revolution, the half-heartedness of the agrarian reforms, and the effect of the Brest-Litovsk treaty weakened the Reds. The arrival of German troops demoralized them; at this moment Germany was at the height of her power.

Mannerheim surrounded Tammerfors, where ten thousand Reds under Russian officers resisted furiously. The city was taken house by house, after several days' battle. Two hundred Russians were shot. Several thousand of the besieged got away; two thousand were shot or massacred; five thousand were made prisoners.

At Tavestehus, between Tammerfors and Helsingfors, the decisive battle was fought. Twenty to twenty-five thousand Reds concentrated on this point, driven back from the North by Mannerheim and from the South by von der Goltz. Their retreat to the East was cut off. In defiance of orders they had brought their fa-

By VICTOR SERGE

milities, and often all their meagre possessions with them. It was more a migration than an army. These masses, who easily became a rout, could hardly maneuver. The Whites raked them with shrapnel. Although surrounded, they fought heroically for two days before they surrendered. Several thousand of the men managed to open a retreat toward the East. The surrender was followed by a massacre. The killing of the wounded was the rule. There remained the ten thousand prisoners, who were interned. Vyborg fell on May 12. Several thousand of the Red Guard took refuge in Russia.

FINNISH "CULTURE" EXPRESSED TO THE DEFEATED WORKERS

The victors massacred the vanquished. Since ancient times class wars have always been the most frightful. There are no more bloody and atrocious victories than the victories of reactionary classes. Since the blood-bath inflicted on the Paris Commune by the French bourgeoisie, the world had not seen anything comparable to the horrors of Finland. From the first shot of the civil war, "belonging to a workers' organization in White territory meant arrest; to have been an official in such organization meant execution. The massacre of socialists reached such proportions that it ended by interesting no one." At Kuusinen, where 43 Red Guards fell in battle, nearly five hundred persons were executed. There were "hundreds" executed at Kotka, a town of thirteen thousand inhabitants. "They didn't even ask their names; they just led them away in groups."

At Raumo, according to a bourgeois newspaper, "five hundred prisoners captured on May 15 got the punishment they deserved the same day." "April 14 in Toelo, a suburb of Helsingfors, two hundred Red Guards were killed with machine guns. . . . The Reds were hunted from house to house. Many women perished." At Sveaborg the public executions were set for Trinity Sunday. In the neighborhood of Lakhtis, where the Whites took thousands of prisoners, "the machine guns worked several hours a day." "On one day alone two hundred women were killed with dum dum bullets; pieces of flesh flew in every direction."

At Vyborg six hundred Red Guards were lined up three deep in front of the fortress moat and coldly picked off with machine guns. Among the intellectuals

who were murdered we mention the editor of the *Social Democrat*, Jukko Raino, and the writer, Irmant Rantamäki, who while being led to his execution by boat "threw himself overboard hoping to drown, but his coat preventing him from sinking. The Whites killed him in the water with gun fire." There are no figures on the total number massacred. Current estimates run between ten and twenty thousand.

"PEACE" TAKES ITS TOLL IN THE PRISONS

The official figures for the number of Red prisoners interned in concentration camps was seventy thousand. Famine, vermin and epidemic ravaged the prisons. A report signed by the well known Finnish doctor, R. Tigerchiet, stated that, "From July 6 to July 31, 1918, the number of prisoners in the Tammerfors concentration camp and the neighboring prison varied between 6,027 and 8,597. Of the prisoners 2,347 died in these twenty-six days and the average mortality among the prisoners reached as high as 407 per 1,000 per week." On July 25, there were still 50,818 revolutionists in Finnish prisons. In September of the same year, 25,800 were still waiting trial.

For a time the bourgeoisie thought of exporting the "labor power" of its prisoners. A law was passed authorizing the shipment of those condemned to hard labor to foreign countries. Germany, depopulated by the war, was ready to exchange chemical and mineral products for this penal labor force. The German revolution halted the project.

This social purge continued for months in every section of the country. On May 16 warrants were sworn out for the former social democratic deputies who had remained in the country (the revolutionists had already perished or fled). Three of the deputies "committed suicide" in prison during the night of July 2. A dozen more were condemned to death. The supreme court upset this decision in January, 1919, and passed one death sentence, six sentences to life imprisonment, four twelve-year sentences one eleven-year, five ten-year, five nine-year, fifteen eight-year, and two seven-year sentences. "Many of those condemned," Kataya wrote, "were social democratic traitors to socialism, who had spent all their lives serving the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie revenged itself blindly." As usual, the White terror made no distinction between the reformists—

whom the victorious bourgeoisie no longer needed and the revolutionists.

With law and order re-established, the Finnish bourgeoisie began to consider a monarch to be chosen from the Hohenzollern family. The more and more precarious situation in Germany, however, put an end to the plan.

TO CRIPPLE THE WORKERS FOR MANY DECADES

It would not be an exaggeration to say that more than one hundred thousand Finnish workers were struck down by the White terror, either shot or given long sentences—altogether about one quarter of the working class. "Every organized worker has either been shot or imprisoned," write the Finnish communists in the early part of 1919.

This information permits us to make an important observation on the White terror, which has since been confirmed in Hungary, Bulgaria, Italy, etc. The White terror is not to be explained by the frenzy of battle, by the violence of class hatred, or by any other psychological factor. The war psychosis only plays a secondary role. In reality it is the result of a plan and of historical necessity. The victorious owning classes realize clearly that they can only assure their domination on the morrow of a great social battle by inflicting a blood-bath on the proletariat that will cripple it for years to come. And as the working class is much more numerous than the owning class, the number of victims must be very large.

The total extermination of all the advanced and intelligent elements of the proletariat is the objective of the White terror. Thus a defeated revolution—regardless of the circumstances—will always cost the proletariat infinitely more than a victorious revolution, no matter what hardships and sacrifices the latter may require.

One more observation. The slaughter in Finland took place in April, 1918. Until this time the Russian Revolution had shown magnanimity toward its enemies almost everywhere. It did not turn to the Red terror. We have mentioned bloody episodes during the civil war in the South, but they were exceptional. The victorious bourgeoisie of a tiny country, that was counted among the most advanced in Europe, reminded the Russian workers that Death to the Vanquished! is the law of social war.

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In This Corner

by MAX SHACHTMAN

The Hue and Cry About 'Poor Little Finland'

Almost everybody is joining the pack in a hue and cry over Poor Little Finland. Mr. Hoover is collecting funds; President Roosevelt is granting a moratorium on the Finnish debt; Congressmen are yelping for a breaking off of relations with Russia; Alexander Kerensky is stoutly for the independence of Finland; the Finnish White Guards in this country are loading recruits for Finland on to ships; and the liberals and social democrats are pouring out a sea of tears on which to float the ships. The rearguard is brought up smartly by Norman Thomas and the editor of his official organ, who are ready to fight it out for Finland to the death.

Without exception, all the "friends of Finland" are serving one objective: the whipping up of a chauvinistic war spirit for the "democratic" imperialists and for American participation in the world slaughter on their side.

Kerensky Somewhat Belated

As we recall it, Mr. Kerensky, head of the Russian Provisional Government some twenty-two years ago, was then not quite so strenuous in his demand for the independence of Finland from Muscovite rule. In fact, he fought both the Bolsheviks and the Finnish nationalists who demanded the right of self-determination for Finland. We further recall that it was the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky who, as soon as they were in power, promptly granted Finland its independence. Mr. Kerensky's love for Finland is a little—how shall we say?—belated.

Where Were Roosevelt & Co. Then?

We do not recall any very vigorous activity on the part of Messrs. Hoover, Roosevelt and Co. in behalf of Albania, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Spain and other victims of reactionary assault.

When the imperialist gangsters were cutting up the world map to suit themselves, and without bothering to inquire of the wishes of those they were carving into greater empires, we heard barely a whisper from all the Congressmen, statesmen and other illustrious citizens of our Great Democracy. They did not then demand the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Italy or Germany. And for good reasons. Mussolini and Hitler were, after all, only doing what every imperialist nation, the United States included, has done throughout its existence, and continues to do.

But didn't the "liberals" and "socialists" of the New Leader and the Nation and the Socialist Call protest then? Yes, they protested when the fascist bandits carried out their abominations. But not even from them was there a word of protest against the similar abominations of the "democratic" bandits.

Not a murmur, for example, when France so graciously ceded to Turkey the Syrian province of Alexandretta a short time ago, purely for the purpose of winning Turkey to an alliance with Anglo-French imperialism. The people of Alexandretta, non-Turkish in their majority, were of course not consulted by either the Turks or the French, any more than the Syrians as a whole were ever consulted about being put under the heel of the French army and the French banks.

First Things First

The protestations of our great American patriots and war-mongers, from Hoover through Roosevelt to Gerry Allard would sound a spot more convincing if they prefaced their activity by a declaration that their first and main fight is against the violation of national independence and sovereignty which is perpetuated by their own ruling class, that is to say, by American imperialism in Puerto Rico, Samoa, the Philippine Islands and elsewhere.

And once they made such a declaration, it would be obligatory for them to add a similar statement with reference to their allies, that is, to those on whose side they are asking us to fight, England and France. They would have to say, it seems to us, that before they presume to say a word in protest against the violation of Finland's independence by Stalin, they denounce the continuing violation of the independence of India, Indo-China, Syria, Algiers, most of Africa and all the other colonies, protectorates and "spheres of influence" of British and French imperialism.

It goes without saying that they will do nothing of the kind. They are too busy working up the campaign for American participation in the war to bother with such trifles. How does the fate of a few hundred million Indians compare with so noble and idealistic a goal as making the world safe for democracy a second time?

It's all very clear and simple. You can commit any crime in the calendar of Stalin or Hitler or Mussolini on one condition: just call yourself a democrat. It will not only sanctify whatever you do, but constitute an unlimited license to condemn your opponent in world politics for doing exactly the same thing.

The mutinies were sporadic, spontaneous, without any centralized direction and largely without political leadership. They had more the character of sit-down strikes than of revolutionary overtures.

The mutineers demanded more pay, more frequent leaves, a relaxation of discipline. But their one simple, basic demand was that the war be stopped. "We have had enough." It was an eruption of deep human disgust with months and years of slaughtering and being slaughtered, of living like animals in burrows, of organized, senseless, barbaric destruction. "We have had enough." In his first report to the Council of War, General Petain, who replaced Nivelle as commander in chief, came to the point right away: the men want peace, he reported. "WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH."

(To be continued in next issue.)

2. . . At Least I Know Why I Am Dying!"

MUTINY!

The 1917 Mutinies in the French Army

by "Spartacus"

two weeks before the offensive was scheduled to begin. Even when, a few days later, a sergeant-major was captured by the Germans bearing on his person—either through gross blundering or actual treachery—the detailed order of attack of the French Fifth Army, Nivelle still refused to make any change in his plans. "Don't get hysterical," he advised his staff. "You won't find a Boche in those trenches. They only want to be off!" And when, at the zero hour, aviators reported the German defenses had not been effectively destroyed by the bombardment, Mangin is said to have answered: "Pooh! I said I would take my afternoon tea in Laon. Come along!"

They "came along." By nightfall of the first day, the French should have advanced six miles, according to Nivelle's plans. Their actual advance was six hundred yards, at terrible cost. "The attacking troops were trapped in a web of machine-gun fire," writes Hart. "The Senegalese broke and fled, even storming hospital trains in their anxiety to get away." And the Senegalese were shock troops. . . .

PRODIGAL LIBERALITY WITH WORKERS' BLOOD

The second day was almost as bad. And the third. And the fourth. However, writes T. H. Winttingham in *Mutiny*, "Nivelle persisted. His plans in ruins and his finest troops pounded into the reddened earth, he drove division after division into new attacks, almost as futile and disastrous as

the first. Divisions were not relieved. They died, and new divisions poured through them, until Craonne and the Chemin des Dames were won—a few miles of shell-scarred land."

According to Winston Churchill's *The World Crisis*, it was not Nivelle so much as Premier Lloyd George who insisted on continuing the massacre. When he learned of the French high command was about to admit failure and stop the slaughter, Lloyd George went to Paris and addressed to the wavering French "strenuous exhortations to continue the offensive." (Even staff officers cannot be as generous with other people's lives as a really idealistic liberal politician.)

THE POULS TIRE OF DYING

"Upon the very day of the conference in Paris," writes Churchill, "there had occurred a deeply disquieting incident. A French division ordered into the line refused to march. . . . It was the first drop before the downpour."

This "first drop" was the 120th infantry regiment which on May 15 refused to leave its billets to go up to the front. The 128th Infantry regiment was ordered the next day to take the place of the mutineers, and also refused. "Down with the war!" cried the ranks. "Death to those who are sending us to death!" "We'll hold the line but we won't attack!" Meetings were improvised. Soldier orators began to talk of ending the war, of the Russian

revolution, of Soviets. The electric current of revolt ran through the whole army, flaring up here and there, leaping from regiment to regiment. Soon whole divisions were "infected," then brigades, finally entire army corps. "Colonel Herbillion informs me of new mutinies," wrote President Poincaré in his journal. "Men have refused to go into the trenches. . . . Order is menaced everywhere. . . . The fever is spreading. . . . At Dorman a few days ago soldiers cried out: 'Vive la Revolution! Down with war!'"

TORTURED BODIES CRY: WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH!

In an excellent chapter on these world war mutinies in her book, *M Day*, Rose Stein quotes a description of a typical mutiny from a book by Jean de Pierrefe, a French staff officer:

"A regiment ordered to the front line had sent delegates to their Colonel to inform him that they refused to obey. At the same time, similar incidents occurred in other units. In one place, a collection of mutineers had fortified a village, formed a Soviet, appointed a leader, and set up a sort of independent government. They took provisions from the shopkeepers by regularly drawn up requisitions. Their delegates imposed conditions on the officers: increase of pay, regular leave periods, and guarantees that attacks would not be ordered before the enemy's trenches and wire had been destroyed.

"In another place, a general had been hustled and assaulted. Elsewhere, a regiment equipped with motor trucks, on which were mounted machine guns, had been stopped in the attempt to march on Paris. They had stated their intention of going to the Palais-Bourbon and presenting their demands to Parliament. These manifestations of revolt were accompanied by seditious shouts of 'Down with the war! Down with incapable leaders!' And the red flag was displayed."

In Paris Front, an extremely interesting journal of the war as it looked to an "insider" in Paris, Michel Gorday describes another mutiny:

"Four hundred men barricaded themselves in the village of Missy-le-Bois. They were surrounded by loyal cavalry. The soldiers were fed by the villagers. After four days, negotiations began. Then three soldiers, who were priests serving in the ranks (according to the Catholic who told me the story) broke out and denounced the organizers of the mutiny. . . . The whole company surrendered on the fifth day. Six men were shot. Picked troops carried out the execution."

These accounts are typical. The mutinies were orderly, the men showing that same capacity for spontaneous organization the Russian mutineers showed at La Courtiene. Except when they were attacked, there was no bloodshed. A general was tied up and forcibly taken into the front line trenches, a major was deprived publicly of his trousers, some officers were shut up in their quarters by the mutineers, others were told to go home. "The officers," writes Jean de Pierrefe, "though no longer obeyed, were, with rare exceptions, respected. They were told: 'You have fought as well as we. We do not wish you any harm, but we have had enough. The war must stop.'"

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Trotsky and Dies

The announcement in the press that Leon Trotsky accepted an invitation to appear before the Dies Committee has caused a good deal of comment. The Stalinists, who in the persons of Browder and Foster, voluntarily appeared before the Dies Committee to slander the "Trotskyites", are piously objecting to Trotsky appearing to reply. In addition, however, more honest people have written us asking for an explanation as to how it is possible for a representative of revolutionary Marxism to appear before a reactionary committee. There are also complaints that to condone the appearance of Trotsky before the Dies Committee would constitute a reversal of policy on our part.

In the first place it should be understood that the reports in the press as to the contents of Trotsky's projected testimony are ninety per cent false. Elsewhere in this issue we publish Trotsky's own statement to the press, which makes it quite clear that the sensational stories published by the American press were invented in their home offices. He will offer neither secrets nor "documents", nor will he have a word to say about the situation in Mexico or the rest of Latin America. He will speak only under the proposed conditions: in reply to references made to him by witnesses before the Dies Committee, and in answer to questions submitted in advance about the history of Stalinism.

Now what possible objections can there be to taking advantage of the platform of the Dies Committee in order to expose and discredit the most malignant disease the labor movement has ever been infected with?

Because Dies is a reactionary and wants to utilize his committee for reactionary purposes? We of course insist that he is one of the most reactionary figures in the political life of this country, and we shall continue our struggle against his committee and its reactionary purposes. But since when is a revolutionary Marxist prohibited from appearing before any parliamentary committee, no matter how reactionary, in order to explain things to the public from his own point of view? Only a sterile radicalism that is afraid of itself would dictate opposition to such a policy.

Would we refuse to send representatives to Congress because we recognize Congress is a reactionary body? And is there any difference between a Congressional investigating committee and Congress itself? If we had a representative of our party in Congress he would make a serious attempt to become a member of such a committee in order to bring his own point of view into the investigations.

It is true that on some occasions the *Socialist Appeal* contained articles, dealing with the appearance of renegades before the committee, that

contained some careless formulations from which it could be deduced that we are opposed to any revolutionary appearing before the committee. We did not distinguish in a sufficiently clear manner the appearance of ex-revolutionaries before the committee with the appearance of a revolutionary. But in an editorial written as a reply to a letter received from Joseph Zack—published in the Oct. 20 issue of the *Appeal*—we corrected whatever incorrect formulations occurred in a previous issue.

"Revolutionists," we then wrote, "have not only appeared in the past, either voluntarily or under compulsion, before governmental bodies, but even in capitalist courts. In every such case, what was decisive was the capacity in which they appeared and the attitude they took when they spoke."

The important thing to consider is not the appearance before a reactionary committee but what one's purpose is in appearing and the content of one's testimony.

To expose and discredit Stalinism before the working masses is the sacred duty of every revolutionist, and not to take advantage of the forum offered even by a reactionary committee would constitute a violation of that duty.

We are confident that any worker reading the testimony of comrade Trotsky (if he should actually be permitted to appear before the committee), will be freed of all doubts as to the wisdom of his appearance there from the standpoint of the interests of the international working class which he has always served.

FDR On Minneapolis

On Friday, July 14, in the midst of the nationwide WPA strike, Roosevelt permitted the press to quote him directly, a rare event. He said, addressing the WPA workers: "You cannot strike against the government." Emboldened by the most direct possible support from the president, the police everywhere proceeded to clamp down on the strikers. The evening of the day Roosevelt made his statement, police—aided by FBI agents scattered among the pickets and disguised as strikers—attacked a Minneapolis WPA picket line, killing unemployed Emil Bergstrom and wounding a score of others. Then followed Attorney General Murphy's order to his Minneapolis office to initiate prosecutions of the WPA strikers, resulting in the indictment of 162 and—so far—three trials and 33 convictions on the charge of "conspiracy" against the government and its laws.

On Tuesday of this week a reporter at the president's press conference made a reference to the Minneapolis events, and to proposed marches, in Ohio and elsewhere, in protest against the cutting off of relief. Whereupon the president repeated his prohibition of strikes of WPA workers—and went further. "Workers on WPA relief projects have no right to strike against the Federal Government, nor to create a disturbance or disrupt the peace," President Roosevelt said today. (New York Times, Dec. 13)

That means: you can't strike, you can't march, you can't hold demonstrations, you can't arouse public attention to the plight of the WPA and relief workers, if you're a WPA worker. You can organize, said the president; but you can't do any of the things which labor organization means.

After his July 14 statement, strikers were killed and wounded and others railroaded to jail. What will happen after this new statement? More repressions and persecutions are in prospect against the labor movement.

It has become thoroughly clear that every single move of the Roosevelt administration against the labor movement must be fought back. Above all this is true of the Minneapolis cases. Labor can permit the convictions in the three WPA trials to stand only at its peril.

Every labor organization in the country can and should participate in the fight against the Minneapolis frameups. Get the facts presented on every union meeting floor; adopt resolutions denouncing the prosecution, and send copies to Roosevelt and Murphy and to the AFL-WPA Defense Committee, c/o Central Labor Union, 18 N. 8 Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota. See to it that every union paper tells the story. Do everything you can to make workers understand that the Minneapolis prosecutions are a foretaste of the war-time oppressions which are planned against the labor movement.

POOR MANNERHEIM!

"The White Guardist generals, including Mannerheim, were deprived of virtually all economic and political power when their estates were confiscated and divided. Mannerheim has played no role whatever in politics for many years."—The Socialist Call, Dec. 16.

Yes, Mannerheim has been reduced to commander-in-chief of the Finnish armies.

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Not Fit to Print

Those who read the midnight edition of the N. Y. Times for Friday, December 8, found on page 5 a story headlined, "ANTI-WAR SENTIMENT IN U.S. RISES, GALLUP SURVEY FINDS." Readers of later editions found this news story still listed in the index, but, on turning to page 5, they discovered the story had been removed. Nor was it to be found elsewhere in the issue.

The Times is famous for its boast, "All the News That's Fit to Print." The anti-war story apparently was judged by the editors less fit to print than the following items, all of which appeared in the later editions on page 5: (1) Princess Hohenlohe leaves England after losing her suit against Lord Rothermere; (2) the first death of a woman in the Royal Air Force is recorded; (3) a lengthy story headlined, "LONDON DOCKS HUM DESPITE NAZI MINES."

"To Make the World Safe for Kaiserism"

The last war was fought to get rid of the Kaiser. This war—according to certain conservative statesmen now in the British cabinet who are talking of setting up again the imperial throne of the Hohenzollerns—is being fought to bring back the Kaiser. "Plus ça change, plus c'est le même chose," say the French, which means, "The more things change, the more they remain the same." Or, American style, "No matter how you slice it, it's always baloney."

Perfidious Albion

The same British ruling class circles which now are fighting the war to restore the Hohenzollerns, not so long ago were the loyal allies of the Nazi regime. The Bank of England, for example, was for years notoriously friendly to the Nazis, taking the lead in extending to Hitler the vast credits he needed to complete his rearmament program. Then Hitler marched into Czechoslovakia, and the British ruling class suddenly "awoke" to the fact that his plans for expansion would inevitably come into conflict with the British Empire, and that the real threat to their class interests came from Nazi Germany and not from Stalinist Russia. There followed the momentous change of political orientation which culminated in the outbreak of the war.

The rupture between the Nazis and the bankers of London, however, is not as complete as you might think from listening to Winston Churchill's speeches. According to a recent issue of *Uncensored*: "Today, three months after the

outbreak of war, the Bank of England is accepting German paper as collateral for loans to British banks. Since Britain still regards German credits as sound, it is quite possible that she may sell German paper to neutrals—for example, to Swiss bankers who have already made credit agreements with the Germans—and thus help promote a lively trade with Germany." It is an especially confusing twist, in this most perplexing of all wars, that the great New York banks refuse to accept German notes and securities as collateral for loans, and in fact have been trying desperately to liquidate the \$50,000,000 worth of German paper they held at the outbreak of war. Thus the bankers of belligerent England show more confidence in and friendship towards the Hitler regime than do the bankers of "neutral" America.

Stalin's Automata

Something I have thought a good deal about, especially in the last few months, is the effect on individuals like Browder and Molotov and other Stalinist mouthpieces of having to give expression continually to lies—and lies, furthermore, which any child can see are in contradiction to other lies they have uttered a few weeks earlier. It is notable that Stalin is no orator, that he rarely breaks his silence, at least not for publication. Shrewdly, he leaves to his puppets the spirit-destroying task of formally justifying in public the cynically opportunist twists of "the general line."

The recent public utterances of Molotov and Browder would make one ashamed of the human species—were it not clear that such politicians by now can hardly be considered men. A century ago a French nobleman named De Custine travelled widely in Czarist Russia and wrote a perceptive book about it. His description of "the human parts of the grand machine of state" applies also to their successors of present-day Russia.

"Such parts," writes De Custine, "acting under an influence which is not in themselves, like the wheel-work of a clock, are called men in Russia! The sight of these voluntary automata inspires me with a kind of fear: there is something supernatural in an individual reduced to the state of a mere machine. If, in lands where the mechanical arts flourish, wood and metal seem 'almost human', under despotisms, human beings seem to become as instruments of wood. We ask ourselves what can have become of their superfluity of thought? And we feel ill at ease to think of the pressure that must have been exerted on intellectual creatures before they could have been reduced to mere things."

Stalin's Real Crime In Finland

(Continued from Page 1)

the Soviet ambassador and withdrawal of Soviet recognition, i.e., the immediate preliminaries of war.

But alongside these familiar warriors, many new ones have been lined up in these last few days, for with the imperialist support to Finland goes a tidal wave of chauvinist pressure here at home to line everybody up for the war. Yesterday's pacifists and "anti-war" fighters—Roger Baldwin and Norman Thomas are typical specimens—are out there side by side with Hoover and Roosevelt yelling for their side. This is the inevitable prologue to the big push on all fronts: the collapse into "democratic" patriotism of all the "high minded" radicals and liberals of the stripe of the Keep America Out of War Committees.

Don't Cross the Picket Line!

The Soviet Union, in the last analysis, is a great trade union which went further than any other trade union; it actually got rid of the Russian capitalists altogether, but not of the international capitalist class. But like so many unions, it has fallen into the hands of agents of the class enemy, the world imperialists. Our attitude toward it is like our attitude toward unions in this country which have degenerated at the hands of agents of the class enemy. John L. Lewis and Bill Green are agents, lackeys of the capitalist class. The only way to regenerate the unions they bureaucratically dominate so ruthlessly, is to drive them out of the unions and put in a clean, militant leadership. We want to clean out Lewis and Green here, and Stalin there.

But meanwhile? Meanwhile, in spite of their corruption, these unions get into big struggles with the bosses. Because we hate and abhor John L. Lewis and all that he stands for, we don't therefore go out and cross the picket lines of the United Mine Workers! If we did, the miners would call us scabs, and they would be right. That goes for the Soviet Union too. We want to clean out Stalin, and under the most fearful conditions of repression our comrades in the Soviet Union are working with might and main to that end. But meanwhile? Against the bosses—the imperialists—they support the union in spite of its leadership, in spite of their irreconcilable hostility to Stalin's annexation of Finland and the whole degenerate Kremlin scheme of things from which this latest crime flows.

Here in America our chief task is to prevent the war-makers from utilizing the Finnish events to plunge this country into war against the Soviet Union. To carry out that task we have to clearly explain what is happening, and in that process a prominent place must be given to exposing the crimes of Stalinism before the working class. But all that we say and do about Finland has this fundamental purpose today: to fight against the war-makers here at home.

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JUST OPENED!

Behind the Lines

(Continued from Page 1)

could not be replaced by Japanese-Soviet friendship."

It becomes clear that Washington has now definitely informed the Japanese that they have to choose between playing the American game against Russia or facing American naval might in the Pacific. For Japanese "cooperation" in a war against the Soviet Union, the Americans are apparently ready to pay a fairly stiff price at China's expense, to recognize Japan's "special position" in East Asia.

During the last two months the Japanese government has been divided on which course to follow—with Russia and Germany against Britain and the U.S.A., or with the latter against Russia. Powerful elements among the militarists have favored the former policy, as giving the army a powerful lever in dislodging Britain from its entrenched positions in China.

The orientation toward Russia has already moved quite far. As we know, the truce ending the border warfare in the Far East was signed the day before Russia invaded Poland. Since then negotiations have been continuing for a broader accord and last Friday a border demarcation commission met at Chita, in Far Eastern Siberia.

However, the Russian invasion of Finland has introduced a fresh factor in the situation. For the first time the Japanese militarists as provided with an opportunity to see the Red Army in action on a scale larger than the Japanese ever dared provoke in the Far Eastern border fighting. Military men all over the world are narrowly watching the Russian military performance in Finland, but none more attentively than the Japanese.

And the Russians are not exactly giving an impressive demonstration of their military effectiveness. Instead the world is getting a glimpse of the extent to which the purges and the dislocation of Soviet economy has affected its military strength.

Their Government

by James Burnham

The Annual 'Congress Of American Industry'

Anthropologists have carried out many interesting studies of a widespread historical phenomenon which they sometimes call "cultural lag." A cultural lag occurs, to take a simple instance, when a set of ideas, relevant to a particular social context, persist as beliefs in the minds and words of men when that context has disappeared. In the new context, the ideas are a carry-over from an earlier cultural situation.

No group in society is altogether exempt from such cultural lags. As I read, last week, the reports of the proceedings of the annual "Congress of American Industry," sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers, I regretted that no anthropologist has as yet taken as his subject for examination this authoritative group of American business-men, to place in his textbook alongside the examples he gives from the life of primitive tribes.

These men, so "practical," ruthless and flexible in their business conduct, are in a true sense of the word primitive in their entire ideology. Their system of general ideas continues to be merely a re-hash of the concepts of the "classical economics" of a century ago, referring to the early stages of industrial capitalism, without the slightest significant relation to contemporary society. Not a single one of them is capable of giving any scientific or philosophic illumination to the problems of today, not even to their own problems. Their ideas are as outmoded as would be a chemist's who talked about "phlogiston" or an electro-physicist who argued about an "electrical fluid." Their ideal is, in their own words, that of "normal economic processes, unhampered by artificial restraints"; the ideal, that is, of the immediate followers of Ricardo.

The Wisdom of our Masters

This year's Congress of American Industry adopted, with a unanimous flourish, a grandiose "Platform of the Congress of American Industry," the Magna Charta, presumably, of the N.A.M. Few recorded documents have ever been emptier.

There is no lack, of course, of self-confidence: "It must be made clear to the public that industry's enlightened self-interest is linked inextricably with the welfare of all of these other elements and with the welfare of the nation of the whole."

Nor any absence of tried and trusted phrases: "industrial management must continue to do all in its power to keep alive the faith of the public in the traditional American principles of free enterprise, as the guarantor of individual opportunity and security."

But, incredible as it might seem, the entire platform does not mention in a single word or phrase either unemployment or the war! Nor, indeed, is there any concrete analysis of anything.

Yet, from another point of view, this Platform is not without a purpose, and this purpose at the same time explains why it cannot be other than stupid.

Eight requisites for achieving the "goal" of industry are listed. The first two of the requisites are as follows:

- "1. Maintenance of individual initiative and free enterprise. . . .
- "2. Recognition of the social value of the profit motive as a powerful incentive to all productive effort and of the economic need for profits in industry sufficient to maintain and expand existing enterprise."

These are the polite words in which business-men refer to capitalism. Placing these two requisites as first in achieving their goal means simply: for us, capitalist private property rights come first, and everything else is subordinated to them, everything else will be sacrificed to them.

With this as their central purpose, they could not possibly go on to any scientific analysis of the economy. If they did, they would only be able to prove that unemployment, starvation, misery, war, national and international chaos are what follow from their purpose; they would have to expose themselves to the public, and—that is painful for many of them—also to themselves. Therefore, they can only fall back on vague generalities and the slogans of Adam Smith.

The cultural lag in the ideas of these men symbolizes accurately the fact that the men themselves and the purposes which they try to fulfill in the world have come into insurmountable conflict with any sane and decent plan for the re-organization of society in the interests of mankind as a whole.

The N.A.M. and Washington

There is another notable feature of the Platform and, for the most part, of the speeches at the Congress. As compared with former years, the tone is extremely mild. From 1935 until last year there were always a number of bitter attacks on the Roosevelt administration and its policies. This year, the administration was hardly mentioned, and objections to its policies took the form usually of friendly advice rather than sharp criticism.

There seem to be two chief reasons for this important change. In the first place, these men, so stupid in general ideas but shrewd in practical affairs, know that the New Deal is buried. They do not, like Dubinsky or Hillman or the New Leader, bury their heads in a dream of the past, when it comes to a problem of dollars and cents. They are well satisfied with the Roosevelt reaction of the last year, so far as it has gone to date. Naturally they still have their demands: one of the planks in their platform is their way of calling for abolition of the closed shop. But the bogeyman of Roosevelt as a "serious threat to business," which haunted some of them, is by now dispelled.

And, secondly, they are, in their own way, worried about the war. Their fears were expressed by Ernest T. Weir, who has spoken similarly on several occasions during recent months. Dimly they grasp their terrible dilemma: that they, the rulers of America, cannot live without plunging the nation into the war; and yet that they may not find themselves and their system still living when the war is over. They do not know how to solve this dilemma, which is in fact insoluble. And many of them are beginning to believe that they will have to turn the war-job over to Roosevelt, who seems so confident that he can handle it.

MASS
MEETING

Stalin's Invasion of Finland

Speaker: **James P. Cannon**

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