Labors' Program: A Job for Every Worker!

In order to meet the continuing employment and relief crisis, and to provide jobs and a decent living for the people of the United States, we propose that the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the United States shall enact emergency legislation to put into immediate effect the following:

1. Appropriation of $10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for all employable workers.

2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works a maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of 30 dollars.

3. 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.

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

Socialist Appeal

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LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

"GUNS, NOT JOBS"—F.D.R. MESSAGE

American Ships Permitted to Sail War Zones

The Real Issue Facing Congress

As the Congressmen made their way to Washington for Wednesday's opening session, the newspapers they glanced through were full of the usual reams of first-week January ballyhoo about what a wonderfully prosperous year it was going to be.

Take just one example of their bare-faced manipulation of facts and figures. Almost at random, take one from Madame Perkins, Secretary of Labor, who listed "recent manifestations" which "should permit labor, industry and agriculture all to enter the New Year with confidence." Digging around for "encouraging factors" she dwelt at length on "non-farm residential building construction" which amounted to $1,700,000,000 in 1939, an increase of $400,000,000 over 1938. "Further gains were indicated for the New Year with a possible increase of as much as 25 per cent, she added."

What are the facts? They are not ballyhooed, but they are easily available—for example in the authoritative survey of building prospects in the January *Architectural Forum*. In the first place, the category "non-farm residential building construction" covers *less than one-third of the construction industry* (the *Forum* estimates an 11% increase in this category as against the lady's 25% guess). In the second place, the biggest item in the construction industry for many years has been GOVERNMENT-FINANCED construction of highways, public buildings, sewers, water systems, conservation projects, etc.—AND THIS ITEM IN 1940 WILL DROP DOWN 6% to $2,632,000,000. In a word, the most optimistic forecast possible, says the *Forum*, is a 4% increase in the construction industry for the entire year. That means practically *no increase* in employment in this crisis-ridden industry.

Even such brazen manipulation of facts and figures doesn't enable Madame Perkins to make a plausible claim that unemployment is being solved. So, believe it or not, the lady ends up—in her annual report just issued— by *putting the burden of proof on the unemployed to prove that they aren't gonig to get jobs!* "No evidence is available upon which any conclusion can be based that millions of people are going to be permanently unemployed in the United States," says the lady. While there many be between four and five million people idle on any given day, all these are not unemployed, she says, "in the real and long-time sense."

As Madame Perkins well knows, even the dubious statistics of the bosses' National Industrial Conference Board show that the unemployed number "on any given day," not four or five million, *but eight and a half million*. More honest figures estimate that the *unemployed now number ten to 12 million*. The bosses' own figures, for the last month available, November, show an *increase* of 5% in unemployment during that month, despite the upturn in production.

Let Madame Perkins explain this revealing item. The government is making frenzied efforts cut down the WPA rolls, in addition to the wholesale dismissals, by finding private jobs for WPA workers. All WPA workers in New York have been required to register with the State Employment Service in the hope that it can find them private employment. Yet only five WPA workers were placed in private employment by the State agency during November, and three were placed in December!

Whatever Madame Perkins may mean by unemployment "in the real and long time sense," unemployment is real and is lasting a long time for ten to 12 million men and women able and desperately desirous of finding work.

Why is Madame Perkins concocting these threadbare falsehoods?

Because she and all other minions of the Roosevelt administration are under orders from Roosevelt to hide the real situation as Congress convenes. Roosevelt is out to slash the WPA and almost every other item in the Federal budget in order to find more money for armament. To get away with that, he must conceal from the country the facts about unemployment and the continuing economic crisis.

The workingclass must tear away the veils of falsehood and concealment being spread by the War Deal and pose before Congress the real issue:

JOBS, NOT GUNS!

FDR SCUTTLES 'CASH-CARRY'; SHIPS 'SOLD'

Threadbare Trick Used to Sail Ships In War Zone

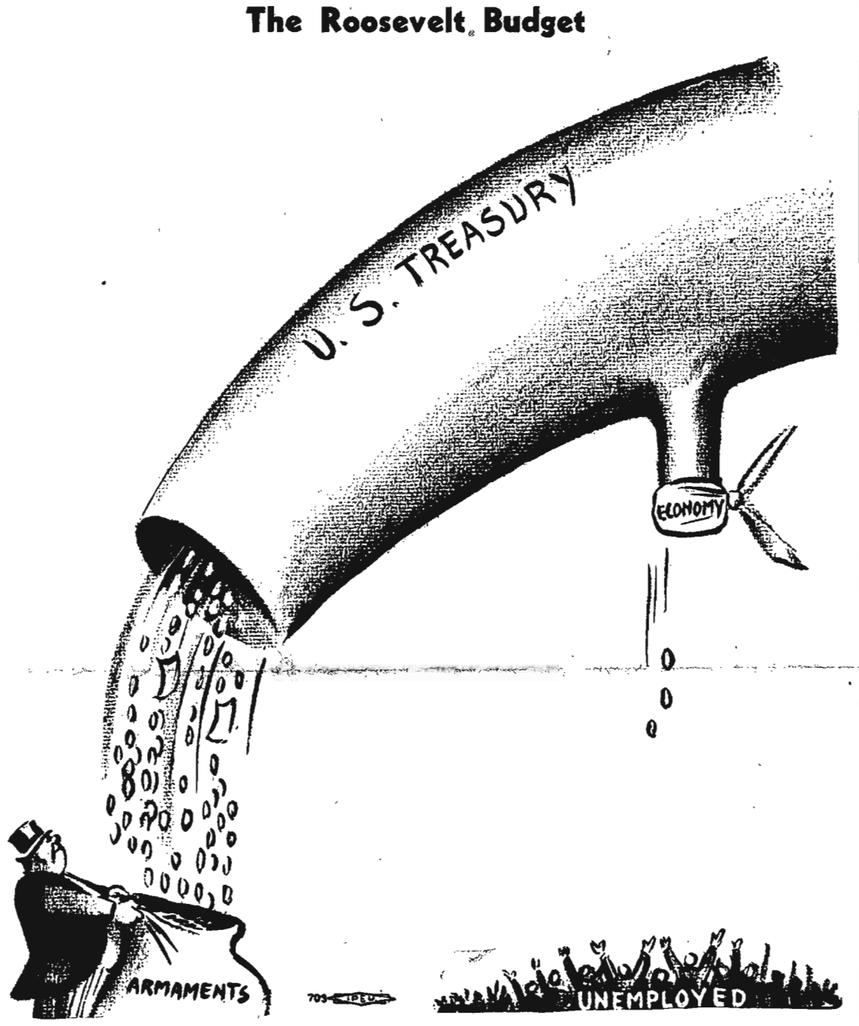
The "cash and carry" clause of the Neutrality Law, forbidding American ships from entering the war zone or carrying war materials, was thrown on the junk heap this week when the Roosevelt Administration gave its official approval to a brazen scheme for getting around the law.

The United States Maritime Commission on Dec. 31 approved an application of the United States Line for "sale" of eight of its big ships to a dummy Norwegian corporation. A previous attempt by the same line, early in November, to transfer the same ships to "foreign" registry through a dumy corporation in Panama, was approved by the commission but held up by President Roosevelt because of the public outcry against this obvious violation of the Neutrality Law.

The "new company" set up to operate the ships under Norwegian registry, according to the shipowners' application, is owned 40 per cent by the United States Line and 60 per cent by "Norwegian citizens." The ships will operate, as they did previous to

(Continued on Page 2)

The Roosevelt Budget



Arms Increases, Cuts In Relief, Is Program

In the face of an army of ten to twelve million unemployed men and women for whom there is no place in private industry, and who with their dependents number at least thirty million—nearly a fourth of the nation—President Roosevelt delivered an annual message to the opening session of Congress Wednesday which could be summarized as: "Guns instead of jobs."

An "important" increase of funds for armaments and, to make up for that, "all other important items show a reduction" —that was the sum total of his speech.

To justify this callous disregard for the needs of the unemployed, Roosevelt had to gloss over their plight. He perfunctorily conceded that "we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor," a condition which he falsely claimed resulted from "the efficiency of our industrial processes" instead of from the fact that the workers cannot buy back for their inadequate wages the goods they have produced.

Then he proceeded in a few phrases to paint an utterly false picture of the economic situation.

Fancy and Fact

"The number of the unemployed has decreased," he said—**but left out the fact that even according to his own Secretary of Labor's figures, the decrease has been little more than a million in a year. During that time a million and a half have been fired from WPA, leaving some two million WPA jobs to be doled out among twelve million who need them.** Yet Roosevelt blandly described this condition in these terms: "Their (the unemployed) immediate needs for food and clothing, as far as the Federal government is concerned, have been largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful

Since 1935, when Roosevelt abolished Federal grants to the states for direct relief, the only form of assistance which the eight or more million families on or applying for direct relief have received from the Federal government has been the occasional handouts of food and clothing by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation. **And this is all that Roosevelt has in the way of facts to justify his broad reference to the Federal government having "largely met" the needs of the unemployed for food and clothing!**

An Arbitrary Policy

"As far as the Federal Government is concerned" is merely Roosevelt's large way of referring to the arbitrary policy he has followed of refusing to accept any Federal responsibility for the unemployed, who have ranged from ten to eighteen million under the New Deal, beyond supplying two to three million WPA jobs.

This basic problem of jobs and a decent living for the people, Roosevelt passed over in a few paragraphs. His real preoccupation in his annual message was armaments and preparations for intervention in the World War.

More Arms—For What?

He asked for army and navy increases "not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand"—a gibe at those who insist that America is in no danger of attack. But what danger there was, against whom this gigantic country, protected by two oceans, needs further armament, Roosevelt did not say. He made no attempt to justify the armaments as needed for purely defensive purposes.

(Continued on Page 3)

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL COMES UP FOR DEBATE

Congress Scheduled To Consider Bill Jan. 8

By virtue of a petition signed by 218 Representatives to force it out of committee at the last session of Congress, the Gavagan-Fish Anti-Lynching Bill will come up for debate in the House of Representatives on January 8th. The bill assesses a penalty against the county in which the lynching occurs of not less than $2000 nor more than $10,000 ($25,000 in the original bill) to be paid to the family of the victim.

The penalty can be applied, however, only against a community whose peace officer can be proved to have been negligent in protecting the victim. A large percentage of lynchings are perpetrated under the benevolent neutrality of the authorities. In 1937, for example, all of the eight recorded victims were taken from the custody of peace officers.

Lynch Alibi Disproved

Since 1880 there have been more than 5,000 lynchings in the United States. The popular notion that these crimes have been committed to protect white women or mainly for that reason is negated, for example, by the evidence compiled by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Only 21 percent of the lynchings had as their basis even alleged sexual crimes against white women.

In the five-year period 1931-35 nine out of the 84 victims were accused of no crime whatever, and 25 were accused of acts no more serious than disorderly conduct.

(Continued on Page 2)

FBI SNOOPER IS HIRED BY CIO!

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3— Russell Turner, Sr., an aide of Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold in his "anti-trust" investigation of the building trades, was yesterday appointed to the staff of the CIO's United Construction Workers Organizing Committee.

This extraordinary appointment lends weight to the charge made by the building trades unions, affiliated to the AFL, that the CIO top leaders are supporting, at least to the extent of making no move against, the "anti-trust" moves of the Department of Justice, which are in actuality directed against the building trades unions.

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The Finnish events prove again that Stalin is incapable of defending the Soviet Union. If Stalin is not overthrown by the Russian workers, aided by the workers of the entire world, he will drag down with him into oblivion what remains of the conquests of the October Revolution.

The invasion itself is an act destructive both of the defense of the Soviet Union and of the interests of the world revolution. Stalin, calculating on the eventuality of having to fight Germany or a coalition of Germany and other powers, sought in Finland advance bases which would give him a military advantage over his opponents. Characteristically, he set about securing them in a manner which serves to drive the Finnish workers into the arms of their own bourgeoisie and in the process loses for the Soviet Union the friendly sympathy of millions of workers throughout the world.

By this alone he has immeasurably weakened the position of the Soviet Union and lent powerful aid to the anti-Soviet plotters in Washington, Berlin, London, the Vatican, and Rome. In their column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round", Pearson and Allen last week gave the following sumary of views held in important Washington quarters:

"Certain powerful forces both in Germany and England would not be at all averse to patching up their own row and then encouraging a politico-religious war against Soviet Russia. This would meet with the very decided approval of Italy. And there are potent people in the U.S. State Department also who would welcome such a move. Whether the Myron Taylor mission to Rome, just initiated by Roosevelt, will take this turn remains to be seen —but it may."

It is, however, not only in the broadest political sense that Stalin affords aid and comfort to the enemies of the October Revolution. In his invasion of Finland he has also exposed before the world the state to which he has reduced his much-vaunted army. He has provided the military staffs of the powers with their first real opportunity to measure the results of the purges which swept the ranks of the Red Army, officers and men, during 1936-38. And what they have observed has already caused some rapid changes in the calculations of the chancelleries and general staffs in London, Rome, and Berlin.

By bogging down in Finland a poorly-staffed, poorly-supplied, politically disoriented army, Stalin has managed to prick the legend of Russian strength behind which he has been hiding during the past year.

One immediate effect of this in London seems to be the growth of the belief that the British need not seek a deal with Germany in order to dispose of Russia. Instead the feeling develops that the Allies can successfully dispose of both these enemies of Anglo-French supremacy without making costly concessions to one in order to beat the other. This is clearly stated by Augur, British foreign office mouthpiece in the **New York Times**:

"The Finns' resistance also is defeating intriguers in Berlin and their sympathizers in Britain and France who favor a swift settlement of the war by agreement with Chancellor Hitler. . . . It would be much better, they say, to come to terms and create a united front against the Moscow peril. That intrigue was based on the assumption that the Russian army was formidable.

(Continued on Page 3)

'NO ONE SUFFERED IN CLEVELAND' -BUT SOCIAL WORKERS TELL TRUTH

CLEVELAND—They said—the governor, the mayor, the Democrats and Republicans—that nobody was starving here during the weeks, beginning November 15, when the usual relief crisis became a total crisis with 16,000 getting no relief at all, and the rest of the 60,000 on relief getting only daily handouts.

But now, in addition to all that was already known, we have the testimony of the ultra-conservative American Association of Social Workers, whose Cleveland chapter has just issued a report on 219 typical cases that came to the attention of various private welfare agencies during those weeks.

The report doesn't generalize—that's something social workers don't do. It just provides the details in social-worker terminology. But that's bad enough. If anybody thinks nobody starved in Cleveland this past month, let him get a copy of that long document.

Vainly Seek Jobs

The city fathers told the unemployed to "get jobs" instead of waiting for relief. Out of the total of 219 cases, 85 were reported unemployable because of physical illness (which itself in most cases can be traced back to the physical hardships of the unemployed), 13 because of mental illness (any social worker will tell you that in these cases it is almost invariably a result of unemployment).

All the others had been vainly seeking employment, many of them for considerable periods. Several mills in town had closed down amid the ballyhoo of business upturn. Sixty-six of the 219 had been employed on WPA and fired by the slashes instituted by Roosevelt; the jobs supposed to be waiting for them in private industry proved non-existent.

Of the 219 cases, 128 of them complained of inadequate food while on relief. Most parents reported no milk for their children. One person reported his Thanksgiving dinner consisted solely of an onion sandwich. Diabetics were fed beans and potatoes—it might as well have been poison in their condition. Here is a typical detail: "The mother eats bread and coffee given to her by a married daughter whose husband is on WPA, one of the boys has been going to a girl friend's house to eat his meals, another boy eats at friends' and at stores."

Sickness as a result of improper or inadequate diet was reported in an overwhelming number of cases. Hospitals reported many of the 219 cases as suffering from a lack of food. Poor clothes and living conditions contributed to ill health, and no one could estimate the mental effect of these deprivations.

Evictions

Thirty of the 219 cases were threatened with immediate eviction and nine families had already been evicted. Lack of heat and overcrowding were found time and again. In 33 cases children were forced to stay out of school because of lack of clothing. Many families were forced to move together because of inability to pay rent, and overcrowding was intolerable.

Pregnant women were given no special conditions — neither the proper diet, medical care, or provision for hospitalization.

And so on, and so on—the bare details piled up in the social workers' report. But no generalizations. That's not a social worker's business, they say.

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Union-Buster Arnold

One of the most important developments in the trade union field in recent months has been the beginning of a nationwide campaign against the teamsters union by Thurman Arnold, United States Attorney General, under the charge that the truck drivers are violating the Sherman anti-trust law through certain kinds of contracts signed with employers.

John C. Haefele, attorney for truck drivers local 407, IBT, submitted to Arnold an outline of the procedure in Cleveland, which requires drivers for long distance hauling companies which have contracts with the union to turn over their loads at various terminals in the city for delivery within the city limits by local drivers.

Arnold, in a letter to the Indianapolis Central Labor Union, wrote that perhaps this kind of contract was a probable violation of the Sherman Act by a union as "unreasonable restraints designed to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor."

"An example is the requirement that on each truck entering a city there be a member of the local teamsters union in addition to the driver who is already on the truck," Arnold wrote.

While indicating that he is not seeking to obtain a ruling on the legality of the procedure followed by the Cleveland teamsters union, Haefele wrote:

"It is the desire of the officers and members of local 407 to cooperate fully with the Department of Justice in supporting the laws of the United States of America. It is with this thought in mind that we are requesting a fuller interpretation of your statement in order to clarify, justify and determine the future acts on the part of the officers and members of local Union 407."

Cleveland Contract

Haefele's brief describes a contract between local 407 and the Cleveland Group of Certified and Permit Motor Carriers, an organization of 71 operators in the Cleveland area, which includes a clause specifying that "drivers for member companies entering Cleveland must deliver directly to a terminal or may deliver or pick up a load within a one-mile radius of an employer's terminal, but that such truck drivers may not make deliveries or pick ups elsewhere in the Cleveland area."

"It has been the practice of both local trucking concerns and the union, in cases where a truck is operated into the Cleveland area from distant points, to have a local union member operate such truck from the terminal to the point of delivery," the brief states.

"We believe that it is to the public interest that a local man, who generally knows the city better and who has not just left a fast moving public highway, should complete the work of making delivery.

"The number of accidents on city streets involving long-distance motor transports has been drastically reduced since the system was adopted and consignees have found deliveries more rapid.

"Of course, our men do not begin from their service except at a terminal, unless the shipper designates otherwise, in which case our driver meets the truck on telephonic advice of the shipper," the brief continues.

"We have never required that an extra driver be hired in addition to the regular driver on a truck entering Cleveland on a terminal-to-terminal basis."

"Now then, it is our opinion that the hiring of men under the above statement of facts and by virtue of existing agreements does not come under the category of unreasonableness as defined by you as a violation of the anti-trust law.

"Immediately on the public announcement of your views on this matter our local union discontinued the use of a local driver to complete local deliveries for those who were not in contractual relationship with us, and we shall continue this policy until you have more fully informed us," the brief concludes.

Edward Murphy, president of local 407, and a vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union, said that the procedure used in Cleveland was similar to that in many other cities, thereby giving the Cleveland situation a nationwide importance.

FDR SCUTTLES 'CASH-CARRY'; SHIPS 'SOLD'

(Continued from Page 1)

passage of the Neutrality Law, between New York, London and Liverpool.

No Bones About It

In its latest application, the United States Line put the matter bluntly enough. The presidential proclamations issued under the Neutrality Act, it stated, had made it impossible to employ the ships on their former runs under the American flag, and there did not appear to be any other route in which they could be profitably operated. Therefore, the "sale" of the ships!

These ships and other American ships which are certain to follow into "foreign" registry are likely to be torpedoed by German U-boats as they carry war materials to England. That means a series of "incidents", such as happened in 1915 and 1916 under identical conditions, and which enabled Wilson to drag the country into war. Everybody understands this. That's why the one popular item in the Neutrality Act was the "cash and carry" clause which barred American shipping from the war zones.

Silent Since November

On Nov. 12, in ordering the Maritime Commission to hold up approval of the change to Panama registry, Roosevelt stated he was holding up final approval "until further investigation." Not another word has been heard about the matter, however, until the announcement of the Commission's approval of transfer to Norwegian registry. This bears out the prediction made by the **Socialist Appeal** in an editorial Nov. 17:

"In the face of the wide spread protests against the Maritime Commission's action, Roosevelt had to order the Commission to hold up final approval until further investigation. Or, more accurately, until Roosevelt thinks the storm has subsided."

During the debate on the Neutrality Act, the chief argument of the Roosevelt spokesmen was that the "cash and carry" clause would more than make up for any dangers of involvement caused by dropping the embargo on arms.

What They Promised

The "cash and carry" clause was put forward in these grandiose terms by Senator Barkley, the Democratic leader:

"Whether it be wheat, or corn, or tobacco, or shoes, or typewriters, or tanks . . . or anything that can be recalled by mind of man, it cannot be shipped to a belligerent nation or through a danger zone anywhere in the world in an American ship. . . . Because I want no war I am supporting and propose to vote for a measure which involves the greatest sacrifice ever made by any nation in the history of mankind in order to avoid war."

That got votes, and lulled a lot of people into illusory security. But if Senator Barkley had been telling the truth, he would have added:

"But of course the American ships can change their registry and thus continue to deal with the belligerents."

But if he had told the truth, it would have been impossible for Roosevelt to get a majority for lifting the embargo on arms.

After the passage of the Neutrality Act it became known that, in the midst of the Congressional debate, the Maritime Commission had quietly approved changes of registry for seventeen tankers and two freighters.

In a word, in order to get the Neutrality Act adopted, the Roosevelt administration had to pretend that the "cash and carry" clause would keep American ships out of the war zone, while knowing that a loophole was all ready to be used to violate the law, just as soon as it could be done without too much outcry.

FLASH! PROFESSOR TELLS TRUTH ABOUT BOSSES' CRIMES!

PHILADELPHIA—"More important crime news may be found on the financial pages of newspapers than on the front pages."

"The laws which apply to the lower class have been implemented much more efficiently than those which apply to the upper class."

"The better business bureaus and crime commissions, composed of business and professional men attack burglary, robbery and cheap swindles, but overlook the crimes of their own members."

These very radical statements were made here wednesday night by the retiring president of the American Sociological Society, **Dr. Edwin H. Sutherland.**

'The Call' and Some of Its Friends on Finland

By FELIX MORROW

Norman Thomas' **Call** appears to be losing some of its original enthusiasm for the cause of Finland. The last two issues have been couched in a distinctly lower key than the clarion call for world aid to Finland with which the **Call** editor, Gerry Allard, greeted the events ("In that struggle every human being who cherishes freedom will support the heroic Finns."—Call, Dec. 9). The eight-column banner across the front page, "Finland's Fight: A World Cause" (Dec. 16) has not been repeated. It may be that Messrs. Thomas, Allard and Symes have been a little flabbergasted by the enthusiastic response—from the Allied Supreme War Council, Herbert Hoover, the Swedish nobility, and other democrats—to the **Call's** exhortations for aid to Finland.

The Jan. 6 **Call** reports that many letters have been received criticising or commending its stand. It publishes a commendatory letter from the well-known millionaire socialist, Alfred Baker Lewis, which concludes: "The fact that Italy has, for her own national interests, supplied some limited support for Finland ought not to deter Socialists from uging full economic aid to Finland as the victim of totalitarian aggression." A critical letter from the Debs circle of the Young Socialists of Los Angeles declares: "We are not only shocked but defiant as to the right of the editor to write such an article advocating that the Socialist party furnish the Finns with arms and munitions. We feel that such an idea is directly opposed to the Socialist stand on war . . .". A letter from Paul Jones says: "But I do hate to see the **Call** taking a position right up close to the band in the march toward war. That is no place for a Socialist paper . . . for Pete's sake put on the brakes before you go any further."

Amazingly enough, these letters are printed without a word of editorial comment. The **Call** will maintain a dignified silence for a while, it appears.

An Indignant Lady Columnist

But not quite. While no party spokesman speaks on the questions at issue, the columns of the **Call** are turned over to an attack on Trotsky, entitled "On Socialist Ideals," reprinted from the New York **Post**, and written by the **Post** columnist, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley.

This lady declares that "Not only Stalin but Trotsky must be counted among the betrayers." At first glance it may appear that the lady is really polemicising against the Trotskyists, for she refers to the Dec. 1 and Dec. 9 issues of the **Appeal**. A little light begins to appear, however, when she writes: "Jay Lovestone, unlike that other dissident, Trotsky, has described the attack on Finland as 'yellow'."

Since anybody who actually read the Dec. 1 and Dec. 9 issues of the **Appeal** knows that the Trotskyists characterized the attack on Finland in terms far more harsh, and much more precise, than "yellow", it becomes obvious that Miss Bromley doesn't know what she is talking about. Similar comments by other newspaper writers and radio commentators made it clear that their misinformation about the Trotskyist position came from a central source. Upon inquiry, that source of misinformation was established: a mimeographed weekly, entitled **Uncensored**, launched by the well-known Thomasite impresario, Mary Fox, and edited by Sidney Hertzberg, a member of the Socialist party. Miss Bromley's "references" to the Dec. 1 and 9 issues of the **Appeal** came from a very tricky paragraph in **Uncensored**, which characterizeed the Trotskyist position as "the first gesture" of Trotsky to Stalin!

Having launched this bit of fakery, the Socialist party now prints it, in the form of a column by Miss Bromley, as "independent" verification of the fakery!

It Depends Where You Stand

However, it should be added that from a certain vantage point the fundamental difference between the Trotskyist position and that of the Stalinists tends to be blurred. If someone stands far enough over on the right, two points which are actually distant from each other but are both to the left of that observer, may seem closer together than they are in reality.

An instance of this perspective is Mr. Ferdinand Lundberg, the author, who is one of the sponsors of **Uncensored.** I sent him a copy of a letter I wrote to **Uncensored,** protesting its false statement of the Trotskyist position. He replied that "for the life of me I can't see wherein your position has been distorted"; and after one reads his letter, it becomes clear why he cannot make any distinction between the Stalinist position and that of the Trotskyists. For it is perfectly true that the Trotskyists are defenders of the Soviet Union, who will not defend a bourgeois Finland, although they would defend an independent Soviet Finland against Stalin. Whereas Mr. Lundberg thinks the Finns would be damn fools if they started a revolution. Mr. Lundberg writes:

"The important thing is not that Finland is bourgeois. One might say that is of no importance at all except to hopelessly doctrinaire sectarian revolutionists who are wandering deeper and deeper into a blind alley. The important thing is that a small, hardworking, self-respecting, upright people has been set upon by a cowed, fear driven rabble. . . .

"I certainly think the Finns are right in defending themselves against the bovine Stalinist hordes, who are the ones that should act upon Lenin's dictum and turn their guns against their own officers. The Finns would be damn fools if they started a 'socialist' revolution and Stalin would be glad. Personally, I hope the Finns give the precious Red Army a clawing it will never forget. And I sincerely hope that Soviet Russia is weakened by the invasion."

Mr. Lundberg's remarks have this value: they give, a little more incautiously than others, the real vantage point of all those who denounce the Trotskyist position as a concession to Stalinism: the vantage point of democratic-imperialist patriotism.

FIGHT IN ILGWU OVER BAYONNE PACT SHOWS NEED OF REFORMS

Local 160, affiliated wth the out-of-town department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, signed a new contract in December covering 1000 workers of the Maiden Form Brassiere Company, one of the most important out of town shops located at Bayonne, N. J.

Ignored Shop Demands

The contract negotiations were handled by Harry Wander, President of the Out-of-Town department, and his assistant, Israel Horowitz. These two great labor leaders chose to ignore completely the demands as well as the wishes of the shop membership, on whose behalf, presumably they were negotiating.

They were enabled to carry on in this highly autocratic manner because of the absence of all democracy in the out of town section of the International Union. The negotiations are conducted by the department; the local unions involved enjoy no autonomy or democratic rights.

Members Vainly Protest

The shop membership, composed of the new, young militant elements who have entered the needle trades in recent days, finally revolted against this autocratic procedure; they demanded to be informed of the progress of negotiations and what the union representatives were fighting for. They removed the old shop committee and elected a new shop committee composed of the most active and militant union men, whom they trusted and in whose judgment they had confidence.

Whereupon Wander refused to recognize the new committee and stopped all negotiations with the company. You play ball my way, said in effect this arrogant bureaucrat, or we won't play at all!

This group of new young union militants certainly got a baptism of fire in this fight. They were forced into the impossible position of having to battle their won supposed union leaders while they were engaged in a life and death struggle with their employer.

The members of the shop committee apparently were not only militant union fighters, but also responsible union leaders. They finally compromised their demands sufficiently in order to avoid a suicidal fight on two fronts; and "big-hearted" Wander then agreed to resume negotiations with the Maiden Form Brassiere Company.

Make Definite Gains

In spite of the cynical and chicken hearted attitude of Wander and the Out-of-Town Department leadership, the militant spirit of the men conquered in the end and the membership scored definite gains in the new agreement signed with the company. Minimum rates were raised for operators from $12.50 to $16 per week; clippers from $14 to $15.50. A top ceiling was provided of $18, where previously it stood at $17 or $17.50; a ceiling of $16 where previously it stood at $15 or $15.50. Stretchers received a $2 increase on their minimums, etc.

In addition, a piece work system was instituted in the shop upon the recommendation of President Dubinsky, who for some reason was chosen as the impartial arbitrator in the negotiations. Presumably he represents neither the ocmpany nor the union men!

These negotiations point very sharply to the needs of the out of town needle trades workers: democracy and the introduction of democratic procedure in the negotiations of union contracts under the control of the rank and file membership and the granting of full autonomy to all locals in the out of town section.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The new issue of UNSER WORT is just off the press, with W.H.'s article on the War in Finland, a commentaryon the events in Bohemia, and the outstanding article by L. Trotzky, the U.S.S.R. in the War.

Send your subscription orders (one year 60c) to Dale Edwards, Box 173 Station D, N. Y. C.

NEGRO ATTORNEY SPEAKS FRIDAY AT HARLEM CENTER

Inaugurating the first in a series of weekly **forums, Conrad** J. Lynn, leading Negro attorney for the American Labor Aid, will speak on the "Negro and Discrimination" at the headquarters of the Harlem Educational Center, 186 Lenox Avenue, New York City—Friday night, Jan. 5 at 8 p.m.

Plans are being made to have speakers from prominent Harlem organizations appear at the weekly forum of the Center. The Forum is an inter-racial forum for the discussion of problems of mutual interest to the Negro and white worker.

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL COMES UP FOR DEBATE

(Continued from Page 1)

More and more frequently the economic incentives for resorting to lynch terror are being recognized. In May of this year Joe Rodgers was tortured with hot irons, shot and hacked to pieces because he objected to having his lumbermill boss deduct $5.50 from his wages as rent for a company shack in which he had never lived.

Nor is the practice confined to the South. In Cranbury, N. J., in August of this year eight white men assaulted a few Negro potato pickers imported from the South to work at substandard wages. After the trial which took place only because of outside pressure, they were given suspended sentences.

Experience has amply demonstrated that state or local agencies cannot be relied on to combat lynching. The governor of every Southern state during the last session of Congress affirmed his support of the status quo. The bill is particularly effective in applying pressure at the most vulnerable spot in the political makeup of the South—the county. Much more than in the North, the responsibility for law enforcement rests with the county sheriff. The power of the governor is limited under the law in these matters, a fact he is always happy to point out.

Fight For Bill

Both the Democratic and the Republican high command admit that the Negro vote in the Northern states can be decisive in the 1940 election. At the same time the Southern die-hards will invoke all their old tricks to defeat the bill. Only a national wave of militant support can secure the bill's passage through both houses and deal a body blow to the persecution of America's most oppressed minority.

Despite its many inadequacies, the Socialist Workers Party supports this bill, and wherever possible is taking and will take an active part in agitation on its behalf. It is a pressing obligation on all sections of the labor movement to do the same.

Speech of Leon Trotsky

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

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WORKERS' FORUM

MPLS. BRANCH LETTER IN THE DAILY PRESS

(The following letter appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune, Dec. 26)

Editor:

Soviet invasion of Finland has brought forth many protestations of horror from all sections of world opinion. People who now cry out against this invasion maintained smug silence when United States warships aided Machado in slaughtering thousands of Cuban workers and when "democratic" Great Britain stifled with bombs the protest in her slave-colony, India. Even Mussolini, France and the Mikado whose hands still drip with blood of the Abyssinian, Spanish and Chinese workers and peasants, express hypocritical horror.

The fact is that "moral" grounds in this situation are a subterfuge. For which among the governments of the world can throw the first stone? It is, therefore, necessary to analyze calmly and logically what kind of a war is being fought.

Finland is a capitalist nation whose rulers are fighting against Russia to retain their right to exploit their workers and peasants. That Finland is fighting for her national independence is a myth designed to attract the sympathy of the world, paralelling the myth of "poor little Belgium" in the last war. The Finnish workers cannot gain by such a war. If their own masters win, it simply means continued control by the bankers and landlords and their overlords, the imperialists of Britain and France.

Stalin's policy in the conflict with Finland must be condemned because his methods to gain military advantages repel the sympathy and support of the oppressed peoples of the world. The damage thus done to Socialist ideas far outweighs any immediate strategic advantage that he may gain. The Stalin bureaucracy in this situation continues as the main betrayer of Marxism while still heading the first workers' state.

American workers should regard Soviet Russia just as they would a legitimate trade union fallen into corrupt hands. The task is to save and regenerate the union—not to play into the hands of those who are opposed not only to the leaders but to the leaders but to the basic ideas of unionism.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY,
Minneapolis Branch
By Oscar Coover, Branch Organizer.

UNIONIST DEFENDS PARTY POLICY ON USSR.

Comarde Editor:

The assertion has been made that the Party's policy of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union is the reason why no porper explanation of Russia's invasion of Poland or Finland has been made, and that this policy leads only to equivocation in regards to these latter events.

For those of us in this middle-western city who rely chiefly on the **Appeal** for our information, I would like to say that the Party's position does not seem equivocal nor is it hard to understand or to explain to workers.

Our people are almost entirely workers, trade unionists. They detest Stalinism but they glory in the fact that the Russian workers did what they themselves are seeking to do . . . lick the bosses.

They know from personal experience how unions fall sometimes into the hands of scoundrels who suppress the democratic rights of the members, kick honest militants out of the union and out of work. They understand—cold turkey—what has happened in Russia, through analogy to a union corrupted by gangsterism.

However if the contaminated union pulled an "unjustified" strike, if you please, against some poor, innocent company, they would still defend the Union against the league of bosses . . . and would **continue to denounce the gangsters.** They would tell the workers to respect the picket line, to stick together and get rid of the thugs.

The Key Question

The important question is whether the Union is a Union or a Company Union. If it is a company union, it should be destroyed! Likewise with the U.S.S.R. if it is not a workers state.

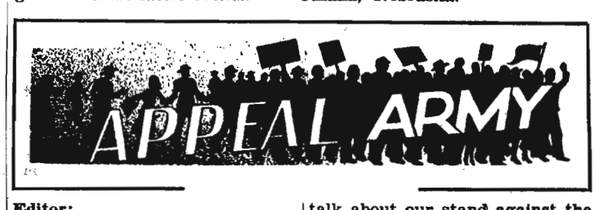
The analogy must not go too far. My personal confidence in the validity of the Marxist method of analysis of society, of Marxism as a guide to understanding what goes on, bids me to look at the economic construction of a nation, its ownership of means of production, the relations in policy of a transient regime.

I have faith not only in the American workers but the Russian workers as well. They who overthrew Czarism will dump Stalin and his murderers off their backs and will successfully defend their fundamental victory against the world capitalist class in spite of Stalin.

The mess in Russia must be cleaned up by the workers. God help the Russian workers, if the bosses of Europe and America clean up the situation! Stalin's atrocities will appear anemic!

Russia's invasion of Poland or Finland cannot determine the question of whether the U.S.S.R. is or is not a workers' state. So far as I am concerned, these countries were boss countries. The attack may be ill-advised, but I stand to defend the conquests of October even if "poor Finland" is wrongfully given the works.

A. R. "A Mid-Western Moujik." Omaha, Nebraska.



Editor:

The **Appeal** has taken a step backwards in returning to the one-a-week circulation. For a revolutionary party to recede instead of going forward at a time when historic events are moving so swiftly is a heavy blow indeed.

It is a vital political necessity at this time for the **Appeal** to appear at the very least twice a week.

First, our party needs it to keep abreast of news events and our attitude towards them. To offset the terific pressure of the bosses our comrades absolutely need the **Appeal** as frequently as we can publish it. We also need the twice-weekly to show our sympathizers and contacts that our Party takes a bold, fighting attitude in answer to the patriotic propaganda of the bosses.

The problem of raising the finances rests on the membership. We are young, aggressive and determined. We intend to overthrow the strongest capitalist system on the face of the earth. We can easily raise the necessary funds for the **Appeal** if we put our shoulders to the wheel in true Bolshevik fashion.

Here in Detroit we have already sent in $34.90 in payment on our bill. We want to see every branch follow suit at once. Forward immediately to the **Twice-a-Week Appeal!**

* * *

Dear Comrade:

The Detroit comrades have a fine technique in house-to-house canvassing with the **Appeal.**

They give it away and at the same time they give a short talk about our stand against the war. Nearly everyone wants the paper — from the very poorest triqts to the so-called "middle class" areas. The talk is prefaced by saying that this is an anti-war paper and we are giving it away as part of a campaign against war.

After finishing the talk contributions are solicited and many nickels and dimes are collected to aid in the anti-war fight.

Fraternally,
V. C.

* * *

The following new subscriptions were received during the week:

NEW YORK CITY	10
Minneapolis	5
Chicago	5
Columbus	2
Oakland	2
Los Angeles	2
Washington, D.C.	1
New Castle	1
Michigan	1
Boston	1
Total	30

ANNOUNCEMENTS

HARLEM DANCE and Entertainment Saturday Night, Feb. 3 at 186 Lenox Ave. Music by the Savoy Bearcats. Subscription 49 cents. Sponsored by the Harlem branch of the S.W.P.

DESK URGENTLY NEEDED by the City Lit. Dep't. Will be able to pay cartage. Any comrade who knows of a small desk please communicate with Harry Roberts, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

The Negro Question

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By J. R. JOHNSON

The sharecropper was one of the particular darlings of Roosevelt's fireside chats. He was really the forgotten man. He was at the bottom of the one-third of a nation. How has he fared under the benevolent (in words) rule of the defunct New Deal? Let us hear again from the man on the spot:

"I am afraid it is getting monotonous to write of the nauseating poverty of the cotton sharecroppers, tenants and day laborers. So much has been written about it that it seems that everyone should know all the details. Yet it has to be seen and lived to really understand to what degradation human beings have fallen under the system of landlordism and capitalist exploitation. I found one family of nine with one fork for the whole family. I leave the scene at mealtime to your imagination. For a solid week I did not once get a chance to sit down comfortably simply because the few chairs the croppers posses are generally of the cane seat variety with the seat missing.

"To understand the bitter wrath under the surface of their feelings you must realize that grievances are piling up because of little economic advantages which croppers used to enjoy are one by one being eliminated. It used to be, for instance, that wood for cooking and heating was free. But the rapid clearing of the land has finally resulted in the cropper having to buy coal. Hunting and fishing used to be counted on to supplement their scanty fare. But fish and game laws and license requirements have stopped a practically free source of food. The landlord seems unconcerned about these things. He stops his croppers from having pigs and chickens for fear that croppers will steal his corn for feed. The cropper would be quite willing to grow his own corn but that is not permitted because it would take time away from the cotton crop. The same thing goes for a vegetable garden. And so an accumulation of grievances builds up and makes the cropper eager for the message of unionism as a partial answer to his economic problems. . . .

"I wonder how those people survive the winter. Pneumonia is bound to get them. Tuberculosis has gotten two of them in the "Lost Colony" camp in the last six weeks. The tuberculosis was not contracted in "Lost Colony" camp. It was contracted in their work as sharecroppers, livin gin houses unfit for habitation and eating food unfit for consumption.

"No Bosses After Awhile"

Although their state has been getting worse with the general decline of the capitalist system, it is nothing new. What is new is a united attempt among the croppers to fight for something approaching human living standards. The croppers are organizing. Into two unions, the STFU and the UCAPAWA (the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America), they are organizing. Black and white, they are organizing.

And in spite of all repressions, they are organizing. When they meet at a cropper's cabin, there are defense guards posted up and down the road. But the morale is good, whether at a local meeting in a cabin or a district meeting. They begin ordinarily by singing "Freedom," their own song, two of the many stanzas of which go as follows:

Oh Freedom, Oh Freedom,
There'll be freedom after a while,
'Cause before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave,
So there'll be some freedom after a while.
Boss'll miss me, Boss'll miss me,
Boss'll miss me after a while,
'Cause before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave,
So there'll be no bosses after a while.

Watch January 10th

Our correspondent attended the meeting of the leaders of the southeast Missouri locals of the UCAPAWA. "108 leaders arrived in time for the meeting. Several dozen more didn't get there because of breakdowns in their dilapidated cars. The camp is from 60 to 140 miles from the cotton district, as a meeting in the cotton district cannot take place in our free country.

"The meeting was for the purpose of instructing leaders as to the correct steps to take in the imminent crisis. Evictees are already being notified to vacate their land by January 1st, which, with ten days' grace, will mean January 10th. Usually the planters do not give this notice until after Christmas. . . . They are that kind-hearted. But this year they just can't wait. Their greed for the government payment, in which the cropper won't share if the landowner switches to day labor, is so strong that they won't take a chance on a last minute ruling by the AAA which may upset their plans of getting their mitts on that government check. It is known by now that if the landowner gets the entire AAA check his labor cost for making a cotton crop is entirely absorbed by the government, so that his cotton crop costs the landowner **nothing**, neither effort nor money. The situation is comparable to the government meeting a factory payroll and permitting the owner of the factory to have the product. . . .

"This Ain't Our Government"

"A social explosion may take place on January 10th. . . . There is no place for these landless, homeless people to go except their 93 acre camp near Poplar Bluff. We are looking for thousands of families to start marching towards the camp. The Chamber of Commerce of Poplar Bluff has already passed a motion refusing them access to their own land, in order to keep them out of 'their county."

Croppers are not yet strong. They are in two unions instead of one. They are opposed by the united strength of reaction. But they are gaining one advantage that must eventually sweep everything before it—the realization of their own strength, the knowledge that they must fight, black and white, together. As one cropper put it,

"This ain't our government. The sheriff ain't our sheriff, the governor ain't our governor, the president ain't our president. Some day we'll change that."

Roosevelt Tells Congress He Wants Guns, Not Jobs

(Continued from Page 1)

In fact, despite some pious interjections about his peaceful aims, **the whole logic of this main section of his speech was aimed to justify American intervention in the war, not because of immediate danger to America, but on a pseudo-Messianic theory that it is the business of American imperialism to put the world in order.**

"For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in—even for Americans to live in—if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few. . .We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship a god imposed by a military ruler. . .We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force."

It was in this grandiose pose of solver of the wrold's problems that Roosevelt called for increases in taxation to provide the unprecedented sums he was seeking for the army and navy.

Increases in taxation to buy guns to put the world in "order"—this was the demand of the president who, in these seven years of economic crisis, **has not once asked for increased taxes to provide jobs and relief for America's jobless and hungry millions! In that one fact is revealed the utter hypocrisy of his pseudo-Messianic pose.**

"Order"—For What?

The "order" he wants to impose on the world has nothing to do with peace and freedom and security. For it that were his aim, he could have done something during these past seven years to provide jobs and food for America's refugees at home. He wants an "order" in which American financiers and industrialists can reign supreme in the world's markets and dictate to all the terms on which they can do business with America. That is what he meant when he said:

"We do not have to go to war with other nations, but"—what a revealing word, that bnt!—"at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the trougles of the world, and by so doing help our own nation as well."

A war or a "peace" to conquer the world's markets and fields of investment on behalf of Wall Street—that is Roosevelt's aim, scarcely hidden by the rhetoric of his speech.

No humanitarian motives are moving him. That fact can be testified to by the millions who went hungry these seven years, the WPA workers whom he fired, the WPA strikers whom he dismissed and jailed, the millions of European refugees who clamored vainly at his doors, the thirteen million Negroes who live in his Democratic South under fascist conditions.

And to carry out his war of conquest undisturbed, Roosevelt demanded "national unity". The struggle of labor for its rights he characterized, in thinly veiled terms, as a doctrine which "sets trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves."

better life, all militant attempts to defend the rights of labor and led as treason because it disrupts "national unity." Roosevelt is laying the ground for systematic the unemployed, are to be label-class against class" and "weakening us in the face of danger, by

Hencemorth all demands for a suppression of labor's rights!

Every workingclass group should read and study Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, in order to realize the necessity for mobilizing the labor. movement. in. defense against the oppression which are .cloaked. by this psuedo-Mes-sianic policy

"ANNALIST" SAYS STOCK MARKET HIT BY SOVIET WAR

The Annalist, economic journal published by the **New York Times,** authoritative spokesman for the capitalist class, makes several editorial comments about Russia's invasion of Finland, in its December 7 issue.

"The International Nickel Company has been developing newly discovered nickel deposits in Finland." It has spent an estimated total of $7,300,000 since 1933. "Inasmuch as 90 per cent of the world's nickel production is produced in Canada, the strategic importance of this Finnish deposit to Russia and its friend Germany is self-evident. In view of Russia's puppet, socialistic State projected for Finland, what will happen to these Canadian and British-owned deposits is equally self-evident.

". . . The stock market is definitely behind industrial production. . . . The advance of communism into Poland and now Finland and the abolition of private property in those areas, actual or eventual, is certainly not a development likely to encourage enhancement of stock values. An eventual collapse of Germany may likewise see communism spring up in Europe's leading industial country. In that event, the actual cooperation between Germany and the Soviet, which is now conspicuous by its absence, may have implications that are not at all pleasant to visualize. The seriousness of Russia's invasion of Finland appears to have been minimized by most commentators, but it has certainly been recognized by the stock market."

Behind the Lines

(Continued from Page 1)

The Finns, by inflicting defeats, prove that the Russian military machine is not as formidable and Russia is not as invulnerable as advertised. Thus the ground is removed from under the feet of the intriguers. If Russia is revealed as weaker than imagined, there is no need to be anxious about the bolshevist menace to Europe."

What this means concretely, Augur indicates, is that extensive aid will be given to the Finns and the Swedes persuaded to come in to make sure the Russians remain deeply engaged in the north. This will have the double effect of cutting off the always problematical Russian aid to Germany and leave the powers free to crush their enemies, one after another.

TOLEDO SCHOOLS REOPEN AFTER SIX WEEKS; TEACHERS STILL UNPAID

TOLEDO, Ohio, Jan. 2—Schools opened today for the 45,000 school children, after a six-week shutdown due to "lack of funds," but nobody knows how long the schools will remain open or when the teachers will be paid.

By closing the schools for six weeks the Board of Education cut the current deficit to $600,000, but nobody knows where that sum is coming from. Neither state or city authorities are making a move to find the funds. Proposed abolition of "frills"—kindergartens, trade schools, health services—would provide less than 20 per cent of the deficit.

The 1500 teachers have not been paid since mid-October. For eight years now they have been paid from fifty to 88 per cent of their salaries. Yet the favorite solution of the Toledo Real Estate Board is to "solve" the school crisis by slashing the teachers' salaries. Fortunately, the teachers are beginning to fight back. A strike of the teachers looms as a real possibility in the event their salaries are cut any further.

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4. "We Won't Fight the Bolsheviks!"

MUTINY!

The Black Sea Mutinies

by "Spartacus"

"Mr. Lloyd George stated that there seemed to be three possible policies:

1. Military intervention. It is true that the Bolsheviki movement is as dangerous to civilization as German militarism, but as to putting it down by the sword, is there any one who proposes it?. . . If he now proposed to send a thousand British troops to Russia for that purpose the armies would mutiny. The same applies to U.S. troops in Siberia; also to Canadians and French as well. The mere idea of crushing Bolshevism by military force is pure madness."

This quotation from the official report on the meeting of the Council of Ten, held at the Qual d'Orsay on January 16, 1919, tells us why Allied intervention against the newborn Soviet Union was a failure. (See **The Bullitt Mission to Russia,** by William C. Bullitt, for a full account of this meeting.) The Allies disregarded this very sensible advice of Lloyd George—and began to run into the difficulties he here foretells. The first line of defense of the Soviet Union has always been the simple fact that the masses in other countries were unwilling to bear arms against the workers' fatherland. This line of defense has now been terribly weakened by Stalin's invasion of Finland.

Two weeks after Lloyd George's remarks at the Versailles Conference, namely on January 30, 1919, the first mutiny broke out in the anti-Bolshevik forces. A regiment of French infantry stationed on the border between Rumania and Russia refused to march against the Reds. (Many of these soldiers had taken part in the 1917 mutinies on the Western Front, and had been sent to the Saloniki Front to "cool off".)

THIRTY MUTINIES—ONE DESCRIBED IN DETAIL

Among the French soldiers and sailors sent against the Bolsheviks in 1919, more than thirty mutinies broke out, paralyzing the whole interventionist effort. They occurred in Odessa, Galatz (Rumania), Sevastopol, Kherson (Crimea), Beirut (Syria), Itea (Greece), Vladivostok, and even at Toulon on French soil. The story of the mutiny on the battleship **France** is a typical and dramatic episode. Let us follow it in detail.

The **France** had not touched at a French port since 1916. When the armistice came, the men were overjoyed. They would go home at last! But on December 2, the **France** sailed for the Black Sea. When she arrived in Odessa, her sailors had their first contact with the Bolsheviks. Incidents took place such as Andre Marty, one of the leaders of the mutinies, describes in his book, "La Revolte de la Mer Noire":

A small detachment of Red cossacks passed. Very simply, they came over and shook our hands. This spontaneous gesture towards those who had been fighting them only a few days before touched us. One of us who knew a little Russian started a conversation. One of the cossacks asked us why we treated them like enemies, since they were fighting against the exploiters and bosses. We were embarassed and understood the shameful role our government was making us play. Our comrade promised them we would not hinder their struggle for freedom. We parted the warmest of friends. . .

Conditions were bad in the French Black Sea fleet. Mail from home came two months late. At 20 degrees below zero, the sailors were dressed in ragged linen suits. Worst of all, 700 sailors had to do the work of 1100 on the **France.** When the ship reached Sevastopol, the order was given to lay down a barrage against the Red troops. Some of the men locked themselves in the lavatories and refused to carry out orders. The next morning when vice-admiral Amet, the comander of the fleet, was leaving the ship he was booed and hissed.

Four sailors were arrested, among them Vuillemin, the leader of the real mutiny. The next day coaling of 700 tons of coal for Easter Sunday and Monday was ordered. Then men were tired and hoped for a rest after their fatigue at Odessa. And now even their holiday was to be taken away. Dissatisfaction was expressed quite openly. In the afternoon, those who did not want to coal the next day were ordered to assemble on the forward deck after mass. 400 sailors gathered. Marty describes what happened:

All of a sudden they began to sing. First the Song of Odessa. Then—shouts arose through the calm spring evening. . .The forward light is put out and in reply the International is sung. The officers, terrified, assemble on the rear deck and arm themselves. And now from the Jean-Bart comes the same song. Then cries of "To arms! To the water! Guns!" and the sailors rush towards the rear knocking down the sergeant at arms.

The mutiny had begun. Soon a delegation was appointed to find out the situation on other boats. A steam pinnace was commandeered for the occasion. The **Jean-Bart** was the first to be visited. Here the delegates ran through the sleeping quarters of the crew shaking the hammocks and crying "Get up! Get up! Revolution! To the Bridge!"

A "DEBATE" BETWEEN ADMIRAL AND SAILORS

In the meantime, vice-admiral Amet, warned of the mutiny on the **France,** came to restore order. His first appeal, "There are 200 bad Frenchmen in the crew" was met with cries of "Kill the tyrant! Kill him! Get rid of him! Kill him!" Then he tried "The bolsheviks are abominable bandits . . . who kill women and children and old people." A sailor countered: **"You are the real bandit! Because I stood up for my rights, you let me rot in a dark cell. It is you who, without cause, pitilessly condemn sailors to 5 and 10 years of forced labor!"** The admiral's reply was interrupted by cries of "He lies! He is trying to put us to sleep! It's a lot of rot!" The admiral changed his tune: "My children, I beg of you, restore order." But the sailors were in no mood for carressing speeches. "This is not the time to say a mass. Kill the tyrant! Bandit! Assassin! To Toulon! To Toulon!" they cried.

"What do you want?" the Admiral asked feebly. And the sailors forcefully presented their demands: No coaling on the 20th and 21st—end of intervention in Russia and immediate return home of the **France**—leaves for the crew—softening of discipline—better food—better mail conveniences — demobilization, followin gout the decrees sent from Paris—1100 men on board, not 700 — better disciplinary regime (there are endless inspections but no clothes). The demands concluded: "The war on Russia is unconstitutional. Clemenceau has violated the constitution."

"THAT RAG MEANS CIVIL WAR!"

The following morning, Easter Sunday, the sailors slept late. When they did get up there was "much animation and little work". The International was sung and the red flag raised. A thrilling sight to the bolsheviks on the shore, but to the officers on board an ominous portent: One of them says, "You don't understand what that rag means! This is civil war." Angry voices reply, "Too bad! You asked for it!"

One officer proposes that if order is restored "a bottle of champagne will be given to each sailor" at dinner. They know what this means. "We are not fish; we cannot be caught on a hook." The hook had been tried at breakfast. It was sugar in the coffee. And again at lunchtime — a four course Easter dinner with wine rations doubled.

But the sailors were not deluded by the kindness of their masters. Rather they were encouraged at their own successes. During the morning the French sailors had been fraternizing with Russian workers who had come out in small boats. The officers had tried to keep the workers and sailors apart but, after one sharp conflict, the officers were convinced that the crew meant business. A boatload of sailors returning from leave were greeted by the International. They responded and raised a red belt as a symbol of their revolutionary comradeship.

In the afternoon a number of the sailors of the **France** were granted leave to go into Sevastopol. There they decided on a demonstration with sailors of the other boats in the harbor. They were joined in their march through the town by Russian workers until the marchers numbered 3000. The marchers were orderly and in a jovial holiday mood. Outside a pharmacy they were stopped by a French officer who wished them to give up their red flag. He was pushed aside. And then from an ambush, machine gun fire. Six sailors and six civilians were killed. The murderers were officers from the **Jean-Bart.** This last attempt of the masters to frighten the mutineers into submission only cemented the comradeship between the French and Russian oppressed and determined the sailors to continue their struggle.

That evening a delegation from the army came on board the **France** and demanded that the French troops in Sevastopol be demobilized and sent home with the fleet. The next day, Admiral Amet agreed that the France should sail for home on April 23, to be followed by the rest of the fleet a week later. Once the **France** was back in French waters, the leaders of the mutiny, despite promises to the contrary, were tried and sentenced to prison terms. But the military authorities did not dare to carry out any death sentences against the mutineers of the **France** — or, for that matter, against any of the Black Sea rebels.

The essence of these mutinies was expressed in the slogans at the end of a leaflet circulated by the mutineers throughout the Black Sea fleet: "WE WON'T FIGHT THE BOLSHEVIKS! WORKERS OUGHT NOT TO KILL WORKERS! OUR ONLY ENEMIES ARE THE OFFICERS!"

In This Corner

• *by* MAX SHACHTMAN •

Finland—And a Word About Poland

The ruling class nowadays differs in many ways from the ruling classes centuries ago. In those days, wars of rapine and booty could be carried out, with all their attendant misery for the people, without the creation of great war-myths. Armies were more or less mercenary and the arming of the people for war was not required on anything like the scale demanded by war today.

Modern war requires at least the tacit support of millions. The powers that be would never dare to equip the masses with modern arms without that support. But how acquire it? The masses are suspicious enough as it is—and restless enough. They cannot very easily be gotten to serve as cannon fodder if they are told that the war is being fought for colonial empire or new sources of raw material or fields of investment of surplus capital. They have to be given a more idealistic aim: democracy, justice, freedom, defense of popular rights, struggle against despotism, and the like. Once the masses have been sufficiently confused and poisoned with lies, their masters feel less uneasy about providing them with arms which, as history has showed so often, have the ingenious faculty of shooting no matter what direction they are pointed in. . . .

Even Hitler, who rules at home all the weapons of totalitarian terror, finds himself obliged to drug his slaves with the propaganda that they are fighting, in the war, for the establishment of "socialism." Stalin, arch-suppressor of revolution, finds it wise to tell the masses that they are fighting for the "liberation of the peoples." In the "democracies," war is being fought, of course, for the "preservation" of democracy and the "independence" of the small nations.

Right now, the war-mongers are having a poison-picnic with Finland. People are literally starving to death amid unprecedented wealth—in Cleveland and not only in Cleveland. That's a bit of a scandal, you see, and it has to be covered up, especially in face of the fact that the rulers of the United States, who haven't any money to spare for the prevention of starvation, have hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars for the building up of the biggest war machine this country has ever known. Placed starkly side by side, that wouldn't look so good. The hue and cry over Finland helps to cover up both.

Starving or well-fed—what does it matter? cry the champagne-and-caviar-stuffed bankers and industrial magnates. The important thing is to prepare to defend ourselves, our women and children and our modest little homes in Newport and on Park Avenue. Look at poor little Finland! How democratic! How brave!

* * *

A Few Words On Poland

These remarks about the war-mongers and poor little Finland remind us about the chauvinistic campaign of the war-mongers about poor little Poland, only a few months ago. How they wailed and gnashed their teeth at seeing that tender little flower of democracy nipped in the bud! Now that the invasion of Poland is over, and they feel they have squeezed all they can out of it for their war-mongering purposes, they are allowing a slim sliver of the truth about this "democracy" to pierce through the columns of their press.

One example—there aren't many, you may be sure!—is the column of Harry Elmer Barnes in the N. Y. World-Telegram of December 22, 1939, commenting on an article on Poland by Max Nomad, who is one of the best-informed men in this country on the history and conditions of that country. Says Barnes who, be it noted, is himself a bourgeois democrat:

"The war in the name of civilization was undertaken in defense of the Polish government, which had an unsavory record, so far as democarcy, social justice and minority rights are concerned. The Polish state gave evidence of the defects and vices of Germany and Russia without whatever virtues these larger totalitarian states may posses in the way of efficiency. . . .

"Democracy and party government were stifled (by the "Colonels".—MS.). The able military leadership of the pre-1918 days were excluded from the army and amateurs substituted. Marshal Smigly-Rydz, commander in chief of the army last autumn, was, like Hitler, a painter before he was elevated to a high military post. Anti-Semitism was revived and the Jewish population, much larger than that of Germany, was treated brutally." (Which didn't prevent the Jewish bourgeois and "socialist" press here from becoming wild-eyed Polish patriots during the invasion!)

"Worst of all was the increasing economic desperation of the worthy Polish masses. Many peasants could not even afford salt. They learned to split a single match into four usable parts. They literally had to replace worn-out steel axes by those fashioned out of stone—like the men of the cave period. . . .

"When their neighbor, Czechoslovakia, was butchered in 1938, the Polish leaders stood by, eager to snatch their slice of the booty."

He Can Talk Now

It is of course a little safer for Mr. Barnes to speak of Poland in this way toward the end of December than at the beginning of September. Then the war-mongering wave in this country over the question of poor little Poland was at its height, and truth was at a premium. The war-mongers were able to increase considerably the poison-content in the mind of the masses.

They are doing the same now about Mannerheim's Finland. The revolutionary Marxists, who were not Hitlerites when they denounced the war-mongers' fraud about "poor little Poland" and "poor little (imperialist!) Czechoslovakia" before it, and are not Stalinists when we denounce the similar fraud about "poor little Findand" today, are not only the only ones who must tell the truth to the people, but the only ones who can afford to tell it. And not when it's "all over"—but in good time.

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

Defend the U.S.S.R.

Summing up the meaning of the various steps already taken by the imperialist powers in providing Finland with arms and "international brigades", Hanson W. Baldwin, the military expert of the New York *Times* says:

"In ever-growing measure, as the 'little war' goes on, it becomes apparent that the Finnish front is, in a sense, an extension of the Western Front, a flank operation in the 'big war', and that events of such tremendous importance are being forged there that the 'big war' may be decided or materially influenced by the outcome of the 'little war'." (New York Times, Dec. 31)

No more fitting commentary than this is needed on all the ballyhoo about "poor little Finland." The Finnish incidents are inextricably part of the Second World War, in which bourgeois Finland functions as an outpost of Anglo-French-American imperialism on the Russian border.

We have said this from the first. And from the first we stood on our fundamental position that, regardless of Stalin's crimes, we defend the Soviet Union—which is not the Stalinist bureaucracy but the economic conquests of the October Revolution—against the capitalist world. The overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy is the task of the workers, first of all of the Russian workers, and can in no way be aided by a military defeat of the Soviet Union. Such a defeat would lead to capitalist restoration and not to the resurgence of the October revolution.

* * *

The Stalinist press, while more than anxious to demonstrate the extent of imperialist intervention on behalf of Finland, has had almost nothing to say about one move which, a competent technical authority informs us, is probably the most serious blow so far sustained: the Roosevelt government's embargo cutting Russia off from aviation gasoline equipment and technical information. Russia had been purchasing most of its aviation gasoline here, but had lately been making efforts to acquire the technical plans and information necessary for producing this type of gasoline at home. It had not advanced far along that road when the embargo came.

The silence of the Stalinists about the importance of this blow necessary flows from their boastful theory of "socialism in one country", whereby the Stalinists maintain that Soviet Russia can—in fact had already done so by 1934!—build socialism in entire independence of world economy. This theory, on which the Stalinist bureaucracy arose and on which it will fall, is now once more demonstrated to be utterly false.

Soviet economy is inextricably tied to world economy and subordinate to it. War measures demonstrate this fundamental fact with especial sharpness. No amount of Russian-made armament will save the Soviet Union from destruction by the imperialists, if that armament alone stands between it and the imperialists. Just as much as in 1917, the salvation of the Soviet Union depends on the world working class. Either the workers of the belligerent powers will overthrow their ruling classes, or the Soviet Union will perish. Stalin has always sought a third road, but it does not exist. In his search for it he has isolated the Soviet Union from the world working class. History will testify that this was the worst of all his crimes.

"Briey Basin"

To the nerve-shattered, mutilated veterans of France, Belgium and Germany, to the broken survivors of the first imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918, two words can evoke an especially bitter, galling memory—"Briey Basin".

Briey Basin was the symbol of the hideous sham of capitalist war lies. The censorship hid the truth about Briey Basin, but it was whispered all over Europe for four bloody years—from army to army and across No Man's Land.

Because the bombs and shells of War never came to the Briey Basin. Neither the French nor the German capitalist class cared to destroy the iron and steel plants from which flowed the materials of war. Human beings they flung away by the tens of thousands for one mile of torn-up mud, but the factories and mines of the Briey Basin, the smelters and steel plants of Lorraine, of the Saar and the Ruhr, these they kept undamaged by mutual agreement.

After the War the story came out. Puffy liberals exhausted their wind in execrations against the hypocrisy of the "Merchants of Death". "Never again", the capitalists promised.

Now it's 1940 and the Second World War. And capitalist economics hasn't changed. For a United Press dispatch of December 28 reports: "While nightly blackouts prevail in other parts of Germany and France, in their industrial districts no effort is made to cover up the blaze of smelter fires shooting up in the sky." Nestling side by side, the Saar Basin and the Briey Basin turn out the implements of war, each under the enemy's guns—but undisturbed. A "paradox", the United Press dispatch calls it. No, not a paradox. Just a continuation of the 1914-18 agreement between French and German capitalists not to hurt each other's factories. Human bodies are expended like so many checkers. But factories are precious. The human bodies don't cost the capitalists anything.

"Relief Floater"

You can live anywhere in the United States—if you're not on relief. But if you're accused of being a "relief floater" God help you!

What's a "relief floater"? It's an American citizen, out of work, who needs relief, and wasn't born in the place where he needs it.

That's what Rosario Chirillo found out. He has a wife and four kids, and like more than ten million other Americans, he can't find work. But the wealthy taxpayers of Westchester County where he applied for relief denounced him as an Ohio citizen. It's not legal for him and his kids and their mother to eat in Westchester—(unless they can pay, of course).

So they ordered him out. But Chirillo knows that the unemployed and their families starve in Ohio—Ohio hunger has even made headlines in the capitalist press. So he won't go—he thinks he's an American, not an Ohioan, and "Americans don't starve".

Westchester has filed an eviction suit to throw out the Chirillos and their hungry kids—and they're going to use the same handy formula on other unfortunates who weren't born in wealthy Westchester.

"Relief floater" — make a note of it, unemployed worker. It's a neat run-around for the poor, invented by the bosses. Unless you learn to fight it, you're going to get a lot more of it.

Meanwhile the Chirillos are worrying about their four kids. But wealthy Westchester was thoughtful—they didn't file the eviction suit until after Christmas. Good breeding, you know.

Union Solidarity!

In numerous articles during the last six months we have pointed out the mortal danger to the labor movement hidden—and not hidden any more either—in Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold's "anti-trust" investigation of the building industry. As we predicted, all his moves are directed against the unions and not the bosses. The most elementary considerations of union solidarity demand that every trade unionist worthy of the name stand in solidarity with the building trades unions against the Department of Justice and its G-men.

It is a fact, however, that the CIO leadership has said not a word against Arnold's union-busting campaign. It is a fact that the *CIO News* has yet to carry an article on this vital question. In the light of these facts, the appointment by John L. Lewis of one of Arnold's G-men to the staff of the CIO's dual building trades organization is a shameful violation of union solidarity.

The progressive role of the CIO consisted in its organizing of millions hitherto unorganized, and especially in the mass production industries. There is nothing whatever progressive about its attempts to raid the AFL jurisdiction in the building trades. The craft setup in the building trades results in numerous weaknesses in union organization, but the solution for that lies *through* the existing unions in the industry and not in having those unions broken up by Thurman Arnold with the CIO afterward presumably picking up the pieces and building a united union.

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Norman Thomas Converts the Heathen

There is no question about it. Norman Thomas has a remarkable talent for charming middle class audiences and for getting himself into the headlines. These are gifts which any leader of the left might well envy—and try to emulate. The energy and ingenuity with which he peddles painless "socialism" must be admired.

But I have long suspected that one reason Mr. Thomas so readily fascinates and persuades the middle classes is because, in his eagerness to win them over, he leans so far over in their direction as to make his own position—to the political layman, at least—practically indistinguishable from that of his audience. He is so very idealistic and respectable and so excessively anxious to be "fair" and to avoid stepping on any of the prejudices of his listeners, that what usually seems to happen is that the missionary leaves the meeting firmly committed to the cause of cannibalism. At least, that's the way it looks to the cannibals.

Remarkable confirmation of this theory comes from a personal letter which last week happened to come into my hands. It was written by a rather conservative young married woman living in Chicago to an extremely conservative older woman in New York. I excerpt the section dealing with a recent debate between Norman Thomas and Hamilton Fish in Chicago—one of a series being held throughout the nation:

"The thing was posted as a debate between Norman Thomas and Hamilton Fish, but ended by being a symposium on 'Can We Keep Out of War'? They both forgot their politics (for once) and were two good Americans agreeing on the same subject. They both were of the same opinion, that we could keep out if we would stop policing the Pacific, mind our own business, and stop trying to play 'God' about affairs that did not concern us.

"It was truly a wonderful evening, and I left Thorne Hall with a feeling of joyousness at being an American and an enemy of Revolution and uprising. Why? Oh why can't people accept things is they are when they know from past experience how terrible can be the results?"

It is clear that **this** missionary to the heathen—who "forgets" his politics so conveniently—will never end up in the cannibals' stew pot. Rather is he preparing bigger and better stew-pots for future missionaries who are foolish enough to insist on remembering their politics.

American Standard of Living

The great argument of those who defend the capitalist system in this country is that the American standard of living is the highest in the world.

Such orators should be referred to the second chapter of **The Structure of the American Economy**, the survey by the National Resources Committee on which I commented last week. In this chapter, called **"The Structure of Wants,"** the tremendous class differences in this "democracy" of ours are charted in unmistakeable form. Here we learn that the richest 20% of the nation's families receive every year half the total income of the country, getting as much as the remaining 80% of the families put together. Here we learn that half the families in the country somehow keep going on an income of less than $1,000 a year, and one-tenth on less than $340 a year.

These are **family** incomes, it should be remembered. The average American family consists of father, mother and two children. According to these figures, half the people of the United States have less than sixty-nine cents apiece per day with which to buy their food, clothing, shelter, etc. Even alowing for the single individuals who are counted here as family units, you still would get something under a dollar a day per person.

Bread or Books?

A table on page eleven shows concretely just what this huge difference in incomes means. Here we find that a consumer with an income of between $5,000 and $10,000 a year eats five times as much food (in dollar value) as a consumer with an income between $500 and $750 (who is by no means at the bottom of the ladder, since at least 15% of all families have less than $500 a year), that he spends eleven times as much on books, 30 times as much on recreation, and 45 times as much on his children's education. This last item is especially significant, since such differences in education intensify and perpetuate class differences.

People can get along without shoes, without any clothes to speak of, without books and chairs and medecine, but the two things they **must** have are food and shelter. In these charts, the lower the income level sinks, the bigger is the percentage spent on food and housing, until when you get down to the lowest tenth of the families the struggle for existence is so grim that three-quarters of the income must go for these two necessities of life. Contrast this with the very wealthiest families, those with incomes of $10,000 and over, who spend only 40% of their incomes on food and housing.

The extent of starvation and semi-starvation among the masses in this land of plenty is strikingly shown by a single statistic in this chapter: the authors estimate that if the national income were increased by two-thirds, expenditures on food would be 44% greater than they are today. "This is particularly significant," they add mildly, "since it is so often stated that the demand for food is limited."

Mass Markets—and Mass Poverty

All of this has ominous economic, as well as social, implications. Our mass production industries depend on a mass market to make money. But the tendency of monopoly capitalism is to concentrate income in the wealthy classes and to reduce the masses to ever lower depths of poverty. Economically, this is ultimately fatal for a number of reasons, one of them being that the masses spend almost all their income on consumer's goods (thus keeping the market humming) while the wealthy spend comparatively little and pile up ever bigger savings (which can only be used to build more factories, whose products must then still further crowd the market). The handful of families at the top, those with incomes of over $10,000 a year (more than half the total number of families in the country) actually spend more each year than their incomes, going deeper into debt the farther down the scale their income is, until finally the bottom ten per cent spend more than half again as much as they take in each year. (This piling up of debt also works to undermine the mass market.)

Already the process of concentration of wealth has gone so far that half the national income goes to the richest fifth of the nation's families. And these save from 10% to 50% of their incomes, depending on the degree of their wealth. It is these families, furthermore, and not the masses, which will get the lion's share of any future periods of boom prosperity. "An increase in consumer income of 33%," write the authors, "could be expected to result in an increase of only 25% in expenditures on consumption and an increase of nearly 100% in savings." The only solution of this particular contradiction of our monopoly capitalism would be to increase the incomes of the great mass of "consuming families" at the expense of the incomes of the handful of "saving families." This is more or less what the left wing of the New Deal was half-heartedly trying to do up to the economic collapse that began in the fall of 1937. But since the wealthy families controlled the system, and since the New Dealers had no wish to basically alter this system, the fight did not get very far. It has now been completely lost in the martial music of the War Deal.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

West African Negro Leader Interned by British

Wallace Johnson, the Organizing Secretary of the West African Youth League and President of the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress has been interned by the authorities of British West Africa. Johnson was arrested under a "Defence Regulation" which provides that persons shall be detained "when the Governor is satisfied that it is necessary to prevent the individual concerned acting in a way prejudicial to public safety or defence."

The detention took place several days after war was declared. It is interesting to note that the judge who ordered Johnson's arrest is the man whom Johnson, as the candidate of the trade unions of Sierra Leone, was to oppose in the coming elections for the Legislative Council.

Wallace Johnson is also one of the leaders of the International African Service Bureau, whose rousing anti-war manifesto the **Appeal** carried several weeks after the outbreak of the war. That manifesto concluded with the following paragraphs:

"The issue is more fundamental than Hitlerism. It is a question of imperialism. Empire and Peace are incompatible.

"It is for this reason we say that, if lasting peace is to be achieved in Europe and throughout the world, then Capitalist imperialism must give way to a world Socialist Federation of Equal Nations and Peoples—regardless of race, color and creed."

No wonder the imperialist masters of West Africa are afraid of Johnson. His program kindles the light of world revolution in darkest Africa.

How the French Government Fights for "Democracy"

Some news about the struggle for "democracy" as it works out in France:

No less than 30,000 German and Austrian refugees from Hitlerism are interned in concentration camps. To safeguard the rights of the refugees an advisory body of well-known exiles under the chairmanship of the German Social Democrat Breitscheid was appointed. The committee has never been consulted, but **half of its members have been arrested.**

At the end of October the government turned over to the **Franco** regime in Spain **400 members of the International Brigade** on the ground that they were Spanish citizens because they had been given travelling passports by the Spanish republican authorities.

Even mild pacifists are rigorously prosecuted. Among them are some thirty-one writers of international reputation, who have been placed under arrest.

Arrests of revolutionary workers are legion.

At the same time, of couse, the bourgeois defeatists around Flandin, Bonnet and DeMonzie are left entirely unhampered in their agitation for peace . . . with Hitler and . . . war against Soviet Russia. It is known that these circles still manage to keep in touch with their Hitlerite friends through interested neutrals, mainly through Brussels.

According to the social democrats, the war is being conducted over the issue of Hitlerism. That is, according to the **New Leader** in New York, the **Herald** in London and **Populaire** in Paris.

One would expect therefore, that social democrats all over the world would take such a war just as seriously in one country as in another and be ready everywhere to die in the struggle against Hitlerism.

But Camille Huysmans, erstwhile General Secretary of the Second International and bannerbearer for years of the Belgian Labor Party (P.O.B.) has been contributing **under his own signature** for weeks to the Nazi **Koelnische Zeitung**!

How do you account for that? Very simple. It seems, that Belgian capitalism requires, for the maintenance of its interests, a continuation at present of a policy of neutrality. Therefore, in Belgium, social democrats, far from being deadly enemies of Hitlerism, must help retain the friendship of Hitler. Huysmans is simply taking the assignment to get on the good side of the German imperialists. Another of his social democratic friends courts the British imperialists, and so on.

At any rate, for the social democracy the menace of Hitlerism obviously stops at the borders of Belgium.

We leave to the **New Leader** to elaborate in greater detail the logic of this odd fact. We suggest Mr. Charles Yale Harrison for the job.

Their Government

by James Burnham

Roosevelt's War Moves Since the Last Congress

There was no recess in the war moves of the Roosevelt administration after the close of the Special Session. Repeal of the arms embargo was a major step in freeing the hands of the war-makers for intervention, but they did not rest on their oars. Nor will they rest until this country takes its place as a full-fledged belligerent. I want here to review a few of the landmarks of recent weeks in the trail toward war:

1. Two days after the scuttling of the Graf Spee it was revealed that the United States had played the decisive role in forcing the German ship to leave the docks at Montivideo. The legal rights under international law, in this case as in all others, are obscure. The de facto result is obvious: a unilateral blow was struck at Germany, one of the belligerent powers.

2. A British cruiser chased a German freighter into Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. The evidence of eyewitnesses indicates that the cruiser violated not merely the "safety zone" established by the Panama Conference but the territorial waters of the United States. This violation was supposed to be "investigated". The investigation has quietly dropped out of the news. Anyone who still thinks that Roosevelt is neutral might well ask himself what would have happened if a similar circumstance had taken place with the battleship German and the freighter British.

The Law Is What You Make It

3. In connection with the war in Finland, Roosevelt has been discovering the beauties of the device which he calls a "moral embargo". There is no sanction whatever in law or tradition for these moral embargoes. They are, in fact, directly counter to the avowed intentions of the various laws on neutrality which have passed Congress; and, indeed, are counter to the whole professed theory of American government, since they are actions taken solely by the executive without any control or check whatever from Congress or the Courts.

According even to the Roosevelt Neutrality Act, which passed the Special Session, no credits can be granted to warring governments; transfer of title on all goods for such governments must be completed before shipment from this country; and ships of U.S. registry cannot sail to ports of such governments.

When Roosevelt argued in public for his law, he made the people believe that it would keep the U.S. free from involvement in the war. When war began in Finland, presumably the Neutrality Act should have been invoked at once. But it was not: Roosevelt has not found that a "state of war" exists in Finland—apparently having the same view on this point as the Kremlin. Consequently none of the provisions of the Act apply: credit can be extended to the belligerents, U.S. ships can sail to their ports, and so on. The ground is laid for a whole series of those "incidents" from which the people were told that the Neutrality Act would guarantee avoidance.

But not merely has the law of the land been suspended. Roosevelt has, through the invention of the "moral embargo", a grandiose new law of his own. The moral embargo, proclaimed by Secretary of State Hull, prohibits shipment of airplanes, airplane parts, bombs, airplane gasoline and gasoline refining equipment and several other types of munitions to—not both belligerents, which would have been in line with the older neutrality law—but to one, to the Soviet Union.

It might be thought that a moral embargo is merely a Platonic gesture or at most a propaganda measure (which latter of course it also is). But the truth is that the moral embargo is a hard and fast kind of sanction. It is enforced by confidentially telling armament manufacturers that if they break it they will no longer get U.S. government orders.

War Birds on Top of the Roost

4. Last week Roosevelt appointed Charles Edison Secretary of the Navy. Edison is a plain-speaking man, who has broadcast his opinions. He favors a "two-ocean navy", big enough to smash everything else afloat, and he believes, as he puts it, in protecting this country by carrying the war as far as possible away from its shores: that is, by sending U.S. soldiers to fight in Asia and Europe.

For some months Louis Johnson, though still rated as Assistant Secretary, has been running the War Office. Johnson is of exactly the same war-mongering breed as Edison, and has among his other accomplishments the distinction of perfecting the M-Day plans for the war-time dictatorship.

Putting these two men in charge of the war machine is a complete answer to those scoundrels who try to "excuse" Roosevelt's "errors" as being due to the influence of "bad advisers" who have managed to worm their way into the administration. Johnson and Edison take their rightful place alongside of Colonel Harrington, in charge of WPA, and Colonel Fleming, now running the Wages and Hours administration. Roosevelt, for all his smiles, deliberately picks for key positions those men who can and will carry out his own ruthless policies.

5. Taking advantage of a loophole in a law, "competitive bidding" on armament orders has, during the past few months, been dumped. Competitive bidding was, it is true, often enough a farce, but now and then—when there was genuine rivalry among the companies concerned—it did serve to cut somewhat the armament profits. Now the companies can write up their costs virtually to where they please, and get a 10 per cent profit added for good measure, with no chance for a rival concern to put in a lower bid.

6. The bold and unprecedented act of sending Myron Taylor (ex-Chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, by the way) as diplomatic representative to the Vatican can only be understood as a means of mobilizing Catholic opinion for "national unity" in preparation for war. The Catholic hierarchy, because partly of its leaning toward fascism and the tie-up between the Vatican and Rome, is rather shy about Roosevelt's coming war—and the Catholics are the most powerful and best organized of the religious groups. Roosevelt's gesture—which cost a few demurrers from Protestants — seems to have taken them 100 per cent into camp.