

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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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.

## Roosevelt's Latest

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

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

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

## A Bit Tardy

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to switch to Panama registry in order to continue to sail the war zone, also approved by the Commission, had to be withdrawn in face of the protest it aroused.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

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

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

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

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

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

And these people talk about Stalin's morality!

## How Fight Fascism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

A Political Strike  
in War-Time London

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

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

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

An American Legion  
for Finnish "Independence"

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

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

## SPARKS IN THE NEWS

The Stalinists Discover  
Who Roosevelt Is

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

## Jekyll into Hyde

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

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

## Nothing Left But the Smile

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

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

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

## A Glance at the Record

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

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

Another "Solution"  
for the Indian "Controversy"

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

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

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

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

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

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

The "Christian  
Front" Arrests

By GEORGE STERN

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

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

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

## Purpose of the Arrests

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

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

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

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

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

## Government Make-Believe

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

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

## The Example of Germany

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

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

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

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

So what happened? The Fascist gangs were put conveniently in the background because the easy compliance of the working class leaders made it unnecessary for the French bosses to use them. The great strikes of 1936 were crushed by the government and with the approach of the war in 1938 and 1939 all the decrees supposedly passed against the Fascists were turned against the workers organizations! The Communist Party itself was one of the first to feel the whip it had helped to make.

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

This is what really happens if we put any reliance in the government's apparent moves against the Fascist gangs. It happened over there. It can happen here. That is, it can happen here unless the workers of America learn the lessons paid for so dearly with the lives and liberties of their brother workers in Europe.

And the first of these lessons must be: We rely on our own strength, our own organizations, our own forces, to deal with the Fascist menace wherever it raises its head!

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

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