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Editors:

FELIX MORROW MAX SHACHTMAN

General Manager: Assistant Manager:  
GEORGE CLARKE SHERMAN STANLEY

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**FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY FOR:**

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty—\$30-weekly minimum wage—\$0-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An Independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

**Twenty Two Years...**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**G-men: Union Busters**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Coughlin Confesses**

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Organize the workers defense guards!*

**In the World of Labor**

By Paul G. Stevens

**Greetings to Illegal  
Organ of French Comrades**

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

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

**News from the Front  
—Uncensored**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Arrests of Workers  
In the Factories**

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

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

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

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

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

**Demonstrations by Workers  
And Women in Vienna**

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

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

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

**SPARKS IN THE NEWS**

by Dwight Macdonald

**Pocket Money for Brenda**

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

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

The question of what is happening to Soviet production becomes more and more important. The military significance is clear. One reason for the remarkably effective resistance the Finns have put up to the Red Army is the comparatively vigorous and healthy state of Finland's economy. (I am speaking, of course, in terms of production, not social relations.) According to the January 15 issue of the Cleveland Trust Company's Business Bulletin, Finland's record of industrial production since 1925 is internationally outstanding. Taking 1929 as 100, the index of production for Finland now stands at 162, and even in the depth of the depression it never went below 80. (The American index, on the other hand, sunk below 60 at the depth of the depression, and is now only about 90.) The difficulties Stalin has been having with the third Five Year Plan, on the other hand, are well known.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**To Run or Not to Run?**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Will Roosevelt Run Again?**

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

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

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

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

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