

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

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 unemployed 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.

Vol. IV, No. 12

NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 23, 1940

FIVE (5) CENTS

STOP FIRING OF 800,000 WPA WORKERS!

STALIN IN FINLAND

WHY HE INVADED IT AND WHY HE MADE PEACE

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Our party, in the resolution dealing with the invasion of Finland by the Red Army, (Socialist Appeal, Dec. 9) characterized that invasion as an incident in the Second World War. That is what it turned out to be—an incident which ended by the achievement of peace before it became the beginning of a major conflict between the Soviet Union and Allied imperialism.

That the invasion did not develop into an open conflict between English and French imperialism and the Soviet Union is primarily due to the fact that Stalin's chief aim is to keep from being involved in a major war.

That is what explains the Hitler-Stalin pact. The only enemy Stalin feared was Hitler who, of all the imperialists, had the best chance to attack the Soviet Union. A pact with Hitler would, Stalin thought, do away with the possibility of an immediate war. He was undoubtedly of the opinion that England and France would not go to war over the invasion of Poland and, if they did, he could avoid being involved in such a war.

Hitler Repays Stalin

As his compensation for relieving Hitler of the danger of facing enemy armies on Germany's eastern borders, Stalin received from Hitler guarantees, in the form of territorial concessions in Poland and the Baltic countries which make the Soviet frontiers more easily defended.

Why does Stalin want to avoid a major war? Because war threatens the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy either through revolution or through a successful attack of one or more imperialist countries.

But if he wants to avoid a major war, why did he invade Finland? Because his demands on Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania having been granted, he could not afford to permit Finland to defy him. His prestige was at stake and, besides, he was anxious to take advantage of the general situation to increase his defensive strength. He undoubtedly thought that he could settle matters with Finland very quickly.

Against whom is he trying to defend himself? Primarily against Hitler, for it must not be presumed that Stalin is so stupid as not to see that if Hitler is successful against the Allies, the Nazi war machine will turn to the East.

Stalin Drops His Puppet

The creation of the Kuusinen puppet government is evidence of the fact that Stalin at first thought of taking all of Finland. A few days after the invasion, in the early days of December, the Finnish government made a plea through Sweden to the Kremlin to renew negotiations. The Kremlin on Dec. 5 haughtily informed Sweden that there was no Finnish government other than the Peoples Government of Kuusinen with which the Soviet government had already "made" a treaty.

However, when Stalin found that his army, led by a general staff which he had decapitated and demoralized, could not repeat the exploits of Hitler's army in Poland and that, as a result, there was a real chance of his being involved in war with the Allies, he beat a retreat from his original purpose. After the Red Army cracked the Mannerheim line he was willing to call a halt, settle with the same Finnish government which he refused to recognize in December, and thus avoid an attack by the Allied armies.

Was it merely the Finnish capitalist army that was defeated? In coming out for the defense of the Soviet Union and for the victory of the Red Army as a lesser evil to the victory of the Finnish capitalist army, we took the position that essentially the Soviet Union was at war with the imperialist forces standing behind Finland. It was clear to us that Finland could not have decided to resist Stalin's demands without the encouragement of Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt. It was clear to us that Finland could not have held out so long without receiving substantial aid from the outside. Only when Finland was ready to capitulate did Chamberlain and Daladier reveal how much armament material they had actually sent and how much more material and how many men they were ready to send if Finland would only keep fighting. Our assertion that Finland was fighting the battle for imperialism was completely confirmed.

Why Finns Made Peace

The cracking of the Mannerheim line would by itself be a sufficient reason for the Finnish government to accept peace terms. True, the Allies offered to send 100,000 men and all the material necessary to withstand the attack of the Red Army. But in view of the time that it would require to get these men over to Finland and especially in view of the refusal of Sweden and Norway to permit transit facilities, the Finnish government saw no possibility of accepting that offer.

And then it was certain, as Prime Minister Rytty informed the Finnish Diet, that to accept the offer of the Allies would mean to invite Germany to send its armed forces into Finland. And they could get there faster than the Allied forces. That meant that Finland would become one of the major battlefields of the war. The Finnish bourgeoisie preferred at this juncture to get peace by surrendering to Stalin the strategic frontiers that he had demanded. They had refused to grant his demands when originally made, only on the mistaken assumption—undoubtedly based on promises made to them by the Allies—that the Allies were going to declare war against Soviet Russia as soon as the invasion began.

Why did not France and England openly declare war on the Soviet Union at the very beginning and immediately send a huge army to aid Finland? It must be recognized that there were serious practical difficulties in the way, chief of which was the attitude of the Swedish and Norwegian governments, unwilling to see their countries become a battle-ground.

Nor must it be forgotten that, while the contradiction between imperialism and the Soviet Union is real and fundamental, there are also inter-imperialist rivalries and, at this particular moment, those rivalries are in the forefront. British and French imperialism are of the opinion that if they can take care of German imperialism they will have no difficulty in settling scores with the Soviet Union.

Of course, if they conclude that, in order to get at German imperialism they must attack the Soviet Union, they will not hesitate to do so and try to kill two birds with one stone. To defend his government against the charge of cowardice in not

(Continued on Page 3)

SWP Polls 624 Votes In St. Paul Election

ST. PAUL, March 15—John McDonough, Democratic majority candidate backed by the Labor Progressive Association, received 31,499 votes in the primaries Tuesday, 6,000 more than the reactionary incumbent, Mayor Fallon.

Henry Rutzick, majority candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, received 624 votes. In the primary two years ago for the same office, the S.W.P. candidate, Jules Geller, received 559 votes.

Rutzick campaigned on a platform calling for revolutionary struggle against war and unemployment.

In a campaign for which they brought here Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker and spent plenty of money, the Stalinists polled 1,026 votes for their candidate, Rose Tillotson, a sharp decline in votes below 1938.

BOSE WARNS OF COMING CIVIL WAR IN INDIA

Left Wingers Meet, Map Struggle at Congress Session

A struggle against imperialism which would inevitably develop into civil war in India was outlined Tuesday by Subhas Chandra Bose in a speech to an "anti-compromise" conference of left-wing delegates to the Indian National Congress on the opening day of the congress.

Bose denounced Gandhi and the right-wing leadership of the congress in terms which indicate a split in the congress during the present session. Bose declared:

"The problem of the hour is: will India remain under the thumb of the right wing or swing to the left once and for all? In the event of a compromise with imperialism being effected in this country, the Indian left-wing will have to fight not only imperialism but its new-fangled Indian allies as well. This must necessarily mean that the national struggle against imperialism will be converted into civil war between Indians themselves."

Bose bitterly attacked "Mr. Gandhi's hurried visit to the viceroy and his offer of unconditional help to Britain immediately after the outbreak of war."

The "anti-compromise conference" announced as its aim "the focussing of all anti-imperialist forces in the country which are now determined to resist compromise with Britain."

A few weeks ago the mass discontent with Gandhi's policy of futile negotiations with the British viceroy forced the Mahatma to promise the launching of a civil disobedience campaign. He is now doing everything in his power to prevent the actual campaign. "Civil disobedience will be started when I am sure that so far as is humanly possible non-violence will be strictly observed," declared Gandhi. Since every action entails the possibility of violent reaction, this time can be conveniently postponed forever. This is Gandhi's clearest object.

Left Wing Forces

Leading the numerically strong left-wing forces at the Congress is Subhas Chandra Bose, the former Mayor of Calcutta and ex-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Gandhi and Bose

(Continued on Page 3)

War Deal to Drop One Man In Three From Work Rolls

More than eight hundred thousand WPA workers—more than one man in every three of the 2,321,000 now on WPA rolls—are to be fired during the coming weeks, the WPA Administration has announced. Two hundred thousand are to be fired during April, the rest in batches so that, by the end of the fiscal year, June 30, there shall be no more than 1,500,000 on the rolls.

Why? Are there, perhaps, jobs waiting for these 821,000 heads of families who are to be given pink slips? Not even the pollyanna government economists pretend that anymore. For everybody now knows that unemployment is increasing, not decreasing.

At the end of January there were twelve million unemployed, according to the unchallenged figures of the CIO's research division. And to these there must still be added those who lost their jobs during February and March, when production continued its precipitous decline.

The New Deal has transformed itself completely into the War Deal. Federal funds have one main purpose in the hands of Roosevelt: war preparations. The index for war expenditures has been going up like a skyrocket. The index for WPA expenditures has been going down nearly as fast.

Last year the appropriation for WPA was \$2,225,000,000. For this year—the fiscal year ending June 30—the appropriation was \$1,477,000,000, a cut from the previous year of three-quarters of a billion dollars. For the coming fiscal year, beginning July 1, Roosevelt's budget proposes an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000—another half-billion cut.

Just think! In the fiscal year July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939 there were fewer unemployed than there are now, yet during that period they unemployed received, in WPA jobs, ONE AND ONE-QUARTER BILLION DOLLARS MORE THAN THEY ARE DUE TO RECEIVE THIS COMING YEAR!

Organized Unemployed Force Gains In Flint

UAW-CIO Auxiliary Compels Granting of Union Demands

FLINT, Mich., March 15—The fast growing and militant WPA and Unemployed Auxiliary of the UAW-CIO chalked up another victory today, when after an all-day demonstration at the Welfare headquarters, the labor-hating relief administration was forced to recognize the union representatives and concede several of their demands.

(Continued on Page 4)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The Allies are getting another dose of Hitlerite diplomatic blitzkrieg.

The Soviet-Finnish peace prevented the Allies from establishing a northern front in Scandinavia. Hitler is now moving to make southeastern Europe an equally closed preserve. If he succeeds, he will have assured his northern and southern flanks and his rear, and will narrow the theater of actual military conflict to the west. From that strategic position he will try to dictate terms of a negotiated peace.

Such a negotiated peace, as the Allies fully understand, would be equivalent to Hitler's victory in the war. Because they realize this and because for the moment they seem frustrated in all efforts to turn some hapless neutral into a battlefield on which they can get at Germany, there is a distinct atmosphere of half-hysterical confusion in the Allied capitals.

In the week since the signing of the Soviet-Finnish peace, Nazi diplomacy has moved to knit Rumania and Italy into its desired pattern. Over Rumania he holds the threat of Stalin and although Carol is still trying to balance himself on the narrow path he has had to tread since the war began, it is evident that the Nazi pressure is producing results. Liberation of the imprisoned Iron Guards is evidence of this.

Around the Brenner Pass meeting between Hitler and Mussolini

On his second trip to Paris—en route from London to Rome—he delivered another message to Premier Daladier which can't this time be passed off as a mere greeting—and was in Rome when the Hitler-Mussolini meeting was arranged. He saw Mussolini upon his return from Brenner Pass and sells back with the report of negotiations which will undoubtedly have the most fateful results for the American people but of which they have been kept in darkest ignorance.

They got then TWO AND A QUARTER TIMES AS MUCH AS THEY ARE GOING TO GET DURING THE COMING YEAR!

Roosevelt and his War Deal can be stopped! Congress is and will remain in session long enough for the trade unions and the unemployed to organize sufficient pressure to throw Roosevelt's WPA budget into the wastebasket and replace it with a budget which will begin to meet the emergency.

America's Sixty Families can be made to disgorge enough so that no man, woman or child shall lack food, shelter or clothing. It can be done!

It is on the way to being done in several cities where the trade unions and the unemployed have stayed together, organized close together, adopted a militant program and elected a militant leadership, and mobilized the workers' strength for action.

Flint, Michigan, in the heart of the auto industry, is a shining example. The WPA Administration hasn't got away with firing any member of the Unemployed and WPA Auxiliary of the United Auto Workers, CIO; those that got fired went back on the job after the union heard about it. The Flint city authorities have had to think up new WPA projects to sponsor, and there are more workers on WPA in Flint today proportionally than anywhere in the country. That's what union militancy is getting for the Flint workers.

But Flint and one or two other cities like it stand alone in the whole country. If that example were followed in the major cities everywhere, Roosevelt and Congress would find their budgets blowing up in their faces. The budget for jobs would have to reflect the size of that fighting labor movement that was demanding a job and a decent living for every worker in the country.

Flint has blazed the trail. Let's follow it in every working class neighborhood in the country!

FIVE WPA STRIKE DEFENDANTS PUT ON PROBATION

Last Five Cases Are Disposed of; Other Charges Dropped

MINNEAPOLIS, March 19—Last of the WPA strike defendants were sentenced Saturday morning in Judge Joyce's courtroom when the judge disposed of the cases of the five men who pleaded nolo contendere. Roy Organ, Louis Lindsay, Victor Chiodo and Glen Smith were given twelve months' probation, and Owen Jacobson received fifteen months' probation.

These five men were those who agreed to plead nolo contendere to the government's indictments when charges against the other 130 strike defendants were dropped through arrangements made late in January between the Central Labor Union's WPA Defense Committee and O. John Rogge, of the criminal division of the Department of Justice.

Like most of the other WPA strikers sentenced, the five men are members of Local 544's Federal Workers Section.

Judge Joyce told Organ he evidenced the "exuberance of youth" during the strike and that he seems to think the department of welfare owes him special care. He said that Organ had written a threatening letter to the relief authorities, and warned him not to do it again while he is on probation.

Of Owen Jacobson, the judge said, "You and work don't get along well together." He criticized Jacobson for saying "we are the government" to other WPA workers during the strike.

Chiodo was criticized for making the same remark, and for his "demanding attitude" towards the relief department.

Abuse of Labors' Rights In Sioux City to be Probed

Padway Announces Intervention Of LaFollette Committee; Four Unionists Are Indicted

OMAHA, Nebr., March 19—Investigators of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee will be assigned to investigate violations of the rights of Sioux City trade union members.

This was revealed here this morning by Joseph A. Padway, general counsel of the AFL and of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, in a statement to the press.

Padway said he was sure that the committee's investigators would particularly look into charges that the Businessmen's Association of Sioux City had acted in violation of federal statutes in its attempt to break up the organizing drive of the teamsters and other AFL unions.

He said the investigators also would look into the charges that a large part of the police department is under the control of the Businessmen's Association.

Conditions that exist in other Iowa cities also were discussed at an all-day Monday conference of Des Moines, Sioux City and Omaha union officials and attorneys, Padway revealed, and he said it was probable the LaFollette investigators would look into the situation in those cities.

Particular cities discussed at the conference were Fort Dodge, Mason City, Waterloo and Dubuque, he said.

Tobin Called Conference

The conference was called by Teamsters International President Daniel J. Tobin to discuss various arrests, prosecutions and convictions of union members that have occurred in Sioux City and this territory during the last two years. Padway attended the conference at Tobin's direction.

"Nowhere outside of the totalitarian countries of Europe can conditions be found more oppressive than those I have learned today exist in Sioux City," Padway declared. "The International Brotherhood of Teamsters will throw its full support into the defense of the Sioux City workers whose rights have been so consistently denied."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Padway declared that the recent arrest and indictment of four truck drivers on kidnapping charges outraged every sense of justice. "It seems that union members here have been arrested with regularity that would do justice to a Swiss watchmaker, and with the same regularity have been held under excessive bail, have faced excessive charges, and been given excessive sentences."

Federal Frameups Too
If the LaFollette committee investigators dig deep enough, they will find that colleagues of theirs in the federal government have been joining hands with Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota state and local authorities in the attempt to stem the organizing drive of the teamsters. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was responsible for one of the most outrageous of the series of frame-ups perpetrated—a costly 18-months' "investigation" culminating in September in the arrest, conviction and sentence to two years each in a federal penitentiary of seven union officers of Sioux City, Des Moines and Omaha teamsters' locals on a charge of damaging a truck in a bakery strike.

Now the Federal Trade Commission has filed a complaint against Sioux City and Des Moines bakery drivers and other teamsters' locals.

IBT Will Fight
Padway said that his office had been instructed by the Executive Council of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to use all its resources in contesting the Trade Commission's move.

"We take the position," Padway declared, "that federal anti-trust legislation does not apply to labor unions. As a matter of fact it conceivably could be charged that any contract between an employer and a union of his employees to some extent

(Continued on Page 2)