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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.

The CIO on the FBI

At long last the Congress of Industrial Organizations has taken cognizance of the union-busting activities of Roosevelt's Gestapo, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The March 18 issue of the CIO News carries a full-page blast against Roosevelt's secret police.

Yet both the form and the content of this attack as it appears in the CIO News is of more than passing significance. The articles appear as signed news stories by two CIO newspapermen, reporting in semi-editorial fashion testimony given at hearings on the FBI before a Congressional appropriations committee and statements on the FBI by Senator Norris and various liberal newspapers. There is no official statement of the CIO itself or of any of its leading spokesmen on the FBI or on the Washington hearings. In this manner, the CIO leadership continues to avoid any definite public commitment.

Secondly, the articles are strangely abstract. They correctly state that the FBI "... is really directed at organized labor..." but the FBI activities to which they refer are: finger-printing industrial workers, compiling an index of subversive individuals, inviting snooping reports on activities and opinions of neighbors, and similar exploits. The MAIN anti-labor activities of the FBI during the last year are not mentioned by so much as a word!

Not a word on the prosecution of the Minneapolis WPA strikers, which was prepared by FBI agents acting as agents-provocateur—disguised as strikers. Not a word about the FBI frameup against the Sioux City, Omaha and Des Moines teamsters. Not a word about the recent FBI raid on the New York teamsters. Not a word on the hundreds of cases organized by order of the FBI's parent, the Department of Justice, against the AFL building trades unions, or its case against Joseph Ryan, the AFL longshoremen's leader. In short, not a word about the FBI attacks which are ripping into every section of the AFL.

Why is the CIO silent on the actual, current attempts to undermine and destroy a vital section of the American labor movement? Can it be inferred from this deliberate omission that CIO leaders, in flagrant disregard of the wishes of their own rank and file, are willing to stand by and do nothing and say nothing while the government savagely persecutes a "rival" union? Are the methods of the FBI any less anti-labor because they are directed against "rivals"? Do the CIO leaders nurture the secret hope that the anti-labor government will clear the field for them of their union "rivals"?

There is no information on their attitude—only these sinister indications and their tacit cooperation in the Arnold drive against building union officials. The CIO rank and file must be warned. If Lewis and Co. are toying with suicidal notions of using the FBI against the AFL, they are playing with fire. The day after—and probably before—the G-Men finish their union-busting work in the AFL, they will move in on the CIO. The truth is that the government of bankers and industrialists in Washington, headed by Roosevelt, are much more concerned with smashing or domesticating the unions in the basic industries, auto, steel, rubber, coal, etc.—all CIO affiliates—than in crushing the AFL. If it is true—and it is, a thousand times over—that

the FBI is aiming its artillery primarily against the labor movement, what justification have the CIO leaders for not speaking up when the first shells have already fallen in the camp of the AFL?

It is a good sign that the CIO has finally observed the activities of FBI aircraft overhead. Now what are the CIO leaders going to do about it?

The Paris Commune

What happened in Paris on Monday—it was March 18, the sixty-ninth anniversary of the creation of the Paris Commune—? We scanned all the dispatches, but not a word had got past Daladier's censorship. But who, knowing the French proletariat, can believe that the anniversary of the Commune was not commemorated? In the darkest days of "national unity" during the last World War, when democratic illusions were far more pervasive than today, there were hundreds of thousands in 1914 and millions in 1918 who observed the day. And on May Sunday throughout the day a procession of workers wended their way to Pere Lachaise cemetery and there gazed on the Wall of the Federals, where French "democracy" perpetrated its greatest massacre of the Communards.

Remembering OUR heroic dead, the revolutionary martyrs who died for the World Socialist Republic, who died in the only war worth fighting and dying for, the workers of Paris were thereby remembering what is to be done.

To commemorate the Commune is to condemn as traitors to the working class the Leon Blums and Jouhauxs, the "socialists" and trade union bureaucrats who clasp the hand of Daladier in "national unity" against the "Prussians."

For in 1871 the Prussians held the gates of Paris after a victorious war. The bourgeoisie called for "national unity" so that France might recover... for another war. In the name of national unity they attempted to disarm the Parisian working class which had armed itself during the war. For to the bourgeoisie, Paris in arms was the revolution—it had been that in 1792, 1830, 1848. This time the bourgeoisie did not have its way; the masses of Paris answered them by establishing the Commune.

Those renegades from Marxism, the "socialist" worshippers of legality at any price—they call it "democratic socialism"—have a hard time re-moulding Marx in their image. The Commune stands between them and Marx. He called it the work of "our party." In its justification he wrote The Civil War in France. The Commune, he declared, "will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society." Explain that away, Messrs. Norman Thomas and James Oneal! Marx had a name for their kind: "parliamentary cretins."

The Social-Democrats have tried to reduce the meaning of the Paris Commune to a confused clash forced upon the workers, the revolutionary structure and legislation of the Commune being explained away as desperate defensive measures having no permanent significance for the international working class. But Marx and Engels declared that the Commune had taught them "the finally discovered political form under which the emancipation of labor could take place."

What that political form was, Engels sharply reminded the German socialists on the twentieth anniversary of the Commune:

"Of late the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

In accordance with their pseudo-left turn, the Stalinists have been celebrating the Commune. What a travesty! Stalin is as alien to the Commune as is Leon Blum. Not only because, like Blum, he was yesterday embracing the Daladiers.

We quote Engels on the lessons of the Commune:

"The working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it, and on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment. ... And in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers."

Stalin celebrates the Commune! Stalin, who can recall anybody but cannot himself be recalled; whose "elections" are a replica of Hitler's plebiscites; who more than a decade ago abolished on behalf of the parasitic bureaucracy the rigid rule which prevailed under Lenin and Trotsky that no Communist could receive more than a stipulated wage equivalent, as in the Commune, to that of the skilled worker.

Revolutionary struggle and workers' democracy—these two aspects sum up the meaning of the Commune. To these we remain faithful. For us the Commune is not the occasion for a perfunctory festival but the living sinew of our daily work and thought.

A Soberly-Compiled History Of Kuusinen's 'Peoples Gov't'

By RUTH JEFFREY

All during the Finnish War there was, according to the Daily Worker and the rest of Moscow's press, a People's Government of Finland. It pleases us to compile for posterity the Daily Worker day-by-day History of the People's Government of Finland.

Dec. 2: One week after "the provocative firing on Soviet troops by Finnish army units stationed on the Isthmus of Karelia" (Daily Worker, Nov. 27), "A Finnish People's Government was established in the town of Terijoki in eastern Finland under the leadership of Otto Kuusinen, veteran Finnish working class leader. The first act of the new government was to proclaim its program for a free and sovereign and independent Democratic Republic of Finland. ... Representatives of several Left parties and Finnish troops who had rebelled against the anti-Soviet war of the Finnish ruling class met in Terijoki and agreed on formation of the regime. ... In the critical situation caused by the anti-Soviet war, says the government proclamation, "the wide masses of the Finnish toiling people ... consider it their elementary right and their sacred duty to take the fate of the fatherland into their own reliable hands."

Dec. 3: (front-page streamer headline) "USSR, Finn Peoples Gov't. Pledge Mutual Aid; Soviet Cedes Karelia." Dec. 4: "Revision of the frontiers between the Soviet Union and Finland, provided for in the treaty signed with the People's Government of Finland, was officially announced today." Soviet Karelia became part of Finland.

Dec. 5: The Soviet government refuses an offer, transmitted through Sweden, for new negotiations with the Ryti government of Finland, on the ground that the Soviet government only recognizes in Finland the existence of the People's Government.

Dec. 9: "Greetings to the People's Government of Finland have been adopted at numerous mass meetings in the liberated parts of Finland."

Dec. 11: "The People's Army of the Democratic Republic of Finland is now engaged, with the aid of the civilian population, in clearing populated centers of Schutzcorps officers, wreckers and White Guards. The People's Army men look splendid and are well armed."

Dec. 15: (A headline) "U.S. FINNS VOW SUPPORT FOR PEOPLE'S GOV'T" Dec. 17: The Soviet Government quotes to the League of Nations its pact with the People's Government of Finland, which "insures peace."

Dec. 21: The D.W. denies that there is any truth in the N. Y. Times story of Dec. 20, which tells of "the People's Army of Finland" using medieval uniforms which came from a museum. The D.W. says: "Who ever heard of a museum containing enough uniforms—all of them over 200 years old!—to outfit an army?" Dec. 24: (Stalin had a birthday.) "KUUSINEN HAILS STALIN IN NAME OF FINN PEOPLE"

Dec. 29: "Finn People's Army Hails Stalin As First Defender of Freedom" Jan. 7: (A biography) "Who is Otto Kuusinen, the Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Government. ...? "Who is this Finnish leader who signed ... a treaty ... with Molotov. ...?"

Jan. 14: Paavo Prokkenen, "Minister for Karelian Affairs," praises Stalin for sending supplies to "Finnish towns freed by the Red Army."

Jan. 19: (Headline) "Finnish People Create a New Life Behind Red Army Lines" "The work of the People's Government is difficult, but is earning thanks. It is creating a new country in the midst of innumerable difficulties. The shoots of the new life are being nurtured."

Jan. 22: "Despite harsh censorship ... news is leaking out of growing mass support which is being given directly and indirectly to the Democratic People's Government of Finland, headed by Otto Kuusinen."

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Feb. 4: "Very important things are taking place in Eastern Finland, which has been liberated by the Red Army and the People's Finnish Army. In the villages of Salmi and Suojaervi one can see the new life brought to the inhabitants. ... As yet both villages are but sparsely populated ... (but) each district has a representative of the People's Government of Finland. ..."

Feb. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; March 1, 2—Nothing.

Mar. 3: "In December 1939 the newspaper Kansan Valta (People's Power) began publication in the liberated districts of Finland. Every number of this paper, of by and for the Finnish people, published by the People's Government ... discusses practical activities of the People's Government and the cultural and economic construction in the country."

Mar. 8: (A front-page feature article) "As the Finnish White Guards totter to their fall, let us take a look at the old and the new ruling classes of Finland, as personified by Field Marshal Baron Carl Gustave von Mannerheim and Otto Kuusinen. "The Finnish people know both of these men. ... They know Kuusinen, the friend of Lenin and Stalin. ... Finnish workers of New York tell many stories of their hero, Kuusinen. ..."

Mar. 9: Very incidentally, in any editorial, he is termed "Otto Kuusinen, head of the Provisional People's Government of democratic Finland."

Mar. 13: "PEACE IN FINLAND!" Across the front page, the text of the peace treaty, beginning: "The peace treaty between the USSR and the Republic of Finland." What happened to the peace treaty between the USSR and the People's Government of Finland is not mentioned, that day or any other.

Mar. 20: "The economic and cultural life of the city of Viborg is under the supervision of the representative of the Leningrad Regional Soviet, Borisov."

Organized Unemployed Force Gains In Flint

(Continued from Page 1)

This is the first time in the last couple of years that an unemployed union has actually made the local relief officials talk turkey, and like it. Welfare Administrator Van Geison has made a name for himself as "Flint's Little Hitler" and over and over again had declared he would never meet with union committees. But today he not only met with a union committee, while two hundred shouting, singing union members jammed the outer offices, but made a regular appointment to see the union welfare committee in weekly meetings.

The latest ruling this Van Geison had pushed through the Welfare Board was one tried in many localities, the confiscation of license plates of all car owners on relief, forbidding welfare clients to drive a car. That was particularly serious in this auto city where other forms of transportation are practically non-existent. The union demonstrators forced him to back down on this ruling, and have assurance that license plates of union members will be returned, after the formality of presenting their cases as grievances has been observed.

Previous to this demonstration the welfare department refused to give any medical aid to clients. Now it's a different story, and all due to the action of the union members. This is only one in a series of successful actions recently carried out by the WPA-CIO union. Until today all the fire of the union has been turned on the WPA administration. In a rapid-fire campaign of five or six weeks of fighting, the union has succeeded in taming and training the WPA officials. The city administration has been forced to dig into its coffers and sponsor a half dozen new WPA projects, never thought of before the pressure of the unemployed was put on.

Now the first gun in the campaign to whip the local relief administration into line has been fired, and it hit the mark. The demonstration began at 10:00 a.m., and gradually gained momentum. A picket line of a hundred men and women braved a snow storm to march up and down outside the Welfare building. Across the street, from the windows of the 12-block-long Buick plant, hundreds of auto workers looked on and cheered their unemployed brothers on, many joining in the singing of "Solidarity" with their fellow CIO members who were out in the cold in more ways than one.

Van Geison, the relief administrator, was hung in effigy, and a black coffin was carried commemorating those who have starved while General Motors has piled up its profits of hundreds of millions of dollars every year. Picket signs carried such slogans as "Bread Not Bullets", "All War Funds to the Unemployed". Especially popular was the slogan one sign bore, "General Motors has locked us out ... Demand the 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay".

Lovestone Weeps With Pity for The Bankers

By JOSEPH HANSEN

In his article published in the March 2 issue of the Workers Age, official organ of the Lovestonites, Mr. Graham places the label "Trotskyite Super-Ham-and-Eggs' Plan" upon the emergency demands which the Socialist Workers Party suggests the labor movement make upon Congress. These demands include the following immediate legislation: \$10,000,000,000 for the unemployed, a 30-hour week at minimum pay of \$30, disability and old age pensions of \$30 a week, and \$3,000,000,000 for the youth.

Such demands, claims Mr. Graham, are not feasible under capitalism and therefore should not be raised by the labor movement. He attempts to prove this by pointing to the national income and the federal income and then deducing that these sums are not large enough to carry out the demands of the suggested program. Such arguments, we note in passing, are the stock in trade of all the attorneys of the capitalist system from the Chamber of Commerce right down to the most miserable pettifogging labor lieutenant of Wall Street.

(Mr. Graham draws the moral that our suggesting such demands indicates "again and once again the Stalinists and Trotskyists have something in common—an unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses." This from the Lovestonites who white washed the Moscow Trials and who are now shouting that it is possible—under capitalism!—to "Keep America Out of War.") Are these emergency demands feasible? Is there not enough wealth available in the United States to provide food, clothing, shelter, and jobs for everyone immediately? Let us see.

It Can Be Done!

If it is merely a question of raising the national income or of providing the necessary funds which Mr. Graham believes the present federal income could not provide (under the present tax structure controlled by Wall Street), here are some practical proposals which if carried out would immediately make possible not only the granting of the above emergency demands but far bigger and more important needs of the poverty-stricken levels of the populace:

(1) Open the idle factories and run them at full capacity, providing jobs for all the unemployed in productive enterprises at trade union wages. This would immediately raise the national income, about which Mr. Graham worries, to many times its present figure. True, some of the coupon-clippers might have to take a factory job, but what they lost in dividends from their stock would be made up hundreds of times over by what the workers gained in wages. And who, aside from the Lovestonites, would concern themselves about the whining objections of the stockholders who now live by exploiting and plundering the poor?

(2) Expropriate the parasitic Sixty Families who now dominate and control the nation's industries and who operate them for their private benefit at the expense of the rest of the population. This would immediately provide far more than the amount of funds necessary to carry out the proposed emergency program—thus answering the Lovestonite objection that the federal income is inadequate to supply the funds we call for. True, the Sixty Families would find it somewhat distasteful but again who, aside from the Lovestonites, feels any tenderness for these completely useless and decayed aristocrats of high society?

(3) Run the national industries under the control of factory committees elected by the workers. If the workers themselves controlled the industries, even though they were still "owned" by the capitalists they could be trusted to see to it that the productive system was run at maximum efficiency and that all the secret bookkeeping, the secret deals, the swindles, and frauds which now bleed the enterprises of the nation would be ended. Under this control, the workers could even guarantee their former bosses \$30 a week (if they worked 30 hours a week) or a pension of \$30 a week if they were old or disabled. Under such control of industry by the workers there would be a tremendous leap in production that would immediately raise the national income and the federal income far above the present figures.

Any one of the above three proposals, or all three taken together, if carried out, would provide the answer to Mr. Graham's objections that there aren't enough funds available. And as a starter, just to relieve the worst cases now awaiting the pleasure of the relief authorities, how about the approximately \$18,000,000,000 in pure gold now lying idle in the vaults at Fort Knox? Why not put this money to work relieving human distress? Why not distribute it immediately as a bonus to the unemployed, the underpaid, the aged, the youth, and the disabled while Congress gets the machine greased to put into effect the proposals which would have a more permanent effect?

To add up our proposed demands on a capitalist adding machine as the Lovestonites have done—in an attempt to prove solely on the basis of the present national income under capitalism its death agony and the present tax structure as controlled by Wall Street that these demands are not feasible—is sheer blockheadedness, an unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses.

The Masses Are Not Doomed!

We cannot agree with the implications of Mr. Graham's article that the unemployed, the youth, the aged, and the disabled are doomed to suffer without hope of any gains whatsoever until socialism is securely established. A militant fight on the part of the masses for emergency appropriations by the present Congress would bring greater returns than even those outlined in the program carried on our front page mashead, if the militant fight mobilized the entire working class for the demands.

This program, we are the first to point out, does not offer a permanent solution. We have never claimed that it would. Only socialism can do that. Our entire program is designed to reach that permanent solution, to provide the oppressed masses with a program which will show them the road to that permanent solution.

But there is absolutely no reason for anyone in a land as rich as this going hungry, ill-clothed, or shelterless while the toilers are organizing for socialism. Emergency appropriations by Congress are in order to relieve the present nation-wide distress immediately. It is high time that the labor movement pitted its colossal power in a struggle for this elementary right. (A third article on this question will appear next week.)

You need in your library a copy of

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• A HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by Trotsky
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