

Workers
of the World
Unite!

Socialist Appeal

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Build
Workers Defense
Guards!

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"PEACE" PLEA CLOAKS WAR AIMS

PRES. ROOSEVELT IS DRAGGING US INTO WAR!

President Roosevelt is dragging the United States into the coming war!

He has received no mandate from the people who hate war and do not want to give their lives and freedom for either one of the rival imperialist gangs.

He has not even received authorization from Congress which is supposed to have the exclusive power to declare war.

Yet he is boldly committing the armed and potential forces of the United States to one side in the coming show-down for mastery of the world's wealth and power.

Woodrow Wilson plunged the United States into the last "War for Democracy" with the cry of "Force—force to the utmost!"

Franklin D. Roosevelt is preparing to plunge the country into another treacherous "War for Democracy" with the cry of "Force against force!"

The President has addressed Hitler and Mussolini with a pious appeal for peace to last at least ten more years, if not twenty-five. He asks them to guarantee the independence of thirty-one countries.

Only babies and fools will be deceived by this appeal.

In the first place, Roosevelt and everybody else in the world knows that there isn't a chance in the world of getting the Fascist monsters to give such a guarantee. Even if there were, it wouldn't be worth the paper it is written on.

In the second place, Roosevelt knows—and everybody else should realize—that a number of the countries mentioned by him have already been deprived of their independence by the "Great Democracies."

Ireland, Palestine and Egypt are under the heel of British imperialism.

Syria is the conquered booty of France, whose airplanes and machine-guns have taken a heavy toll of the native tribesmen.

Roosevelt's spurious appeal is merely for the record—otherwise it would have been preceded by the granting of complete and genuine independence to Roosevelt's own colonies: the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Samoa, etc.

It is made for the record so that Roosevelt may be able to "justify" entering the war on the grounds that he did all in his power to prevent it.

It is made for the record, because Roosevelt has already taken decisive steps to commit the United States to participation in the war.

At the same time the appeal was issued, virtually the entire American Navy was ordered to the Pacific Ocean. The order universally understood to be a belligerent gesture against Japan, the partner of the Rome-Berlin axis. The threat to Japan is not made in the interests of "democracy,"

but for the preservation of Wall Street interests in China. The naval order was obviously issued in harmony with the orders recently issued for the movement of French and British warships in the Mediterranean. Roosevelt is already acting in concert with the war plans of Anglo-French imperialism.

By whose authorization?

The day before his appeal to Hitler and Mussolini, the Associated Press reported that "United States Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy called on Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, congratulating him on his statement in the House of Commons yesterday in which he extended guarantees of independence to Greece and Rumania."

Who authorized Roosevelt's Ambassador to take any such step?

Who has decided that the United States is to be sent into a war to "guarantee the frontiers" of Poland, or of Rumania, or of Greece? Those frontiers were established by a bandit war which ended with a peace so atrocious in its provisions that the American Government of the time was compelled to refrain from signing it.

Roosevelt has been in office more than six years. He has not solved a single fundamental problem of the crisis. Millions are still unemployed and on the verge of starvation. Industrial life continues at a low level. The whole labor movement is struck blow after blow — by employers, by the government, by the courts.

Roosevelt's latest solution for unemployment is to kill off a few million in the ghastly war that impends. He hopes to turn attention away from his bankruptcy at home by rattling the saber of war.

The workers of America have the deepest horror and hatred of Hitler and Mussolini. But at the same time they have no reason in the world for trusting the imperialist pirates of France, England and the United States who sail under the flag of "democracy."

They must not allow themselves to be tricked into another "War for Democracy."

Roosevelt talks a good deal about "democracy" and "rights."

At the same time, he drives full speed ahead to war without bothering to consult the masses of the people—whose opposition to war is perfectly well known.

Let the people demand the democratic right to vote on whether or not they want to enter the war, on whether or not the United States shall participate in it!

Demand the right to a popular referendum on war, no matter where it is to be fought!

Organize to stop the Roosevelt regime from dragging us into a new world slaughter!

What the Last War for "Democracy" Was About!



RANKS OF MINE WORKERS SOLID AS PARLEYS LAG

Principal Demands Are Surrendered by Lewis-Murray

Some 320,000 soft coal miners are out on strike in the Appalachian region. Since April 1, pits and shafts from Pennsylvania to Alabama have been idle. Almost continual conferences have been held for over a month at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City between the operators and representatives of the United Mine Workers of America, but both sides declared up to April 17 that the negotiations were "hopelessly deadlocked."

Meanwhile all large metropolitan centers of the east are facing imminent coal shortages. The transit lines of New York City have only a week's supply on hand. Other large eastern cities are in a position similar to New York.

New York's Mayor La Guardia wired President Roosevelt last Sunday, asking the latter to intervene in the strike. It was believed that the President would make some move in this direction.

Contract Provisions
The contract between the coal operators and the U.M.W.A., which expired on March 31, provided for a 35-hour week in the bituminous coal fields, and a daily basic wage of \$6 in the north and \$5.60 in the south. A miner would consider it a miracle, however, if he earned an average of \$1,000 during the year.

All eastern coal miners have been unemployed more than half the time during the last two-year period and many coal miners throughout Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Alabama have hardly been able to find a day's employment during the last contract period. The rank and file of the soft coal area demanded therefore a reduction of the work week, an increase of pay, and an established minimum annual salary guaranteed every coal miner.

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How Much 'Democracy' Is There To Defend?

President Roosevelt has sought to appear before the American working class as the defender of the "democracies." In justifying his war program he has pointed to the defenseless "democracies" lying to the south which need "our" neighborly protection. As part of the attempt to build up the illusion, Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles stated before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he knows of no government on the continent that is not a republic. To which Senator Borah added that "We will call them 'republic'—it does not make any difference what they are but we will designate them 'republics'."

A roll call of the 22 countries of Latin America reveals that 19 of them are ground under the heels of dictatorial regimes every bit as brutal and oppressive as the Fascist regimes on the other side of the Atlantic.

The 19 dictatorships are Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico—an American colony—British, French, and Dutch Guiana, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Haiti, Costa Rica, Panama, Argentina, and Cuba. Only in Chile, Colombia, and Mexico can the democratic form of government be said to exist! This is Roosevelt's continental axis designed not to defend democracy but the profits of Yankee imperialism from inroads of Wall Street's rivals.

THREE WITNESSES ARE HEARD AT N.Y. PASSPORT FRAUD TRIAL

By NAT LEVINE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK—A mountain of damning evidence is being piled up by government prosecutors at the trial of Ossip Garber, Edward Blatt and Aaron Sharfin, the three men charged with a conspiracy to forge and alter passports for eighteen men and women, among them the Moscow-imprisoned G.P.U. agents, Donald Lewis Robinson and Ruth Marie Rubens.

Although the government has not thus far attempted to establish the Stalinist relations which existed between the Robinson-Rubens couple and the defendants, it has been previously revealed in the *Socialist Appeal* that the missing secret agents were on intimate terms with various people close to and in the Communist Party, U.S.A.

On various occasions, passports either forged or altered by Garber and Blatt and put into the process of certification by Sharfin, were returned in care of the Drama Travel League at 12 West 46 Street, whose head, Helen Ravitch, is the wife of Dr. Solon Bernstein, one time personal physician to William Z. Foster.

May Be G.P.U. Agents
The charges of G.P.U. agents against the Robinson-Rubens couple was first launched by the *Socialist Appeal* and was followed soon after by a similar

Order to Fleet Is Designed to Head off Japan

Main Sphere of U.S. Action in War Will Be Pacific; Navies on Move in Europe; Chamberlain Woos Stalin

HITLER READY FOR DANZIG COUP

President Roosevelt's open declaration that he was ready to plunge the United States into the war now impending in Europe was the week's major development in the world's permanent war crisis.

That he expected war, and not peace, to be the most likely sequel to his dramatic intervention was shown by Roosevelt's simultaneous order to the United States fleet to return with maximum speed to the Pacific.

The fleet move was made because the Pacific will be the most vital war zone for Yankee imperialism. Japan has taken another stride forward in its own expansionist program by annexing a string of islands 300 miles long in the China Sea, acquiring potential naval and air bases athwart the routes to and from British Singapore and Borneo, French Indo-China, the American Philippines, and the Dutch East Indies.

To Parry Japan
It is to parry the further Japanese moves that are inevitable when war breaks out in Europe that Roosevelt wants to keep the fleet in the western ocean, the mastery of which will be one of the key issues of the coming war as far as Wall Street is concerned.

Meanwhile in Europe guns, ships and men continued to move in pace with war-making diplomacy on all fronts. The navies of Britain, France, Germany, and Italy squared off in the Mediterranean and along Europe's frontiers armies were moved into fighting positions. As Hitler set April 28 to make a formal reply to Roosevelt, his army prepared to move into Danzig. Britain was trying to get Poland to give up the Free City without making it a cause for war. Roosevelt seconded this by omitting Danzig from the list of states in his message to Hitler and Mussolini.

Fear Gibraltar Coup
Simultaneously concentration of troops in Spanish territory close to Gibraltar and in Morocco kept the western admiralities on the jump in fear of a coup in Morocco or even against Gibraltar itself. On the diplomatic front the

major development was the opening of negotiations between Britain and the Soviet Union for bringing the latter into the Anglo-French bloc. These negotiations were complicated by a whole series of factors. Neither Poland nor Rumania—both now guaranteed by Britain—are willing to accept the prospect of Russian troops marching across their countries. They are still torn by the contradictions of their unfortunate position between the Nazi ogre on the one side and what they regard and have always regarded as the Russian "menace" on the other.

Moscow Cautious
Moreover the Moscow government on its own part has been unwilling to accept the Anglo-French courtship at its face value. Stalin wooed and thought he had won France in 1935 and he deliberately strangled the Spanish revolution in order to stay in Marianne's bed during the next three years. At Munich he was rudely kicked out.

Having long since abandoned the international working class as an ally and being no longer capable of returning to the program of the world revolution—the only program capable of saving the Socialist foundations created by the Russian revolution—Stalin has since been occupying a cautious middle position. In the present crisis he has sedulously left the door open to any possible deal with Hitler and held the suddenly adfledionate Chamberlain and Daladier off at arm's length.

The present negotiations appear to be tending in the direction of a limited undertaking by Stalin to join the Anglo-French bloc. This is by no means determined, however, as Walter Duranty, in his own sullen, incoherent way, has been insisting daily in the New York Times.

Not So Hostile
"At the risk of appearing tiresome," he said in a dispatch last Sunday, "I am once more forced to repeat that in my opinion in regard to a potential conflict between Italy and Germany on the one side and France and Britain on the other, the Russians are not so entirely hostile to the Germans and the Italians as the British and the French may believe."

It has long been a well-known fact that Duranty does not write as he pleases but as the G.P.U. pleases. These dispatches of his indicate that either Stalin himself or an important faction close to him favors continuing advances to Hitler rather than a plunge into the Anglo-French combination.

But Stalin is no longer a free agent. Around him are the ruins of the revolution he strangled and beyond that the hostile capitalist world—in all its factions—which still wishes it could find a way of solving its problems by carving up the rich markets and resources of Russia. That is a hope that will be abandoned only when the workers of a war-torn world grasp the reins of power from the bloody hands of the capitalist war-makers.

LABOR WILL BE REGIMENTED UNDER MOBILIZATION PLAN

By HAL DRAPER

The Industrial Mobilization Plan of the War Department, now resting in the files ready to be sprung on M-day, has the labor problem all figured out. As Colonel Harris of the War Department stated in discussing the Plan, "Labor is the greatest single element of cost" in wartime; and therefore expenses must be cut down, in order that once again the earnings of U.S. Steel may rise from \$52 million to over \$500 million, as they did from 1914 to 1918.

It has often been pointed out that workers' wages rose sharply during the World War. Insofar as this is true, the War Department is determined that it shall not happen again. But even for the last war, this fact does not tell the whole story.

Real Wages Drop
(1) While the money earnings of all employed wage-earners rose by 63 per cent, their real wages (as compared with the rise in prices) rose by only 4 per cent.

(2) Even this figure is arrived at by considering all strata

of wage-earners in one lump. Actually, the wages of the large mass of workers did not share this rise, but in most cases declined in comparison with the cost of living.

It is no wonder that the Secretary of Labor made the following report during the war years: "With the exception of the sacrifices of the men in the armed service, the greatest sacrifices have come from those at the lower rung of the industrial ladder. Wage increases respond last to the needs of this class of labor, and their meager returns are hardly adequate, in view of the increased cost of living, to maintain their meager standard of life. It is upon them the war pressure has borne most severely. Too often there is a glaring inconsistency between our democratic purposes in this war abroad and the autocratic conduct of those guiding industry at home."

Will Fix Wages
This time the government intends to give "those guiding industry" a hand in keeping down wages. The Plan specifically provides for the fixing of wages by a government war board; or to use its own language, the projected Price-Control Commission (which incidentally will consist of industrialists, with no labor representation) has the right to the "formulation of policies and methods for the control of prices and profits, and for the stabilization of fair wages."

It has been many times demonstrated, by the Nye Committee of the Senate and others, that wartime price-fixing by the government could not begin to be effective. Not so with wage-fixing, when any attempt by the workers to protect their interests will be met with military repression.

While the Plan clearly requires the fixing of wages, the M-day bills introduced in Congress attempt to gloss over this feature; but the men behind the I.M.P. are not so ambiguous. Colonel Taylor, American Legion agent in Washington and reputedly the author of the Sheppard-Hill M-day bill, testified as follows on its price-

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In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

While the politicians in Washington are proceeding to carve out the life of the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, the National Labor Relations Board is ready to spring one of its most sensational hearings in the case of the United Rubber Workers of America against the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. of Akron, Ohio.

The amazing story of the development and the results of the sit-down strikes in the giant rubber plants in 1936 will be unfolded, and this is a subject on which both the company and the C.I.O. are extremely sensitive.

Neither side is anxious to have this hot potato occupy the center of the stage but it is inevitable. For it was in resisting the onslaught of the rubber workers through their effective sit-down strike that Goodyear earned its notorious reputation as a scab outfit.

The Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion, the Goodyear Stahl-mate Club and countless other anti-union organizations had mushroom growth and decline during this period while the Goodyear officials experimented to find a way of stopping union growth. Spies, stool-pigeons, Mr. Paul Bergoff himself, the Law and Order League, ex-Mayor C. Nelson Sparks and the war veterans—all the potential and fascist scum took a crack at breaking the union but still it established itself.

Bribing politicians, giving city policemen bonuses to club and tear gas union pickets, and every other conceivable method was used by the company to stop the rubber workers.

Headlines Are Due

In the revealing of this story before the N.L.R.B., America will get a concise picture of the whole story of the difficulties and problems that faced the C.I.O. in its early days.

Tom Girdler as a member of the Board of Directors of Goodyear, P. W. Litchfield, company president, Akron city officials and others should be in for some very unpleasant publicity.

The company will probably try to avoid the issues by the simple device of raising the cry of "revolution" and "Soviets" against the sit-downs of which quite a few dozen were pulled at Goodyear.

In particular, on May 20, 1936 Goodyear yelled that the workers formed a Soviet at plant two when a group of cool-headed union committeemen took charge of the plant to prevent considerable bloodshed which threatened because of the provocations of company unionists and stooges.

Although 21 union men were arrested for "rioting" the frame-up charges were exposed and the union militants freed.

Boomerang Statements

Another time Cliff Slusser, vice-president of the company, got drunk and tried to get tough with union militants in the plant, according to the unionists, and he was ejected for his own good. Of course, this incident will be termed "insurrection" by the company.

There is no question but that an intelligent answer will stop the company's counter-offensive when the hearings begin. Unfortunately, prominent union officials like John House, Goodyear Local president, and Stanley Denlinger, attorney for the U.R.W.A., have made some ill-advised statements on sit-downs, etc., and these can easily boomerang.

One thing is certain, however. For the first time in C.I.O. history, the whole story of sit-downs, etc. from every point of view is going to be told.

REFUGEE NEEDS A TYPEWRITER

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees needs a typewriter for a refugee recently arrived in this country. In order to enable him to earn a living, a typewriter is an urgent necessity. If you have a typewriter you can give or lend this refugee, please communicate with the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Algonquin 4-8649, and arrangements will be made to call for the machine.

320,000 Miners Solid in Strike

Lewis Drops Miners' Economic Demands; Holds Out Only for Closed Shop

(Continued from Page 1)

John L. Lewis and Philip Murray, leaders of the U.M.W.A. committee in the current negotiations, therefore made a pretense of fighting for these just and necessary demands of the coal miners. At the beginning of the negotiations, Lewis announced that he would fight for the 30-hour week, an increase in the basic daily wage and for the establishment of a guaranteed annual wage. Everything favored such a battle at this time; the miners had every chance of success. They would have commanded, in such a fight, the unquestioned moral, financial and physical support of every affiliate of the C.I.O. and many local union organizations of the A.F.L.

The miners, the best organized group of men in any industry of the U. S., could have halted the present backward movement of the C.I.O. and taken the leadership in the forward march of all American labor.

Negotiators Give Way

But obviously Lewis and Murray did not take this fight very seriously. The very idea of leading a great pioneering movement in their industry for the 30-hour week is beyond them. These smug union politicians do not understand that the miners must have great improvements in their present unbearable economic conditions, or the miners will lose their confidence in and their loyalty to unionism. So these supposed brilliant negotiators proceed to give away one point after another. They give away the 30-hour week. They give away the increased basic wage. They give away the guaranteed annual wage. Then they go ahead and call the miners out on strike! For what? There is no disagreement between the two negotiating committees now on wages or working conditions.

M-Day Plans Deprive Labor of All Freedom

(Continued from Page 1)

fixing provision: "I am suggesting, Mr. Chairman, that after the word 'article' the word 'service' be inserted, so that we shall very specifically know that this legislation shall apply to wages." When a Senator asked, "You mean a clerk in a store should have his salary fixed?" Taylor replied, "Everything."

Pretexts to Cut Wages

Colonel Harris reported to the Nye Committee in 1934 that the N.R.A. labor administrators were to be used to fix maximum wages for workers.

Some of the pretexts whereby wages will be cut have already been indicated. One is the plea that since prices are being "controlled," wages need not rise. Colonel Taylor can be cited here again because, being an unofficial representative of the War Department, he could afford to be frank on this delicate topic: "There is no question that during the world war the pay of workers was forced to follow the rise in the cost of living. But, with prices remaining stable, there would not be such a demand for higher wages."

Another pretext will be the slogan of "equalizing the burdens of war" as between the soldiers at the front and civilians at home. This slogan is popular among the veterans as a protest against war profiteering, but with typical demagoguery, Roosevelt turned its point in another direction. In December 1934, after announcing at a press conference that "The time has come to take the profits out of war," Roosevelt went on to deplore the fact that "soldiers who enlisted or were drafted into service served the U. S. in a hazardous manner for \$1 a day while munitions workers received possibly \$10 a day." (N. Y. Times).

In the same vein, about a week later, Colonel Harris complained that such a spread "wasn't ethical," neither of them mentioning the swollen salaries and war bonuses paid out to the patriotic presidents of DuPont, the Hercules Powder Co., etc. Conclusion? "Equalize the burdens" of the soldier and worker by—bringing the latter's wage nearer \$1 a day too!

An American Legion organ summed up the plan casually in the following manner: "This draft plan, as you know, proposes to draft all workers and all manufacturing plants into

Lewis and Murray call the miners out on strike for the closed shop.

The closed shop is an important union weapon to consolidate the union position and to resist the employers' efforts to break up the union organization. But one has got to be a pretty smug bureaucrat to forget all about the economic demands of the workers and send them out into battle only for the closed shop. The miners are striking anyhow, but have already, in advance, given up their claim to economic betterment. No wonder the employers and the politicians think Lewis and Murray are "brilliant negotiators."

Strike Effective

The miners, with the splendid discipline and courage for which they are famed, have shut down every mine tight as a drum. To date the strike is pretty near 100 percent effective.

Behind the stubborn demand for the closed shop lies the fear of Lewis that the mine operators will utilize the fight between the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. to break the organization of the mine workers. The reactionary A.F.L. Executive Council has already attempted to convince some of the soft coal operators not to sign an agreement with the U.M.W.A., as the Progressive Miners of America, an A.F.L. affiliate, might be willing to sign an agreement on more lenient terms.

While all union men are rallying to the cause of the valiant soft coal miners, the present strike is seen as one more compelling reason to cement an honest fusion between the two houses of labor. Labor, as the present strike indicates, needs all of its strength to fight the reactionary employers and their anti-union campaign.

Government service, the same as it does the men in the army, nor would there be any high wages paid to the man who stays at home."

Contracts Voided

The government intends to have an easier time with respect to other working conditions. All legislation on hours and conditions, as well as trade union agreements on these subjects, will merely be declared null and void. The I.M.P. actually states: "Many of these regulations and restrictions are expedient rather than necessary to the well-being of either the Nation or the workers. In a national emergency much of this expediency is lost and the operation of these regulations and restrictions should be suspended." The restrictions are listed as those "issued by various authorized Federal and State agencies, by agreements with trade unions, and in other ways."

In line with this, in 1934, the War Department was planning to include section 7a of the N.R.A. as one of the "restrictions" to be scrapped. "I would like to ask if the War Department has prepared a list of statutes to be suspended in the event of war," inquired Senator Clark of the Nye Committee. "Merely a tentative draft, not passed on or approved as yet," replied Col. Harris. This will be a special board, the Legal Division, charged with the illegal task of suspending this selected list of laws and union contracts.

Profiteers Pleased

Among the first laws to be scrapped will be those dealing with women and child labor. There will be a Reserve Woman Power Division: "The specific mission of this division is to recommend methods for the recruiting, training, and infiltration of women, not gainfully employed, into industry, commerce and auxiliary services"—and not only in industry but also "for duty with the armed forces." The plan specifically states: "There will be a Council of Minors to impress children below 18 into industry."

"What is the attitude of industry toward the plan?" an interviewer from the "Nation's Business" asked Assistant Secretary of War Johnson, who is in charge of the I.M.P.

"One of perfect cooperation," Johnson replied. "So far as I know, one of perfect satisfaction."

TROTSKY GREETSTRESCA ON 40th YEAR AS FIGHTER

The fortieth anniversary of Carlo Tresca's participation in the working class movement was celebrated last Friday night in New York City with a banquet in his honor in which representatives of many political shades of opinion joined. Comrade Trotsky sent the following letter to the well-known anarchist fighter:

In spite of all the profound divergences, which neither you nor I have the habit of denying or attenuating, I hope that you will permit me to express the deepest esteem for you, as for a man who is every inch a fighter. Your sixtieth birthday is being celebrated by your friends and I take the liberty of including myself among them. I hope that your moral vigor and revolutionary ardor will be conserved for a long time to come. I embrace you wholeheartedly.

Yours,
Leon Trotsky
April 10, 1939.

CONVENTION OF PROJECT UNION OPPOSES WAR

Rapid Growth Reported In Membership of Organization

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK.—A city-wide convention of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, attended by 82 delegates representing 22 locals, adopted a resolution denouncing Roosevelt's war-mongering and declared the firm opposition of the U.P.W.U. to any war the United States may enter and demanded that a people's referendum be granted so that the working class of America may register its opposition to war. The delegates further demanded that all war funds be transferred to the unemployed and W.P.A. budgets.

The officers' reports were accepted as read and Sister Pearson was applauded when she announced that the U.P.W.U. had grown from 13 locals which split from the Workers Alliance last fall, to 22 locals—a gain of nine—with 17 unemployed locals and four W.P.A. locals.

The anti-war resolution adopted was as follows: Whereas: today the world is threatened by a war in which the workers and farmers will once more be called upon to lay down their lives to protect and expand the imperialist interests of the bosses, and

Whereas: the unemployed workers will be among the first to be slaughtered, as in the last war, and

Whereas: the Roosevelt government's frenzied preparations for war are a mortal danger to all workers—unemployed as well as employed—and include the launching of a gigantic program of over a billion dollars for arms, twelve hundred millions additional for warships, and whereas the relief appropriation of 1936 was \$1,425,000,000 as compared to 1938's \$725,000,000, and

Whereas: the billions of dollars being appropriated for destruction and death are being taken from the mouths of the unemployed and could be used for W.P.A., food, clothing, and a housing program, and

Whereas: the Roosevelt government is already engaged in a campaign to militarize the relief and W.P.A. workers by the use of generals, captains, and other army officers in the administration of relief, W.P.A. and N.Y.A.

Therefore Be It Resolved: 1. That the Unemployed and Project Workers Union of New York, voicing the determination of more than 3,000 unemployed and W.P.A. workers, declares its firm opposition to any war launched by the government.

2. That we support a people's referendum on war so that the employed and unemployed workers shall have the right to voice their opposition to war.

3. That we demand all war funds to be unemployed.

4. That we shall join with all other forces in the labor movement who share our views for the purpose of consolidating the strongest possible movement of resistance to war and war-mongers.

WANTED: Comrades to share bungalow on Lake Hopatcong, New Jersey. Good swimming, boating, fishing, hitchhiking easy. Answer F. H., c/o Socialist Appeal, 116 University Pl.

FULL CHARGE BOOKKEEPER, 9 years experience, good references desires position. Call AL 4-8547.

Hear Witnesses At Passport Trial

Previously Disclosed Evidence Points to Link With Soviet Secret Police

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prosecution. They were the Harry Zuckerman couple, Mr. Adolph Rudewitz and John Sarkotich.

From the testimony given by Mr. and Mrs. Harry Zuckerman, it is clear that, as intimate friends of the Stalinist defendant Sharfin, they must have been aware of both his political connections, although they deny this, and of the activities of the passport ring. Witness, for example, that Zuckerman was the main link between Sharfin and the forgers, and the Tammany politicians who facilitated the certification of the phony passports. That Zuckerman has turned government witness can only mean that, to escape trial, he offered to snitch on his friend of 13 years' standing, Aaron Sharfin.

Next government witness of importance was introduced by Prosecutor Werner. He is Adolph Rudewitz, of Chicago, the man whose name and birthdate were used by "Robinson" in obtaining a passport. From the introduction of evidence, followed by the examination of Rudewitz by Werner, it was learned that the Chicago man's name was taken over by the so-called Robinson and, with the assistance of Blatt, was illegally changed by court order from Adolph Rudewitz to Adolph Arnold Rubens, in which name a passport was obtained on April 7, 1936. The witness testified that he had never applied for a passport and had never met Edward Blatt.

Missing Defendants

Again: Although there are three defendants on trial, other defendants are listed, each of whom is missing. They may, of course, well be the Robinson-Rubens couple, who were not averse to using more than one pseudonym. Among the missing defendants at this trial is one, Gerald Mark Moren.

The prosecution brought out that the name Gerald Mark Moren was obtained by court order. Blatt had affected the change to Moren from Marko Philippovitch. To prove that the defendant Blatt was aware that he was arranging for a passport under a phony name, the prosecution introduced a Gary, Indiana, grocer, John Sarkotich. Sarkotich testified that he knew Marko Philippovitch but had last seen him in 1932 in a Gary hospital where he later died. Sarkotich identified a picture of the dead man and identified himself as the person whose name appears on the naturalization papers issued to Philippovitch.

Columbus Circle Rally Is SWP May Day Plan

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK, April 17.—Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party is planning a May Day rally at Columbus Circle for the afternoon of May 1. E. R. McKinney, City Organizer, announced today. The slogans will include the anti-capitalist slogans characteristic of May Days of past years, as well as slogans against fascism, against the W.P.A. lay-offs, for increased relief and for the six-hour day.

The demonstration will be a colorful affair with banners and music. A joint committee of the Party and Young People's Socialist League is working on the arrangements.

There will be no general united front May Day in New York this year. "The object of a united front on May Day," a party statement points out, "is to involve masses of workers in genuine class struggle demonstrations, under genuine working class slogans."

Stalinists Violate Tradition The demonstration called by the Stalinists will, to be sure involve masses. But the character of the demonstration will be clearly patriotic, class collaborationist and in favor of the so-called collective security front of the "democratic" capitalists against the Rome-Berlin axis. Every statement issued from the "Provisional May Day Committee" makes this plain. The tradition of the May Day demonstrations throughout the years, the tradition of struggle against the bosses and their wars, will therefore be clearly violated.

The Socialist Workers Party feels that under the circumstances, the May Day tradition can best be upheld by a demonstration which will be clearly anti-capitalist and anti-war in character.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

BEER PARTY & DANCE: Saturday night, April 22 at 9 P.M. Greek Workers Center 167 W. 29th St. FREE BEER! Admission: Men 50c Ladies Free Aspicues: Progressive Cafeteria Workers.

GRAND-BAL-MUSETTE Paris comes to New York. Saturday, April 22, 916 Ninth Ave. (59th St.), New York City. French orchestra. Aspicues: French Workers Committee.

HOUSEWARMING DANCE at our new headquarters, 51 E. 7th St. Saturday, April 22. Keep this date for a jolly evening. Aspicues: Downtown Branch S.W.P. and the Leon Sedoff Unit of the Y.P.S.L., New York City.

The A B C of Marxism

By HAL DRAPER

A simple, clear and comprehensive explanation of basic Marxist ideas—for study classes and self-study. 40 pages, mimeographed pamphlet, printed cover. Published by the National Educational Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York City. Single copies: 10c. 15c by mail. 7c in bundles of 10 or more.



"Enclosed is a money order for a ten dollar (\$10.00) greeting in the May Day issue of the APPEAL for the Boston local.

"Here's hoping for a slam-bang May Day issue!"—Bill Trainor, secretary of the Boston branch.

Branches have until Saturday, April 22 in which to place their extra bundle-orders. send in their greetings and collection lists for the May Day issue.

Many branches have yet to

send in greetings: Chicago, some of the New York Branches: St. Louis, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, California; Detroit, Cleveland, Akron and others.

We repeat: April 22 is the deadline for greetings since the paper must be set up in advance.

Likewise, the above branches with the exception of Minneapolis, have failed to send in increased bundle orders. This week is your final opportunity. New York City is planning to handle several thousand extra May Day Appeals. What about your branch?

Watch for the May-Day Appeal! The Voice of Militant Labor!

Inventor of Cotton Picker Says Planned Economy Only Way Out

By J. PYTLAK

John Rust, co-inventor of the only practical cotton picking machine, told this reporter that his invention would greatly accelerate technological unemployment. The lot of the share cropper, he maintained, already miserable beyond description, would grow steadily worse.

Mr. Rust stated that the tractor had already displaced half a million to a million cotton tenants. His own picker, which is about to be introduced, can do the work of 50 to 100 hand pickers. Large-scale introduction of the new machine will displace 75 to 80 percent of the remaining tenants and sooner or later almost all wage labor will become superfluous except that necessary to operate machines.

The tenants who remain will be compelled, if the land is suitable, to buy the machine lest they be unable to compete. Mr. Rust, who is not merely an inventor but also a man fully conscious of the social consequences of a practical, commercial invention, stated that it was the duty of the government to absorb displaced tenants and laborers on nation-wide housing and cooperative farm projects.

Will Train Workers

The Rust Foundation, which is being organized by both Rust brothers, will have as one of its functions the training of the unemployed to use the new machine, so that some of them will find new types of employment at higher wages.

Asked what he thought of the A.A.A. and the various government crop reduction programs, Mr. Rust replied that he was absolutely opposed to them. He is in favor of some type of domestic allotment plan whereby the farmer will receive a bonus on each bale of cotton sold for consumption in the United States.

"Although a large scale housing program, cooperative farm projects and retraining may do some immediate good," the inventor concluded, "only the introduction of a planned economy of abundance based on production for use will solve the problem of technological unemployment. Under such an economy new inventions cannot cause unemployment but can only serve to lighten the burden of toil and raise the standard of living generally."

Yezhov's Victims In Spain Must Cry Out

Yezhov, the former head of the G.P.U., fell into disgrace for a number of reasons. But undoubtedly connected with his fall are the Spanish events. The rout of the armies of the Red, and the public government which was brought about with the aid of most active participation of the G.P.U., represents a very great danger both for the G.P.U. and its masters in the Kremlin.

Innumerable crimes committed on the Iberian peninsula by

the international scoundrels in Stalin's employ must now inevitably come out into the open. Scores, hundreds, and thousands of witnesses, victims, and participants are now departing and fleeing from Spain to all parts of the world. They will carry with them everywhere their testimony concerning the crimes of the G.P.U. in Spain. Truth will become accessible to broad circles of the population in all countries.

If the Republicans had been victorious, many would have been inclined to condone Stalin's crimes: "Conquerors are not brought to judgment." But it has now become perfectly clear that the infamous murderers of revolutionists only served to facilitate Franco's victory. The blinders will fall from the eyes of many a blinded man.

In pursuance of his traditional method, Stalin has tried, by a timely removal of Yezhov to say: "Yezhov is guilty of all this—not I." But after all this, who will believe this cowardly cunning which begins to look more and more like stupidity? For the crimes in Spain, Stalin himself is personally answerable to the world working class—both for the perfidious policy of the Comintern and for the murderous policy of the G.P.U.

Almost in every country in the world there are people who have passed in one way or another through the hands of the G.P.U. After the massacre of Spain, the number of such individuals has enormously increased. When forced to free their victims from the clutching claws, the agents of the G.P.U. usually say: "Remember we have far reaching hands." The fear of this threat seals many a lip. We must now do all in our power to make the terrified ones speak up. Our comrades in all countries must explain to all former victims and semi-victims of the G.P.U. that it is their direct duty to tell everything they know. Their relatives in the U.S.S.R. will not suffer if the revelations assume a mass character. The organizations of the Fourth International can and must give these revelations, such a mass character. At present, this is an extremely urgent task in the struggle against the international Stalinist Mafia.

C.P.'s Mr. FORD SQUIRMS OUT OF DEBATING JAMES

The average Communist Party leader is usually ready to argue for hours at a time about the necessity of building "our" war machine and stopping the aggressors, or how the Trotskyists with their revolutionary slogans are undermining traditional American institutions.

Through the column of Geo. S. Schuyler in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, a Negro newspaper, we learn that James Ford, one of the hot-shots in the Communist Party and perennial candidate for vice-president of the United States on the Communist Party ticket turned down a chance to debate with C. L. R. James, famous Negro writer from Great Britain.

Proposed by Wilkins The proposal for the debate came from Dr. Roy Wilkins, editor of the widely known Negro journal, *Crisis*. Mr. Wilkins thought that it would be of real value to the Negro race in the United States to hear a debate between two prominent Negroes who disagree on what is the best program for the Negroes to obtain their full rights.

Ford's program, as is well known, advocates supporting the Roosevelt capitalist government in the coming world war. James' program as embodied in the carefully written books which have given him an enviable reputation throughout liberal circles, advocates working class solidarity, equal rights for Negro workers, and uncompromising struggle against capitalism and its oppression no matter what its form might be.

Mr. Schuyler reports that C. L. R. James was willing to meet Mr. Ford on a public platform where each would have equal opportunity to express his views in democratic fashion. But Mr. Ford, the Communist Party leader, when approached, "curved like an Australian boomerang." Mr. Ford absolutely refused to debate James, and blew off steam over the proposal in a long letter to *Crisis* in which he gave no coherent reason for refusing the debate, but merely called James by the most selective assortment of names to be found in the *Daily Worker*.

Ford has always been willing to debate with apologists for capitalism and with mild liberals of every hue, but when he had the chance to debate a real Negro leader who is 100 per cent for emancipation of his race, Mr. Ford found it advisable not to appear on the public platform.

James has been touring the United States, speaking on "The Decline of the British Empire."

Thousands of workers, Negro and white have heard his passionate words against the unbearable exploitation visited on the oppressed of the world. They know him for an honest and sincere Negro leader ready to carry his message anywhere and to debate it against anyone with the courage to stand up and defend his convictions. The action of Mr. Ford cannot but help convince them that the Communist Party leaders are playing a role far less honorable.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

"Poor Little Poland" Carries on for Democracy

All eyes have been turned on Poland as the newest and most dangerous of the powder barrels from which the coming European and World War is to get its first spark. The Chamberlain-Daladier crowd, in their campaign of encirclement against the Fascist Axis, have replaced the late republic of Czechoslovakia with Poland in their propaganda as the symbol of the "democracy" they are fighting for. Henceforth, we shall probably hear from them and from their American counterparts in the Roosevelt war machine, including the Stalinists and social democrats, of all kinds of outrages being committed against "poor little Poland."

It is therefore highly interesting to read in a not so old copy of the *British Manchester Guardian*, which is part and parcel of this campaign, how "democracy" actually fares in Poland.

"The Polish terror in the Ukraine," wrote a correspondent of that paper, "is now worse than anything that is happening anywhere in Europe. The Ukraine has become a land of despair and desolation that is all the more poignant because the rights of the Ukraine have been guaranteed by international treaty. Because the League of Nations has been altogether deaf to appeals and arguments and because the outside world doesn't care." (10-18-30).

Conditions in the Polish Ukraine have, if anything, become worse since the rise of the Hitler threat. What treatment the Jewish minority receives in Poland has been a matter of public scandal for years. Yet this is the "poor little democracy" that we are going to be drummed up to defend in the coming conflagration.

Sixty Hours for the Workers— Jail Terms for IV Internationalists

Hand in hand with the Daladier decrees abrogating the forty-hour week and replacing it with the sixty hours, with the decrees abolishing nearly every economic gain achieved by the French workers in recent years, goes the ferocious attack against the French Fourth Internationalists.

We have already reported here the arrests of our comrades Suzanne Charpy, Loret and Steve. Word now comes that comrade Morel, who succeeded Charpy as editor of *Revolution*, the organ of the French Youth Section is under indictment on similar charges. Comrades Beaufre, Philipp and Forges, three militants of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth, are likewise under indictment for "provoking the military to disobedience," due to articles which appeared in the very latest issue of *Revolution*. Beaufre has also been indicted for distributing a leaflet entitled: "Defend the Forty Hours! Down with the Daladier Gov-

ernment! Throw the Cagoulards in Prison!" (The Cagoulards are the hooded French Fascist organization).

Naturally, the Stalinists and reformists in France are entirely unconcerned with their fate. They are still busy licking the boots of Daladier. Our French comrades depend upon international solidarity in their valiant struggle. All aid to the French Fourth Internationalists!

Why the Chamberlain Crowd Sees No Barrier in Stalin's Ideology

It has long been known to Marxists that Chamberlain's reluctance to deal with the Stalin government of the Soviet Union in his line-up of diplomatic alliances was due entirely to tactical considerations on the part of British capitalism. Only propagandists for the Cliveden set made a bogey out of Stalin. Only Stalinist dupes and paid scribes have regarded Chamberlain as an opponent in principle of the Stalin regime.

Now, that Hitler's refusal to be held in tow has forced Chamberlain to agree to a British-Soviet alliance, the real attitude of the Tory capitalists to Stalin comes to light.

The Marquess of Donegall, one of their spokesmen writes in *Lord Rothermere's Sunday Dispatch*:

"I was glad to see Mr. Chamberlain state that we have no ideological barrier to co-operation with Russia. There are still a lot of people in this country before whom the Communist bogey looms large."

They failed to realize that with the ousting of Trotsky and the execution of many of his followers, Communism—if by that you mean Marxism with its aims of world revolution—went west years ago.

What has been growing up in Russia for years is National Socialism — a bourgeois State.

Furthermore, with Russia's limitless resources, that National Socialism is not forced into the position of being aggressive, as is Germany's.

It has, of course, paid the Fascists to keep alive the Communist bogey with which to entice gullible moderates into their camp. And it is astounding how many intelligent Conservatives in this country have only just awakened to the fact that they have been facing the wrong enemy."

No doubt, the good marquess over-reaches himself in this all too sanguine estimate. He is simply working hard to change public opinion in line with the change in tactics when he speaks of Russia as a bourgeois state. But the reference to Trotsky is sufficient to indicate where he really stands. That the workers of Soviet Russia and of the world have little to expect from a Chamberlain-Stalin alliance—that flows clearly from every word the marquess writes.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

The story is told of the weary traveler who had walked many miles on a dusty road under a hot sun. Late in the afternoon he saw in the distance a farmhouse where he knew there would be a well of cool water to quench his thirst. Accordingly he quickened his pace and after an hour or so threw down his knapsack in the shade of the trees surrounding the lonely house. Then he went up to the door and knocked politely. A huge, gruff man came to a side window and in a deep rough voice growled, "What do you mean by disturbing a law-abiding citizen at this hour of the afternoon?"

"I've been walking all day," answered the traveler, "and I am very thirsty. Do you mind if I get a drink of water at your well?"

"Go right ahead," said the man at the window, "but be careful not to break the pump. Be patient."

There Are Many Suckers

The weary traveler thanked the man and then walked back to the pump which was located at the foot of a steep hill behind the farmhouse. He took along a tin cup. . .

At first he pumped quickly. But no water came. Then he tried pumping slowly. But still no water came. He was weary and thirsty. And although he was very weak, his burning thirst demanded he make one more effort. He pumped and pumped. Finally, after a half-hour of hard work, a thin stream of water came out and filled his little tin cup.

But one small drink did not satisfy his thirst so he pumped and pumped and pumped until, just as before, another cupful of water came out. And after working hard for two hours he finally had enough and prepared to continue his journey. But he was curious to know why the man who lived there didn't fix the pump so that it would work more easily.

Once again he knocked on the farmhouse door. This time the man inside opened the door and came out. Now he was smiling. In fact he was almost laughing.

"The pump? Something wrong? Oh no! It works fine! You see I arranged like that on purpose. Whenever someone knocks at my door and asks for a drink I always say 'Sure—go ahead' because every time one of you fellows pump a cupful for yourself, you must first pump five gallons up the hill into my supply tank on the roof of the house. Ha! Ha! Smart trick eh? Why should I work when there are suckers like you fellows to do it for me? Ha! Ha!"

And so the poor traveler, who owned no house, no well, and who had no money, continued on his long journey. But he began to think about the little trick of the pump and the supply tank. The more he thought the more he became angry with himself. "A sucker am I?" he said to himself. "Hum. . . Maybe I am but perhaps things can be changed around for the better. There is that fat slob, sitting on his fanny all day long in that nice cool farmhouse, drinking the water pumped from the ground by thousands of travelers like myself. Hum. . ."

Warehouses Full—Workers Starve

How many workers in industry have ever stopped to realize that each week they produce many more pairs of shoes, overcoats,

loaves of bread or lamps than they can buy back with their wages? If, for instance a skilled carpenter can produce six dining room tables every week, can he take his week's wages and buy back six tables built by himself during the week? He cannot. Each week in every industry there are hundreds of thousands of finished products which the working class cannot afford because their wages are far below the prices established by the bosses and their government. And while millions of workers and their families go without the proper clothing, live in houses which are not considered fit for cattle or dogs, eat food which is not only scarce but thin, and live the lives of convicts, the warehouses are filled to the brim with goods called "surplus commodities."

Depressions are no longer considered the result of over-production but of under-consumption! In other words we do not consume enough, although there are millions of pairs of shoes, overcoats, loaves of bread and radios and oranges in the storehouses of capitalism! Wheat and corn and cotton are ploughed under in the midst of hunger and cold! Pigs and cows are destroyed, coffee is dumped in the sea, the government pays money to needy farmers so they will not plant the earth with necessary food or cotton! And all the while there are millions and millions of unemployed men and women and youth who suffer from malnutrition and other "working-class diseases!"

Capitalism Is Like the Pump

And what happens to an unemployed worker who applies for relief to the same government which destroyed the food, set the prices and maintains a National Guard and police forces to protect the private property of the boss? Is he treated like the victim of an earthquake or a flood? He is not. He is examined, cross-examined, bullied and treated like a criminal. It makes little difference to the boss-government if he has put in fifteen years or more on the job. It means nothing to the relief agency if the worker has invested his eyesight, his lungs, his nerves, his every ounce of energy in a job which expired merely because the boss's profits slowed up. . . He is forced to fill out hundreds of forms and blanks and is subjected to every possible kind of humiliating and disgusting red tape. And when a few measly bucks are spent on him he is made to feel that he is a social outcast, a loafer—an ungrateful bum. . . Campaigns are carried on in the press, over the radio and in Congress to discredit the unemployed worker.

That is how capitalism works. Like the farmhouse pump. For each cup of water produced by the worker, the boss's warehouses must be filled to the brim. And then the worker is dismissed — laid off — fired. And if he wants to eat he must crawl back to the boss's government and beg for each mouthful. But, like the traveler, the worker is beginning to get wise to the system. He is beginning to organize his fellow workers all over America for the purpose of taking over the pump and running it on a co-operative basis with a workers' police force to guard against the bosses. The name of this organization is the *Socialist Workers Party—Fourth International*. There is a branch in your city.

How Britain Rules Its Vast Colonial Empire

By SHERMAN STANLEY
The British have the reputation of being the world's best colonizers.

The 500,000,000 colonial people scattered throughout the world and who are on the receiving end of this colonization agree. They agree that when it comes to stealing the last bit of gold, thinking up new taxes for starving peasants, creating inhuman conditions for factory workers, there is no one who can hold a candle up to the British.

After the World War, Germany's African colonies were taken over by the British. The African natives who have lived under the imperialist rule of both England and Germany have a saying that the only difference between the two is that the British can't do the goose step!

Started Concentration Camps
The British originated the idea of concentration camps during the Boer war when they penned up thousands of their prisoners.

To this very day, thousands of miners who toil in the mines of the Union of South Africa are locked up each night in "labor compounds" which are policed by British troops.

In Indian cities like Calcutta and Bombay, native factory workers return to homes—after an average 10-12 hour day—that possess no water or toilet facilities; no bathtubs; no cooking equipment—nothing but mats on stone floors.

Who gains by this constant exploitation?

Certainly not the masses of people who live in the colonies! They are ground down by such permanent misery that death becomes a way out for them. India has the world's highest death-rate for the newly-born. All of the English colonies are breeding places of the diseases that accompany malnutrition and famine, such as bone diseases in all forms, tuberculosis, hook worm, plagues, etc.

The Technique
When the British take posses-

LABOR LEADERS DECREE NO MAY DAY IN FRANCE

A brief news dispatch from Paris, April 6, contained the information that the National "Executive Committee" of the General Confederation of Labor (the national trade union organization, C.G.T.) has voted to "cancel the annual twenty-four-hour nation-wide cessation of work on May Day." The report added that the C.G.T. instructed its affiliated federations that May Day celebrations do not oblige workers to take the day off.

The warning is clear. If their so-called "leaders" can manage it, the French working class is in imminent danger of being turned over to the French fascist butchers without a struggle.

Under the Socialist Premier Leon Blum and the Radical-Socialist Premier Edouard Daladier, the gains so magnificently won by the French workers in the strikes of 1936 were snatched from them one by one.

Daladier now rules by decree law. The 60-hour week has been installed. Salaries have been slashed. Over-time pay has been cut. New tax burdens have been imposed. And French fascism has been growing unchecked. The Front Populaire, sponsored by the Stalinists to "stop fascism," has instead stopped the workers. Their morale has been strained further by the catastrophic defeat of the workers in Spain.

May Day Needed
Now, if ever, the French working class is in tremendous need of an opportunity to regain its confidence. Huge mass demonstrations on May Day, labor's own day, would enable them to feel again the strength of their own invincible might. But their "leaders" are doing all in their power to deny them this opportunity. It is not necessary, they say, for the workers to take the day off. That means no parades, no stirring call to class solidarity. That means a show of weakness, when the times demand above all a striking show of strength.

It is understandable that the Daladiers and the De la Rocques should desire the cancellation of May Day demonstrations. It is unspeakably despicable that the "leaders" of the workers own organizations should play the game of the capitalists and the fascists.

At Your Service THE APPEAL POSTER SHOP

The Plunderers of a World Domain Who Imposed the Iron Heel of Exploitation on 500 Million Colonial People Have Taught the Fascists the Use Of the Concentration Camp and the Fierce Despotism of Military Might

sion of a colony they do a thorough job of it.

First their soldiers establish military authority over the defenseless people. Then they make an agreement with a minority section of the native population which they transform into servants of the British imperialists. Finally—after they have purged the population of all those who object and have filled all the available jails—the British begin to rule.

The plunderers load British ships with the wealth of the country. Gold, jewels, textiles—they take everything. It is calculated that at least \$50,000,000 worth of material was removed from India during the 19th Century.

One-Crop System
British landlords, plantation owners, real-estate investors begin operations on the peasantry. With British thoroughness, they oust the peasants from their lands and drive them to work in the cities or mines. They force the people to stop producing food necessities (that is, with the exception of food products that are needed in "mother" England) and organize profitable one-crop systems. Thus, the Indian province of Bengal has an overwhelming majority of peasants who grow nothing but jute, the

price of which is fixed by the British. Wheat, flour, beef, butter, wool, hides, rubber, etc. are all imported—at British prices—from the other colonies.

Where the British permit any sort of industrial growth they make sure it remains in their hands only. British capitalists and bankers own the gold mines of South Africa, the coal and iron mines of India, the jute mills of Calcutta, the textile plants of Bombay, the sugar refineries of the West Indies. The transportation and public utilities systems of all the colonies are in their possession. Between \$800,000,000 and \$1,000,000,000 is the annual profit made by the British from their investments in India. Have you seen in newsreels the flashing Crown Jewels of the British King and Queen? That's the blood and sweat of countless peasants and workers, miners and factory-hands.

From Both Ends
And to these colonies the British export—at not too small a profit—an annual average of \$1,500,000,000 worth of manufactured goods in the form of textiles, machinery, etc.

This is the British Empire—the landlord beating down the native peasants; the mill-owner standing at the back of the na-

tive worker; the merchant driving his shrewd British bargain and reaping his profits that are based upon a worldwide "preferential" tariff system.

Over and above all of them stands the financier, the banker, the super-imperialist of "The City."

Imperial "Civilization"

The only schools ever organized by the British in their colonies have been schools for use by the English community or the children of natives who work hand-in-glove for the British.

In India, 300,000,000 people cannot read or write any language.

The British never seriously attempted to raise the cultural level of any of the backward peoples they have enslaved. They have never attempted to root out primitive customs, backward religions and superstitions.

Nor should we expect them to do so! Ignorance and exploitation go hand in hand. A British imperialist once remarked: "A coolie (the common British expression for a colonial worker) who can read is worse than a free man, because he can free others!"

"Democracy" in the Colonies
According to the new Consti-

tution the British are attempting to install in India, 500,000 people will be eligible to vote! One-half a million out of 375,000,000!

All sorts of property qualifications, communal divisions, etc. are put in the way of voting.

And even the mildest nationalist parties are outlawed if they show any signs of gaining strength. The colonial people can no more vote for candidates of their choosing than the workers of Germany or Italy can.

Where local parliaments do exist, as in India, their teeth are pulled in advance by laws that render them powerless.

And these parliaments are invariably stuffed and packed by Englishmen or their agents, who exercise automatic control.

There is no more democracy in a British colony than there is in a Nazi concentration camp! Military-police dictatorship is the system that rules. If this were not so, the colonial peoples would have cast out the hated British rulers long ago.

CHICAGO HEARST PAPERS LOSING HEAVILY IN ADS

Thugs, violence, false statements and court injunctions have all been resorted to by William R. Hearst in an endeavor to break the American Newspaper Guild strike against his two viciously anti-labor newspapers in Chicago, the *Herald* & *Examiner*, and the *Evening American*.

Despite these efforts, the strike continues and is being given wide support from labor throughout the country. A number of advertisers have likewise stopped using the columns of these two papers. In March, they dropped a total of 716,913 lines under their lineage for the same month last year, according to the April 15 *Guilford Reporter*. Some national advertisers, however, have disregarded the strike and still patronize the Chicago *Herald* & *Examiner* and the Chicago *Evening American*.

The *Guilford Reporter* lists these advertisers as follows:

Automobiles: Buick, Ford, Chevrolet, Plymouth.

Chain Stores: A. & P., National Tea, Sears Roebuck, Walgreens Drug.

Clothing: Bond Clothes, Lane Bryant, Richman Bros.

Drugs: Pepsodent Antiseptic, Vicks Vapo Rub and Cough Drops, Bromo Seltzer-Emerson Drug Co.

Foods: Aunt Jemima Pancake Flour-Quaker Oats Co., Beechnut Coffee, Snyder's Cat-sup, Mrs. Wagner's Pies, Curstiss Candy Co., Kellogg's Brand Co.

Gas and Oil: Phillips "66," Standard Oil Co.

Liquors: National Distillers, Wilson Distillers, Schenley Products, Carstairs Bros. Distillery Co.

Tobacco: Camels, Chesterfields, Old Golds, Dunhill Cigarettes.

Miscellaneous: American Family Soap, United Airlines, Proctor & Gable Mfg. Co.

These manufacturers are therefore aiding Hearst in his fight against the strike. Boycott them!

SOCIETY NOTES

Five Little Pirates Carry On For Grandpa

The third generation of Rockefellerers have definitely "made the grade" in New York society.

The late John D. Rockefeller, Sr., founder of the family fortune, never was able to gain membership in any of Gotham's ritziest clubs. His son, and namesake, present head of the Rockefeller clan and interests, declined to place himself in the position where he might be subjected to the rebuffs administered to his father.

But the grandsons and great-nephews of old John D. have fared much better. Nelson Rockefeller can point to membership in the exclusive Knickerbocker, as can John D., 3rd. Laurence Rockefeller belongs to the hoity-toity River Club; J. Sterling Rockefeller has accomplished "the impossible"—he's a member of the Union Club, as is William A. Rockefeller, who also is privileged to sign checks at the Racquet and Tennis Club.

Rejoice! All Stockholders, War Is Near

For weeks, according to his widowed mother, Walter (Buddy) Merriell, 17, of Los Angeles, anxiously read every scrap of European news. She said he was greatly alarmed when he heard a news commentator interpret a warning of President Roosevelt as meaning that the United States will be forced to plunge into war.

Yesterday morning he awoke ill and dispirited. "I dreamed I was at war and in the army," he told his mother. "I had a gun and the shells were bursting around me and the airplanes were dropping over my head. Mother, I'm sick about it. I don't want to kill anyone."

He set off for high school. Later he returned, complaining he was ill, and went to the garage where he had a gymnastic bar.

An hour later his mother found his body. He had fastened one end of his book strap to the bar, looped the other end around his neck and stepped off a pile of books.

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Associate Editors: **HAROLD ROBERTS** **FELIX MORROW**
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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

Roosevelt's Note

It is doubtful whether the head of any state ever made a shrewder move than Roosevelt when he sent his letter to Hitler and Mussolini asking them to give assurance that, for a minimum of ten years, their armed forces will not attack or invade the territory of the thirty-one nations he mentioned in the letter. It is immaterial whether Hitler and Mussolini answer the note or what they say if they do answer. Regardless of what they do or say the letter will have served its purpose.

Consider all that the note does for Roosevelt and how it advances his general policies and you will recognize what a superbly clever gesture it was to send it.

It puts Hitler and Mussolini on the spot. Because, obviously, a refusal to reply or a negative reply to such a reasonable request as not to invade the territory of other nations is equivalent to an admission of having aggressive intentions. Hitler and Mussolini may attack the hypocrisy of the note and they of course will be right; they may point to the well-known fact that the so-called democracies, including the United States, have done quite a lot of invading on their own hook, and in that they will utter a self-evident truth. They can pour ridicule on the note, but no such tactics will help them; They must give the required assurance or furnish Roosevelt and Chamberlain and Daladier with powerful arguments.

An affirmative reply, just as a refusal to give the assurance requested by Roosevelt, plays into the latter's hands. A promise made by Hitler and Mussolini not to invade the territory of other nations not only brings credit to Roosevelt as a great peace-maker; the inevitable breach of such a promise will put Roosevelt in a stronger position to obtain the support of all the glibble "peace-lovers" in any war-like move he will deem fit to make.

Not only does Roosevelt put Hitler and Mussolini on the spot. He strengthens his own position at home. He steps forth as a man sincerely devoted to the interests of peace, confounding his isolationist critics who have accused him of being a war-monger. Is he not justified in trying to bring peace to a troubled world and is not his request that Hitler and Mussolini refrain from attacking other nations more than reasonable?

Who but an extreme factionalist can oppose such a noble attempt to save the world from a disastrous catastrophe? Thus will run the refrain of Roosevelt's supporters, well-meaning and otherwise.

Intelligent workers will not be fooled by Roosevelt's latest move. In the first place they will recognize that, even if Roosevelt's "plea" is meant sincerely, the coming war cannot be stopped nor long postponed by any conference. Neither the British, nor the French, nor the American capitalists are willing to give up anything of value to the German and Italian capitalists. The fundamental rivalries between them must continue until the workers will throw them all overboard and use the resources of the world for the common benefit of all the peoples.

But one must indeed be glibble to believe that Roosevelt really thinks that his note will do any good. It is intended to strengthen his hand in his efforts to involve this country in the coming war between the fascist imperialist nations and the "democratic" imperialist nations. He wants to

convince the masses that he is a man of peace in order the more readily to hurl them into war.

The American workers must follow their own path to achieve real peace. They must take their destinies in their own hands and call upon the workers of all other countries to follow them and peace will be assured through the union of socialist republics.

Diego Rivera

It is with deep regret that we see Diego Rivera withdraw from the revolutionary workers' movement.

We are profoundly grateful to him for the invaluable aid he gave in securing comrade Trotsky asylum in Mexico. We are grateful to him too for the many personal sacrifices he made to secure comrade Trotsky's safety against the machinations of the G.P.U., and for his personal assistance during the grave difficulties which beset our forces while it was being proved to the whole world that the Moscow Trials were frameups.

We consider Diego Rivera one of the world's great artists, probably the greatest ever to stand in the ranks of the revolutionary movement. We think that posterity too will regard him and his artistic productions in this light.

Our break with Diego Rivera and his resignation from the Fourth International came for political reasons only—genuine revolutionists who keep their revolutionary ideals ever before them can always compose the personal irritations that inevitably arise even among the most cool-headed. No, the break did not come because artistic temperament and vaulting imagination could not overlook the small annoyances of daily existence.

The break came because Diego Rivera sponsored a petty-bourgeois political party in Mexico, helped organize it, and accepted the post of secretary in it. This is a most grave political error in our estimation and irreconcilable with the principles of the Fourth International.

It is our belief that Diego Rivera has allowed himself to become deeply discouraged by the successive major defeats of the working class on a world scale, the defeat in China, the defeat in Germany, and now the last tragic defeat in Spain. Reaction seems to him to roll on with all the might and power of a colossal juggernaut crushing out all democratic rights without which art and culture are impossible; and the forces of the Fourth International seem to him too weak to stop it.

But not even the most fertile and ingenious mind can create out of a solely temporary conjuncture of forces—even though they seem progressive for the moment—new principles of revolution and a new way to preserve democratic rights. Marxism and the Marxist party of the workers still point out the only road to socialism, to genuine proletarian democracy.

Despite its apparent smallness in numbers and the apparent strength of its enemies, the Fourth International is the only force in the world that can shatter capitalism, the only movement which will eventually gather to its banner the teeming millions of the earth's toilers, and crush all the iron strictures that capitalism in decay binds about art and literature and civilized living.

Diego Rivera in a petty-bourgeois party is a tragic figure. In this he represents the tragedy of all those revolutionists who have grown disheartened and start searching for a short cut from the difficult road the socialist revolution must travel.

We believe that Diego Rivera has made a grave political mistake. We hope that he will recognize it and with revolutionary integrity return to the ranks of the Fourth International.

But we cannot suspend a single one of our political principles for any man no matter how great he is in his own right and in his own domain.

Draft the Profiteers!

Representative Osmer of New Jersey has introduced a bill in Congress which would make it mandatory when war breaks out to draft first of all, the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the Cabinet, all members of Congress who vote for war, the directors of corporations selling war munitions, and the bankers who make war loans.

Representative Osmer thinks that if his bill passes, it will keep the United States out of war. He believes that if those who intend to plunge the country into war were compelled to be the first to face the bayonets of the "enemy" they would never declare war.

And the Congressman is right. He knows his cowards. The capitalists do not intend to fight any war . . . personally. They intend to leave that bloody job with all its risks and its horrors for the workers while they sit back comfortably at home and rake in the profits.

These same capitalists control Congress. They have doomed Osmer's little bill in advance just as they have doomed legions of workers in advance to die for capitalist profits.

Only a workers' revolution in the United States can prevent the President, Congress, the bankers, and the Wall Street moguls from marching the workers of this country into the onrushing world carnage.

WHAT THE WALL STREET MOGULS GOT IN "WAGES"

A Condensed Account of What the Bloodsuckers Paid Themselves for Draining Profits, Which Are Only Partly Listed, Out of the Workers' Sweat and Toil

The United States Treasury Department recently made public a list of corporation salaries over \$25,000. We print below both the names of the corporations and their chairmen. It is to be noted, however, that these "salaries" do not include additional "earnings" from other enterprises.

American Telephone & Telegraph Co.—W. S. Gifford—\$209,650. A. T. & T. is notorious for its refusal to permit union organization of the telephone operators. Mr. Gifford, however, is reported doing very well.

American Tobacco Co.—Geo. W. Hill, \$380,976. And Mr. Hill's Lucky Strikes are still non-union cigarettes.

Borden Co.—A. W. Wilbur, \$95,000. LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee revealed that Borden employed the Railway Audit & Inspection Company, a notorious labor espionage service.

Chase National Bank—Winthrop W. Aldrich, \$175,000. Mayor LaGuardia, labor's friend, cuts relief to pay Mr. Aldrich interest on city bonds.

Continental Can Company—C. C. Conway, \$72,860. Employed Pinkerton labor spies in its plants.

Fight Unionization—Crucible Steel Company—F. B. Hufnagel, \$125,000. Fought the S.W.O.C. for months before a union contract was signed.

Diamond Match Company—W. A. Fairburn, \$100,000. At various times employed Corporations Auxiliary Service, which specializes in supplying finks.

General Electric Company—Owen D. Young, \$235,000. Regularly uses the seven anti-union propaganda services of the National Association of Manufacturers, such as radio's "The American Family Robinson."

Guaranty Trust Company—W. P. Conway, \$107,551. The Bank owns some of the largest slum properties in New York City.

International Business Machines Corporation—Thomas J. Watson, \$419,336. Mr. Watson

"earns" his salary by thinking up labor saving devices. Among other things, Mr. Watson plasters his offices with the legend, "Keep Smiling."

International Telephone & Telegraph Company—Sosthenes Behn, \$66,240. Owners of the Telephone Building in Barcelona, which the Stalinists gave back to Mr. Behn during the May Days of 1937.

Pays \$13 Wage—R. H. Macy & Co.—Percy Straus, \$100,320. The average salary of a sales clerk at Macy's is \$13 a week. And girls are fired regularly for attempting to organize their co-workers.

Manufacturers Trust Company—Harvey D. Gibson, \$127,151. Another of Mayor LaGuardia's friends. Mr. Gibson doesn't approve of the slogan, "Give the Bankers Home Relief."

National City Bank—James H. Perkins, \$103,199. Mr. Perkins doesn't approve either.

Ohrbachs Affiliated Stores—Nathan M. Ohrbach, \$52,000. Mr. Ohrbach has at various times employed the Pinkerton labor espionage service in his stores. Mr. Ohrbach's slogan, by the way, is "A Business In Millions. A Profit In Pennies."

Radio Corporation of America—David Sarnoff, \$83,333. Mr. Sarnoff used labor espionage and finks in strikes at his Camden plants.

United States Steel Company—W. A. Irvin, \$141,300. Owners of Little Steel subsidiaries which broke the 1937 C.I.O. strikes.

Money for Babs—Metropolitan Life Insurance Company—Frederick H. Ecker, \$150,000. At the present time Mr. Ecker is trying like all mad to break union organization of Insurance Agents.

Prudential Life Insurance Company—E. D. Duffield, \$100,000. Mr. Duffield sees eye to eye with Mr. Ecker.

F. W. Woolworth—C. W. Deyo, \$200,414. Mr. Deyo runs the shop for Countess Babs, sells Japanese goods on the side and fires girls who want a union.

Aluminum Corporation of America—Arthur Victor Davis, \$115,000. Ran a company union for a while, used finks to intimidate workers and gave Mr. Davis a chance to earn his daily bread.

Jones & Loughlin Steel Co.—H. E. Lewis, \$100,000. Another of the corporations which broke the Little Steel Strike in 1937.

General Motors Corporation—William S. Knudsen, \$247,210. Flint, Michigan, where Mr. Knudsen conducts shop, hasn't got a free city hospital, hasn't got one city ambulance, allows unemployed workers 3 cents per square meal.

Remington-Rand—James H. Rand, \$145,181. Mr. Rand made extensive use of industrial munitions explosives and labor espionage to balk unionization at his plants in New York, Connecticut, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Wage Cut for Workers—Pennsylvania Railroad Company—M. W. Clement, \$100,450. Mr. Clement's principal activity at the present time is directed towards getting around the union's demand that he halt his plans for a 10% wage cut for all railroad workers on his line.

William Randolph Hearst, \$500,000. Jingo, union smasher, all around reactionary and (they say) a good family man.

International Harvester Company—Sydney G. McAllister, \$131,569. In thick with National Association of Manufacturers; has almost complete monopoly on production of farm implements.

Standard Oil Company of New Jersey—W. S. Farish, \$119,791. Mr. Farish recently had Mr. Donald Richberg argue his case with President Cardenas for the return of the oil fields which the Mexican Government expropriated. It's tough going, Mr. Farish.

Sears, Roebuck Company—Major R. E. Wood, \$100,000. The Major, in a recent Boston speech, declared that it wouldn't be a bad idea if every American boy and girl spent six months in a labor camp.

sea-mines and cleverly concealed "suicide squads" of machine gunners guard the island," says the N. Y. Times.

50,000 men are now employed on warship construction in government naval yards and private shipbuilding plants according to figures made public by the Navy Department on April 16.

An offer will soon be made by the U. S. Government to exchange 2,000,000 or more bales of cotton and up to 100,000,000 bushels of wheat for large war supplies of tin and rubber. The offer will be made to Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and possibly other countries.

War-risk insurance underwriters have withdrawn all quotations on shipments to the Reich and to Italy; also on German and Italian vessels bound for any port. Rates on other shipments were raised from 100 to 200 percent. War, predicted the underwriters, is likely to result from efforts by the "democracies" to bottle up the Baltic and the Mediterranean. With the war tension becoming more severe daily, new rates will be issued each day.

According to official Italian figures, there are now 950,000 troops in active service in Italy. Ethiopia, Libya, the Dodecanese Islands and Albania, exclusive of the Fascist militia which can be mobilized in twenty-four hours. The classes of 1918, 1919 and 1920 are under arms; that is to say, the young men of nineteen, twenty and twenty-one years. The Italian fleet, numbering about 200 units, is believed to be concentrated along the Mediterranean, especially near France.

New Books

American Medicine Mobilizes—James Rorty . . . \$3.00
Imperialism—J. A. Hobson . . . 2.75
The British Common People—G. D. H. Cole
and R. Postgate . . . 4.00
War In Our Time—Speier and Kahler . . . 3.00
The German Ideology—Marx and Engels . . . 2.50

SPECIAL

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Their Government

By James Burnham

On January 3rd, in his annual message to Congress, President Roosevelt announced the slogans under which he was asking the American workers to get ready to give their lives to the Sixty Families. They were three: For Religion; For the Sanctity of International Law; and For Democracy.

Somewhat or other, now that the war crisis looks as if it might break into the open any hour, something seems to be going wrong with these slogans. Of course, even in January there were a few cynics who thought that the slogans contained just a touch of demagoguery—particularly when they looked back only a month at the unusual kinds of democracy which had been represented at Lima; but today the gap between the slogans and reality seems to be spreading so wide that even a few honest men are beginning to wonder.

For example, the war nearly began two weeks ago over the Italian occupation of Albania. No one will deny that the Italian venture was an act of piracy. Nevertheless, though this has apparently been overlooked by the daily press, Albania has never been known as a model of democracy. It was ruled over by a king who, before gaining the throne, was a notorious bandit; and he ruled, after taking office, with the same bandit and gangster methods in which he had been nurtured.

Oddly enough, Zog reigned as the direct dependent of Italy. And, still more odd, this arrangement had been supervised and decided upon by Great Britain.

The religious issue, also, is a little curious in the case of Albania. Protestant England is the main objector; Catholic Italy the conqueror; and the victims are most of them Mohammedan.

International law was no doubt violated. But international law was no less rudely upset, at Versailles and after, in the creation of Albania.

Sweet Freedom of Polish Democracy

In the present crisis, Poland has been the focus of the chief avowed attention. Great Britain, which managed to dry its tears over the gobbling up of Manchuria, E. Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, has promised to take up the sword of an avenging angel if one hair is touched on Poland's tender little head.

There is much, perhaps, that might be said for Poland. But one thing, I am afraid, that cannot be included by even the wildest imagination is that Poland has ever tainted her governmental practices with the slightest touch of the heresy of democracy. Since the formation of modern Poland—by virtue of clauses in international law written by the guns of the victorious Allies—she has never swerved from reliance upon the firm hand of military dictatorship. The few years during which opposition parties were permitted a nominal and pathetic existence have long been ended.

And the tortured persons of her Jews will provide a comment upon Poland's attitude toward the sacred rights of religion.

There are, indeed, few nations in the world that have a more brutal record than Poland's in the consistent repression of democratic rights.

We Are All Democrats Now

As I recall, it was hardly yesterday that Chamberlain and the prelates of the Church of England were telling us that Russia was the most hideous tyranny in history, and, besides, with atheism as its state policy, was the anti-Christ. Now Russia is the most wooded of potential allies.

Atheism and tyranny are words to use when the masses sense some hope in a new social system; but arms and airplanes are more to the point when it comes near to the time to fight the war for democracy. Matters of ideology, said Chamberlain the other day when answering a questioner in the House of Commons, "do not concern us in a question of this kind."

Greece, too, has now been brought toward the fold of democracy. Chamberlain and Daladier, with the blessing of Roosevelt, have informed the world that if Greece is threatened the war for democracy will begin.

Greece, if I recall correctly, not many years ago, after a long history of military and semi-military dictatorship, was definitively transformed into a totalitarian fascist state under General Metaxas.

Not to Speak of the Back Yard

Such are among the flies that are spotting the slogan-oilment, democratic brand, which our masters are spreading over the diseased face of the war into which they are taking us.

It would be downright unkind to add to these any reference to the even more extraordinary democracy which prevails in India, Indo-China, the French Sudan or even Puerto Rico. When Roosevelt is next sending communications to selected rulers of the world, and asking about intentions and pledges they are willing to give, he might include brief notes to Chamberlain, Daladier, and himself. He might enquire: What are your respective intentions as to India, Indo-China, the Sudan and Puerto Rico? Are you prepared to pledge that in such and such a time you will free them and their hundreds of millions of inhabitants from the frightful and shameful yoke under which you now oppress them?

Yes, it is harder today than in 1914 for a gang of imperialist robbers to be convincing when they talk about making the world safe for democracy—or for anything else except their own bloody profit. As the opening of the war gets close, while each clique runs madly in its last desperate scramble for allies, the camouflage drops off, and the war shows itself for what it is: a new world struggle for the re-partition of the world among the major imperialist rivals, a struggle to decide who will have first choice in the exploitation and oppression of the great masses of mankind. All the fine moral ideals, from democracy to religion to national independence, are, for the imperialists, only so much grist to the mills that turn out the cynical demagoguery whereby they hope once more to delude the people.

Politics and personal bias, instead of scientific jurisprudence, the justice department said recently, often dominate the decisions of criminal court judges, both federal and state. This conclusion was reached by the department in a survey of judicial practices, made public by Attorney-General Murphy and covered 270 federal, state, municipal and county court judges. See how our neighbor lifts his nose, to tell what every striker knows.

Enrollments in R.O.T.C. classes at Harvard are up 50 percent, with 450 students registered for the next term, compared with the 297 presently enrolled. This is as accurate a barometer of conditions as the New York Times business index, since the cons and sycophants of the bosses, in their own peculiar way, are as "hep" as we Marxists.