

Build  
Workers Defense  
Guards!

# Socialist Appeal

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of the World  
Unite!

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## Soundings For Stalin- Hitler Pact Continue

Maneuvers Speeded  
By German Pressure  
For Poland Partition

By HAROLD ROBERTS

Speculation over the possibility of a Stalin-Hitler deal overshadowed all other pre-war diplomatic developments in Europe this week.

Soundings going on both in Berlin and Moscow are now referred to in the press as undenied facts.

On both sides, of course, this speculation is itself being used as a diplomatic weapon. By strengthening the impression of an impending deal between the Nazi dictator and the autocrat of the Kremlin, the Germans hope to throw a monkey wrench into the continuing Anglo-Soviet negotiations. The Russians, for their part, permit the same impression to prevail in order to frighten the British and the French into offering more attractive terms for Soviet entry into their bloc.

Fire Under the Smoke

At the same time there is plenty of fire under all this smoke. It is not for nothing that Stalin and Hitler have both in their public speeches in the last few months abandoned their mutual attacks upon each other. It is not for nothing that the Nazi and Soviet press have cleared the path in the same way by dropping entirely their reciprocal mud-slinging. The purge of Maxim Litvinov last week from the post of Soviet foreign affairs commissar appears undeniably to have hastened the parleys that have been going on between the two countries.

Now the chances of a German-Soviet "non-aggression pact" have become common talk in Berlin, according to the correspondent of the New York Times. "It is no secret here," he added, "that the Soviet government itself has been in favor of such a development. It took active steps to bring it about not only in years past but as late as last February."

Pressure on Poland

In other words, Hitler seems at last to be lending an ear to the off-made plea of Stalin for a pact that would leave Germany free to deal with its Anglo-French rivals and give Stalin a chance to sit a little longer on his shaky throne.

It is German pressure for a new partition of Poland that is bringing these developments rapidly to a head. In his speech to the Sejm last Friday Jozef Beck, diplomatic spokesman for the tight little military oligarchy that rules the Polish state, rejected Hitler's demand for the return of Danzig and a road across the Polish corridor. Since then Hitler has been proceeding with his usual tactics to isolate the Poles in order the better to cut them to pieces under more propitious circumstances.

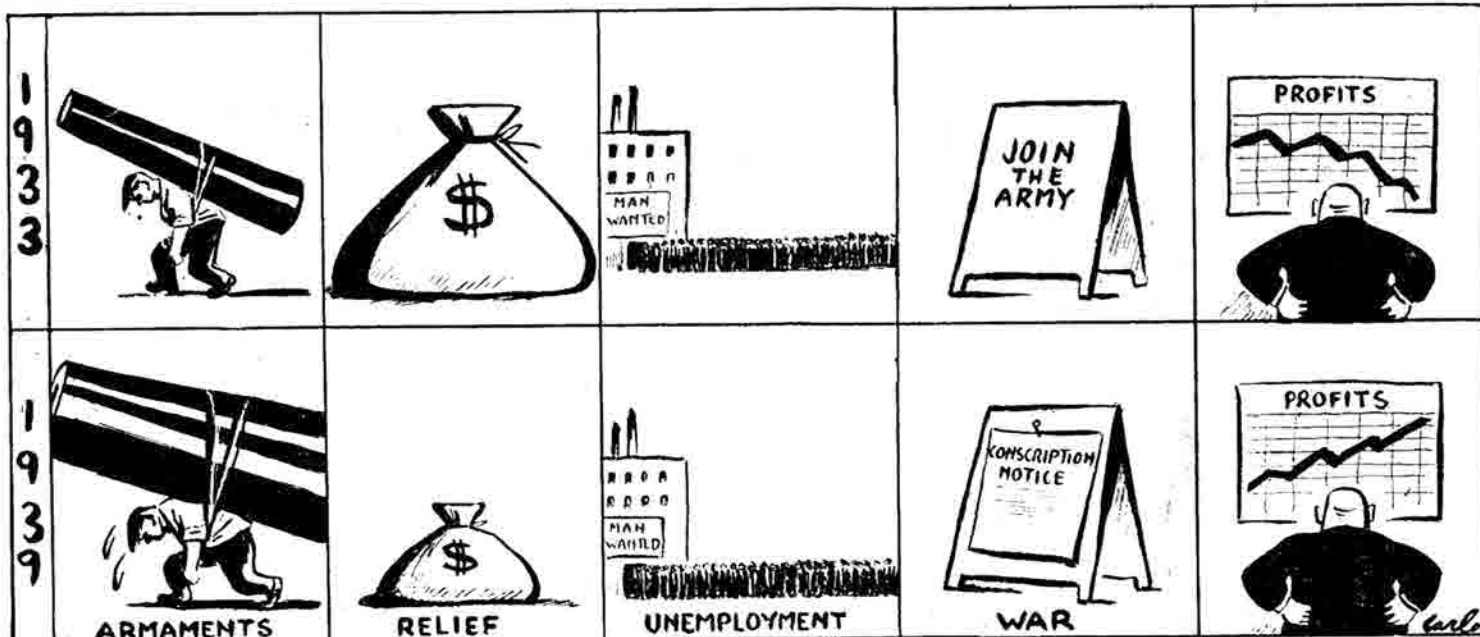
Part of his game is to separate Poland from the Baltic states. Among the latter he has already established his actual predominance with Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia and Finland are not likely to defy him.

Italian Alliance

Another part of the same process is the consummation of the formal military alliance between Germany and Italy. This serves the purpose of burning more Italian bridges leading back to the Anglo-French fold and silencing Italian fears of being drawn into a war over Poland, the Germans arguing that they will be able to swallow

(Continued on Page 3)

## Progress Under The New Deal



## CIVIL RIGHTS ARE A CRIME IN HOBOKEN

Vies With Jersey  
City's Anti-Labor  
Hague Rule

Hoboken, New Jersey, under the stewardship of Mayor Bernard McFeely, is continuing as a runner-up in the race with Mayor Hague's Jersey City for the dubious honor of establishing a record for suppression of civil liberties and anti-labor activity.

On May 8, Herman Matson, relief client and outspoken opponent of Hoboken's city administration, was arrested for the crime of distributing anti-McFeely circulars in connection with the following day's municipal elections.

Matson stated that while distributing the leaflets, he and his 14-year old son were attacked by three men who drove up in an automobile. He asserted that Police Sergeant John Beatty saw the attack but refused to arrest the assailants.

Later in the same day, he was again set upon when he refused to drop charges against Patrick Lisa, one of the three men who had originally man-handled him. All were then taken to the police station where Matson was booked, but was not permitted to sign a counter-chARGE.

This is the second time in the last year that Matson has been arrested by Hoboken's protectors for being unfortunate enough to get beaten up by McFeely's henchmen. In September, 1938, he was slugged by a mob in a park which was heavily guarded by police. The attackers then, as now, were permitted to depart. At that time, Matson's wife was also beaten, as a result of which she later suffered a miscarriage.

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(Continued on Page 3)

## Krivitsky Reveals Rubens Identity

Challenges Earl Browder to Deny the Facts  
Presented by Him in Series of Articles

By NAT LEVINE

Adolph Arnold Rubens, whose three accomplices were convicted last week in Federal Court of a criminal conspiracy to forge American passports, was identified by former head of the Soviet's Military Intelligence in Western Europe, Walter G. Krivitsky, as a former secret service agent who served under him in Moscow.

In an interview with the Baltimore Sun, May 5, Krivitsky described "Rubens" as a Russian agent who, after many years of secret service in Europe, was dispatched by the G.P.U. to the United States to organize a ring of passport forgers. "Rubens" was a Latvian by birth, named Ewald.

Billed for Moscow Trial  
The arrest of "Rubens" in Moscow in October, 1937, foreshadowed an attempt to pass off this secret service operative as a "Trotskyist." "Rubens" was to have been used at one of the Moscow show trials as a confessor to a "Trotskyist" plot against Stalin. The arrest of his accomplices in America, however, was an unforeseen complication. That he has now been revealed by Krivitsky to have been a G.P.U. agent probably snatches the attempted use of "Rubens" for such a Moscow show trial. "Rubens'" real identity as a G.P.U. agent was previously indicated by the indictment in Moscow early in 1938, when Mrs. Rubens, jailed with her husband, refused the intervention of the American Embassy on her behalf.

Soviet Embassy's Statement  
Moscow's plans then to pass "Rubens" off as a "Trotskyist" became clear when the Soviet Embassy in Washington, shortly after his arrest, told the press that the Robinson-Rubens couple "might well be Trotskyists."

Irked by an attack made upon him by Earl Browder, American Communist Party head, Krivitsky declared that

"Litvinoff Is Doomed"  
On the dramatic purge of Maxim Litvinoff as Commissar of the Soviet Foreign Office, Krivitsky declared: "Litvinoff was the pilot of Stalin's maneuvers in democratic waters. His removal can mean but one thing, namely, the end of the mission with which he had been entrusted in recent years. The secret diplomacy which Stalin had pursued toward appeasing Hitler is now coming to the surface. In striking out openly in the direction of Germany and Italy," Krivitsky went on,

(Continued on Page 3)

Earl Browder's own sister worked under him with the full knowledge of her brother.

"She lived and worked under the name 'Gene Montgomery' in the Netherlands," Krivitsky declared, "and later in Paris in the Hotel Lutetia, Boulevard Raspail. She operated under an American passport bearing the name of Montgomery, but she apparently escaped the fate suffered in Moscow by another former operative of mine who is well known to the American public as Robinson-Rubens."

Krivitsky's disclosure that Rubens-Ewald is a Latvian throws light on his recourse to the Lettish wing of the Stalinist movement in New York for assistance in operating the passport ring. Similarly, Krivitsky's explanation that the Communist Party is a reservoir for the G.P.U. explains the Stalinist connections of the men convicted as "Rubens'" accomplices last week.

Krivitsky challenged the New Masses' description of him as a mythical general by asserting, "I challenge Earl Browder to speak out on the subject of my identity." He stated that to this date not a single one of his revelations in the public press had been either challenged or answered by the official Stalinist press.

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(Continued on Page 3)

## COAL SHORTAGE SHOWS MIGHT OF MINE WORKERS

F.D.R. Ducks Closed  
Shop Issue; Bosses  
Get Wall Street Aid

(By Staff Writer)

NEW YORK—As negotiations between representatives of the 485,000 striking coal miners and the operators remained at a standstill early this week a coal crisis developed in major industrial centers.

The coal shortage gave a clear picture of the tremendous might and power of the workers in this basic industry, who are fighting to prevent the return of an open shop era in the mine fields.

Curtailed of vital subway service in this giant metropolitan center resulted from the coal shortage, which is caused solely by the coal operators' stubborn resistance to unionism.

Negotiators for the United Mine Workers of America have already compromised on all economic demands and insist only on a union shop and removal of the penalty clause for strikes during contract agreements.

Roosevelt Ducks Issue

Instead of censuring the coal operators and their reactionary campaign against the U.M.W.A. President Roosevelt ducked the whole issue in his message to the negotiators. He merely asked for continuation of negotiations.

Considerable danger existed that Roosevelt's intervention would bring a phoney compromise impairing the U.M.W.A. hold over the mining industry unless the negotiating committee of John L. Lewis and other top U.M.W.A. leaders stood firmly for the union demands.

Talk around the negotiators' meeting room indicated that such a compromise would consist of the union obtaining its rights in the Pennsylvania and other highly organized fields, but that certain Southern operators would be permitted to escape from dealing with the union on a fair basis.

Would Mean Warfare

Such action would give the dual union chartered by the A.F.L., the Progressive Miners of America, a foothold in the industry to begin a jurisdictional war against the U.M.W.A.

Since the intransigent coal operators are backed by strong steel, utility and Wall Street banking interests, a victory for the C.I.O. would be an effective answer to the present open shop drive of Big Business.

Bloody Harlan County, Kentucky, scene of the worst reign of terror against unionism known in this country, has already been the scene of company-directed violence against peaceful pickets.

A call for the National Guard to protect scabs was made by the Harlan operators, who are

(Continued on Page 2)

## Britain's Ruling Class Is Maneuvering For A War Alliance With U.S.

### Expropriate the War Profiteers!

AN EDITORIAL

The capitalist press is filled these days with stories about taking profits away from the munitions makers, leaving them with just a "reasonable" profit.

We've heard this before. Woodrow Wilson's world war began with the SAME KIND OF PROPAGANDA. And during that slaughter, prices actually were fixed by the government in some industries to permit only a "reasonable" profit.

What the capitalists took—aided and abetted by the government—as "reasonable" profit is a matter of record. The facts were made public despite the desperate attempts of the bankers and industrialists, senators and congressmen, to suppress the facts. Popular pressure forced their publication—if only in LIMITED EDITIONS of Senate Documents No. 248 and 259 in 1918 by the Government Printing Office. Here are some of the facts:

In the COAL INDUSTRY 185 companies raked in PROFITS on HIGHLY WATERED capital stock ranging from 100 per cent to 7,856 per cent. Nearly half the companies raked in PROFITS EQUAL TO THEIR ENTIRE CAPITAL STOCK during 1917 alone.

During the last three years of the world war, the American people PAID IN NET PROFITS A SUM EQUAL TO EVERY DOLLAR'S WORTH OF STOCK OF ALL THE COAL COMPANIES COMBINED at the companies' own valuation.

The MEAT PACKERS hogged profits ranging as high as 4,244 per cent.

The CANNING COMPANIES took 2,032 per cent.

The WOOLEN MILLS piled up 1,770 per cent.

The CLOTHING AND DRY GOODS STORES, 9,826 per cent.

The FURNITURE MANUFACTURERS, 3,295 per cent.

Among the FLOUR MILLS, 84 of the largest reported net profits of more than 100 per cent and one company reported 2,628 per cent.

Of the BREAD AND BAKERY COMPANIES, the big shots squeezed the American people for more than 100 per cent.

And the STEEL MILLS stretched their interpretation of "reasonable" to cover a profit as high as 290,999 per cent of what THEY considered the business worth.

From the reports compiled by the United States government in 1918 it is absolutely clear that the American people during the last world war PAID IN PROFITS TO THE CAPITALIST OWNERS of the basic industries of the United States MORE THAN THE ENTIRE VALUATION set by the capitalists themselves on these industries.

The Government report lists as the cause of this profiteering "INORDINATE GREED AND BAREFACED FRAUD." Despite price fixing, says Document No. 248, the owners of industry were "STRENGTHENED IN THEIR POSITION AND ENRICHED BY PROFITS WHICH ARE WITHOUT PRECEDENT."

The experience of the war and the profiteering which resulted, says the report, shows that government price fixing is "FRAUGHT WITH HARDSHIP TO THE CONSUMING PUBLIC."

The profiteers juggled their accounts, padded depreciation, increased officers' salaries inordinately, included interest on investment as a cost, recorded new construction as repairs, gave fictitious valuations to inventories, and then ADDED A "reasonable" PROFIT.

The proposals of Roosevelt's propaganda machine to eliminate profiteering in the coming world war, like the proposals of Woodrow Wilson's propaganda machine, are A FRAUD AND A BAREFACED CHEAT.

The only way to eliminate similar profiteering is by EXPROPRIATING WITHOUT COMPENSATION not only the munitions industries, but ALL the great basic industries.

The experience of the last world war shows that the workers CANNOT TRUST THE CAPITALISTS, or a government which represents the capitalists, to run these industries without PROFITEERING. They must be EXPROPRIATED WITHOUT COMPENSATION and run UNDER THE CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT OF THE WORKERS.

That is the ONLY WAY TO ELIMINATE PROFITEERING.

Senator Nye Reads  
British Propaganda  
Work Into Record

If the British ruling class has anything to say about it—and it has—the United States will be fighting on the side of England in the coming war. As in the last war, the U. S., ostensibly an ally of Britain, will of course be fighting for its own imperialist aims.

A revelation of British propaganda intentions was read into the Congressional Record on April 25 by Senator Nye of North Dakota from a British work, "Propaganda in the Next War."

Senator Nye stated that little is known of its author, Sidney Rogerson, but added that the man supervising the editing of it is the not-unknown Capt. Liddell Hart, associated with the London Times, and a recognized authority on military affairs. Among Hart's works are included joint authorship of the British official manual, "Infantry Training," and the editing of a treatise on "Small Arms Training."

Handbook for Propagandists  
"Propaganda in the Next War" apparently was prepared as a handbook for British propagandists. It was most certainly not meant for public consumption. So far as is known, only one copy of the book found its way into this country, and it was from this copy that Senator Nye quoted the chapter on "Enemies, Neutrals, and Allies."

Rogerson claims boastfully that British propaganda got us into the last war.

"For some time," says Rogerson, "the issue as to which side the United States would take hung in the balance and in the final result was a credit to our propaganda. We were helped by the carelessness of the Germans. . . . We were almost as thorough (as the Germans) though less blatant in our methods. Among our multifarious activities was the supply of a regular British news sheet to no fewer than 360 small American newspapers."

One master stroke was the appeal to American Jews, says Rogerson: "During the Great War we bought off this huge American Jewish public by the promise of the Jewish national home in Palestine, held by Liddell Hart to be the master stroke of Allied propaganda as it enabled us not only to appeal to Jews in America, but to Jews in Germany as well."

Gullible Americans  
Rogerson frankly admits the use of "atrocity" propaganda.

"Atrocities propaganda will be less effective with neutrals in the next war. They have been sated with it in peace." But it's still good stuff for fat-headed Americans. American news reel men, the book states, "should be first to be allowed to 'shoot' pictures of air raids in order that the proper volume of pictorial 'horror' will be available in one of the few great countries where 'atrocity propaganda' will still be operative."

Emotions of Americans can be played on. Americans are the "great champions of the oppressed," and they are therefore "more susceptible than most peoples to mass suggestion."

Yet Rogerson does not underestimate the difficulties involved in getting Americans to fight on the "right" side, nor is the fact ignored that the supports to which the desired propaganda is directed.

(Continued on Page 3)

James P. Cannon will speak on

THE DOWNFALL OF LITVINOV

The Meaning of Litvinov's Exit in the World War Crisis

Friday, May 12, 8 p.m.  
IRVING PLAZA  
Irving Plaza at Fifteenth Street







# In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

## Two Examples Portend Coming Divisions in the Stalinist Camp

Particularly in view of such recent developments as the removal of the champion of "collective security," Maxim Litvinov, and the trend towards some kind of a deal with Hitler, Stalinism is due for large-scale splits and desertions. On the one hand, a turn to Hitler is bound to open the eyes of many deceived workers in the so-called communist parties. On the other hand, many of the petty-bourgeois patriots whom the "democracy" line attracted in the past will no doubt take the first opportunity of cleansing themselves from every last tarnishing vestige of "radicalism" in order to get themselves accepted as bona-fide nationalist warriors by the ruling class.

What will be left of the apparatus of the Comintern parties will probably be determined in each country by the exigencies of the moment confronting the local bureaucracies. But the two-fold trend indicated above is already coming into evidence, although slowly.

We have before us two cases. In the one case, the defection of a group of rank and file workers from the Communist Party of Great Britain. In the other, the resignation of a certain Dr. Bourguignon, who as recently as April 2 was a candidate for parliament on its list, from the Communist Party of Belgium. Each case is symptomatic of the trend described.

## Resignation of Dr. Bourguignon From the Belgian Stalinist Party

Dr. Bourguignon recently had his letter of resignation from the Stalinist party of Belgium published in the Belgian press. In this letter he describes his disgust with the party, the intrigues, injustices, etc., going on inside of it as well as what he calls the "enormous bluff" organized by the party around the "supposed" betterment brought about by the Soviet regime for the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

It seems that in the year 1939, the honorable doctor has finally discovered that "civic and material equality is only a memory there, that castes and classes with all their inequalities are taking shape again, that the standard of living is lower than in our countries, that the regime is as bestially dictatorial as in the totalitarian countries and hardly democratic even in appearance. . . ."

No doubt, pointed remarks. But, as our Belgian comrades comment, why was Dr. Bourguignon so strangely silent until after the elections of April 2? (He was not re-elected as a deputy at that time).

In the same vein, the ex-deputy depicts the

structure of the so-called communist party, ruled as a satrapy by a Kremlin proconsul. But it is just in this description that the real political nature of Dr. Bourguignon's divergence from Stalinism begins to become clear. Here is what he says about his attitude toward the straw-boss:

"I do not want to bear any longer having this Slav Jew, ignorant as he is about our national mentality, impose upon us our manner of voting and dictate to us our attitudes. . . ."

From here, it is only one step to the ultra-nationalistic conclusion with which Dr. Bourguignon ends his letter:

"I am merely submitting to the dictates of my conscience in rejoining as a simple soldier (sic), the great labor (?) family and in having no other aim than that of applying whatever strength and dynamic (!) force there is left in me to the service of the people, of the country; in being above all, a good Belgian."

That's a foretaste of the way many bureaucrats abroad are going to part company with the Kremlin. . . .

## C.P.G.B. Members in Islington Split and Join the Fourth Int'l.

An entirely different road away from Stalinism has been taken by a group of workers in the Islington Branch of the British Communist Party. A section of this branch raised the question of the betrayal in Spain, particularly with reference to the membership in the Spanish C. P. of General Miaja. During the discussions the members developed an anti-Communist position and began to read and quote Marx and Lenin.

The party machinery was put into action to crush this revolt. Compulsory branch meetings were called under the direction of such C.P.G.B. big shots as Campbell and Springhall. All to no avail. What these workers got out of the branch meetings was merely a strong conviction that, if it were in their power, Campbell and Co. would repeat the Spanish experience in England. These workers decided to split away in a body. After prolonged discussion with our English comrades, we now hear, these Islington Communists have joined the Revolutionary Socialist League, British Section of the Fourth International.

No doubt, the course of the Islington comrades, like that of the Belgian ex-Stalinist, but foreshadow bigger developments in the future. The class lines, so to speak, are being drawn inside the ranks of Stalinism. We of the Fourth International have clearly the task before us of preparing to join forces with the proletarians who inevitably are breaking with the rotten-ripe bureaucratic apparatus of the Comintern.

# On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

With screaming whistle and whirring wheels a long, streamlined train races along narrow tracks on a perilous mountain pass. Around sharp curves and through sudden tunnels, faster and faster the train rips through the night. The engineer leans heavily on the throttle and peers with squinting brows into the misty darkness. . . .

Inside the brilliantly lighted cars are hundreds of men and women and children. Some are asleep. Some are in smoking rooms exchanging jokes. At the bar are men and women who talk excitedly and laugh in shrill tones while glasses tinkle with ice and a radio blares out the latest swing number. In another car many people are dancing to the music of a three-piece band. On the observation platform boy meets girl and they huddle together in happy embrace.

On and on the train tears rapidly toward a high thin bridge—a bridge which no longer exists. A sudden flood washed away this link of track and with it the telegraph wires. . . . On and on the train sweeps.

Suddenly there is a blinding flash, a terrific moan of horror, a crash—then silence.

Immediately wires begin to hum with the news. The Red Cross is called out. All nearby hospitals are mobilizing every available doctor and nurse, every available stretcher and oxygen tank. The police, the Boy Scouts and the American Legion—everyone within reach is called upon to assist in the rescue, aid in the saving of lives.

Newspapers run off all the details and have extra editions on the streets complete with pictures. The President appeals over a national hook-up for every possible aid for the victims.

## Guilty, Thrown in Jail

In less than a week an investigation has been started to determine the causes and to find who was to blame. The public demands action according to the editorials in every newspaper. Many employees and even one or two vice-presidents of the railroad are held for the Grand Jury. A verdict of guilty is swiftly reached. Several are held responsible and they go to jail for long terms at hard labor.

You all know the story. How many times has it been done and re-done in real life and on the motion picture screen? Well, today that very story is being re-enacted—not by Hollywood, not on any real railroad, but by the United States of America. And every detail of the story is being graphically and tragically lived by the one hundred and thirty million men, women and children of America—except the ending.

Oh, the train goes over the edge, and all that—but there will be no stern measures enacted against the guilty party, there will be no investigation and no verdict of deliberate violation of duty. The majority of the one hundred and thirty million will be victimized in one of the greatest of all disasters but, there will be no mobilization of society to rescue and save. The police, the Boy Scouts, the others including the Communist Party, will all be used, not to aid in the recovery of wounded and maimed, but to clamp down on anyone who dares to raise his voice in protest, who dares to ask questions, who dares to demand that something be done to prevent such "accidents."

## Speeding Toward an Abyss

America is today speeding towards a bridge which has been torn away. The abyss is war. The passengers are the workers and their wives and children.

Many will say to themselves, "We must fight for democracy!" but what was the last war fought for? And today there is less democracy in the world than there was in 1914.

Others think that Roosevelt will stop Hitler and that this will be a good way to stop fascism. . . . But America was of the nations which defeated Germany in the last war and America was one of the powers which dictated the peace which is now the storm center of the coming war. And there are no guarantees that Roosevelt will want to do away with fascism in Germany. Will he establish Socialism? Of course not—he will preserve capitalism in Germany and there's the catch. Capitalism leads directly to fascism unless the workers are prepared to take matters in their own hands. Unless the workers of Germany are given every possible chance to deal with Hitler in their own way—to make their revolution to establish Socialism, things will be no different from what they are today. Hitler might go but capitalism would remain under Roosevelt in Germany.

## War Is Not the Only Way

And there are many workers who think a war would solve all their problems. How many young boys and men sit at home worrying about the bills, about not finding work, about being unable to live decently with enough to eat, clothes to wear, a place to sleep? There are tens of thousands of these men who think like this. They have no hope for the future. They are not afraid to die, to fight, if it means being occupied, being fed and clothed. It is this section of the American workers who must be reached with the program and spirit of our party.

We have the responsibility of coming forward in such a way as to capture the attention of these workers before they are lined up and killed in the interests of more markets, more profits, more gold. They cannot see how war can be stopped. They have never heard of Socialism except when it was put forward by people who do not and never will mean what they say. It is up to us.

The Socialist Workers Party and no other Party. That train can be turned around. There is still time to prepare and organize if we start at once. The bosses will not stop their war plans—they cannot find any other way out except war. We must not tire of speaking, writing and organizing for the social revolution which will toss the bosses overboard forever. Everywhere in America the war is the key question to the future of millions of workers, millions of youth. "Down with War! Up with Socialism!" must ring out everywhere in the country.

"Before exhausting or drowning mankind in blood, capitalism befalls the world atmosphere with the poisonous vapors of national and race hatred. Anti-semitism today is one of the more malignant convulsions of capitalism's death agony."

—From the Program of the 4th International

# Soundings for Stalin-Hitler Pact Continue

(Continued from Page 1)

low what they want of Polish territory without war if the Italians abandon the hesitation they have displayed over threatening to use force for the purpose.

Hitler's final chore is to exorcise the Russian demon on the eastern frontier. This job has already been made easy for the Fuehrer by Stalin's anxiety to come to terms with him. Hitler, contemptuous of the purge-rent Soviet state and army, might even think it sufficient to his purpose to break up the Anglo-Soviet negotiations. Beyond that, he would take, for the time being, a new German-Soviet trade pact which would provide the Reich with vitally needed food supplies and oil.

Such a deal would completely transform once more the ugly diplomatic face of Europe. David Lloyd George was undoubtedly correct when he declared in the House of Commons on Monday that the British guarantees to Poland and Rumania are worthless if the Soviet Union stands on the other side, or remains "neutral."

The British and French would either decide that they would have to hasten war at all costs to crush their German rival before his strength outstrips them or else take refuge in a new Munich pact—i.e., seek a new breathing space for diplomatic maneuverings and rearmament. This would be the purpose of the new "appeasement" conference proposed by Pope Pius.

## Negrin Arrives, Makes Bow to Miaja "Honesty"

Juan Negrin, Loyalist premier, arrived in New York last Monday on the Normandie, to stay for a few days before leaving for Mexico.

Newspapermen who interviewed him at the Hotel Plaza found him still playing the statesman. He handed out a written statement thanking Americans who had contributed funds to Spain, and attributing the loss of the war to "our shortage of arms." Questions put to him to elicit his version of the last weeks in Spain remained unanswered.

Praises Miaja

But he said enough to blast the Stalinist myth that the Negrin cabinet, whom the Stalinist leaders joined in leaving Spain on May 6, represented the polar opposite of the Miaja-Casado Junta which took its place.

Miaja, who headed the Junta, was described by Negrin as "an honest and able military man who had been betrayed by the politicians." This praise for the man who led the Popular Front in its capitulation to Franco scarcely fitted the Stalinist picture of Negrin as a bitter-ender.

Negrin made a distinction between the head of the Junta, Miaja, and his collaborator, Colonel Casado. The latter was, said Negrin, "a slightly pathological case," and had "been in relation with Franco, although perhaps not to betray the republic."

Negrin is still a member of the Spanish Socialist Party, as is Caballero, whom Negrin overthrew on May 15, 1937, and Besteiro and other Socialist leaders who joined in overthrowing Negrin on May 5, 1939. It's all in the family, as it were.

# ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES

Germany is supplying Yugoslavia with large scale credit to be used for the purchase of military equipment. "If you go to the military airport of Belgrade, for instance," said a government spokesman, "you will find all sorts of German military planes there." This same spokesman added that Germany is sending arms "to many other countries, such as Greece."

A request may soon be made by the State Department to Mexico and Ecuador for permission to establish air and na-

## A Letter from China

# One Amalgam That Won't Work

As is their practice, the Stalinists have attempted an amalgam between Chen Tu-hsiu, Chinese revolutionist of long standing, and Wang Ching-wei, a traitor of equally long standing, and one time friend of the Stalinists. The most recent such attempt appeared in "China Today." Below we print the answer sent by J. H. Chang, secretary of the Communist League of China (Fourth International). It will most certainly not be published by the editors of "China Today."

The Editor, "China Today," 168 West 23rd Street, New York, N. Y., U. S. A.

In an article entitled "The Story of a Traitor" by John Todd, which appeared in your publication for March, 1939, the assertion is made that Chen Tu-hsiu, "who for the last ten years has been the leader of the Chinese Trotskyists," went to Japan on a Japanese gunboat in company with Wang Ching-wei (after the latter fled from Chungking last December) and issued a public statement in favor of peace between China and Japan on Japan's terms. Says Mr. Todd: "With Wang Ching-wei exposed, and the people of China demanding the death penalty for all traitors, Chen Tu-hsiu also fled to his protectors."

We brand these statements concerning Chen Tu-hsiu as deliberate, conscienceless fabrications. Chen Tu-hsiu has not set foot outside of China for more than ten years. Between 1932 and 1937 he was in a Kuomintang prison in Nanking. When the Sino-Japanese hostilities broke out in the latter year he was released and went to Hankow. Later he proceeded to Chungking, in Szechwan province. He has not been out of that province for a single day since. His presence in Szechwan before, during and subsequent to the flight of Wang Ching-wei can very easily be verified by reference to the Kuomintang authorities who keep the veteran revolutionist under constant surveillance. They maintain watch over his movements, and have lately prohibited the press from publishing his articles, not because he is a traitor, as Mr. Todd falsely represents him, but because he is a revolutionist who has refused to betray the interests of the Chinese workers and peasants in the

name of a spurious "People's Anti-Japanese United Front" which has produced nothing but military disasters for China in the war against Japan, just as its counterpart in Spain facilitated the victory of General Franco.

Chen Tu-hsiu, as an adherent of the Fourth International, is as ardent an opponent of Japanese imperialism as he is a revolutionary champion of the cause of the Chinese workers and peasants against their oppressors and exploiters, with whom your organization is in league. He has proved this by his entire political life. Since your contributor cannot destroy Chen Tu-hsiu's political reputation by reference to his real position and activities, he is obliged to resort to falsifications which crumble at the first contact with reality.

Todd's falsification in this instance rests on another which everyone acquainted with recent happenings in China will easily recognize as such. To get Chen Tu-hsiu to Japan on a Japanese gunboat it was necessary to get Wang Ching-wei to Japan on the same gunboat, for no one would believe that the Japanese government would place one of its warships at the disposal of one of its political enemies to enable him to escape the wrath of the Kuomintang. Yes, unpalatable and awkward as this fact is for you, the Japanese imperialists do regard Chen Tu-hsiu as their implacable foe. Hence, to discredit Chen, your Mr. Todd had to link his name with that of Wang Ching-wei, as the latter's political henchman, for as everyone knows Wang has been assiduously courted by the Tokyo imperialists and has been openly responsive to their overtures. With their names coupled in a common cause, the cause of Japanese imperialism, Chen and Wang can proceed to Japan on a Japanese gunboat, as Mr. Todd has them do.

Alas for this amalgam, Wang Ching-wei did not go to Japan after his flight from Chungking last December—unless, of course, one chooses to believe Mr. Todd rather than the Chinese press and the numerous correspondents of the big press agencies who have been following Wang's movements in closest detail. He went to Hanoi in French Indo-China and as far as is known has remained there continuously ever since. Despite the multifarious sources of information and general news-gathering facilities, none of the correspondents discovered that a Japanese gunboat had put into Haiphong or Saigon and carried Wang off to the land of the Rising Sun. It remained for your Mr. Todd to make this discovery from his vantage point more than a thousand miles away in Chungking! And your obscure monthly publication is the only one that has carried the story! Strange, isn't it? Why don't you drop a line to the press correspondents in Hanoi to tell them they're wasting their time

watching Wang Ching-wei—that their man was long ago spirited away to Japan?

But why, oh why didn't Mr. Todd give us more detailed information? Since he apparently had no difficulty in finding out that Wang had gone to Japan on a Japanese gunboat, surely he must know the name of the gunboat, the port at which Wang boarded it, the date of its departure! Having scooped everybody else, why is he so reticent on vital details?

Where did Mr. Todd get the bald information which he imparts? The answer is very simple: he invented it. But let us call attention to one more point. When Wang fled from Chungking, the Chinese press and the news agencies all listed the members of his entourage. Wang and his followers were vigorously denounced. Chen Tu-hsiu's name was mentioned by absolutely no one. Having denounced the traitor Wang Ching-wei, only yesterday the close collaborator of Chiang Kai-shek, would they have spared Chen Tu-hsiu if he had gone with Wang? Only Mr. Todd, it seems, knew the whole truth!

By the way, who is John Todd? You identify him as "an American journalist now in Chungking." Why did you not say who he represents? You did not dare do this, because that would have meant exposure of your entire crude falsification. The fact is that the colony of foreign journalists in this country knows of no such gentleman, either in Chungking or in any other Chinese city. Would it not be correct to say that "John Todd" sits in the office of your organization, which calls itself "American Friends of the Chinese People," and demonstrates its "friendship" for China by fabricating calumnious stories about the Chinese revolutionists?

This is the universal method of the Stalinist International, of which your organization and its publication, as we are well aware, are a branch. Your lie about Chen Tu-hsiu is not just an accidental slip. For this reason we do not expect you to publish a retraction, since that would defeat the aim you have in view, which is to discredit Chen Tu-hsiu and the Chinese section of the Fourth International by portraying them as agents of Japanese imperialism.

We are accordingly sending copies of this letter to other publications which possess that regard for truth and honesty which is so alien to the camp of counter-revolutionary falsifiers to which you belong.

Be assured that your shameful, lying provocations will rebound on your own heads.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF CHINA  
(Section of the Fourth International)  
(signed) Y. H. CHANG, Secretary  
For the Central Committee.  
Shanghai, China  
April 8, 1939

# Propagandists Work to Align Nation for War

(Continued from Page 1)

agenda can be attached are none too firm.

"Since on paper," Rogerson says, "our case towards neutrality appears to lack a main-spring, it will behoove us to manufacture what we can and press it everywhere we can—a task of making bricks with small straw. . . ."

Some of the "small straw" that will be used in the propaganda bricks is the well-worn plea for the protection of democracy, Rogerson points out:

"There will be no doubt that the next war will be billed as a fight between democracy and dictatorship. It may in fact be nothing of the sort. We might get Italy as a partner and Germany get Belgium; authoritarian Portugal is likely to come with us and the democratic Scandinavian countries may remain strictly neutral. In the ultimate resort, alliances spring from the hope of a material advantage, not the possession of a common ideological belief, but in our propaganda we must make the facts fit our case as far as possible. We should almost certainly represent the struggle in the propaganda we should be compelled to do toward France, the United States of America, and our own Empire, as democracy and freedom versus dictatorship and persecution."

The methods that will be used to swing this country into the war are no less interesting than the ideological appeals for which we will be asked to fight. The British figure they can utilize American foreign correspondents, and that they can rely on the "natural bias of the United States film manufacturers in favor of Great Britain as opposed to Germany, Japan or Italy."

They will again try to appeal to the Jews "probably by declaration of a clear-cut policy in Palestine and of our (i.e. Great Britain's) intention, if victorious, of putting an end to anti-Semitic persecutions." And they will "as before send our leading literary lights and other men with names well-known in the United States to put our point of view over the dinner table."

But all this, and of course the other customary sources of propaganda, may still not be enough. It might, and probably would, keep the United States neutral. But it will not serve as a sufficient cause of war. For this, there must be something much more decisive, more convincing, more immediate. How about a little American-Japanese incident? Says Rogerson:

"It will need a definite threat to America, a threat moreover which will have to be brought home by propaganda to every citizen, before the Republic will again take arms in an external quarrel. The position will naturally be considerably eased if Japan were involved, and this might and probably would bring America in without further ado. At any rate, it would be a natural and obvious object of our propaganda to achieve this just as during the Great War we succeeded in embroiling the United States with Germany. . . ."

We think comment is superfluous. But we think, also, that Rogerson's material should be required reading everywhere. The people of the United States have a right to know the real methods by which they will be ricked into fighting another bloody, useless war.

## GOOD NEIGHBORS

"Worried and upset" by a reported Nazi plan to invite Brazilian Chief of Staff, General Monteiro, to Germany where he was to be "honored" by leading a division of German troops in a huge parade staged for the purpose, the U. S. State Department is sending General George C. Marshall down to Brazil. Monteiro will stay in Brazil to welcome the "distinguished American soldier." General Marshall is scheduled to replace Malin C. Craig as the U. S. Army's Chief of Staff.

Simultaneous with the creation of the Puerto Rican army department, Roosevelt asked \$21,062,500 "for increasing the permanent military garrison in the Panama Canal Zone." He also asked an additional sum of \$5,937,500 for the building of flying fields and other military appurtenances in the Zone. Writing to Senator Bankhead, Roosevelt stated: "I trust that the Congress will act quickly in this emergency program."

# SOCIETY NOTES

## Culinary Poems On Silver Plates Regale Twombly Guests

Before going to "Florham" at Convent, N. J., for the late spring season, Mrs. Hamilton McK. Twombly will give a series of dinners at her town house.

No woman in all New York lives more lavishly than the former "Florie" Vanderbilt. She favors Thursday nights for her prandial events—culinary poems concocted under the direction of her \$25,000 a year personal chef and served on silver plate that has no equal, even in this city of fabulous magnificence.

Those serving this regal queen of society run the Twombly household in a manner that would do justice to Buckingham Palace and seldom if ever, are called upon to push up chairs for newcomers within the social gates.

After six or seven weeks at "Florham" the Twombly household will move on to Newport—where "Florie" Twombly each season continues her luxurious mode of living and with the insouciance of one long accustomed to great wealth scorns even Bailey's Beach.

## Mother and Children Ousted by Police From Box Car

Minneapolis police were able to carry out their regular duties the other day with little danger to themselves when they arrested three trespassers on railroad property.

At the Shoreham freight yards they took a mother, her 16-year-old daughter and a nine-months-old baby out of a box car where they were awaiting a train to leave the yards. They were unarmed.

Without permission from railroad officials the trio had traveled via freight train the entire distance from Seattle, Washington, over high mountains and bleak plains where chill weather still prevails. They alleged that they were trying to reach relatives at Escanaba, Mich.

The police turned the mother and her two children over to the mercies of relief authorities. It was undetermined whether the relief authorities would accept the case and provide the food and railroad fare necessary to reach Escanaba or wire relatives of the trio's plight.



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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent wage 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

## K. K. K. Answered

Negro voters of Miami, Fla., last week courageously answered the attempt of Ku Klux Klan paraders to prevent them from voting.

The Ku Klux Klanners, hiding their faces behind full hooded regalia and covering the license plates of their automobiles, paraded on the eve of the city election primaries through the Negro district and threatened violence to Negroes who would dare show up the next day at the polls.

On the following day the Negroes flocked to the polls. The City Clerk reported that they voted at a ratio of 5-to-1 greater than ever before.

So aroused were the Negroes that when a group of Ku Klux Klanners gathered about a polling booth, uttering threats, the chief of police thought it more prudent to disperse the Klanners than the Negro voters.

The success of the Miami Negroes in defying the Ku Klux Klan should prove once again that they CAN conquer the rights that are theirs as human beings. But if they want to gain more than the privilege of putting a ballot into a box which can be stuffed or dumped into a furnace by the capitalist political machine anyway, they must join with the vanguard of the working class in the fight for socialism in the United States.

The courage and heroism that is characteristic of the Negro race will prove one of the most powerful forces in smashing forever the capitalist system of inequality and scarcity and establishing the socialist system of genuine equal rights and plenty for all.

## Krivitsky and Dies

We do not know to what extent Walter Krivitsky, former head of the Soviet Secret Service in Western Europe who broke with Stalin in 1937 and who is now in the United States, is acquainted with the political situation in this country. At all events, it should not be difficult for him to learn the real significance of the Martin Dies' witch-hunting committee, which is not an "anti-Stalinist" body but a vicious anti-revolutionary and anti-working class outfit from A to Z. Nor should it be hard to learn the attitude not only of the revolutionary movement towards the Dies Committee, but even of the average honest opponent of reaction.

Krivitsky, it is reported, is planning to testify before the Dies Committee about the activities of the G.P.U. and the Stalinists in the United States. If the report is true, it can only bring discredit upon Krivitsky, just as it did in the case of Sam Baron. In both cases, the motives of the witnesses, no matter how pure, could not be of decisive consequence. No one can claim the sympathy of labor who, wittingly or unwittingly, gives aid and comfort to the reactionary gang around Martin Dies. Stalinism cannot be fought on that platform.

We have never shared Krivitsky's political views, neither when he was in the Stalinist faction nor when, following his break, he turned to the camp of bourgeois "democracy." In view of the knowledge at the command of Krivitsky,

we granted his dramatic disclosures, even though they are still incomplete, the respect and credibility which they so certainly deserve. The complete failure of the Stalinists to make any kind of reply to his damning revelations has only confirmed us in our views.

One could go further and say that what Krivitsky might reveal to the Dies Committee would not be invalidated by the personnel of his auditors. But to appear voluntarily before such a crew would heavily damage whatever standing Krivitsky himself has among those who take seriously the battle against reaction.

We repeat: Stalinism cannot be combatted from the platform of arch-reactionary Martin Dies.

**LOOK WHO'S TALKING:** Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain to a tense audience bitterly assailed Premier Mussolini for "imposing the will of a powerful nation on a small and relatively defenseless one" by his armed invasion of Albania. Page Ireland, Egypt, India—in short, most of Africa and Asia under Britain!

## Kettle and the Pot

It doesn't take a personal acknowledgement from Alfred M. Landon to prove that in a crisis confronting the capitalist class of the United States he is more than willing to loyally assist in carrying out the major tasks which Roosevelt is now organizing.

Everybody remembers, for example, the excellent messenger boy Landon made at the Lima Conference following his appointment by President Roosevelt.

Last week in a speech at the Methodist Uniting Conference, Landon again confirmed his loyalty to Roosevelt, pointing out that he was crossing party lines to back up the President, but justifying it by the war crisis. He advocated what Roosevelt advocates, a conference to work out a scheme to "preserve world peace." In the same breath, like Roosevelt, he demanded that the feverish construction of the war machine be continued.

This speech irritated the current editors of the Daily Worker, who like Landon profess loyalty to President Roosevelt.

Landon's speech conflicts with their thesis that Landon represents "Wall Street" whereas Roosevelt represents American "democracy" which has its headquarters not in Wall Street, of course, of course, but under the shaft at Bunker Hill and in the editorial offices of the Daily Worker.

So the current editors of the Daily Worker took a few columns in their issue of May 6 to prove that Landon was using weasel words when he got behind Roosevelt side by side with them.

The current editors tried to prove that Landon is really a fascist veiling himself behind loyal phrases to the President. But it must be noted that their arguments were not even as plausible as those of previous editors of the Daily Worker who attempted to prove back in 1932 and 1933 that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a war-mongering fascist.

We don't want to spoil the chuckles readers of the Daily Worker will obtain from the editorial by dissecting it phrase by phrase—dissecting a joke is the surest way to spoil it. And this is not necessary anyway, since in the usual sparkling Daily Worker style, the editorial refutes itself. But one tasty little item is too tempting to pass up: "Landon wants America to become an imperialist grabber with Hitler."

This sounds very much like an attempt to answer Landon's charge: "Until very recently the left wing liberals, who are the war party in America now, were saying we went into the World War not to save democracy but to save our investments. Now they are the loudest in arguing that we must oppose force with force to stop aggression in Europe."

When the current editors of the Daily Worker accuse Landon of not loyally backing the President in his war plans, and Landon accuses the Daily Worker crowd of the same sin, isn't there just a slight smudge of the kettle and the pot calling each other black?

"President Roosevelt is war-mongering to save his job, which is in grave jeopardy because of the failure of his domestic political plan," declares *Der Angriff*, the newspaper of Hitler's mouthpiece, Propaganda Minister Goebbels. When the bosses fall out, they tell the truth about each other.

## Resignation by Request

Maxim Litvinov is reported by Tass, the official Soviet News Agency, to have "relinquished his office at his own request"—in exactly the same manner as Yezhov, whose fate is now "unknown." Rumors circulated in Moscow that Litvinov's resignation had nothing to do with a new possible turn in Stalin's diplomatic intrigues, that it was illness, a bad heart. . . .

A few days later ALL the high officials of the Soviet Foreign Office and OTHER close colleagues of Litvinov were SUMMARILY DISMISSED. Even though they didn't "relinquish office at their own request," we'll wager the whole treasury of Stalin's G.P.U. against a fresh clip of cartridges for a well-oiled Mauser automatic, that they feel just about as ill as Maxim Litvinov himself.

Senator Bilbo Presents: A Preview  
Of the Road to American Fascism

Roosevelt Is Silent and Members of Congress Listen Without  
Protest as the President's Party Colleague Calls for Fascist  
Race Hatred With the Cry "Drive the Negroes Out!"

By RUTH JEFFREY

The United States Senate was presented with a preview of American fascism on April 24, by the Democratic Party's Senator Bilbo from Mississippi, Theodore Bilbo. As Hitler drives the Jews out, so Bilbo would expel the persecuted Negroes.

Bilbo fed the fires of race-hatred with craftily chosen—or invented—quotations from the writings of Thomas Jefferson ("the first Democrat"), Abraham Lincoln, and from the Bible. No objection whatever was raised by Bilbo's fellow-Senators. Senator Davis of Pennsylvania even asked for additional information on fine points.

President Roosevelt makes fine speeches against the German Nazis. But against the Nazis of the American South, against his own party's Senator from Mississippi, whom Roosevelt provides with the usual senatorial patronage—against fascism here and now, Roosevelt is silent.

BILBO-HITLER CUTS  
THE GORDIAN KNOT

Bilbo minces no words: "There are only two solutions to our ever-present race problem in the United States. One solution is the physical separation of the races . . . and by this separation the blood stream of the white race shall remain uncontaminated and all culture, progress and the blessings of the white man's civilization shall forever remain the priceless possession of the Anglo-Saxon in this proud Republic."

Mr. Bilbo's white man, note, is an Anglo-Saxon.

"The other solution to this great problem is to let the two races continue to live side by side in the same country, which will result, as certain as fate, in the loss of the white man's civilization. . . ."

Let us be led to believe that Mr. Bilbo's desire to expel the Negroes makes him no friend of the Negro he declares, "As I have stated frequently, the Negro in America has no better friend than I am to him. The mere fact that I spent four days on the floor of the Senate fighting the so-called anti-lynching bill is evidence of the fact. . . ."

His friendliness established, he proceeds to his racial interpretation of history, much like

that of the Nazis:

"Scientific research has successfully established three propositions beyond all controversy:

"First, the white race has founded, developed, and maintained every civilization known to the human race.

"Second, the white race, having founded, developed and maintained a civilization, has never been known, in all history, to lose that civilization so long as the race was kept white.

"Third, the white man has never kept unimpaired the civilization he has founded and developed after its blood stream has been adulterated by the blood stream of another race, more especially another race so widely diverse in all its inherent qualities as the black race."

BILBO IS AN  
ANTI-SEMITIC TOO

And if you missed the "Aryan," anti-Semitic implication of that last "theory," a further remark makes it clear:

"I wish to say to the colored citizens who may hear me today, or who may read my speech, that if they are resettled in Liberia they will have one consolation in knowing that they will not be troubled by the white man. They will not be troubled by a certain race, such as we find in some of the large cities, which makes a specialty of racketeering and exploiting and contaminating the Negroes."

"The most gratifying thing I have read in some time had to do with the picketing in Harlem, New York, of stores that are owned by Jews. The Negroes insisted that, since the Jews were going to do business, some members of the Negro race should be employed in those stores, and the Negroes made it so hot for our Jewish friends that they were forced to give employment to Negro boys and girls in Harlem."

Bilbo approves of picketing—in Harlem, and against the Jews. But woe to the Negro worker or sharecropper who dares to join a picket line in Mississippi! Bilbo himself would lead the lynching squads.

And here is Bilbo's proposal: "At the last session we appropriated over \$2,000,000,000 for relief. One-half of that amount of money could be spent in providing for the re-

settlement of the Negro in his native fatherland, and the Government would save money on the transaction, because if we could succeed in removing 5,000,000, 6,000,000, or 8,000,000 Negroes who are now ready to go to Africa we would solve the unemployment problem and do away with the necessity for relief, for there would be a job for every white man and woman in America."

He winds up by blaming syphilis, the Civil War, the boll weevil and other insect plagues on the Negroes, visited upon the land he avers, as were plagues upon Egypt, because of the presence of an unwanted race; and adds his intention of giving his hate-breeding speech "the widest possible circulation."

"The fight," he concludes, "to solve the race question by separation . . . has just started. This is only the beginning."

**SMASH RACE SLAVERY  
HERE AND NOW!**  
Bilbo's great-grandfathers tore the African natives from their huts and dragged them here to be sold into slavery. For one hundred years our brothers, enchained, were driven and beaten for the last ounce of profit that could be extracted from their bones.

"Liberated" by the Civil War, they entered a new phase of enslaved existence. But exploited, hounded, discriminated against, they have yet managed to carve something of a life for themselves and their children in a land no longer strange. America is their home, far more than it is Bilbo's.

Today they stand shoulder to shoulder with the exploited workers of all origins who meet in the slums, in the factories and on the Tobacco Roads of America. They are no longer, in the midst of economic crisis, so rich a source of profit for the Bilbos, particularly when they demand a decent life for themselves and their children—and so the Bilbos would ship some of them back to the jungles.

But their place is not in the African jungles. Through their blood and their sweat they have helped build America, and they are our fellow-American workers and farmers, with whom we join hands in our struggle for liberation, for black and white alike.

The "World of Tomorrow"—A  
Glorified Swindle and Peepshow

By NAT LEVINE

No more gigantic, all-enveloping swindle was ever conceived and realized than the New York World's Fair. Crowded into its 1,216 acres is a staggering variety of State, Federal, International and Commercial peepshows, each as different from the other as the suits in Grover Whalen's wardrobe. Known as The World of Tomorrow, the name is as breath-taking as the size and scope of the Fair itself and as false as the plasterboard masquerading as concrete.

The purpose of the Fair—apart from boosting New York business—is to impress upon the working class the might, glory and vitality of capitalism, subservience to which is the need of the hour: revolutionary action the Fair would discourage by its display of capitalism's powerful resources. The gift game which leers out of the Flushing meadows declares that capitalism will not suffer intimidation from the working class.

The World of Tomorrow on the former Flushing dump heap is an earnest of the totalitarian capitalist world of the future.

Superficially, the Fair's most prominent feature is the endless number of young girls parading their nude bodies at twenty-five cents a peep. That's capitalism's idea of a world of art and culture.

Actually the capitalist World of Tomorrow will be a thousand-fold uglier than the fluted towers and inspiring columns of the Fair would lead one to believe at first glance. This is strikingly revealed by examining no less an exhibit than that of the United States Government.

## A HYMN TO WAR

The entire Federal exhibit is permeated from beginning to end with New Deal propaganda for war. The pro-war, openly crass jingo exhibit is cast in a soft, modernistic interior, laid down with heavy plush rugs and

lined with beautifully sculptured glass statues. But the brutal legends on the walls are in sharp contrast to the otherwise delicate interior. Immediately upon entering, one is confronted with the inscription, "To Be Prepared For War Is One of the Most Effectual Means of Preserving Peace."

An accompanying slogan reads, "Adequate Defenses Are the Bulwark of the Nation's Basic Institutions." Under each of the legends are a variety of dramatic tableaux—exhibits of the Army and Navy.

Trench warfare is strikingly depicted by a three-dimensional exhibit in which one sees infantry advance, tanks poised in action and soldiers in various attitudes of attack. A changing mural alongside portrays "Troops on the Front Line," "Transportation of Munitions Be It by Train, Ship, Motor or Mule," and a "Port of Embarkation." Other tableaux depict the artillery, the air corps and the coast defense.

The Navy exhibit is represented by four trick scenes en-

titled, "The Fleet in Peace," "The Fleet in War," "The Marine Corps," and "The Coast Guard."

Adjacent and part of the naval exhibit is, significantly enough, that of the U. S. Maritime Commission, now engaged in a fight against the seagoing unions. Its display is another mural which reads first, "25 Million Americans Derive their Livelihood Directly or Indirectly from Our Ocean Trade. National Economy and Security Demand a Strong Merchant Marine." The Strong Merchant Marine is shown in the next slide of the mural as a Tanker, Freighter and a Liner camouflaged for war transportation.

PICTURES NOT BACKED  
BY REALITIES

The rest of the government exhibit is given over to its public housing program, its educational services, its public works program. None of these exhibits gives the figures of congressional curtailment of the funds for these purposes, without which none of the fancy designs portrayed by the exhibits can be realized in the future.

What is perhaps the greatest misnomer of the entire Fair is the so-called Court of Peace, fronting on the Government building. This huge square is used daily as a reviewing ground for military units of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps. When these units are not either drilling or parading, the Court is used by the American Legion and other patriotic organizations for uniformed drum and bugle corps competitions.

When this writer approached the press representative of the Fair for a press pass into the grounds, he was asked whether the Socialist Appeal had "cooperated" with the Fair management. In view of the fact that "cooperation" can only mean whooping it up for Mr. Whalen's show, the writer begged off by accepting a one-day pass. We prefer hereafter to pay our own way.

Their  
Government

By James Burnham

Civil and democratic rights are not at all a luxury for labor, nor valuable merely for their own sake. They are essential to labor's very existence, to the workers' ability even to get enough food to live on. Without them labor cannot fight; and, as things are, without fighting labor is reduced to the status of miserable slaves.

The key task of fascism is to abolish democratic rights, especially the rights of labor: the right to organize, to strike, to picket, to demonstrate, to speak and write freely. When these rights are gone, it is a child's job for the bosses to drive down wages and to lift hours.

Every worker has, therefore, good cause for alarm at the concerted and growing attack on democratic rights which has been taking place in this country during the past six months. Far from receding in the days to come, there is every reason to believe that this attack will become more intense, growing bolder with every partial success.

## Legal Straightjackets for Labor

Through a referendum vote in the November elections, a new labor law, backed by the Associated Farmers, passed in the State of Oregon; and a similar law was narrowly defeated in California. This law, which has not yet been firmly enforced, would make genuine unionism virtually impossible. A long list of prohibitions so restrict the right to strike, to organize, picket and boycott that the unions would be unable to get to first base.

A few weeks ago, Minnesota passed an elaborate law, incorporating many of the clauses of the Oregon statute. Special features of the Minnesota law, such as those forbidding "interference with transportation" are aimed directly at the Drivers' Union, backbone of the Minnesota labor movement. A modified form of compulsory arbitration is introduced, and strikes cannot be called until after a whole series of notices and delays totalling at least a month. Mass picketing is illegalized.

A similar law has recently been put on the books in Wisconsin. Laws along the same lines, moreover, have been introduced this year into the legislatures of more than a dozen additional States. Others are scheduled, and many threaten to pass before the year is out.

## The Courts Do Their Bit

As always, the courts, servile hirelings of the bosses, are well up in the front of the drive against the rights of labor. The year has been dotted with brazen decisions from one side of the country to another.

The Supreme Court itself set the fashion in the notorious *Fansteel* case. The illegality of sit-downs was made unambiguous. The doctrine was laid down that a worker who is framed up on any charge whatever—no matter how trivial—has no legal redress against his boss, however many crimes the boss may have committed against the worker.

In Philadelphia, the fantastic decision in the *Apex Hosiery* case, rendered under the anti-trust laws, attempts to find a means for wiping out unions financially whenever they conduct a militant strike.

In California, Illinois, New York and elsewhere, court decisions have struck at secondary picketing and boycotts, at the presence on the picket line of anyone not an employee of the shop being picketed, at mass picketing, at the closed shop.

## Congress Joins the Parade

A number of remarkable bills directed against democratic rights have been introduced into this session of Congress, and several of them have already passed at least one House. Many are concerned with aliens—including among aliens all who have not been granted their final citizenship papers. One of these, which has been approved by the House of Representatives, makes any alien subject to immediate deportation who advocates "any change" in the present form of government. Not "overthrow" or "violent change" or "fundamental change" but any change whatever.

Another, now being debated, would establish concentration camps for aliens convicted of any criminal charge—and convicting an alien of a criminal charge is a cinch when you set your mind to it.

A third bill, with a good chance of being enacted at this session, makes a crime of any attempt to influence the army or navy. Under this bill all anti-war propaganda—since it might conceivably come to the attention of a soldier or sailor—would be technically illegal.

The President has already deprived all aliens of the right to W.P.A. jobs. A number of Congressmen wish to prohibit the granting of any kind of relief to anyone, citizen or alien, who belongs to an organization advocating a change in the form of government.

A strong bloc of Congressmen are pushing an amendment to the Wagner Act which would illegalize the closed shop, and others which would, under the name of "undue coercion," prohibit militant union organization and action.

## The Future of Democratic Rights

The attack which has started against democratic rights is in its first and mildest stage. Under the pressure of the ever-deepening economic crisis and the swiftly approaching war, it will advance more swiftly and brutally. This we know in advance, and it need not surprise us.

But what is in the highest degree alarming is the almost complete passivity of the labor movement in the face of the attack. If labor does not swing soon into action it will be an accomplice in its own destruction. And the time to act is now; tomorrow the infant may have grown to a giant too great to cope with.

Labor Looks Through  
The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

General Franco broadcasts over the Madrid radio a promise of full pardon for all Republican soldiers not guilty of crimes. But, as *Phaedrus* said over 2,000 years ago, it is a crime for a plebeian to grumble in public against the bosses, let alone bear arms against them.

American Legion Post Number 1, begins a campaign to choose a veteran for president in 1940. "The interest of this country in peace and war can best be served by having as commander-in-chief someone who has gone through 'hell in mud,'" reads a resolution adopted by this Post. Someone who wants to get even, I suppose, by getting the rest of us to wallow in it too.