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Roosevelt's Stand In Coal Crisis Draws Lewis Blast

President's Ultimatum Endangers Welfare Of Miners; Kentucky Governor Threatens Use of Strike-breaking National Guard

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, D. C.—Three major developments featured the coal crisis this week:

1. An open break between John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, and President Roosevelt became imminent following a sharp public attack by Lewis on the administration's policy in the strike.

2. Roosevelt's ultimatum to the coal operators and the officials of the United Mine Workers of America to open the mines following a White House conference jeopardized the welfare of the 485,000 strikers.

3. Democratic Governor Chandler of Kentucky announced his intention of using National Guardsmen to break the strike in Harlan County by furnishing armed protection to scabs.

The coal operators and the U.M.W.A. committee were in virtually continuous session in New York City following these developments.

Accuses Roosevelt

In making public a letter he sent to John R. Steelman, federal conciliator in the coal negotiations, Lewis bluntly charged that the Roosevelt administration was directly responsible for the open shop drive against the miners' union.

Lewis pointed out that the Roosevelt administration failure to support the union's original proposal that the expired agreement be extended and that the industry be kept in operation pending negotiations, "caused many operators to believe that they had carte blanche from the government to disembowel the United Mine Workers."

Blame on the Roosevelt administration for the resulting deadlock and the consequent fuel shortage confronting the country was also placed by Lewis.

"Your department must accept responsibility for its own administrative blunder," Lewis emphasized in the letter.

"Supine" Attitude

The failure of the Roosevelt administration and its Democratic party machine in industrial states to allow miners either unemployment insurance or relief was exposed by Lewis. He termed the Roosevelt attitude as "supine" and "lackadaisical," and he specifically pointed out that only Pennsylvania with a Republican regime had given any relief to the strikers.

The importance of the union's original proposal to work under the old contract pending settlement of the issues took on a new turn with the announcement that the coal commission was going to set coal prices within the next two months.

The U.M.W.A. would be in a good position to ask for higher wages and better conditions while the coal commission was

meeting to determine prices. A signed contract beforehand might exclude this possibility. The coal operators' strategy has been to prolong all negotiations until the U.M.W.A. signed a contract that would not include either wage and hour demands and also exclude the union or closed shop. They

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The New Deal's Casualty List

Here is the New Deal's casualty list:

Between election day and Jan. 1, 1939—310,000 slashed from the relief rolls. Between Jan. 1, 1939 and April 1, an additional 40,000 "aliens" slashed.

On March 14, Roosevelt told Congress that besides these, 850,000 people certified as eligible for W.P.A. would not be considered. Total: 1,200,000 thrown into the gutter.

In the same speech Roosevelt said that the further slash carried through by Congress would "affect 5,000,000 people"—i.e., including those already thrown off relief.

Then: 1st week in April, 200,000 cut. 200,000 more in the 1st week of May. 200,000 more scheduled for the 1st week of June. 400,000 more for the 1st week of July.

Grand total—(not counting approximately 2,000,000 thrown out of work by business activity decrease of 15% since last November and some 400,000 youth eligible for jobs since November)—2,000,000 knocked off the rolls by the New Deal in little over six months.

If Roosevelt's basis for estimating is used, the number of people affected including the families of those directly cut off, therefore runs closer to 10,000,000 than to 5,000,000.

Workers Alliance Suppresses Action Demands of Members

As W.A.A. and unemployed workers seek to organize against the pink slip and relief-cut wave, they find that they have to fight not only the relief-slashers, but also a company-union outfit, the so-called "Workers Alliance of America."

Like many company unions, the leaders of this one have had to suppress demands for action by its members. In one such maneuver, about two months ago, the W.A.A. leaders announced a referendum of the membership on the question of a "March on Washington."

What happened to the referendum? How did the W.A.A. locals vote on it? What was the final vote?—we are certain that if held it would be overwhelmingly in favor. Not a word out of the W.A.A. leaders! They have simply dumped the whole business overboard. The membership voted? Never mind. That's their idea of democracy—these people who call on us to die in a war for democracy!

Why these scoundrels have decided not to go through the motions of holding a march is clear enough. When they proposed it, the President was engaged in a sham battle with the Democratic-Republican economy bloc about just how much should be cut from the final W.P.A. appropriation for the current fiscal year; it was possible to pretend that all the cutting was not coming from Roosevelt.

But since then events have moved quickly. Roosevelt himself has taken the leadership in cutting W.P.A. rolls. His April 27 message proposed, in addition to all previous cuts, a one-third slash for the year beginning July 1. Whereupon the Workers Alliance quietly sabotaged the idea of a "March on Washington." For such a march might grow to proportions uncontrollable by the W.A.A. leaders, and might be directed at the instigator of the W.P.A. cuts, President Roosevelt.

These masters of the W.A.A. have achieved the feat of not commenting once on Roosevelt's April 27 message! Neither as the W.A.A. leadership or as the Communist Party, have they said a word about his W.P.A. budget for the coming year! Agents of the boss-president, that's what they are. Not their W.A.A., but the scores of new W.P.A. unions springing up throughout the country, will lead the fight for W.P.A. jobs and relief.

The latest maneuver of the W.A.A. is to call a "Right to Work Congress" on May 27 in Washington. "Call" is too strong a word, for one learns of it publicly only through a casual reference in the Daily Worker. We can say in advance that this "Congress," if the Stalinist leaders have their way, will whine about the Tories but not say one word about the President's W.P.A.

FIGHT THE RELIEF CUTS!

F.D.R. and the 60 Families Understand Only the Language of Class Action!

We address these words to the unemployed.

We ask, fellow-workers and comrades: do you understand what is happening in this country? Do you realize that, under the combined leadership of Roosevelt and the Congress, there is now taking place THE SHARPEST AND MOST BRUTAL ATTACK ON THE UNEMPLOYED—ON YOURSELVES AND YOUR FAMILIES—SINCE THE GREAT CRISIS BEGAN IN 1929?

Does this sound like an exaggeration? It is easy enough to prove it beyond doubt.

On election day last November the W.P.A. rolls stood at 3,350,000. This figure was itself completely inadequate to provide jobs. There were around twelve million unemployed at the time, not counting workers on part-time.

Cuts Begin Day after Election

The average wage on W.P.A. was \$55 per month. This figure is less than half what the government experts declare is necessary for a minimum standard of health and decency.

But, shamefully low as were the number of jobs and average wage in November, they were prosperity compared to the situation today, and boom times compared to what will be the case three months from now—unless you do something about it.

The day after the elections were safely out of the way, the cuts on W.P.A. started. With Congress not in session, Roosevelt slashed 310,000 off the rolls between election day and the first of this year.

Between January 1 and April 1, 40,000 alien workers were dropped, bringing the number on W.P.A. down to 3,000,000.

During the first week of April 200,000 more got their pink slips. Another 200,000 the first week of this month, with at least as many scheduled for June. By the end of the first week of June, W.P.A. rolls will be down to a maximum of 2,400,000.

Unemployment Increases

According to the relief budget which Roosevelt has presented to Congress, this will be cut to 2,000,000 in July.

In eight months: from 3,350,000 to 2,000,000, a drop of more than 40%! 1,350,000 men, with their families totalling well over 5,000,000 people!

To these 5,000,000 people, a wage of \$55 a month would be riches. Some of them, including many of the aliens, are simply being left to starve. The others, at best, are being transferred to a home relief which is hardly better than starvation.

During these same months, the total of unemployed in the country has not decreased, but on the contrary has gone up by the hundreds of thousands. Industrial production is running about 15% behind the November rate, and 300,000 or 400,000 youth have in this period reached what is ironically called "employable age."

What to Do About It?

We want to ask you, fellow-workers: what are you going to do about this attack on the health and very lives of yourselves and your families?

Are you going to sit back and take it like slaves and cowards? Are you going to watch, and do nothing, while your wives and children go hungry, while they get sick and you have no money to call a doctor, while all of you get evicted, thrown literally on the street?

This attack is not going to stop because of any prayers or hopes on your part. It will continue, and get more vicious month by month. Not merely will more hundreds of thousands be dropped from W.P.A.; the average wage of those who remain will be lowered, and home relief will be driven down toward the vanishing point.

The attack has succeeded up to now for one and only one reason: because you, the unemployed who are the victims, have not fought back.

The attack will stop and the trend will be reversed when, and only when, you really begin fighting.

Roosevelt Acts for Sixty Families

You have not been fighting because you have trusted what you have been told by John L. Lewis and his associates, by Earl Browder and his party and his Workers' Alliance. You have believed them when they told you that Roosevelt was your President and leader and would help you out of your difficulties.

This is a direct, flat lie.

Roosevelt is not your President, but the President of the banks and the Sixty Families. He began this attack on you, began it in November on his own sole responsibility, and cut 310,000 before Congress even met. It is he, not Congress, who has proposed to cut the rolls to 2,000,000 in July. He and Congress sometimes have minor

differences about the speed and methods to be used in carrying on the attack: that is all.

Why Not Use the War Money?

Lewis and Browder and the Workers' Alliance support Roosevelt and his policies and his war. That is why they do not and cannot and will not ask you to fight back militantly against his attack on you. They appear once in a while before a Congressional committee, or suggest that you write postcards to Congressmen. But Congress and the President naturally pay not the slightest attention to such pitiful gestures.

Your money, fellow-workers, comes from the Federal government, Roosevelt's government. That is the boss against whom you have got to fight. You will have to make up your minds to that, no matter what Lewis and Browder tell you, or give up in advance.

Is there any money available for the unemployed?

Think a minute: The present Congress has already voted two billion dollars for Roosevelt's war machine. Plenty of money for guns and bullets! Why not take that money and use it for the unemployed?

We Have Got to Fight!

The Sixty Families alone have fifteen or twenty billion dollars of wealth in their strong boxes! Fifteen or twenty billion! Compare that with what sixty families in your neighborhood have got salted away. Do you agree that it right and just and sensible that Sixty Families should have ten times the money that Roosevelt proposes for thirteen million unemployed? Couldn't the Sixty Families manage to get by on a few less billion? Why not take some of those billions and use them to give jobs at decent wages to every man who is out of work?

But you've got to fight. Not with postcards and lobbying in Washington, but with militant mass demonstrations in the streets, with strikes and picketings on the projects, with death watches and hunger marches.

This is the only sort of language that Roosevelt and Congress and the Sixty Families who direct them can understand.

What are you waiting for? There is no time to be lost! Reaction is advancing in this country with the speed of airplanes. If we don't begin fighting soon, we will wake up one fine day to war and concentration camps, and never know what hit us.

Demand a job for every worker!

Thirty-thirty! A thirty dollar minimum weekly wage and thirty hour maximum week throughout industry, W.P.A. and public works!

A twenty billion dollar public works and housing program!

Expropriate the Sixty Families! Use their billions to give jobs to the workers!

All war funds to the unemployed!

"Death Watch" Casts Shadow Over Flint W.P.A. Offices

Washington "Worried" as Union Continues 24-Hour Vigil in Defense of 900 Families

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
FLINT, Mich., May 6.—The "Death Watch" initiated by the Unemployed and W.P.A. Workers Union, affiliated with the C.I.O., has cast a haunting shadow over the Flint welfare offices across the street, while resentment and anger grows among union men and women at the harsh and inhuman treatment given to the 900 families cut off relief last week.

Today, as a family of thirteen was thrown out on the streets by the sheriff, they moved into the park neighboring the welfare office and joined the others who have maintained a 24-hour vigil for the past five days. Consternation spread from Flint to Lansing, the state capital, to Washington officialdom, and back to Flint again.

So disturbed was Washington at the reports of the "watch" that with amazing speed they arranged to send more than 200,000 pounds of surplus commodities to be distributed to the needy. So deathly afraid are the Federal authorities that the "death watch" will continue to grow and crystallize working class anger at W.P.A. and relief slashes, that they ruled that the commodities may be distributed to all in need regardless of relief certification.

And the "death watch" has only begun. Friday morning Charles Adams, his wife, and children were evicted from their home. The authorities immediately told him to let them store his furniture and move into "the community center"—a concentration camp for evicted unemployed, where they are herded together, regardless of sex or health, and where the unfortunate families are treated worse than cattle. Adams refused. The General Drivers Union Local 332 donated a truck and helped Adams deliver his furniture to the Park where the "death watch" is located. Two tents, in which the Adams family now live, stand as a constant reproach and a living condemnation of Flint relief conditions.

At a mass meeting last Friday night, the Unemployed and W.P.A. Workers Union voted unanimously to carry on a "death watch" until all 900 families are put back on relief at decent standards.

After the meeting in the Buick C.I.O. hall, the members marched down the street singing.

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US Mayors Admit Relief Cuts Disastrous

Avoid Reference to FDR's Responsibility—Need Increases

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, May 9.—Results of discontinuing W.P.A. or cutting it—as Roosevelt has proposed—would be "tragic . . . too terrible to contemplate," the United States Conference of Mayors stated, in closing its case today before the members of the House Appropriations Committee investigation of W.P.A.

The mayors who appeared at the hearings represented some of the largest cities in the nation, including New York, Chicago, Cleveland and Milwaukee. They were unanimous in opposing the cuts and insisting that the relief program must be expanded.

When questioned about how funds shall be provided, however, the mayors got tongue-tied, not a single one daring to cross the interests of the capitalist class and demand that the staggering sums siphoned from the unemployed to build the war machine be returned to the relief program.

New Deal Henchman

Their whole presentation studiously avoided reference to the fact that the W.P.A. cuts are geared to President Roosevelt's April 27 relief message, proposing a one-third slash for the year beginning July 1. La Guardia, leader of the mayoralty group, the "Socialist" Hoan of Milwaukee, etc.—all are henchmen of the Roosevelt "New Deal."

The mayors limited their whole case to two points: (1) the W.P.A. is of great benefit in providing employment and carrying out constructive work of "great benefit to the nation" and (2) hinting at the danger to the capitalist regime of the United States through the likelihood that those thrown off relief rolls would turn to the road of revolution to fight starvation.

Mayor LaGuardia, frequently pounding the table to emphasize his points, declared that the W.P.A. had "done a good job," and that its discontinuance would have "tragic and disastrous" results.

The unemployment situation in New York, he declared was only "slightly better" than in 1933—a damning indictment of the New Deal policies which were to end forever the hunger and misery of the "forgotten" man.

It was erroneous, he declared, to argue that if business picked up, relief costs could be eliminated. Business recovery, he said, would have to first absorb those on relief and the employables on the rolls before the W.P.A. could be liquidated. Although all statistics show that business activity has declined, Roosevelt attempted to justify his latest slash of relief funds by declaring that industry would absorb those thrown on the streets.

Hours Too Long

LaGuardia did not advocate a sliding scale of hours and wages to solve the problem of unemployment, but he did admit that working hours as a whole in the nation must be reduced in order to make room for at least 3,000,000 persons.

Mayor Kelly of Chicago reported that one out of every five persons in Chicago was

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POWERS CONTINUE MANEUVERS FOR WAR ALLIANCES

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Too many reports have been coming from Washington, D. C. in the last two months of a growing estrangement between John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, and President Roosevelt to ignore any longer. Certainly, the Lewis letter blaming the Roosevelt administration for the impasse in the coal strike can hardly make relations between them friendly.

Lewis was chagrined by the failure of the Roosevelt administration to support legislation guaranteeing union rates and conditions, on all government armament orders, as we pointed out in a previous column of the Socialist Appeal.

Then Lewis let it be known in Washington that he was suspicious of Roosevelt's crusader policy in foreign affairs. Off the record he suggested to some reporters that he was an isolationist. At least his statements hinted strongly in that direction.

In his letter against the Roosevelt administration policy in the coal strike, Lewis made this very significant statement, referring to the fact that Kentucky, West Virginia, etc., were withholding unemployment benefits to the strikers. "The implications of this situation are obvious when one considers the political control in the four states in question."

Only Pennsylvania, with a recently elected Republican administration, has ruled that the strikers are entitled to unemployment insurance checks!

Union Sacred

Since Lewis can scarcely be classified as a dull politician, his attitude must be judged as reflecting to a large extent the feelings of his followers, especially the miners.

To the miners, one thing is sacred. That is the union. Unionism is part and parcel of their lives. All events and people are judged primarily by their effect on the union.

While Roosevelt has great personal popularity among the workers, it has been diminishing, and the empty stomachs of the miners will promote this growing tendency.

Under the impact of events Lewis' followers are beginning to realize that a policy of tailoring the Roosevelt administration means continued retreat and weakening of the C.I.O.

Over two months ago we heard from a man who has been associating with Lewis for twenty years that he was thinking of switching his party allegiance again. It should be remembered that Lewis was a Republican for most of his life. And he considers the Southern Democrats and the Hagues as the most dangerous opponents of the C.I.O.

The fact that most of Lewis' strength in the labor movement centers around industrial areas which are heavily isolationist, furnishes a clue to his position on foreign policy. The "unreasonableness" of the Army and Navy departments on the armaments orders must also have cooled Lewis' ardor for supporting Roosevelt in a holy war against fascism.

Important Trend

The political implications of this new trend in the policies of Lewis—who is the decisive subjective factor in determining C.I.O. programs—are far-reaching and should be carefully borne in mind.

His blast at Roosevelt runs directly counter to the basic policy of his Stalinist allies who played down this angle of the coal strike in the Daily Worker. His private opinions on foreign policy, while not basically different, do likewise.

A more favorable setting for Labor Party agitation has been created as a result of his criticism of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. It would be no easy job to switch the workers from one bankrupt party to another bankrupt party.

Postscript: Another reason for the coolness between Lewis and Roosevelt is the wielding of what Louis Stark, New York Times labor reporter, called the "big stick" by Roosevelt on the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. to patch up a labor peace. The "big stick" happened to be a threat of compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes, we were informed.

NEW HEARINGS ON LUDLOW REFERENDUM

War Mongers Align Forces to Scotch Congress Discussion

By FELIX MORROW

Hearings on the Ludlow war referendum amendment to the Constitution were opened Wednesday by a subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee.

After the first day's session, it is already clear that the hearings will be no substitute for the full debate in Congress which has been demanded for two years by labor and liberal groups, but which President Roosevelt and the Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress have thus far succeeded in preventing.

The subcommittee in charge of the hearings is hostile to the amendment; Chairman Hatch and Senator Miller, being recorded in opposition, while the remaining subcommittee members, Borah, is on the fence.

"Not Fit to Print" The first day's hearings received little coverage in the press. The New York Times made it the talk to another story, the Herald Tribune ignored it altogether as did the Daily Worker, and these were typical.

The present text of the proposed amendment itself embodies a new series of concessions to the war-makers. It now reads:

"Except in case of attack by armed forces, actual or immediately threatened, upon the United States or its territorial possessions, or by any non-American nation against any country in the Western Hemisphere, the people shall have the sole power by national referendum to declare war or to engage in warfare overseas. Congress, when it deems a national crisis to exist in conformance with this article, shall by concurrent resolution refer the question to the people."

"Congress shall by law provide for the enforcement of this section."

Still Anti-War Symbol The scope, actual and capable of construction, of the exceptions given Congress under which the people need not be consulted, are sufficient for almost any conceivable situation.

But even in this form, the proposed amendment has become a symbol of anti-war sentiment and hence an object of hostility and suppression by the Roosevelt administration.

Why this is so is indirectly stated by Senator LaFollette, who was the first witness at the hearings.

War Plans Implied "The present Administration should favor this proposal, because it could only restrain a President who is committed to possible participation in foreign war, as Mr. Roosevelt has repeatedly said he is not," said LaFollette.

"Any one who raises the issue that this proposal will weaken or strengthen any group in Europe must do so upon the ground that we are to implement our foreign policy by active military support with an expeditionary force on foreign soil."

"To take this position is to challenge the good faith of every statement which has been made, so far as I know, by any responsible person speaking for the Administration. In short, it cannot be claimed that this measure affects in any way the struggle for power abroad, unless it is at the same time admitted that military measures on foreign soil are in contemplation."

In Plain English In other words—since the Senator from Wisconsin is too polite to utter them—the Roosevelt administration's opposition to the amendment flows from Roosevelt's plans to wage a war of conquest on foreign soil.

When the measure came up for vote in the House of Representatives on January 10, 1938—not for passage but for whether or not it would be brought on the floor for debate!—Roosevelt himself took charge of mobilizing a majority against opening debate. He secured it, but only by eleven votes, and thanks to the war-hysteria created by the sinking of the American gunboat Panay in the Yangtze.

All attempts to secure public discussion in Congress since then have been crushed by the Democratic-Republican united front on foreign policy.

Russia Bids for Powers' Support --Japan Veers from Berlin Axis

For the first time since the current crisis set in, the Soviet government this week publicly demanded a full alliance with France and Great Britain as the price of its collaboration in the war front against Adolf Hitler.

The alternative, unmentioned but tacitly understood by all concerned, would be Russian cooperation with the Nazi Reich.

An official Tass communique, later expanded into a lengthy editorial in Izvestia, the Soviet Government organ, announced Soviet rejection of the British proposal that the Russians come to the aid of Poland and Rumania in the event that Britain and France go to war as a result of the guarantees they have extended to those countries.

"One-Sided" Plan This plan, the Soviet public statements averred, left the Soviet Union itself unguaranteed against attack and, in effect, really left the Russians holding the bag, because in reality only the Russians could extend effective aid to the Poles and Rumanians if the latter were attacked by Germany.

Neville Chamberlain hastened in a Commons speech to promise the Russians that they would not be obliged to extend such aid unless British and French forces were already in the field. This in turn the Russians rejected as a useless pledge and demanded instead a full-fledged alliance. This, so far, the British have been unwilling to accept. An arrangement was made for the French and British foreign ministers to meet with Vladimir Potemkin, the Soviet Vice-Commissioner of

Foreign Affairs, at Geneva on May 22, to see if a deal can yet be made. Here matters stood last Friday.

Not Much Good Actually what good would such an alliance be to Russia? Can the Russians seriously believe that the British and French will send any effective aid to the Soviets in case of a German attack on the U.S.S.R.? In his famous "chestnut-pulling" speech last March Stalin said that the Western powers would like nothing better than to get Germany and Russia at each other's throats—and in this, at least, he was quite right. It would still be the case, alliance or no alliance.

There can be no question that the German-Soviet soundings are continuing and have already had one extremely significant result: Japan has already veered from its "anti-Comintern" axis partners. Japan's fundamental imperialist strategy is based upon an eventual clash with Russia. Its continental drive, its invasion of China, is regarded as part of the broader plan for the invasion of the Soviet maritime provinces, for with the Russians established across the narrow strip of the Japan sea, the Japanese empire remains forever unsafe, in the view of the Tokyo militarists.

Japan in Tough Spot The "anti-Comintern pact" was the name given by Germany, Italy, and Japan, to their understanding that they would collaborate in a common drive against Russia. During the last few months while negotiations proceeded for the conclusion of that pact from a se-

cret into an open military alliance, Japan hedged. It hedged because it did not want to risk being brought into a frontal clash with all the Western powers. In the end it refused to enter the open alliance, and there can be no question that the German-Soviet flirtation was one of the principal reasons for this decision.

The army organ in Tokyo, Kokumin Shimbun, which for months was the most ardent partisan of Japan's entry into a public alliance, abruptly last week shifted its ground and angrily declared that Japan could "get along without" Germany and Italy in its "fight against communism." At the same time the Japanese tried to check the Anglo-Soviet negotiations by warning the British that an alliance between Britain and Russia might force Japan after all to plunge definitely into the German-Italian camp.

Passport Forgers Are Sentenced to Two-Year Terms

By NAT LEVINE

NEW YORK.—Ossip Garber, Aaron Sharfin and Edward Blatt, whom a jury convicted last week of a criminal conspiracy to forge American passports, were each sentenced to two years in prison on Tuesday, May 9, by Federal Judge Henry W. Goddard.

Chief U. S. Attorney, John T. Cahill, in pressing for a maximum sentence, declared that the three men were "associates of an agent of a foreign State," referring to Adolph Arnold Rubens, under whom the three convicted men functioned.

Rubens was "Ewald" Rubens, now imprisoned in Moscow, was identified by Walter G. Krivitsky, former head of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, as a Russian secret agent who served under him at Moscow.

Krivitsky, in an interview with the Baltimore Sun, May 5, described Rubens as a G.P.U. agent of Latvian birth named Ewald.

That the Rubens ring was being used by the G.P.U. to frame the revolutionary movement was indicated when the staged arrest in Moscow of Rubens and his wife in November 1937 was justified and explained by the Soviet Embassy in Washington on the ground that the couple "might well be Trotskyists."

The refusal of Mrs. Rubens to accept the proffered aid of American Embassy officials immediately after she was arrested in Moscow indicated that she was cooperating with the G.P.U. to link both her and her husband to a "Trotskyist plot" against Stalin.

Embassy Myth Exploded The apprehension of Rubens' American accomplices by United States agents investigating passport frauds threw a monkey wrench into the G.P.U.'s plan for a show trial at which Rubens would "confess" to a "plot" against the Kremlin. The striking revelation by Krivitsky of Rubens' real identity now explodes the myth that he, his wife or any of the convicted men were in any way associated with the Trotskyists. In addition to Krivitsky's identification of Rubens as a G.P.U. agent, here is the knowledge that each of the convicted men was associated in various capacities with the American Communist Party.

The prosecution avoided indicating the Stalinist connections of the convicted men during the trial. It is believed that this procedure was dictated by the State Department. The guarded allusion made by Cahill to a "foreign state" was "the first reference to these connections made by the U. S. Attorney. The stand of the State Department is dictated by a solicitude for the Stalin clique, which is regarded as a future possible ally in the coming war for "democracy."

TO THE READERS OF the Russian Bulletin: The latest issue of the Russian Bulletin, No. 75-76, arrived and can be gotten at 118 University Pl., 2nd floor. Ask for Sylvia Caldwell.

CONVENTION DANCE, Saturday, May 13, at the Downtown Workers Center, 51 E. 7 Street, N. Y. C.

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SITUATION ON COAST HIRING HALLS IS ACUTE

Order by Maritime Commission Ignoring Union Raises Issue

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) WASHINGTON.—The Maritime Commission announced May 10 that it intended to ignore union hiring halls on the West Coast in manning four ships of its recently-organized Pacific Northwest Oriental Line.

Chairman E. S. Land of the commission deliberately refused to accede to the request of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and other maritime unions that the commission follow the standard West Coast policy of hiring sea-going crafts through union halls.

Recently, the Sailors Union of the Pacific membership took a strike vote and threatened to shut down the entire West Coast unless this government move to introduce flunk halls and to bust the union hiring halls was stopped.

The announcement of the maritime commission, which is in direct contradiction to a promise made in a letter of Harry Hopkins, secretary of commerce, to Harry Lundeborg, S.U.P. secretary-treasurer, brings the situation to an acute stage.

Hopkins told Lundeborg that the Bureau of Inspection, which is under his jurisdiction as Secretary of Commerce, would do its hiring through union halls, and close its East Coast halls.

W.P.A. Abandons Widely Heralded Adult Education

(By a Staff Writer)

NEW YORK CITY, May 9.—Hailed three years ago as a force for the preservation of democracy, the adult education forums have been abandoned by the W.P.A. in this city as part of Roosevelt's program to cut relief and smash every democratic institution in the United States in preparation for war.

Set up in 1935, the forums were held in schools, neighborhood clubs, union halls and churches with the idea of stimulating discussion of all points of view on controversial subjects. It was characterized by the Roosevelt administration at that time as a restoration of direct participation of the public in civic affairs which characterized the town meetings in colonial days.

Thousands Attended Between 1935 and 1937 more than 200,000 New Yorkers attended the forums. The project employed thousands of instructors.

Said the cynical Colonel Somervell, local W.P.A. administrator, in pronouncing obituary of the project: "Soap boxes are too cheap in New York to justify the cost of maintaining forums."

He announced at the same time the educational and recreational projects sponsored by the W.P.A. in conjunction with the Board of Education would be reduced drastically and that further layoffs are certain before the new school year starts in September. In 1938 the W.P.A. spent \$27,275,295 on Board of Education enterprises, including the construction and repair of school buildings.

MAYORS SAY RELIEF CUTS DISASTROUS

(Continued from Page 1) dependent upon relief, a total of 650,000 getting aid in some form. He added that it was absolutely impossible for the city of Chicago to take care of any who were thrown off the rolls if further relief slashes were carried out. Further taxes, he said, could not be added to those already imposed. He too failed to call for the turning of the monstrous war funds over to the relief of the unemployed, yet he expressed his fear of what might happen should Roosevelt's program go through when he declared: "It is not a question of how we can afford relief, but of how we can afford not to provide relief."

APPEAL ARMY

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE BRANCHES:

"I should like to forward a suggestion to sub-getters. Many times it is difficult for a worker to part with a dollar bill all at once. We find that many good prospects are lost because of this. Over half of the subs I have obtained (and this comrade is one of our ace sub-getters!) were secured on the installment policy. In some cases I have started out with as low as 10c and worked my way up to the dollar bill over a period of a few weeks. This has been particularly successful in my shop. There are approximately ninety workers employed normally; of these nine are already reading the Appeal twice a week. I am confident that in the course of the next few months at least 50% of the shop will be getting the Appeal through the mails.

"There is no reason why this experience cannot be duplicated all over the country. Comrades must be impressed with the extreme value of our paper for agitation among the workers. One sub to the Appeal will make more Trotskyites than 1,000 haphazard talk-fests!"—Bob O. of Los Angeles.

We agree 100% with the above remarks and especially call their attention to those of our friends and comrades who work in shops with other workers. Bob has shown that this works in practice by having sent in 10 subs himself in the past two months!

From Akron, Ohio we receive the following suggestion, via England:

"A letter which I received from an English comrade last week suggests this method of canvassing the Appeal. Take a block of houses and canvass them with the paper for four issues. Do the block thoroughly each time and take down the number of the apartment where the occupant bought a copy. At the end of four weeks you will have four separate lists of people who have bought the paper from one to four

times. Then make up a list of all those who have bought the paper any one of the four times. These people may be considered as readers. Then assign one particular person who is to deliver and sell them the paper regularly each time it comes out. Thus, you know who will buy the paper and who is not interested. In this way you can get into personal contact with many workers." —Paul Fielding of Akron, O.

The Akron branch is carrying out this system and we are anxious to hear what results it will bring. It sounds like an extremely effective plan, especially for those branches that are small in size and which have to concentrate their efforts.

SPECIAL COMBINATION OFFER:

The special combination offer of the New International, Socialist Appeal and "Fascism and Big Business" should give every branch and comrade an opportunity to gather in plenty of new subscriptions.

Next week we are launching a special drive to get renewals for the Appeal. In combination with this drive we now have this special offer which should be very useful in visiting those former subscribers who have failed to renew their subscriptions. More on this later.

Here's the sub list for the past week which represents the lowest point we've reached for a long time. We've got to pick up and the campaign for sub renewals we are launching can be the means of doing this:

CALIFORNIA	5
New York City	8
Chicago	3
Ohio	2
Minneapolis	2
St. Louis	1
Foreign	1
St. Paul	1
Newark	1
Connecticut	1
Total:	25

MAY NEW INTERNATIONAL OUT

Issues of international and national importance vie for attention in a brilliant May number of The New International.

The correspondence between Leon Trotsky, Fourth International leader, and the leaders of the French P.S.O.P., Marceau Pivert and Daniel Guerin is published. The course of this important French working class party, which French Fourth Internationalists recently joined, is amply reviewed in this exchange of letters, and undoubtedly will have an effect on future developments of the P.S.O.P.

The collapse of Roosevelt's "New Deal" and its replacement by what is now fittingly described as the "War Deal," is subjected to the keen scalps of the editors. "The Editor's Comments" have long been regarded as among the most thorough of Marxist reviews and interpretations of the events and problems of the day.

Stalinist Role One of the finest exposures of the reactionary, chauvinist development of Stalinism is contributed by Jacques Detil of Paris in his article, "The International of Universal Chauvinism."

Additional features of the May issue include the following:

The concluding articles by Jerry Pytlak on "The Economics of Cotton Farming," and Gregory Zinoviev's magnificent series on "Wars — Defensive and Aggressive."

A paper by "Alpha" entitled, "Learn to Work in the Stalinist Manner."

Recent books by C. L. R. James, Lewis Mumford and James Rorty are reviewed by George E. Novack, Dr. Paul Luttrell and Felix Morrow. The books are "The Black Jacobins" and "A History of Negro Revolt"; "Men Must Act" and "American Medicine Mobilizes." Correspondence on the Irish question and socialized medicine conclude one of the most attractive, readable and significant issues of The New International.

Fascism and Big Business The New International Socialist Appeal

An Unusual Combination Offer! (until June 15th)

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By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Hard Times at the Library

A headline in today's paper reads: "LACK OF FUNDS COMPELS LIBRARY TO CURTAIL USE OF READING ROOMS." Free libraries and free schools have long been among the proudest boasts of bourgeois democracy. These concessions were won by the masses in the heyday of capitalism, when the ruling class could afford them. But the shadows are closing in on this kind of "democracy." In the last few months the processes of free education have broken down in an alarming way here and there throughout the country—a highly significant trend of which I shall have something to say in another place. And now comes the announcement that the special reference rooms of the New York Public Library—American history, art, music, science, periodicals, newspapers, etc.—will close at six every night (instead of ten) and will not be open at all on Sundays (instead of being open from one to ten p.m.). An average of 1500 persons use these rooms on week nights, and from 3000 to 4000 on Sundays. Most of these are probably workers, who can come in only in their off hours. For them, the "public" library has become inaccessible.

This is, of course, by no means the first such retrenchment. Year after year, as the depression has worn on, the library has been buying fewer books, cutting down on salaries, curtailing its services to the reading public. And more economies will have to be practiced before long, according to the president of the board of trustees, Frank L. Polk, of the great corporation law firm: Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardner and Reed. The difficulty, according to Mr. Polk, is that the library's budget is unbalanced. And how much is needed to restore the balance—and also the essential services just cut out? Some huge sum, doubtless, or our enlightened and progressive city administration would never have allowed the library to be thus crippled! Well, believe it or not, the sum needed is exactly \$190,000. I daresay Mr. Polk makes at least that much all by himself in one year's practice of corporation law.

Herr Professor LaGuardia

In the column right next to the announcement of the public library's difficulties, there is a long story headed: "MAYOR AND AIDES TO TEACH AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY." The title of the course which the Mayor and his aides are to give is, "Government and Administration of New York City." I suggest that in the first lecture, the leaders of the LaGuardia administration—which is probably as "ad-

vanced" and "liberal" a big city government as you will find in this country at the moment—explain why it seems to them wiser to spend \$400,000 on a new bridge from Manhattan to Brooklyn than \$190,000 to keep the city's chief library open at night; why it is more important to spend tens of millions on an East Side Express Highway, to allow people in pleasure cars to get downtown ten minutes quicker, than to spend \$190,000 to allow workers to use the library after the day's work is over; why Mr. Moses gets his tens of millions for fancy luxury projects like Jones Beach and Mr. Whalen gets his subsidy for the high-priced and useless World of Tomorrow, while \$190,000 is considered too much to pay to maintain vital services at the city's main public library.

Our Four-Billion-Dollar-Baby

I must confess I had some sneaking doubts about this American democracy we are all to die for in the next war when I read two recent news items. Almost on the same day, the Social Security Board revealed that the average earnings in 1937 of the 30,166,000 wage earners on its rolls came to just \$890; while the Ways & Means Committee of the House published the salaries of some 50,000 of these wage-earners who had received \$15,000 or more each in 1937. It is a long step from \$890 to the \$1,296,000 which went to Mr. Mayor of the films, or the \$500,000 which went to Mr. Hearst of the newspapers, or the \$419,000 which went to President Watson of International Business Machines Corp., or the \$381,000 which President Hill received from the American Tobacco Co.

But then I reflected on a third governmental report which has just appeared, and I realized that all of us, rich and poor alike, share the common ownership of a magnificent property worth currently about \$4,000,000,000. This report is the Naval Expense Account for the fiscal year 1938, a matter of eighty-six pages of figures. The man-in-the-street, struggling to feed his family on \$890 a year, often falls to realize he is co-owner of four billion dollars worth of guns and torpedoes and armor plate, including \$420,000,000 worth of heavy and light cruisers, \$275,000,000 worth of destroyers, \$328,000,000 worth of "flags and bunting," and \$33 worth of livestock. It is a comforting thought. I figure that each and every one of the 1,000,000 inhabitants of this great democracy owns just \$32.50 worth of the above-named commodities. If no one minds, I'll take mine in cash, please.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

THOMAS MUENZER

(1497—Decapitated, May 27, 1525)

Turbulence, ferment, rebellion—thus was the sixteenth century born. New systems, and new ideas grappled with the foundations of old. Capitalism, a lusty infant, spread its arms and crowded the princes and lords who ruled by feudal right of land ownership, and serf labor.

The merchant class, the townsmen, grew wealthier, tapped the resources of the known and settled world, spread the tentacles of trade, and challenged the authority of feudal might. In England, where serious upheavals had already taken place, their economic power was clearly established; political power they had yet to seize. In Germany they were first beginning to feel their importance, to grow prosperous.

And as they extended their activities, slowly remodeling the basis of social organization, the downtrodden serfs, the newly important artisans, and the newly created plebeians who formed a reservoir of unskilled labor became restive.

The merchants who sought to undermine the traditional authority of feudal lord and church (itself the richest and most powerful of the feudal landowners) were echoed in the mighty thunderbolt that Martin Luther hurled at traditional doctrine, and the established church. Luther took religion out of the hands of a few lords (priests), made it the property of the masses, presented the bible in native German instead of unintelligible Latin. (Religion, the church, completely dominated the thought of the day; social upheaval therefore couched itself in religious terms, sought justification there, etc.)

Goes Beyond Protestant Reformation

Thomas Muenzer was among those who avidly took possession of Luther's views. A bright young theologian, Luther had even helped him secure a pastorate. An eloquent preacher, he attacked the monks bitterly. Luther had however only cracked the shell of society. Muenzer was soon far ahead of him; shell and all had to go. Luther who had inspired him, now repelled him. For Muenzer had become a man of action and revolution who ranged himself on the side of the oppressed masses against the rulers, the possessors, and the easy living reformers (like Luther "that easy living flesh of Wittenberg").

His small, swarthy figure became a popular sight among the plebeians and peasants who listened to his harangues against princes and middle-of-the-way reformers. Way ahead of his day which lacked the material prerequisites for the execution of his views, Muenzer preached the community of goods, the "Inner Light," in effect the right of each man to hold his own views. Some of his ideas, daring for his time, became democratic commonplace three centuries later.

Several times he settled as preacher in various German cities; as often he was chased out by the fat-bellies and the worried town-folk who were willing to go so far in social

criticism, but no further. Denounced by Luther, he encouraged the peasants in Thuringia to rise, together with the urban proletarians and the miners, against the moneyed and feudal lords. Driven out of Muhlhausen, he travelled with his close co-worker Pfeiffer through southern Germany. Ungodly rulers, he told those he met, must be driven out, killed. The usurpers, he told them, say "Thou shalt not steal" and then grab everything. But when an artisan "commits the slightest transgression, he has to hang, and Dr. Liar (Luther) says to all to this: Amen."

Peasant War Unfolds

Towards the end of 1524, the peasant masses had definitely begun to move towards revolution. Their aims were incorporated in a document, the Twelve Articles, which called for a plain gospel (i.e., religious services in their own language and within their own comprehension and of their own choosing), and freedom from serfdom. By March, 1525 the movement was quite general. By May they had achieved considerable successes. But as is the case with every peasant movement, there was no real solidarity between the various sections. Each section waged its battle in a limited and provincial sphere. At the beginning they were favored by the equal disorganization of the lords; but as the lords organized, largely under the leadership of Philip of Hesse, and spurred on by Luther, the peasants were beaten in battle after battle. History was much too young for a victorious popular insurrection; the peasants couldn't reorganize society, a proletariat was lacking to lead them, the next step in social development was capitalism.

In Muhlhausen, Muenzer and Pfeiffer had spread their propaganda. As preachers they had at first demanded the privilege of sitting in at council meetings. At a propitious moment, when the population was called together to answer a muster roll, Muenzer urged the assembled people to kick out the old government and take the reins into their own hands. This they did. A new government was decreed, to be run by an "Eternal Council." Community of property was proclaimed.

Philip of Hesse moved on Frankhausen where Muenzer with 8,000 men had made his stand. Philip asked for an armistice, but, as he had done in other cases, violated the armistice before it had elapsed. Muenzer's troops were defeated, 5,000 of them were slaughtered. Muenzer was taken prisoner.

His captors asked him to explain his deeds. He told them he acted and preached as he had because they, the princes, had sacrificed everything to lust and avarice.

Muenzer was handed over to the executioner. For a day he was tortured horribly by thumbscrew and rack, then thrown into the dungeon.

On May 27, two days after his capture, the executioner did his work. Muenzer's mutilated head was lifted on a pike, and displayed as a warning against revolt. It became instead a symbol of the struggle against oppression, an inspiration to future generations of rebels, the founders of German Marxian socialism.

State Solons Battle For Slum Landlord

Inadequate Housing Bill Puts Burden on Workers—Violates Voters' Demands

By GRACE SAUNDERS

A disgraceful housing bill that does not begin to solve the need for slum clearance and low-cost housing projects has just been brought out on the floor of the New York State Legislature, one week before adjournment. The bill is totally inadequate in the amount of money authorized. It will make new housing projects so expensive as to be almost prohibitive, and contains virtually all the reactionary, landlord-sponsored provisions that have been denounced and rejected by everybody seriously concerned about the housing problem.

Voters last Fall authorized the expenditure of \$300,000,000 for housing. The solons at Albany have pared this down to a miserly \$50,000,000 for the current fiscal year. As a sop to the opposition that it is known beforehand will be forthcoming, provision is made for the expenditure of an additional \$100,000,000 at some future date. The measure calls for a 40-year, instead of a 60-year amortization period,

Survey Shows the Value of W.P.A. To Entire Nation

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The completely reactionary and vicious nature of President Roosevelt's proposed further slash of W.P.A. rolls was revealed still more glaringly by a nation-wide survey detailing the benefits of W.P.A. which was handed today to the President by a group of government officials and individuals closely linked with them.

The survey which was conducted in 48 states and summarizes 8,000 individual reports made by state, county, and city officials "not the recipients of W.P.A. jobs" shows that W.P.A. projects have been of the "highest benefit to the public welfare."

More than 51 per cent of the individuals reporting stated that the W.P.A. failed in its task in only one particular, that it was not conducted on a large enough scale and that it lacked sufficient funds. Roosevelt proposes to remedy this situation by slashing W.P.A. still further and reducing its funds still further below minimum requirements.

After detailing the benefits of W.P.A. in providing work, in keeping up the skills of workmen, in providing communities and sections with useful public works and public activities, the report ended by recommending an "adequate long-time National program dealing with unemployment."

which even the bill's sponsors admit will increase carrying charges on state projects \$2 or \$3 a month per month.

Burden on Workers

Consumer taxes on amusements, tobacco, etc., are to be permitted for securing funds for this amortization—thus shunting the financial burdens for the new projects on to the workers.

In addition, cities are to be required to match the state appropriations dollar for dollar. This provision will place a barrier in the path of the needed undertakings, for the cities are already heavily burdened with debts.

Furthermore, only partial tax exemption is to be granted housing projects. The bill is patently a scheme to prevent any serious tackling of the disgraceful housing situation. It exudes overweening consideration for the slum landlords, and displays a crass lack of interest in the needs of the slum-dwellers.

Jamming It Through It is apparently the intention of the "people's representatives" to jam this shameful measure through both houses of the legislature in the hectic closing days of the current session, in the expectation that many legislators will vote for it as the best measure possible to obtain at this late date. A week before adjournment, copies of the bill were not yet back from the printers. Only one typewritten copy was available for inspection by legislators who had to consider the problem.

'Death Watch' Casts Shadow Over Flint W.P.A. Offices

(Continued from Page 1)

ing "Solidarity." Then they assembled in the Park where determined speeches were made by the union leaders.

At the meeting, plans were made for further militant action next week to carry on the fight, in addition to plans made to keep the "death watch" going.

Sentiment for the "death watch" has proved strong among Flint workers. In the great Buick division plants, a collection was taken up to aid the unemployed union.

Hundreds of people from all over town came in cars and on foot to see the demonstration. Some brought food, others donated funds.

Only the Communist Party-dominated Workers Alliance, with its characteristic timidity and company-union tactics, talked against the "death watch." Many Workers Alli-

Protests Mount On School Budget Cuts

Thousands of Teachers Face Dismissal—Y.P.S.L. Plans City Hall Picket Line

By W. K. MANUEL

NEW YORK.—Indignant protests against Mayor LaGuardia's cut of more than three and a half million dollars from the school budget poured in from educational, student and labor organizations this week as the City Council prepared to adopt the budget cut without allowing representatives of the opposition to be heard at public hearings.

A reactionary coalition of Democrats and Republicans in the State legislature recently lopped off \$5,300,000 from the state educational budget, which added to the city's proposal to hack away another \$3,600,000 totals up to a nine million dollar decrease in funds for the public educational system. Unless immediate action is taken to rescind the cuts, conservative educators predicted that free education in New York would receive its most disastrous setback in a decade. Under the new conditions created by the cuts, thousands of regular teachers face dismissal, unwieldy classes will be further enlarged, tuition fees will be adopted in the free city colleges, summer sessions will be abolished, playgrounds closed, recreation and evening centers curtailed and other services scuttled entirely.

Passing the Buck Caught red-handed in as low a piece of fiscal flimflam as Tammany Hall ever attempted, Mayor LaGuardia's efforts to pass the buck to the State legislature were promptly spiked by Howard W. Nudd, spokesman

for the Public Education Association.

In a statement placing responsibility for the cut directly on the Mayor, Mr. Nudd said "It is, of course, absurd for city officials to imply that they have done their part for the schools and that the crisis is entirely due to the shortsightedness of the Legislature. The city itself is particeps criminis to a large degree, for, Borough President Isaacs and City Council President Morris to the contrary notwithstanding, the city started the landslide, not merely by denying funds for expansion, but by cutting nearly \$3,600,000 from the amount which it granted to the schools this year out of its own resources." The Association called an emergency meeting of its Joint Conference of Civic Organizations, composed of no less than twenty groups, to consider ways and means of opposing the cut.

Y.P.S.L. Demonstrates The Young People's Socialist League (4th International), youth section of the Socialist Workers Party, responded to the proposed cut with a spirited demonstration outside City Hall two weeks ago, demanding immediate appropriations to the school budget to gap the deficit. Y.P.S.L. representatives who attended public hearings on the budget, held at City Hall last Friday, were told that only those who favored the decreased budget would be heard. Following this the proceedings were handed over to reactionary spokesmen for the banks, insurance companies and big realty interests. Colonel Aimes, mouthpiece of the Citizens Budget Committee, sounded off in a two-hour exhibition of oratorical flatulence against "unnecessary frills like public education" and urged the city to abolish the High School of Art and Music, where students with outstanding talent in the arts are given a specialized curriculum. After listening to several speakers assail the badly castrated budget as "still too high," Robert K. Strauss, Fusion flunkie in the Council, reminded them that "the Mayor is just as interested in cutting the budget as anybody."

Borough President Stanley Isaacs, member of a dozen Stalinist stooge organizations, and Council President Newbold Morris, contributor to the New Masses, approved the cuts in public education as members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The Y.P.S.L. has called meetings on college and high school campuses protesting the cuts, and is preparing a large picket line around City Hall in the near future.

Jingo Note Loudest At Y.C.L. Meeting

By IRVING HOWE

NEW YORK.—The 9th national convention of the Young Communist League will open here this week-end with a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. This convention will mark a climax to the drive to transform the Y.C.L. into an open jingo organization.

According to the preamble to the new Y.C.L. constitution proposed by its National Committee, the Y.C.L. formally abandons any pretense to revolutionary ideas and becomes an organization which has, among others, the following purposes: "Educate youth for citizenship in our democracy"; "Oppose all subversive efforts to attack, undermine or destroy our democracy from within or without"; and "promote clean living and develop healthy minds in healthy bodies and to protect the American home and family."

Despite the accompanying bashful mention of socialism, these points—especially the one on "subversive efforts" which means to be against all idea of revolution—show that the Y.C.L. is trying its desperate best to prove itself to be a respectable organization desiring to live at peace with the capitalist world and capitalist youth organizations.

Pro-War Rally The convention will have as its main function the whipping up of a war spirit among the delegates, especially those who are not hardened bureaucrats. In view of the war crisis, the Y.C.L. leadership wants to make sure that the organization will serve as an integral part of the war machine and the convention is the place, the youthful Browders figure, to whip up an appropriate war spirit.

Another function of the Y.C.L. convention will be to make certain changes in its declaration of principles in order to bring it up to date with its present political line. Such embarrassingly reminiscent points as "We condemn American intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin-American countries and the Philippines, and we support the Puerto Rican people in their fight for independence" will be eliminated. For it is obvious that the Stalinist movement, youth or adult, can no longer have any connection with movements for the liberation of oppressed colonial peoples, even if that connection is in an obscure document.

Jim-Crow Stalinists A further indication of the rightward swing which this convention will mark may be seen from a recent article in the April pre-convention number of the Young Communist Review, which admits that Y.C.L. recruiting and education is on such a reactionary basis that in Chicago many branches exist on a Jim-Crow basis, dividing white and Negro youth into different groups! Another step the convention will take will be the dissolution of student branches. These have in the past been centers of dissidence from the party line.

LEWIS BLASTS F.D.R. STAND

(Continued from Page 1)

hoped to achieve this in sufficient time before the coal commission sessions to have the U.M.W.A. tied up completely. The White House conference was marked by the high-handed tone and dictatorial attitude of Roosevelt towards the U.M.W.A. committee and the operators.

Union on Defensive Roosevelt demanded that the mines be opened but he failed to say a word about protecting the rights of the workers involved. He deliberately left the false impression that the union was also responsible for the shut-down and the coal shortage.

Actually, the entire role of the U.M.W.A. has been completely defensive during the crisis that began on April 1 when the old contract expired.

Inspired by Roosevelt's open double-cross of the miners and the entire C.I.O. which is involved in this key strike, Governor Chandler quickly announced his intention to send the strike-breaking National Guardsmen to Harlan county to open the mines.

Daily Highlights of the N. Y. World's Fair

By RUTH JEFFRIES

May 2—The World of Tomorrow gave the American people a first lesson in how to receive the cream of the ruling class. A twenty-one gun salute, greeting Crown Prince Olav and Crown Princess Martha, served as a starter.

New York State announced that it had spent more than \$4,000,000 on parkways, bridges and landscaping for the World's Fair site, and \$2,200,000 more for its fair exhibit. No such investment for rehousing World of Today slum-dwellers.

May 3—Twenty-one guns for Crown Prince Frederick and Crown Princess Ingrid of Denmark. Are we listening?

For \$3.25 an hour you can see the Fair from a motorized wheel chair; and for only \$2.25 we can get selected college boys to push our chairs around. Why can't these colleges turn out a \$3.25 product—where is the value of a college education?

Inscriptions fronting the entrance to the W.P.A. pavilion: "This building contains the story of America's unemployed and what they have to offer America"; and "This exhibition shows the wealth created by the skill and artistry of America's unemployed." But it doesn't show the wealth they created (for capital) before they were robbed of even their jobs.

May 4—Nineteen guns for the Polish delegation. (A dictatorship isn't quite as good as a monarchy.)

May 5—Mayor La Guardia, "one of the great admirers of Finland," as he termed himself, said, "Mention the name of Finland and every American will admire your one biggest exhibit to the whole world—your national honor." He was referring to the isolated example of "honor" among the victorious thieves after the last World War.

The British Government is clasping America to her bosom in a fiftal brotherly embrace; and so its Pavilion exhibits to millions of Americans the family tree of the Father of Our Country, tracing Washington's descent from King John. That should establish Our Father as an English ruler of good blood, and render us all loyal fighting subjects, just a little removed, of the British crown.

Columbia University's President, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, called, in a high-sounding Collective-Security variation, for the President of the United States to "lead in the organization of the world for peace, with international security protected by the combined navies of the world." A glib audience, fooled (as once before) by college-presidential oratory, cheered.

May 7—High restaurant prices at the Fair are causing a tide of complaint. For example, at the Casino de Nations: Soup, 25c; entree, \$1 and up; roast-beef sandwich, \$1; ham sandwich, 50c; American cheese sandwich, 40c; coffee or

tea, 15c. Even the "popular-priced" places charge 50% more than do comparable places, and for comparable dishes, outside.

May 8—"Ricksha boys," declared the N. Y. Times in one column, "have, by long odds, the most romantic jobs on the Fair Grounds. They meet such interesting people." And then in another column, it described the Fair after closing time, "Tired pushers—chatted wearily about their aching feet—(or) pushed their vehicles listlessly to the depot, changed attire and went home." Real Southern romance. Cashiers are also reported "as too tired by Sunday to do anything but sleep"; and so, adds the press, amused, "all they know about the Fair is what they read in the papers." A quaint sense of humor.

"More than 350 Gold Star Mothers rose in unison when, at a luncheon of their group . . . those who were opposed to sending any American boys to Europe in the event of war (were asked to), stand up."—N. Y. Times. Add reasons for our "peace-loving" President's opposition to a people's referendum on war.

Yipsels Jailed for Aiding Calif. Agricultural Strikers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FRESNO, Calif., May 8.—Deila Pedroncelli and Norma Dorn, both members of the newly formed Fresno unit of the Young People's Socialist League, were in jail today, charged with inciting workers on the 600-acre Paul Mosesian Ranch to quit work and join the week-old strike of agricultural laborers for higher wages.

The strike was called Tuesday by the Farm Worker Association, the agricultural workers union in this area. More than 100 workers left the fields to demand an increase in wages from 20 to 30 cents an hour. They had been employed to thin prunes on the Paul Mosesian Ranch where conditions were intolerable.

Comrades Dorn and Pedroncelli were arrested when they went out to the orchards to persuade the 25 remaining workers to quit scabbing and join the strike.

The Yipsels have been actively aiding the strike by joining the picket line every day. Over the week end, Myra Tanner, leading member of the Y.P.S.L. in California, proceeded to the strike front and spoke to the strikers for more than an hour.

The Fresno Y.P.S.L. expects to continue to aid the strikers until victory is won.

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2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
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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

Welcome the King!

Their Majesties, George VI and his Queen Consort, are now on the high seas headed for this continent.

These parasites, who by right of heredity are kept in fish and chips by a democratic parliament for parade purposes and diplomatic missions that require neither brains nor muscle, will be regally entertained by the official representative of a government once founded on the proposition that all men are created free and equal. Many thousands of dollars, filched from the needs of the unemployed, will be expended on their welcome. In return, America's starving multitudes will be graced with the sight of the King in all his fifty resplendent uniforms, and other items of apparel which fill some forty trunks.

Wouldn't it therefore be a fitting welcome if, in addition to the top-hats, there gathered at the pier and other places of welcome, the refugees from the British Empire? Indian workers to greet the King and his Queen on behalf of four hundred million exploited Indian masses who work twelve hours a day for a few pennies, and to remind them of India's revolutionary ferment (George VI had to skip the traditional visit to Durbar, India, at his coronation); Irish workers to remind their Majesties of the long struggle for Irish freedom, and of Irish resistance to the British conscription plan; Ceylonese workers to thank the royal do-nothings for years of tyranny and oppression; South African workers to commemorate racial segregation in their native land; workers of China, the West Indies, and the many other colonies trodden under the heel of British imperialism.

Such a welcome would indeed be fitting.

Old Superstitions

Dr. H. F. Kilander, dean of the Panzer (N.J.) College of Physical Education and Hygiene reports that a three-year survey of 11,000 high school seniors, college freshmen and adults reveals that common "old wives' tales" and belief in supernatural tokens and charms still abounds.

A surprisingly large percentage of the population, for instance, believes that the thoughts of a pregnant woman affect her child, that excessive use of the brain causes baldness, that rubbers worn indoors leads to eye trouble, and that raw meat will reduce a black eye.

The learned educator did not even mention the most common superstition of all: the belief that the nation's industries in order to function must be owned and controlled by a handful of coupon-clippers.

910 Per Cent

During the first quarter of 1939, nine leading automobile manufacturers showed an increase of 910 percent in profits as compared with the first quarter of 1938.

These companies, General Motors, Chrysler, Packard, Nash, Yellow Truck, Mack Truck, Studebaker, Checker Cab, and Diamond Truck, at the end of March had raked in \$65,531,978 after all costs had been deducted, including enormous "executive" salaries. General Motors

alone piled up for its coupon-clippers in these three months \$53,206,716.

Yet in all the automotive centers, unemployment has increased during this same period and tens of thousands have been thrown from the relief rolls into the streets.

(How long will this state of affairs last?)

Just as long as the millions of workers and millions of unemployed and millions of poor farmers permit the national resources and the national industries to remain in the clutches of a small minority of stockholders.

Cardinal O'Connell speaks on women's hat fashions: "You can tell the quality of a woman's brain by the kind of hat that covers it." Does that also go for the hats that cardinals wear?

High Time!

In the Congressional Record, where everything the Congressmen say openly is printed, the following speech appeared recently:

"MR. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, I want at this time to invite all of you and your friends and your guests at the lunch-time hour to partake of some of the famous Lebanon County BALOGNA, of which I have a supply here, and which will be available in the cloakrooms for those of you who are too busy to get to the House restaurant.

"Those of you who have lunch at the House restaurant will find it available there.

"This is a very unique product. It is both very good and very sustaining. It is manufactured in Palmyra, Pa., one of the finest towns in our entire State . . . and I am sure you will all enjoy it.

"Try it yourselves and get your friends to come with you to lunch. (Applause.)"

Mr. Kunkel, like the other barkers, acrobats, clowns, and pitch-men who perform daily in the Washington legislative gyp-joint for the capitalist overlords, is paid off at the rate of \$10,000 a year cold cash.

High time that the workers and farmers of the country threw these BALONEY salesmen out on their ears!

High time we workers and farmers put in power an entirely new and different government—a workers' government, that will represent our interests for a change!

Lewis and F. D. R.

John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers of America and of the C.I.O., has issued a sharp statement condemning the Roosevelt Administration for its attitude in the current mine conflict.

In effect the labor leader declared that the operators' efforts to "disembowel" the miners' union were made on a tip from the Administration.

But unless we are mistaken, this is the Administration that was put into office, in two presidential elections, by the self-same John L. Lewis. Not by him alone, but under his very vigorous leadership. It was Lewis and Hillman and all the rest of the heads of the C.I.O. (and most of the A.F.L., for that matter) who did all in their power to swing the labor vote behind Roosevelt.

Lewis' own statement is enough to judge the results of this policy of supporting one capitalist party as against another. With Lewis' own union engaged in a stiff fight, Roosevelt, not for the first time, takes a union-busting, strike-breaking position which, as Lewis now states, gives aid and comfort to the coal operators.

What then are the benefits of the capitalist party policy supported by Lewis, Hillman and Green—as compared with the policy of labor striking out on its own in politics?

The only "benefits" are those accruing to the operators, to the employers, to the capitalist politicians.

The results in the labor movement are: disorientation, confusion, a feeling of dependence upon political parties that are stacked, from start to finish, against labor.

Every child knows that Roosevelt could never have been elected without the powerful, organized support of labor. That same support, given to LABOR'S OWN PARTY, to LABOR'S OWN CANDIDATES, would have produced results a thousand times more solid, a thousand times more lasting, a thousand times more beneficial than the deceptive "benefits" gained by lifting coal operators' friends into the White House and Congress.

Every day brings a new event to prove over again labor's need of its own political party, one based upon, supported and controlled by organized labor.

For all his harsh words about Roosevelt, Lewis will undoubtedly try to continue the old game of supporting one capitalist gang against another. All the more reason why the rank and file of American labor must mobilize all its strength to force the creation of a MILITANT, INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY—labor's mighty arm on the political field.

Cannon Fodder Does Not Need An Education--So the Bosses Rule

It is the Job of the Teachers Union to Organize Mass Agitation for Restoration of the Cuts Enacted Under Pressure of Real Estate Owners by "Labor's Friends"

Education under capitalism never did amount to very much for the children of the workers of this country. The schools were made sufficient to teach most of the children the three R's and to fill their heads with the kind of bunk about history and government which would make them dutiful servants of the masters. More advanced education has always been available only to a small proportion of the youth of the land, mostly the sons and daughters of the well-off and the wealthy.

Nevertheless, because it wanted efficient, productive, and subservient workers, the boss system provided a portion of its tax revenues for schools. Today capitalism can not even provide place for 15,000,000 adult workers, no less the millions of their children who are growing up into a world that has no place for them except battlefields and graveyards. Between 18,000,000 and 24,000,000 young men and women who have grown up in the last nine years have never had jobs at all. The bosses are going to want our youth and our children who will be the youths of tomorrow for cannon fodder purposes only. And you don't have to send cannon fodder to school. In short, capitalism could afford the luxury of elementary education for the masses in its lush days—but those days have gone forever. Along with wage bills, school budgets are the first things slashed at as the going gets harder.

INADEQUATE TO NEEDS OF CHILDREN

Marshall's statement, designed primarily to bulldoze the teachers into taking pay cuts, only told half the story. The school system even on its present basis is utterly inadequate to meet the educational needs of the children of this city. It is already badly overcrowded. In the face of unanimous agreement among educators that a class of 30 pupils is the maximum that can be efficiently taught, nearly 64 percent of the city's school children from kindergarten up through high school—more than half a million children—are in classes that range in size from 35 to 54. This in itself represents a condition that makes it impossible to get the children and teachers both to make any effective headway in their work. In the elementary schools 58 percent of the pupils are in over-crowded classes. No wonder they arrive in high school actually unable to read!

BUILDING INTERESTS ENGINEER CUT

This is happening now in New York where the big real estate interests have engineered a cut of \$5,300,000 from the state aid to New York City's schools and where the "liberal" Mayor LaGuardia is forcing through an additional \$3,000,000 cut in the city education outlay. Both are measures designed to avoid the necessity for increasing real estate taxes. The business interests, utilizing the columns of its controlled press, have been carrying on a propaganda campaign about the high pay of the teachers to help put these cuts over.

James Marshall, president of the Board of Education, declared in a public statement that these cuts "will wreck the school system."

He said it would be necessary to cut out 6,800 teaching positions, including 1,000 held by regularly licensed teachers. In addition it would require the total elimination, he said, of all the admittedly meager social services and evening school activities which the board now sponsors. Such things as vocational playgrounds, athletic centers, baths and pools, summer play schools and gardens, would all go by the board.

Need we say that no writer who has taken a real anti-war stand was present or, so far as one could learn, invited? No one opposed to the capitalist system disturbed the serenity of the Congress. Ignazio Silone was invited, said the Congress officials, but "unfortunate difficulties in regard to a passport and visas" prevented his being present. They said this privately. They did not employ their public forum to criticize the American Government for not giving Silone a visa.

But where were the American writers who stand against war or, for that matter, those who for one reason or another have incurred the enmity of the G.P.U.? The writers who spoke at the Congress in the name of American literature and thought were: Henry Goddard Leach (what did he write?); Hendrik Willem Van Loon, who can't wait for the war to start; Nora Waln (you know her work of course); Henry Seidel Canby; Mary Colum; Bernard de Voto (who, incidentally, is the chief American propagandist for Pareto's fascist philosophy); Walter F. White; Dorothy Thompson; Vera Deane; Vincent Sheean;

These people ostensibly declaimed on the good, the true and the beautiful, but their business is big-time politics—more particularly the politics of the People's Front. One point of view prevailed at the Congress: that the democrats should unite at once to stop the fascist madmen—a call to join up for the next imperialist war.

It should be noted that when Vera Micheles Deane, Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association, declared that it was the duty of the intelligentsia to educate the masses in the ways of democracy, the audience stirred restlessly. Even this weak and tentative approach to reality was uncomfortable to contemplate. Much more heroic was the prospect of sending the masses into the trenches.

LAMONT AND BARUCH AMONG THE SPONSORS

The Stalinists, as the loud advocates of Popular Frontism, had three field days at this World Congress of Writers—they've certainly gone up in the world. It is a

far cry from the days when they advocated revolution. After all, it's no mean achievement to form a People's Front with some of the people who were listed as patrons and members of the hospitality committee. It's not everyone who can prevent fascism with the aid of such eminent anti-fascists as Bernard Baruch, Thomas W. Lamont, Henry Morgenthau, Winthrop Aldrich, Marshall Field, Mrs. August Belmont and other notables.

These, of course, exhaust American letters and thought, and so there was no room for James T. Farrell, John Dewey, Sidney Hook, James Rorty, Louis M. Hacker and all such people interdicted by the G.P.U.

DOROTHY THOMPSON'S LEFT-WING DEBUT

This was Dorothy Thompson's debut in such left-wing circles, and she cleverly catered to her audience. She expatiated on the subject of the "news" which could be planted on a newspaperman. She had just two examples: (1) Krivitsky had succeeded in planting his articles on the editors of the Saturday Evening Post (wild applause from the audience); (2) News from abroad hinting at a pending agreement between Hitler and Stalin was also planted (more wild applause from the audience).

These two well-chosen examples of newspaper misinformation provided Miss Thompson with the necessary background for a number of guarded remarks regarding the need for collective security. She drew vivid pictures of the psychological miasmas inherent in fascism as compared with the rarified heights of the good, the true and the beautiful as presented by our democracy.

Credit should be given where credit is due. As spinners of meaningless phrases, these "democrats" are the equals of the fascist demagogues.

It is easy to see how rapidly these "anti-fascists" will capitulate before true fascism, as their similars did in Italy and Germany. The objectivity which they have taught themselves to believe they possess is but a garment to cover their inability to think outside of established patterns—and their future capitulation.

To depend on them to prevent fascism, to depend on any kind of a People's Front, is to build mankind's present and future on shifting sands.

Who can believe that this smug group, clad in furs and the latest from Paris and Bond Street, can help save America or any other country from the barbarism to which capitalism must resort in order to protect its right to exploit the masses?

There are few things more admirable and encouraging than the work of the scientist who ventures into plague spots in order to isolate, analyze and counteract the cause of diseases and pestilences so that mankind may be spared their ravages. Without prospect of monetary reward or interest in it, unconcerned with sensational and transient successes, he quietly risks his own life in order that the life of man may be easier and safer. Poisonous swamps and jungles, poisonous beasts and microbes must be wiped out in order that the human race shall not be wiped out. Selflessly performing this noble task, he is indeed the priceless servant of society, counterpart in another field of the country doctor, eulogized in our recent literature, who ministers conscientiously to his flock for miles around and under the most difficult circumstances.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

There are few things more admirable and encouraging than the work of the scientist who ventures into plague spots in order to isolate, analyze and counteract the cause of diseases and pestilences so that mankind may be spared their ravages. Without prospect of monetary reward or interest in it, unconcerned with sensational and transient successes, he quietly risks his own life in order that the life of man may be easier and safer. Poisonous swamps and jungles, poisonous beasts and microbes must be wiped out in order that the human race shall not be wiped out. Selflessly performing this noble task, he is indeed the priceless servant of society, counterpart in another field of the country doctor, eulogized in our recent literature, who ministers conscientiously to his flock for miles around and under the most difficult circumstances.

The New School of Social Medicine

Of an entirely different kidney are the practitioners of a new school of social medicine which has developed as a distinctly post-war phenomenon. We do not mean the "society doctors" who prescribe harmless but expensive pills to neurotic dowagers. The reference is to the reformist medicine men who readily acknowledge that capitalism is sick—some even say it is dying—but declare that they will move heaven and earth to bring it back to life. Even when it was young and lusty, the bourgeoisie never did like the ominous words of Marx about the proletariat being the gravedigger of capitalism. It likes them much less today, as it listens to its arteries hardened and watches its gangrenous limbs decay. How relieved it must feel, then, to hear spokesmen of the labor movement state that their efforts are henceforth directed towards doctoring and rejuvenating the patient!

Among the recent products of the school are Dr. David Lasser and Dr. Herbert Benjamin, bosses of the Workers Alliance of America. Testifying before a Congressional Committee, Dr. Lasser blushing admitted that he used to be a socialist but now believes in capitalism, believes in "making it work" and is devoting his modest talents to seeing to it that it does work. His tender sentiments were echoed by Dr. Benjamin, an ex-revolutionist and therefore still a member of the Communist party, who also guaranteed to do his best to relieve capitalism of any and all maladies, from gout, hernia and arthritis to leakage of the heart and water on the knee.

If memory serves us, it was either Fritz Tarnow, head of the German trade unions, Dr. Naphthali, his theoretician, or Rudolph Hilferding, the German social-democratic leader, who coined the phrase some ten years ago about substituting for the terrifying words "grave-diggers of capitalism" the more pleasant phrase "doctors at the sick-bed of capitalism." In any case, all three of them and their colleagues set to work restoring German capitalism to health. After several years of continual blood transfusions from the workers to the capitalists, which left the former anemically haggard and paralyzed, without satisfying the increasingly irritated patient, the Nazis were called in to take up where the social-democratic doctors were forced to leave off. Although the patient hasn't died, neither has he been cured; but many are those who now realize that if the social-democratic doctors had spent their time fortifying the working class to resist the effects of capitalism's poisonous disintegration, the Brown-shirted doctors would not be where they are today.

The Way to Make Capitalism "Work"

Blandly unconcerned with the German experience, the distinguished quacks, Drs. Lasser and Benjamin, have taken the oath to "make capitalism work." Now we do not deny that capitalism, even today, can be made to "work" after a fashion. There is one infallible remedy for its ills, the one that has sustained it throughout its existence: a steady flow of good, substantial profit. If anyone ever discovered another way of making capitalism work, we have not been told about it. The flow of profit, rich with shiny yellow corpuscles, is as indispensable to the life of capitalism, as the flow of blood is to the life of Lasser and Benjamin.

Now, as the latter know—and who doesn't?—the capitalists do not make profit by taking in each other's washing or drinking up each other's champagne bottles. They make it out of the labor of those they employ in their enterprises. What is more, profits are not made by raising the wages of labor and shortening the work-day; quite the contrary. The longer the work-day, the smaller the wages, the faster the speed-up, the more intense the exploitation—the higher the profit.

To accomplish his task of "making capitalism work," the social doctor of the new school must therefore help the poor old invalid cut wages, lengthen the work-day, cut out "wasteful and costly strikes," cut down relief for the "surplus, superfluous population." The "dialectical method" of the new social doctor consists in saving capitalism by enslaving labor, bringing color to the cheeks of the capitalists by draining it from the veins of the workers, preserving the life of a decaying order by dooming to misery and starvation the only class capable of establishing a healthy social order.

That is precisely what the Lassers and Benjamins have been doing. When they boasted before the investigating committee that they were opposed to strikes and discouraged them, they were stating a truth of key significance: simultaneous with their announcement of devoted medical service to decrepit capitalism they present their credentials as strike-breakers. To prove that they are ready to "make capitalism work" they show how completely they have anesthetized and paralyzed the W.A.A.

Like all practising doctors, they ought to hang out a shingle. The following text is recommended for it:

Dr. Lasser & Dr. Benjamin
Consulting Physicians to Capitalism
Supply of Unemployed Guinea Pigs on Hand
Healthy Flow of Profits Guaranteed or
Money Refunded
Emergency Service Any Time, Day or Night
Service Charge Cheap—Very Cheap

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