

# Only the People Have the Right to Decide on War!

## The War That Is Coming Will Not Be A People's War!

AN EDITORIAL

The war which everyone sees coming will not be a people's war.

It is being prepared right now BEHIND THE BACKS OF THE PEOPLE, and the war-makers will not ask any "by-your-leave."

If this is not so why, then, the vicious and bitter opposition to the idea of a war referendum on the part of the Roosevelt administration and all of Wall Street's men in Washington?

There is no better way of showing up the hypocritical cant about democracy which daily drools from the capitalist press and from Washington than to pose the simple question: LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR! WHY NOT?

We know what the big boys are afraid of: They fear that the anti-war sentiment of the masses can be squelched only AFTER the guns begin to boom, AFTER the war propaganda experts get to work, AFTER a war dictatorship is clamped down.

### They Remember 1917

They think back with terror at the thought of what would have happened, for example, if a free and untrammelled vote on the war had been taken in April of 1917. As a Kansas Congressman complained recently: "IT TOOK US ABOUT SIX MONTHS TO GET THE BOY WHO WAS GOING TO BE SHOT AT AROUSED TO THE POINT WHERE HE WOULD THROW HIS HAT IN THE AIR AND HOLLER FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE SHOT."

And as a matter of fact, the boy didn't holler to be shot even after six months: the volunteer drive in 1917 was a "flat failure"; the DRAFT had to be imposed.

For anyone who is concerned about democracy, there is a fact plain to see right now: THE LARGE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WANT THE RIGHT TO VOTE ON WAR.

A poll taken about a year ago by the Institute of Public Opinion showed that 72 per cent of the people favored the war referendum resolution then before Congress—almost THREE QUARTERS of the population. Just as indicative of the popular ground-swell in favor of a people's vote on war is the attitude taken by the Congressmen who have their ears to the ground.

There is, to take one example, Representative Gillie of Indiana. Here is what he told the Senate sub-committee on the war referendum:

"This question was an important issue in my campaign last year, and as a consequence I became intimately acquainted with what thousands of Indiana mothers and fathers, and farmers and workers, think of the war referendum proposal.

"Almost without exception they told me: 'We're for it!'

"With typical Hoosier logic, they inquired: 'We vote on the choice for dog-catcher. We vote on bond issues for new schools. Why not vote on war and on the enormous bond issues required to finance modern war?'

"Gentlemen, there is only one answer to that question. Why not?"

These Congressmen are on the spot. No matter how many speeches Roosevelt makes explaining his attack on the war referendum, they cannot, facing the workers and farmers back home, answer that simple query—Why not?

### F.D.R.'s "Argument"

Roosevelt's only argument in the last Congress was . . . to swing the big stick of patronage and club the Congressmen into line with the threat of taking away their place at the Presidential pork-barrel. The politicians like Gillie were caught between the cross-fire of the grass-roots pressure in their districts on the one hand, and on the other the threat of excommunication by Jim Farley.

They yielded to the latter, and the war referendum was not even allowed to come up for discussion by these "representatives of the people."

IS THERE ANY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT EVEN THE "PROGRESSIVE" CONGRESSMEN WILL BE ANY MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE INTERESTS OF THE MASSES, WHEN THE PRESIDENT CALLS UPON THEM TO PLUNGE THE WORKERS AND FARMERS INTO A NEW WORLD SLAUGHTER?

The people themselves must force this issue upon Congress: Only the people have the right to decide on war! LET THE PEOPLE VOTE!

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## Roosevelt Promotes Instigator Of "Bloody Friday" In Minneapolis

### National Stockyard Struggle Brewing

Enemy Sides Gather In Chicago—National Strike Possible

By PORFERIO

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO—Various contending forces have converged on the Chicago stockyards, the hub of the country's meat packing industry. A special crew of CIO organizers has arrived in anticipation of a nation-wide strike. John L. Connor, commissioner of conciliation for the U.S. Department of Labor, came fresh from his success in conciliating the dispute at Harlan, Ky. Paul H. Douglas, the "liberal" Alderman, in his capacity as chairman of a Chicago City Council subcommittee on labor, has been trying unsuccessfully to bring the contending parties together. And finally, the head of Armour and Co., President Robert H. Cabell, has returned to the city, cutting short his European vacation.

### NATIONAL STRIKE WAS AUTHORIZED

Will there be a nation-wide strike in the meat packing industry? This remains as yet to be seen.

Authorization for such a walk-out against the "Big Four," Armour, Cudahy, Swift and Wilson, was placed in the hands of CIO officials at a packing house workers' convention held in Chicago, July 16-17. Grievances are piling up, organization of the workers has proceeded for some time at a fairly rapid pace. Labor Board elections were won, a huge rally jammed 16,000 workers into the Chicago Coliseum, July 17, with a good many left outside.

All in all, there are sufficient elements in these developments for a struggle of titanic proportions. And while as yet no date has been set for a nation-wide strike, there need be little doubt that, whether or not it eventuates, the CIO is once again facing a major test.

Not less than 856 delegates (Continued on Page 4)



### Lending Bill Hokum Is Ended

The much-publicized Lending-Spending Bill, passed by the Senate last week, was killed August 1 by a House vote of 195 to 166 against considering the Bill.

Headlined as a "Four Billion Spending Program," the president's original proposal merely "authorized" expenditure of \$3,860,000,000, with only about \$870,000,000 to be spent during the next fiscal year. With the anticipated national income at around 68 billions for the year, (Continued on Page 2)

### NEWS ITEM: SENATOR GETS IDEA

It happened at the hearings of the Senate subcommittee on the war referendum proposal, on May 18. Senator Wiley, who is opposed to letting the people have the sole power to declare war, breaks into the testimony all agog:

"I want to develop the idea I had yesterday. It came out of a clear sky. I had been reading the resolution. The thought occurred to me, which is not so clear in the mind of the average layman, that we are a republic and not a democracy."

Any more ideas, Senator Wiley?

### New Relief Proposal No Help

By NEIL WHITE

The Murray amendment to the Relief Act, passed in the Senate on August 1, and which is now before the House, reveals, after a brief analysis, that if passed, it will leave the WPA strikers in no better position than when they first went out on strike against the vicious Woodrum Bill dictated by Roosevelt's slash in the relief appropriation.

The text of the amendment of Senator Murray is as follows: (Continued on Page 2)

### Glotzbach Ran Finks Against Pickets; Anti-Labor Jury in Session

Investigation Ordered by Attorney General Murphy as Part of Administration Drive Against the Labor Unions

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 3—Amid strict secrecy, the Federal grand jury sitting in St. Paul ended today its seventh day of investigation into the WPA strike in Minneapolis.

But President Roosevelt made no secret of his partisanship in this struggle. Tonight it was announced that Linus Glotzbach, Minneapolis WPA administrator, had been nominated by Roosevelt for promotion to Regional Director of the WPA for the Seventh District, comprising several states.

Glutzbach was the Federal official most directly responsible for the killing of Emil Bergstrom, unemployed worker, and the shooting of a score of others, when the police fired on the WPA picket line on Bloody Friday, July 14. Brushing aside all union attempts to arrange that struck projects remain closed until the strike terminated, Glotzbach had insisted on running finks through the picket lines and had demanded and secured an army of police to do his bidding.

This man, who deliberately sought an "incident" so that he could crack down still harder on the strike, who was indicted by the entire labor movement here in a resolution adopted July 15 as the man "who demanded police action against a majority of WPA workers on strike in full knowledge of what consequence might follow"—is now publicly promoted by Roosevelt.

Roosevelt's action, coming in the midst of the grand jury investigation, can only be interpreted as a public demonstration of the President's solidarity with his underling and as a broad hint to the grand jury. To date the grand jury has questioned about 140 witnesses and has subpoenaed forty others. U. S. District Attorney Victor E. Anderson announced that the inquiry will continue for at least two more weeks. He testily denied the persistent rumor that the grand jury had already issued a partial report without indictments.

In addition to the Minneapolis strike, the grand jury is now probing the St. Paul and Columbia Heights strikes.

The four daily papers in the Twin Cities keep the probe story on the front page, devoting reams of space to it in an obvious endeavor to continue intimidation of the WPA workers.

Murphy Ordered Probe

The grand jury investigation was ordered by Attorney General Murphy on July 19, when he announced to the press that he had ordered it convened to go "into charges that WPA strikers had interfered with persons wishing to work in Minneapolis and St. Paul." His order followed from his previous threat July 13 against the strikers that: "There must be no strike against the govern-

ment." (Continued on Page 3)

stration was a parade of over 1,000 workers, led by the Washington Park Forum, through the poverty-stricken streets of Bronzeville. Hundreds of workers joined in the march which proceeded to the site of the proposed housing unit, where a mass meeting was held.

Prominent real estate interests are violently opposed to the housing project which they fear will force them to lower rents and make repairs on their holdings. The injunction, issued by (Continued on Page 3)

### Bronx Coughlin Group Brags About Fascist Preparations

Workers Will Meet Christian Front Challenge by Preparing Counter-Demonstration

The Coughlin Christian Front held a meeting Wednesday night at Fordham Road and Valentine Avenue, the Bronx, heart of the shopping and amusement center of the borough.

A call to "good" Christians to boycott all Jewish-owned businesses was issued by one, Hartley, chief speaker. Part of the international Jewish conspiracy to control and subjugate the clean Christian world", he said, was to discharge their Christian workers

and hire "Jews or other communist aliens."

Attacks Labor Unions

The trade union movement and its leadership was viciously attacked. President Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was particularly abused, called a thug, thief, etc.

Hartley bragged that "minutemen" units of the Christian Front were being formed throughout the city, "waiting for the hour to strike." He (Continued on Page 3)

### THEY CHEERED THE MILITIA

Strikers at Green Mountain Dam, Col., cheered National Guardsmen who marched in and halted a rifle battle between the strikers and deputized vigilantes.

They cheered when the troops disarmed the vigilantes. The vigilantes had operated under the old phoney formula that "any man who wants to should be allowed to work."

An hour later, Adjutant General Harold H. Richardson, commander of the guardsmen, announced:

"Any man who wants to can go back to work."

### Mass Action by Negro Workers Brings Victory

10,000 Negro and White Workers Demonstrate in Chicago—Housing Injunction Lifted

By PAUL PICQUET

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO—A mass demonstration of over 10,000 Negro workers, called to protest an injunction preventing construction of a Federal housing unit on the South Side was turned into a victory celebration, Sunday, July 30. Sneakers at the demonstration were able to announce that the militant stand of the workers in the Negro neighborhood had forced the lifting of the injunction.

The backbone of the demon-

### The Boss Courts at Work

On August 4 Max OrNSTEIN, a lawyer, on trial before Judge Mahoney in the 2nd District Magistrate's Court was found guilty of disorderly conduct, and sentenced to two days in jail, or \$5 fine. What had OrNSTEIN done? He had bought a copy of Social Justice from a woman, torn the rag up and thrown it away. A cop thereupon arrested him and booked him for disorderly conduct. The police evidently know when to act.

The case gives pointed attention to the charges made

in the Socialist Appeal and elsewhere, charges that Mayor LaGuardia refuses to consider, of Coughlinite sympathy in the police and the courts. Facts speak for themselves.

There have been innumerable provocations by Coughlinites and their supporters in the New York Police against anti-fascists. Socialist Appeal salesmen have been consistently hounded; meetings have been disrupted. So far no action has been taken by the police against the Coughlinites responsible.



## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

### Fisher Body

CLEVELAND, OHIO — An auto worker on the picket line told me the story of the role of Homer Martin, president of the A. F. of L.-U. A. W., in the strike at the Fisher body plant of General Motors.

When the CIO called the strike, and the great majority of tool and die men walked out, Martin rushed into this city with a thunderous roar that "No CIO minority is going to keep the AFL majority out."

Martin announced a big mass meeting for the AFL. Exactly 20 workers from Fisher plant attended. Stung by this rebuke, Martin left town.

Incidentally, one of his chief assistants in Cleveland is scabbing during this strike, and was in the plant when the pitched battle was on.

Gratifyingly enough, Martin and his Cleveland assistants are hardly less unpopular with the AFL rank and file and even some leaders, than they are with the CIO.

### Strike Issues

The radio speech of William J. Schwed, member of the executive board of the Fisher local of the CIO-UAW, besides blasting the city administration, did a good job of explaining the real strike issues.

The strike was called, he declared, because General Motors refused to negotiate on demands by skilled workers at Fisher body, for a wage increase of 15 to 25 cents an hour so they would receive the same standard of pay as prevailed in the Detroit plants; for more job security and for a proper apprenticeship system.

General Motors made \$100,000,000 profit for the first half of 1939, or three times as much as the profit for the first six months of 1938.

"Who produced this profit?" Schwed asked. "We General Motors workers. Are we entitled to a share of this huge profit in the form of higher wages? Certainly we are, and no one but the heads of the corporation will say 'no'."

"The newspapers try to make grown-up Cleveland citizens believe that we go out to create violence on the picket line—that we want to fight the police. What could be more insane?"

"Does any worker in his right mind want to fight 450 armed police? Does anyone believe we enjoy getting our heads cracked by the clubs of Mayor Burton's police?"

"The police provoked violence!" he emphasized, and told how they began slugging pickets. The struggle of the workers was purely a defensive one to protect their rights against police terror.

### Riot Zone

"We find that Safety Director Elliot Ness has illegally established what is called a riot zone around the plant," Schwed continued. "He has ordered that the only Clevelanders who dare enjoy American liberties within the now extended empire of General Motors—that is, the streets of Cleveland around the plant—are strikebreakers and scabs."

While the union maintains a minimum picket line at the plant gates and scattered forces usually stand nearby, the device of picketing the homes of all prominent scabs has been added to put heat on the company.

At a special meeting of the strikers, following the battle, a union official read off the names and home addresses of 27 of the leading scabs, much to the dismay and chagrin of the company and the police, not to mention the rats themselves.

Since the settlement will be negotiated on a nation-wide basis, each local unit of strikers has as the main task keeping the plant shut down. Negotiations are out of the hands of local committees.

### AFL Feeling

An attempt to obtain support of the Cleveland AFL movement against the brutality of the cops met with official rebuff, although all progressive AFL leaders are in strong sympathy with the strikers.

Antagonism of the AFL building trades leaders is the reason given for the failure of the AFL to aid the CIO. "These CIO guys are out to get us, why the hell should we help them?" antrades later on.

## Not a Preview of the Coming World War!



Tear Gas Barrage laid down by the Minneapolis police against strikers at the WPA Sewing Project. Emil Bergstrom, unemployed worker, was killed by a police bullet in this melee. As reported in the last issue of the APPEAL, disguised federal agents acted as agents-provocateurs among the demonstrators.

## Streator WPA Strikers Get Jobs Back in Settlement

Strike Was Most Militant in Illinois — Federal Workers League Recognized

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

STREATOR, ILL., July 29—After 17 days of militant protest against the Slave Relief Act, the WPA strikers, organized under the Federal Workers League, voted to return to work "under protest" at a well-attended membership meeting last Thursday evening.

The basis of the settlement was gotten in meetings between F.W.L. officials and Mayor Halpenny, City Engineer Renz and the township relief supervisor Shiebel, and in another conference with State WPA Administrator Chas. E. Miner.

The settlement consisted of return of all strikers to their jobs without any discrimination, immediate relief for the strikers, full relief for all men laid off on account of 18 month employment, an arrangement whereby laid off WPA workers will return to their jobs as soon as their 30 day layoff is up, and recognition of the Federal Workers League as the bargaining agent for the WPA workers of Streator and the surrounding area.

The Streator WPA strike has been acclaimed on all sides as the most militant and successful strike in the state of Illinois; in contrast to most of the Illinois WPA strikes the Lasalle County strike came out with flying colors and reinforced for the future. In many sections of Illinois strike leaders have been discriminated upon, denied relief, and saw the projects working with skeleton forces.

"Strong Labor Situation" Here in Streator the projects were closed 100% and the WPA big shots, seeing that they would not be opened until the strikers decided to go back as a group, laid off the foremen and timekeepers. It is very interesting to note that when in conference with WPA administrator Miner, he informed F.W.L. officials that "Streator had a pretty strong labor situation."

Several weeks ago, Ben Martin of the Federal Workers League approached the Illinois Workers Alliance leaders with the proposal that a statewide strike committee be set up for the purpose of obtaining a conference with Miner in order to get favorable settlement for the WPA strikers. It was unanimously agreed that this should be done and the IWA set up a committee consisting of Norman, Hackleman, and MacDowell, and Trojar, Macdowell to arrange the conference with Miner. The FWL leaders agreed to have the conference arranged by the IWA and to be informed of the date.

After waiting for over a week and a half during which time the IWA leaders unsuccessfully sought to arrange the conference, the FWL decided to take matters in their own hands; Thursday morning a telegram was dispatched to Miner informing him of the arrival of a delegation from the FWL, the Streator delegation walked into Miner's office that same afternoon and had a conference with Miner which lasted over an hour.

The Illinois Workers Alliance AFL building trades leader snarled. Actually, smart strategy would dictate that even from a selfish point of view the AFL building trades should go to bat for the CIO. Then they would have a case against the CIO invasion of the building trades later on.

(not an affiliate of the Workers Alliance) carried on a militant strike in southern Illinois, Perry and Randolph counties, where most of the strikers received reinstatements to return to work but are still carrying on a fight to obtain relief for their strikers.

A joint meeting of representatives of the IWA and the FWL with State Administrator Miner has been scheduled for Wednesday morning at which time the question of discriminations against WPA strikers will be taken up.

Plans are already underway to set up project committees and relief committees on the projects. The morale of the WPA workers of the Streator area is still high, for they have learned their lesson well. Friday morning on the sewer project, which employs 300 men, a foreman who thought that the workers had forgotten all about workers' solidarity attempted to demoralize the workers ranks by firing one of the active FWL members.

As soon as the workers learned of this, a delegation approached the foreman and threatened to immediately go out on strike if the fired worker was not reinstated. Seeing the workers enraged by the highhanded action of the boss, steps were immediately taken to reinstate the fired worker; so that within two hours the WPA bosses fired a sewer worker and were then forced to reinstate him. The workers of Streator have indeed learned the lesson of solidarity well and many of the WPA straw bosses have been taken down quite a few inches.

The workers of Streator have adopted the slogan, "Only 34 cents work per hour, that's what they're paying us." As a result the WPA workers have spontaneously started a slow-down movement on the job. They are determined to keep this up until they receive the prevailing wage once again. Since the organization of the Federal Workers League, a new and militant spirit has developed among both WPA and privately employed workers. The WPA workers have started the ball rolling and many are responding; the slogan today is "Make Streator the best labor town in the country"; tomorrow the slogan will be "Make Lasalle County the best labor county in the country."

## AMENDMENT TO RELIEF ACT SOLVES NOTHING

(Continued from Page 1)

"Employable persons who have been certified in need of employment for a period of three months or more shall have preference in employment status on such works projects continuously for 18 months or more."

"Provided, that this shall not result in the discharge of a person employed on Works Projects where he has made a reasonable effort to find suitable private employment nor where project operations would suffer from his discharge nor where unusual hardships would result from such discharge."

18-Month Principle Stands First of all, the Murray amendment retains completely the principle that WPA workers who have worked for eighteen months are subject to removal from WPA.

The first change the Murray amendment would effect in the original plans for mass and continuous layoffs of the "eighteen months" is that before a WPA worker can be fired there must be a replacement on the relief rolls who has been certified as eligible for WPA for three months.

According to the report issued by the American Association of Social Workers on May 21 . . . there are seven million families on relief. These families comprise some 23,000,000 people. Surely there are, among these millions of workers, 3,000,000 adult workers eligible for WPA employment. The argument that "eighteen months" will be laid off only when there are eligibles on the rolls to replace them is, therefore, only a smoke-screen, for there are replacements galore from the relief rolls.

Merciful Officials?

The second part of the Murray Amendment, dealing with Administration discretion, regarding the job-hunting activities of WPA workers, hardships resulting from dismissals, etc., is also so much dust in the eyes of the WPA workers. Let the workers put their faith in the "discretion" of Roosevelt, Harrington, Murphy, Woodrum and Co., union busters and strike breakers all, and they'll find themselves out in the streets—jobless. The past five weeks have shown the true nature of the "you can't strike against the government" regime of Roosevelt.

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## The Army Has a New Rapid-Fire Rifle . . .

The anti-war agitator has a new weapon too—

Just out—

## "Let The People Vote On War"

By JAMES BURNHAM

3 cents per copy. Bundle rates: 60 cents for 25; \$1.00 for 60; \$1.75 for 100; \$16.00 for 1,000

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# War Referendum Campaign Notes

## WAR REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN OFF TO FLYING START IN NEW YORK

Outdoor Rallies Called in Four Boroughs—YPSL, Party Sections Plan Activities

By HAL DRAPER

Secretary Campaign Committee

New York strikes the first blow in the campaign for a War Referendum! Eight outdoor rallies, spread over four boroughs, launches the New York drive on Friday, August 4, on the anniversary of the outbreak of the World War. Attention, all branches, to the preparations that went into this action:

Printed leaflets, 25,000 of them, dressed up with two cuts, have gone out. Each rally will have a row of slogan placards flanking the speaking stand. On Wednesday, both the Bronx and the Brownsville branches mobilized their forces to hold preliminary "roving street-corner meetings"—which means a series of five-minute stands at different corners for a brief rally, and then away to the next corner.

In the Bronx, the preparations have been more feverish. Here the use of a small printing plant made it possible to put out special printed stickers and posters advertising the rally to list of contacts . . . bicycle brigade touring the neighborhood with placards and shouted slogans . . . the rally will feature a recruiting booth on the sidewalk where signatures to the petition will be gathered in . . . a large painted streamer behind the speaker's stand with the campaign slogan, "Let the People Vote on War!" . . . and a big placard displaying anti-war issues of Appeal and Challenge of Youth. Good beginning, New York! Some pointers there on holding outdoor rallies for the other branches to note! Now let's have some big installments on your quotas!

Newark Raises Quota

Newark opens its campaign by rejecting its quota on petition signatures. . . . We gave them only a measly 1,500 to garner, and so the district executive raises it by another 50 percent, to 2,200. How many other branches are going to follow Newark's lead? . . . Comrade McKinney, Newark organizer, announces also that they will issue a special campaign bulletin for each member on the directives, plans and progress of the work in Newark. . . . The Newark branches have been divided up into activity squads—petition squad, Appeal squad, pamphlet squad—with every member enlisted in the drive. . . . It's clear we'll be saying a lot about Newark here. . . .

Speaking of the petitions, D. E. of Yellow Springs, Ohio, sends in a vigorous protest. Accepting his quota for the Anti-War Fund, he writes: "I note that I am assigned no quotas in any of the other categories, and this is needless conservatism on your part. I will pay for and sell or otherwise distribute a minimum of 25 copies of the pamphlet, and if the petition is reasonably well drawn up, I will secure at least 100 signatures. . . . That's for one comrade. . . . It's up to the branches to show us we were all wrong in assigning the petition quotas. We're willing to admit it. . . ."

The YPSL swings its youth forces into the War Referendum Campaign! The League's National Bureau has decided to launch a parallel campaign, emphasizing the interest of youth in the war referendum question: "Old Enough to Fight, Old Enough to Vote—"

Give Youth the Ballot at 18 to Vote on War!" In addition to special youth tasks, they undertake to distribute 3,000 copies of the pamphlet, get 5,000 signatures for the petition as well as 5,000 for a special youth petition, etc. . . . Part of the YPSL's objectives should also be to give that youth touch to the Party campaign.

We're two days out from the launching of the campaign, as this is written, and the first of the branch Weekly Report Sheets are still to come in. Remember—keeping the scoreboard up-to-date depends on prompt submission of the reports. Keep regular!

## WORKERS' FORUM

PUZZLED READER SEEKS CLARIFICATION

Dear Comrade Editor: The July 28 Appeal shows some big improvements in the make-up of the front page. The complete short pieces and the boxes are a big help. Still, I think four continuous stories are too many. We should aim at two. It would have been fine if the LaGuardia-Cop story and the Iowa frame-up story had been complete or put on other pages and replaced on page one by other complete short stories.

Diagramless Puzzle

The first story in the Workers Forum on page three served me as a good substitute for the diagramless cross-word puzzle which used to occupy my idle time. I am convinced it refers to Local B-1010 of the Electrical Workers but I'm damned if I have been able to locate it in any city, county, state, or country. It is a clueless mystery.

Also the "continuous string of sell-outs". I suppose it is up to the reader to furnish his own proofs. Also to determine for himself whether it means bribery by cash payment, concession to the bosses in return for indirect favors or promises, or simply cowardice, fear of strikes or bad judgment. It is only a miserable pedant who wants precision in these little matters. And if we demand precision from our correspondent it might teach him a little prudence and responsibility in his speeches in the union and thus cramp his free-flowing style.

Mystery Deepens

Also if Katz and Sullivan can't be trusted and have been "too long associated with Beedie and done the dirty work for him", it puts it up to the reader to prove why they were both suspended from office by Beedie and why "the fight between Katz and Sullivan on the one hand and Beedie on the other was smouldering for almost a year."

If it wasn't enough to throw the reader off the track—as every well-constructed mystery story should do—your correspondent adds: "Katz and Sullivan, very popular with the rank and file, represented the healthy sentiment of the rank and file for trade union democracy." After that I am completely convinced that "members have to doubt the sincerity of Katz and Sullivan"—but I don't know why. Is it going to be cleared up in the next chapter?

Fraternally,  
J. P. CANNON

SILVER SHIRTS OPEN DRIVE IN NEW YORK

Recent reports from New York State indicate that the Silver Shirts, headed by the notorious fascist leader William Dudley Pelley, have established headquarters in this area. This is the first time headquarters have been set up east of the Alleghenies, in Newburgh, N. Y. The report also states that an intensive recruiting drive has been begun both

## Newark Takes Lead in Drive to Build Appeal

Akron Outlines Methods by Which It Hopes To Do Its Part in War Referendum Campaign

Newark, New Jersey, has been the first local to respond with a substantial increase in its regular Socialist Appeal bundle order, in the Appeal section of the War Referendum campaign. George Breitman, literature agent, has placed an order increasing the regular bundle from 100 to 125 copies. The quota assigned to Newark is an increase of 40, so local Newark has still six weeks to go in order to realize the additional 15 to complete its quota. The Newark comrades are also all set to go, Comrade Breitman reports, to fill its quota of 20 additional subscriptions. Several cities have placed

extra copies of recent issues in recent weeks. The Minneapolis local ordered 200 and 500 extra copies of recent issues and local Cleveland, writes Art Preis, has now realized that systematic utilization of open air meetings and of a full-time literature agent will bring results. Two open air meetings several days ago brought sales of 50 and 75 copies of the Appeal, and an extra order of 500 copies was placed for a recent issue.

### Special Leaflets

Several units in New York and elsewhere have been getting out special leaflets advertising the Socialist Appeal and the New International, as well as other Party literature, which could be obtained at open air meetings, newsstands, etc. The Bronx Branch of the Socialist Workers Party has utilized this method to help develop their Anti-Coughlin Campaign.

### Akron Methods

B. Donaldson, literature agent of local Akron, in a letter to the Socialist Appeal, outlines the methods by which the Akron organization of the Party and Y.P.S.L. hope to achieve their War Referendum Campaign quotas for new subscriptions and bundle orders for the Socialist Appeal. Comrade Donaldson says among other things:

"We are now facing the masses, and each of us must realize that a new task confronts us. It will require that we explain what we stand for not only to friends and sympathetic contacts, but also to strangers in their homes and on the streets."

"With this in mind, the committee, composed of Martell, Marsh and myself as chairman, met last Sunday and drew up a rough outline for the campaign. The plan is as follows: 1. Branch divided into three squads for canvassing."

"2. Five working class neighborhoods selected."

"3. All three squads will canvass in one neighborhood for an entire week, getting signatures for the petitions, selling the pamphlets and announcing a neighborhood meeting at the end of the week. On Friday we will hold the meeting, sell Socialist Appeals, the New International and pamphlets, take a collection and announce and sell or give away tickets to the general mass-meeting closing the campaign."

"4. Same procedure will be repeated in all five neighborhoods."

"5. One comrade will be stationed on an important corner in the neighborhood to sell the Socialist Appeal."

"6. During the final week we will concentrate on street sales in the downtown section and in front of factory gates."

"7. Those who cannot appear openly have been assigned the following tasks: a) To collect funds from sympathizers; b) follow up contacts for donations, membership and subscriptions. c) Get resolutions passed in organizations where we have comrades or contacts."

"8. Grand finale will be a public meeting."

"9. Together with the above, the regular house to house canvass and street sales of the Socialist Appeal will be carried on."

"And on Friday I'm presenting a motion to the branch to increase the Socialist Appeal bundle order immediately."

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

HOLD AUGUST 27 OPEN!!! The Friends of the Russian Bulletin will hold an all day outing on Sunday, Aug. 27 at Rye Beach. The boat will leave the Battery at 10:15 A.M. The entire day will be spent at Rye Beach and the return trip will be made by boat, leaving in the evening. The arrangements committee is preparing a varied and interesting program of games, music, swimming, etc. There will be dancing to the music of a first-rate orchestra on the boat, with a Broadway show on the return trip. Tickets are available at the office of the New International at the nominal rate of one dollar. Please make your reservations early.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, at 9:30 P.M.

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By Dwight Macdonald

## SPARKS IN THE NEWS

## The Old Misleader

Some one remarked to me the other day that for a long time he had thought the tone which Bolshevik revolutionaries used towards the reformists was much too sharp and melodramatic. Recently, however, he has come to see that every epithet, every "hangman of the workingclass!", every "lackey of capitalism!" was and is justified, that it would be almost impossible to paint in too black colors the treachery and cowardice of groups like the Social Democratic Federation. The closer American capitalism draws to its supreme crisis of war and fascism, the more implacably anti-revolutionary become the reformists.

The working of this process can be seen easily if one has followed, as I have, the last year of the S.D.F. organ, *The New Leader*. As the war draws near, this journal has taken on an ever-increasing similarity to the jingoistic, chauvinist "socialist" sheets of the Europe of 1914. The one difference is all in their favor: they at least waited until the war had actually broken out before dropping the "socialist" mask and appearing frankly as recruiting agents for the bourgeois war machines.

But *The Old Misleader* isn't waiting for M-Day to dish out what Engels was vulgar enough to call "the old crap." Week after week, its front page is black with scare heads about the inroads that fascism is making in Peru and the heroic defense measures of brave little Poland, the current workers' fatherland. This week's glad tidings for the American working class is the front-page head: **POLISH CAVALRY CAPABLE OF ROUTING MOTORIZED NAZIS.**

## F.D.R. Removes the Fig Leaf

When it comes to domestic news, *The Old Misleader* is, just now, in a really pathetic position, as are its comrades in arms, *The Nation*, *The Daily Worker*, and *The CIO News*. It is getting increasingly harder to kid the masses about their friend in the White House when he publicly congratulates Congress on removing the prevailing-wage provision from this year's WPA act, when he denounces the WPA strikers and loses his G-men on them, and when he appoints to head the Social Security Board the quasi-fascist machine politician Paul McNutt.

And so a hasty glance at *The Old Misleader* fails to indicate there's a WPA strike on at all. Its issue of July 15, at the height of the whole business, relegates the strike to less than a column on page two. (This story, incidentally, is a masterpiece of falsification. By carefully mixing up two entirely separate sections of the WPA bill—the one nullifying the prevailing wage clause, and the one forbidding regional differences in wage rates—the author is able to write: "Although the Administration opposed abolition of the differentials, the President has announced that his Administration will attempt to carry out the new provisions of the law." Actually, of course, the President favors the abolition of the first (or pre-

vailing wage) "differential," and is opposed only to the abolition of the regional wage differential.

The only other reference in the whole eight pages to the ticklish subject is a out-and-dried little notice in a corner of page eight, headed in small type: "S.D.F. Scores WPA Cuts." The banner headline on page one is: **ANTI-AXIS FORCES ANGERED BY U. S. 'NEUTRALITY'**, with the subhead, amazing even in this cloud-cuckoo land: **OLDER GERMANS, EMBITTERED BY CONGRESS ACTION, TURN TO HITLER.** It seems that Jack Sanford, the *Misleader's* enterprising correspondent in France, performed a remarkable journalistic feat. As soon as he received the news that Congress had refused to revise the Neutrality Act, he at once took a Gallup Poll of the eighty million citizens of Germany to see how they felt about it. He is, naturally, somewhat excited about his findings, as, evidently, were the editors. "The psychological effects," he hints darkly, "may be incalculable." And then for the real news scoop: "I learn already that it has thrown masses of the elder generation of neutral Germans into the Nazi camp." That hitherto unchallenged mass psychoanalyst, Walter Duranty, had better look to his laurels!

## Those Terrible Trotskyites!

On this same front page there is another story which deserves a few words: **TROTSKYITE 'GUARDS' DRIVE AIDS COUGHLIN.** This is a very snooty little piece, very superior indeed—"the tiny Socialist Workers Party," "the obscure Trotskyite newspaper, *The Socialist Appeal*," etc. Specifically, the *Misleader* is sore because Comrade Milton's proposal that his local of the ILGWU form a Workers Anti-Fascist Defense Guard gave Father Coughlin a chance to attack the ILGWU and to wound the tender sensibilities of that shrinking violet, David Dubinsky.

When it comes to more general criticism, the usual Stalinist objections are raised. (It is interesting how indistinguishable on all major matters are the lines of the S.D.F. and the C.P.) Such guards "provoke violence." They are "illegal." There is "strong public opinion against private armies." And, above all, what's wrong with the police as protection for workers' meetings against the Coughlinites?

All of these arguments, except the one about illegality (which is news to me), would apply to any strike. But the workers would be foolish to listen to any such line. Despite the danger of provoking violence, despite the undoubtedly strong public opinion against the use of force by pickets, and despite the splendid protection offered by the forces of law and order, the strikers must nevertheless, however reluctantly and with however heavy hearts, wreak violence on the persons of any scabs in the neighborhood. Any one who has been on a picket line knows this, and any one who has seen LaGuardia's cops "protecting" anti-fascist meetings or has had a glimpse of the Social Justice goon squad in action knows why Workers Guards are necessary.

## MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

## OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

## THORSTEIN VEBLEN\*

(July 30, 1857—August 3, 1929)

Thorstein Veblen, a radical intellectual who stood aloof from the class struggle, was yet the sarcastic author of some of the most effective attacks on the profit system and perhaps America's most original thinker in his generation.

Born on a Wisconsin farm, of Norwegian immigrant parents, Veblen spent most of his life, except when unemployed and living off the old folks, in colleges, studying, teaching, writing. The college authorities never liked to have him around, because they thought his ideas as well as his life not respectable, though he brought a certain fame to the college. Most of his students didn't like him because they didn't understand him. The "public" never knew whether his books were serious or not.

Veblen's books, however, were his real contribution to the labor movement. In a pendantic tone, using six long Latinized words instead of one short one, he solemnly ridiculed the stuffed shirts of America, the business men, so skillfully that they never got the point. The implications of every one of his books were revolutionary, but they remained only sarcastic implications.

A careful student of Marx, Veblen did much to explode the criticisms of bourgeois economists. He showed that the labor theory of value, so mightily belabored by the critics, was self-evident as expressed by Marx. His *The Socialist Economics of Karl Marx*, is a brilliant outline of Capital. But Veblen rejected the law of capitalist accumulation because, writing in 1906, he could not see what follows from that law, the constant growth of the "reserve army of labor" (the unemployed) and the increasing misery of the workers. Had he written in 1939, so honest an observer could not have failed to see the predictions borne out. Veblen made mince-meat of the "Marxist" revisionists like Bernstein, but he seemed at this time not to have read the work of Lenin or Luxemburg.

## Veblen's System Fragmentary

Veblen wrote no book that contains his whole system of thought. The reader has to pick it up from side remarks and sly comments. But from these remarks, in such books as *The Instinct of Workmanship*, *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, and *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, one can see the outline: the common man, the worker, works for perfection. But the business man, who is interested not in industrial production but in profits, practises a "conscientious withdrawal of productive efficiency" (Veblenese for sabotage) which kills

\*This column on Thorstein Veblen was contributed by Bruno Johnson.

the "instinct of workmanship".

The higher learning in America is managed for the exclusive benefit of the business men; law and politics are mere cloaks for the "predatory" interests; patriotism and business, useless to the whole community, are the chief barriers to peace; and the vested interests ("a marketable right to get something for nothing") control our lives. Germany became a great power by imitating England's industrial technique but not her "democratic" ideas and politics: the feudal-military absolutism of Germany fitted far better with the realities of capitalism; here Veblen gives an interesting premonition, if not a prediction, of the necessity of a Hitler to maintain capitalism. Almost parallel with Lenin, Veblen pointed out the relentless growth of monopoly capital toward a world of war and the strangling of the common man, or else—

## Defended Bolshevik Revolution

Veblen made only tentative stabs at the class struggle: as editor of *The Dial* he defended the Bolshevik Revolution, signed protests against the trial of the 101 Wobblies in Chicago, and denounced the Palmer Red Raids as the dementia praecox of rotting capitalism. And in one of his last books, *The Engineers and the Price System*, he sketched a new plan for revolution, the formation of soviets of engineers and technicians who are the real bottle-neck of production and who are irked by the sabotage of big business. He even helped to form the nucleus of such a soviet, the Technical Alliance; but lacking organizing ability and misunderstanding the nature of the class struggle, he failed.

In his earliest and greatest book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Veblen dissects capitalist culture and finds it rotten. The literary lights who loved and quoted the book for its satire on a money-culture missed the revolutionary implications: the only way to create a true culture is to wipe out capitalism. Veblen's irony shows the roots of art and the social graces under capitalism as merely the desire for "conspicuous waste" and "conspicuous leisure" (i.e., showing off money). The rich man's "pecuniary respectability" demands that styles change before clothes wear out, that useless servants clutter up a useless estate, that only costly things can be considered beautiful, that education be classical, useless, and good only to prove that the rich man did not have to work for a living while acquiring the "ceremonial utility" of his manners.

It is typical of this detached, ironic, scholarly genius that his last work was the translation of an old Norse saga. Yet the revolutionary movement in America must always acknowledge its debt to Thorstein Veblen for his savage analysis of the rottenness of our society.

## An Appeal for International Solidarity Against the Repressions in France

As we have many times reported in the *Appeal*, the Daladier regime in France has been regularly persecuting revolutionary militants who have been opposing the government's war preparations. From the International Commission of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.) we have received news of additional persecutions. Below we print their letter in full. The Cherbourg incident that is mentioned in the letter refers to an agitation that the P.S.O.P. conducted among the soldiers stationed at Cherbourg in protest against the arbitrary extension of the military service period beyond two years.

Dear Comrades,

We inform you that today, July 25, an investigation of several hours took place at our party local, 42 Rue Rochecouart. Three investigating commissions officially investigated the following questions: 1) the anti-militarist leaflets (sequel to the Cherbourg affair of May last, details of which you have already read in *June '36*, official weekly organ of the P.S.O.P.). We must remind you, to be used in whatever way you can, that Marceau Pivert is being prosecuted for this as the political director of our party. 2) La Caserne, anti-militarist journal but completely unconnected with our party and for which it is in no way responsible. 3) La Jeune Garde (The Young Guard—youth publication) July-August number, for its anti-militarism (you will receive under separate cover a copy of this number which was today again confiscated).

## Organize Protest Meetings

We have been informed that two warrants of arrest have been issued by the police against Comrade Poulain, member of the fifth section of the Paris P.S.O.P., 86 years of age, with sixty years of activity in proletarian parties behind him. The warrant has been issued against him in his capacity of manager for the party of La Jeune Garde; he has already been arrested. Also another warrant has been issued against comrade Lucien Weitz, political secretary of the P.S.O.P. youth and a member of the Central Committee of our party in his capacity as secretary of the P.S.O.P. youth; Comrade Weitz had given in preceding numbers of *La Jeune Garde* information on the Schmidt-Steve-Rigal-Polle affair with which you are acquainted. At the time of writing we do not know if Weitz has been detained.

Following these events, the

## INSTIGATOR OF STRIKE RIOT PROMOTED

(Continued from Page 1)

ment of the United States by any one, anywhere, at any time. . . Those leaders who have moved to exploit the protests of WPA workers in violation of Federal statutes will be prosecuted." The next day Roosevelt issued his infamous "You can't strike against the government" statement.

Murphy in his July 13 statement singled out Minneapolis as a place where "evidence of labor racketeering or criminal conspiracy against the nation's relief program" may "result in indictments."

In accordance with Murphy's orders, U. S. District Attorney Anderson announced on July 19 that the Federal government "undoubtedly will issue complaints and begin prosecution of strike pickets or demonstrators within a few days."

## Out to Get 544

The grand jury opened its investigation on July 24. It quickly developed that the Federal authorities were out to "get" General Drivers Union Local 544, sponsor of a Federal Workers Section which is the city's leading unemployed organization. The St. Paul Pioneer Press headlined that "Activity of higher-ups in Minneapolis General Drivers Union 544 during the recent WPA strike is being investigated by the Federal grand jury." The Minneapolis Tribune reported that "Witnesses who told about union operations in connection with the strike spent more time in the jury room than did those who told of interference with workers."

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

Bureau of the Party decided to instruct its locals to hold public meetings on the 30th of this month to protest against police abuses and the government repression which is striking more and more at the militant comrades and the revolutionary press. On this occasion our party will affirm its firm determination to continue its anti-militarist and revolutionary activities in spite of repression. A special edition of *June '36* will appear also on Friday next on this question.

## International Solidarity

You doubtless understand the significance of this repression which seeks to stifle resistance to war and the sacred union. We therefore expect from you

that, without delay, and by means that you will judge appropriate (press demonstrations, meetings, etc.) you will organize active solidarity with our movement which is in the heat of the struggle against the imperialist war. Above all do not delay to send us immediately the next number of your publication in which you will publish an article on this question, an article that we will welcome, followed by an appeal in favor of the persecuted anti-militarists and giving support to our struggle.

For the International Commission of the P.S.O.P.,

Marie Guerin.

July 25, 1939

## Mass Action by Negro Workers Brings Victory

(Continued from Page 1)

Judge Lupe, was just another attempt to throw a monkey wrench into attempts of the Negro workers to get better housing.

Negro housing on Chicago's South Side is the nation's worst. White chauvinism forces the Negroes to live in a real ghetto, within the boundaries of the notorious "iron ring." Unable to move, they are exploited unmercifully by big real estate companies which exact exorbitant rents for the vilest kind of housing facilities. Repairs are the exception and not the rule. It is not uncommon for a family of 12 to be crowded into 2 small rooms, infested with vermin and rats, with no private toilet facilities.

Sunday's demonstration marked a high spot in the long fight of the Negro workers for decent living facilities. The prompt withdrawal of the injunction was a victory obtained by militant mass action, and it served to show the Negro workers all through the South Side the power of organized working class action to attain their demands.

Solidarity of Negro and white workers was demonstrated by the members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League, who participated in the demonstration and in the parade organized by the Washington Park Forum, spearhead in the Negro worker's fight for improved housing in Chicago.

## Fisher Body Strikers Eager To Carry Fight Through to End

(Continued from Page 1)

Screaming editorials in all the capitalist papers call for "law and order", presumably meaning the riding down of helpless women and children, the trampling, clubbing, shooting and gassing of unarmed peaceful workers exercising their rights to strike and picket. The strike leaders, many of them under the influence of the Stalinists, have weakened and are telling the workers to obey the "law"—that is the arbitrary ruling of a mayor whom these same strike leaders have denounced as a paid tool of the corporations, the Chamber of Commerce and of a boss-ruled court.

Lesson for Workers

Once again for all the workers to see is the fact that when the workers really unite their forces and fearlessly resort to mass action on the streets, no power or agencies of the bosses and their government can beat them down. But when they submit to the treachery of legality and boss made laws, they are licked in advance.

The lessons of the "Battle of E. 140th Street", are imperishably graven into the minds of all the auto workers here. They are full of fight, and the rank and file is more than anxious to

complete a job well started. Only the most insistent and persistent pleading by the leadership has so far prevented the workers from again taking to the streets in mass fighting formation. One word of assent from the leaders, and the auto workers would swarm out of the other plants as they did last Monday and make confetti out of all the "riot zone" ordinances and injunctions which the bosses are waving in the workers' faces.

## Dangerous Precedent

A most dangerous precedent for future strikes has been set by the acceptance of these legal traps by the union leaders. It is to be expected that in the future battles, which are bound to come, the city officials and corporations will crack down on every strike with every imaginable legal restriction, particularly those against mass picketing. The only way to win a strike is to shut the work down cold; that means mass picketing, the only successful weapon against the bosses and strike-breakers.

Join the Socialist  
Workers Party

## Who's Against the War Referendum?

## Roosevelt Gives the Whole Show Away

By HAL DRAPER

What are the arguments against giving the people the right to vote on war?

In January of last year, the Ludlow resolution was before Congress, and there was a danger—not so much that it would be passed—but that it would get to be discussed. In this critical hour, Sergeant Roosevelt went over the top and threw a bomb-shell into the laps of Congress, denouncing the proposal. Its leading idea was:

"Such an amendment that that proposed would cripple any President in his conduct of our foreign relations, and it would encourage other nations to believe that they could violate American rights with impunity."

## A Lesson from History

1. Cripple the President's autocratic control over American foreign affairs? Any one who knows the lessons of history will say: Good thing! It was President Polk's use of his executive powers which brought

on the war with Mexico in 1846 without any consultation even with Congress. It was President McKinley's control over foreign relations which permitted him to go before Congress and call for war with Spain while concealing the fact that Spain had granted the U. S. demands. Wilson's secret negotiations with England in 1916 are even better known. History tells us: the President's control over foreign relations has been instrumental in getting us into imperialist wars—behind the backs of the people!

2. Just why would the war referendum cripple the President's conduct of foreign relations? Roosevelt has sworn up and down the land that he is innocent of any intention of throwing the U. S. into war. The proposal which he denounces bears only on the power of making war. All measures short of war would still be (unfortunately) left in his hands. Either, or: Either Roosevelt is a hypocrite when he protests

his completely peaceful intentions, or his argument is nonsense!

3. Furthermore, Roosevelt was here attacking the Ludlow resolution—a bill which takes the guts out of the proposal to let the people vote on war by making it inoperative in case of attack on the U. S., its territorial possessions, or on any country in the Western Hemisphere. It is this resolution, which concerned itself only with a frankly and openly aggressive war by the U. S. that, Roosevelt said, will hamper his foreign policy. The confession is there for all to see: to put it moderately, Roosevelt does not exclude an open war of conquest!

4. How will the war referendum encourage the violation of American rights? WHAT AMERICAN RIGHTS? If Roosevelt was thinking of the "right" of Standard Oil to pile up its profits in the Far East, with the backing of the Navy,

One purpose of Big Money's obedient servants in Albany is not yet achieved. They are trying to frighten the public by showing what the schools would suffer unless the teachers took a cut.

The New York City Board of Education tried its best. It dug up the ancient dodge of "voluntary" salary cuts, ranging from 2% to 5½%, the joker being that the younger and poorer-paid teachers, whose salaries would be cut less, would not receive any yearly increments either, and so would actually be cut by 9%, while the highly-paid fat-cats, the superintendents and politicians in the system, would be cut only 4 to 5½%. This proposal was so nearly identical to the bills in Albany that the parents' associations smelled the rat and were not impressed, in spite of the pious walls of the reactionaries about "saving the kindergartens."

Mayor LaGuardia tangled up the mess still further with a marvelously skillful piece of demagoguery: he promised to insure the continuation of all vital educational services without cutting teachers' salaries. The Stalinist-controlled Teachers Union whooped for joy and congratulated the Mayor. That the Mayor's statement was only political tripe was clearly shown when his law-secretary, appointed for one day to the Board of Education in order to make up a quorum, voted for the school-wrecking budget.

In answer to protests, LaGuardia passed the buck again: he laid all the blame on the legislature for cutting \$5,300,000 from state aid to the city, conveniently forgetting his own chicken-feed cut of three million.

## Teachers Union Hog-tied

The Teachers Union, because of its Stalinist line, has had one hand tied to its back throughout the fight. Time and again the anti-Stalinist progressives in the union have brought up motions to put pressure on LaGuardia as well as on Albany. Always these proposals were either howled down or passed with sneers about "Tammany politics" and then forgotten. The Stalinists are playing the game of collaborating with boss politicians for this fall's and 1940's elections, and will not offend the "progressive" Little Flower in City Hall. Also, in their desperate zeal to remove the "red" label from the union, they lay off any kind of militant action or picket line. They did the best they could, with half a million leaflets and hundreds of telegrams (but very few to LaGuardia). Yet the time has passed when a legislator will pay any attention to telegrams.

When one of the Teachers Union leaders did criticize the Mayor for sending his office-boy to vote ruin to the schools, the union spokesman deplored the Mayor's "hate" and said that though a progressive, he had "yielded to pressure." Just why a progressive cannot yield to progressive pressure is left unexplained.

All the workers of New York City must remember the fight on education as an essential factor in this fall's elections to the City Council.

## No Confidence

The bosses' government in Washington wants the "right" to hold the threat of war over the heads of its imperialist rivals, and the "right" to go into such a war, when it becomes necessary, without the consent of the people.

The answer to Roosevelt is: Your very opposition to the war referendum shows why we have no confidence in you or your government. Let the people decide! They are the ones who will have to fight and die!

## New York Public School System Crippled by Cuts

By BRUNO JOHNSON

The New York City Board of Education on Thursday, July 27, adopted a budget crippling the whole public school system for the coming year. The crippling began when LaGuardia's Board of Estimate cut \$3,000,000 from the appropriations and the New York State Legislature cut \$5,300,000 more from state aid to the city.

The \$8,300,000 deficit thus acquired has been "absorbed" by the Board of Education in the following ways: classes, already overcrowded, will be enlarged or not decreased; even elementary schools, serving 30,000 adults yearly, will be dropped from the school system; evening high schools will be limited to students working for Regents' credit. Day classes for adults in English and citizenship are to go. Community and recreation centers, as well as after-school athletic centers, will be closed completely. Thus 75,000 students will be tossed out of school, and the 2,500,000 people who have been using the community centers are locked out.

## Lehman's Role

The American Labor Party supported Governor Lehman, instead of fighting the issues on its merits, took shelter behind the unconstitutionality of the budget passed by the legislature; when the budget was thrown out of courts the legislature in special session passed another, differing from the first only in being in accordance with the state constitution, and Lehman said not a word. The same vicious slashes in the school system remained.

## COUGHLINITES BRAG ABOUT FASCIST PREPARATIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

taunted the Jews to dare to hold a counter-meeting.

At the end of the meeting the chairman held up a huge placard, reading "Buy Christian." He announced to the audience that this corner was now under the control of the Coughlinites, and that they would hold meetings there every Wednesday night. Twenty-six uniformed cops and others in plain clothes guarded the meeting, ready and willing to give the fascists full protection.

When a worker here and there in the crowd voiced objection to the anti-Semitic and anti-labor tirades, police pulled them out of the crowd and into a taxi cab.

Discussion groups which formed afterward in a nearby park decided that something should and would be done. The proposal to build Workers Defense Guards met with approval of those present, even two Communist Party members admitting that action and not words would be needed to defend the neighborhood against the fascist gangs. The youths present, about fifty, all between the ages of 18 and 25, decided that they would meet at an appointed place next Wednesday evening, make the rounds of the local clubs to secure aid, and then gather to demonstrate their opposition to the Coughlin gangsters.



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## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An Independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

## No Secret Diplomacy

On July 24 the State Department issued the following order:

"In view of the contemporary international situation it will not be possible to make the confidential or unpublished files and records of the department, of a date later than December 31, 1918, available to persons who are not officials of the United States Government."

Hitherto access to the files has been exceedingly restricted. Only a limited number of persons such as professors, students and international lawyers were permitted to use them under various limitations. But now all state papers for a period of twenty years become a closed book to everybody outside the government.

And even for records prior to 1918, permission is limited to persons like lawyers, publicists, historians, instructors and professors in accredited colleges and universities who have an "important and definite use for the information desired." Since the State Department is the judge of what is "important," under these regulations no radical could consult original sources in writing a history of the United States!

Most significant in the State Department order is the period for which complete secrecy is decreed: the last twenty years. Why should Roosevelt and Hull trouble to cover up the acts of Wilson's last years, or the Republican administrations of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover? Why should the New Deal seek to shroud these Old Dealers?

Because New Deal or Old Deal, Republican or Democrat, whatever the label, the foreign policy of the American government has run in one direction: to safeguard and extend the foreign interests of America's Sixty Families. Harding the Republican took up where the "New Freedom" of Wilson left off, and "New Deal" Roosevelt took up where Old Deal Hoover left off. And now, as the war draws near, Roosevelt covers up his predecessors and himself.

The State Department does little more than formalize the already-existing situation in which the American people are kept in virtual ignorance of the government's diplomatic moves. We are thus kept in ignorance in order to blind us to the speedy approach of war.

Every workers' and farmers' organization should demand, in the interests of its members' lives:

No secret diplomacy! All treaties and agreements shall be open to the inspection of the people! Let the people decide! Let the people vote on war!

## "Trotskyite Drive"

We've seen the Stalinists do lots of absurd and ridiculous things in their time, along with the innumerable vicious things they do, but Clarence Hathaway has just given us the best belly laugh we've had since the time Ike Amter swallowed his false teeth.

Hathaway is editor of the Daily Worker. The other day he declared himself a class-war prisoner, issued from jail an appeal to "the public" for a bail fund, and heroically "prepared to remain in prison knowing full well that labor and its supporters will not permit our common enemies to injure the Daily Worker or the Communist Party." We were just rushing out of the office to get poor Clarence out of the can when the Daily Worker arrived and the headline knocked us over: "Hathaway Calls Jailing Part of Trotskyite Drive."

He sneezed at first, because we are

pretty high up in Trotskyite circles and we don't like anything done without our knowing about it. But after we cooled off, we found that we didn't put him there and he wasn't a victim of the class war. In fact, we got to wondering why Hathaway didn't have the good sense to keep his mouth shut until Browder got him out. For the true story is not so nice for Hathaway, Browder and the board of directors of the Communist Party:

The Daily Worker, as libelous a yellow rag as ever was seen in this country of yellow journalism, was finally nailed recently by one of its victims. Walter Liggett was murdered in Minnesota in December, 1935; the killer was never apprehended. Liggett had been editing an "anti-vice paper" and had no connections with the labor movement. Local reactionaries sought to utilize his murder in their campaign against the Farmer-Labor movement, but got nowhere. But the Stalinist machine, having up to the day before, in its "third period," poured its filthy slanders on the Farmer-Labor movement, turned around and poured its slanders on Liggett, in its belated attempt to curry favor with the Farmer-Laborites. Mrs. Liggett sued to defend her husband's name, and got a judgment for libel against the Daily Worker and its editor.

The other day Mrs. Liggett had Hathaway jailed, in an attempt to collect his share of the judgment. Mr. Hathaway, under examination, stated that he earned \$100 per week as editor (sounds like a lot for an editor of a "workers' paper," but then think what a dirty job it is) but that after paying out lots of alimony, he can't pay his share of the judgment. At this point Hathaway let out the bray about a "Trotskyite drive." Neither he nor the Daily Worker told the story about the Liggett case in any detail; they were too refined for that. But they linked it with three "Trotskyite" suits for libel and then let out a yell about a "Trotskyite drive." They didn't give any details, either, about these three suits. One is by Max Eastman, no Trotskyite thank you, another by one Charles White, whom we don't even know. But the third we don't mind in the least having pinned on us, for then we can tell the story which Hathaway didn't tell:

In November, 1937, some enemy of the trade union movement murdered Pat Corcoran, president of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council. Pat had won the undying enmity of the bosses when he took a leading part in re-unifying the teamsters' movement after the General Drivers Union of the city had been expelled earlier by the International; in the unified movement Pat worked closely with the so-called "Trotskyite" leaders of the General Drivers Union in bringing about 100% unionization of the teaming crafts, making Minneapolis the best-unionized city in the country, and in building the North Central Drivers Council out of which came the magnificent 11-state uniform contract for over-road drivers. Not only the enmity of the bosses; Pat had also incurred the enmity of the Stalinists for his "crime" of collaborating with the "Trotskyites." So when he was killed, the Stalinists proceeded to smear him and his colleagues as "labor racketeers" and to call for a "Deweyized investigation of the Minneapolis labor movement to clear out the labor racketeers." (That was when Dewey was a hero of the Stalinists.)

The class-conscious trade unionists wanted no Deweys poking into the unions. And they knew Pat and his co-workers. The local Stalinists dared not utter their slanders in the trade unions. Hailed before the coroner's jury, not one Stalinist had the courage to say on his own behalf what the Daily Worker had said. The Stalinist frameup scheme collapsed. Then the drivers union leaders, seven of them, filed a libel suit against the Daily Worker; the suit is still pending.

A horrid thought has just struck us. Can it be that Browder didn't want to bail out Hathaway? What other explanation could there be for Hathaway—elbowing the lid off this smelly brew? Anyway we've enjoyed the farce of Hathaway playing class-war prisoner—and the opportunity to remind the advanced workers once again of how the Stalinists tried to destroy the progressive labor movement of Minneapolis.

## Labor Looks Through The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

Joe Alex Morris of the United Press cites the danger of war in Europe should a "bluff be called, or a mistake made in high places." What a hell of a game that is—they make a mistake, and we pay the penalty!

Peoria, Ill. police arrested a man on protest from his neighbors that he was driving a car. They found him on a little used road, travelling at a moderate rate of speed. He had been warned previously not to operate a bicycle. Cause of all the neighbors' alarm is the fact that the driver was blind. But we let the bosses drive our economic machine!

David Griffin, 28, of Minneapolis, is soon to take a two year tour into Africa and Asia. Griffin has been carrying on missionary work in addition to his job as salesman for a mail order house, and uses his business, he says, merely as a front for missionary efforts.

## Pros and Cons Not Far Apart in Congress Neutrality Act Dispute

The Much-Touted Conflict over the Neutrality Act Is in The Last Analysis a Disagreement over the Most Effective Means of Dragging the People of the Country into War

By JAMES BURNHAM

In almost all of the conflicts between Roosevelt and the anti-Roosevelt opposition in Congress, conflicts which during the present session of Congress have generally led to Roosevelt's defeat, the bulk of the boss press has to one or another degree supported the opposition. To this general rule there is one outstanding exception: namely, the conflicts over foreign policy. Wherever Roosevelt and some section of Congress have differed on foreign policy, the boss press has overwhelmingly declared for Roosevelt.

The sharp struggle over the Neutrality Act has been a notorious example.

## PRO AND CON CLOSE TOGETHER

The issue here, when all the smoke is cleared away, boiled down to very small potatoes. Roosevelt wanted the power to declare, by executive decree, unilateral embargoes on war munitions; that is, to embargo the shipment of war munitions from this country to another country which Roosevelt would declare was "at war" and was an "aggressor" in the war.

A large bloc in Congress did not want to grant this power to the President. It wished to retain a section of the old Neutrality Act which provides for an embargo on the shipment of munitions to either side, when a "state of war" is defined to exist by the President.

This Congressional bloc, for the time being, came out on top, and the President was forced to withdraw his demand. The boss press, led by the New York Times, condemned the Congressional bloc for sabotage of the national interests of the United States.

In this whole fight, there was a large element of contemptible farce. So far as the question of war or peace goes, the outcome doesn't make a great deal of difference. Whichever law is on the books, the Sixty Families can still swing their power and resources in the direction where it suits them best—in the direction, that is, where the biggest profits lie. Nowadays "war munitions" are only a tiny part of what goes into a war: coal and petroleum and copper and cotton and rubber and food and iron are in the end more important than guns and military air-

craft, both for the warring nation and for the economy of the exporting nation.

Consequently, whether an embargo on war munitions alone applies to one side or to both sides or to neither (as in the compromise "cash and carry" plan which is favored by a number of Congressmen) is not going to decide either who wins the war or how it entangles the United States. Moreover, the government and the bosses can always get around any embargo statutes, if they really wish to, by credit devices, transshipments, etc.

## GANGED UP ON WAR REFERENDUM

It is furthermore interesting to note that in the heat generated by Roosevelt, Hull and the members of Congress over the Neutrality Act, all parties to the dispute managed to forget about the proposal for a war referendum, embodied in several bills submitted to Congress, and favored by the huge majority of the people. Can it be that part of the reason for the big argument over Neutrality was precisely to turn public attention away from the war referendum?

Nevertheless, making the proper discounts, a genuine difference between the two sides remains.

Roosevelt's entire domestic program and policy have collapsed in an utter and complete breakdown. All that he can salvage from the dismal wreck of his once shining armor is his foreign policy. He knows clearly that his foreign policy has the fundamental perspective of a war of imperialist aggression, in which United States capitalism, mortally sick at home, would try to save itself by acquiring unchallenged dominance for exploitation of vast areas in Latin America, the Far East and even Europe.

From this premise comes the Lima Conference, the parade of Latin American dictators to Washington, the notes to Japan, the intervention in Europe, the huge armament increases.

But to carry out his perspective, Roosevelt wants and needs an absolutely free hand. He wants and takes a free hand in spending the armament billions; he closes the State Department files; he negotiates secretly. He does not want any "interference" from Congress;

there are always a few Congressmen who are apt to ask embarrassing questions, who like to "investigate," who might argue when the time for action comes. For these reasons, Roosevelt wants a Neutrality Act which leaves everything up to himself.

Big business has exactly the same fundamental perspective in foreign policy as has Roosevelt. And consequently, big business supports Roosevelt in foreign policy, whether it is a question of armaments or secret diplomacy or discretionary embargoes.

It should not be imagined that Congressmen are any less "patriotic" than the President, or that they will have any difficulty supporting the war when the day arrives. Indeed, many who were against Roosevelt in the Neutrality conflict explained that they took their position only because they didn't think war was near: in other words, if they thought the crisis serious enough they would change at once.

## CONGRESSMEN MUST FACE CONSTITUENCIES

But two special factors operate on many of the Congressmen. The Republicans use the dispute here, as on other points, for factional advantage—to bring about another defeat in Roosevelt's growing list, and to get an "anti-war" issue for next year's campaign. And all Congressmen have got to go home and face their constituents at closer hand than the President. (The legislature is, in general, more subject to popular pressure than the executive.) Now the constituents are, of course, opposed to war; and many of them, especially in the Middle West, have a pretty good idea of the direction in which Roosevelt's foreign policy is leading. Under such circumstances, a vote against the unilateral, discretionary embargo is highly desirable if the Congressmen want to see a friendly crowd when they get to the home-town station after their strenuous seven months of serving their country.

The conflict over the Neutrality Act, like other similar disputes in all imperialist governments, is in the last analysis a disagreement over the most effective means of dragging the country into war.

## Stockyards May Be Setting for Next National Strike Struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

attended the packing house workers' convention. Some of them were regularly elected, many of them were merely appointed as so often is the case of unions in their formative stage. Reports made at the convention claimed that on a nation-wide scale a total of 78,000 workers have been enrolled under the banner of the Packing House Workers Organization Committee, out of the approximately 129,000 employed in the industry. Out of the 29 Armour plants in various parts of the country the PWOC claims a majority support in seventeen.

It must be remembered, however, that insofar as both enrollers and support are concerned this is still to be regarded as a rather loose thing; but there can be no doubt as to the desire of the workers to restore unionism and union conditions in the industry. Thus, for example, at a Labor Board election held in the Chicago Armour plants last October, on a "Yes" and "No" vote for collective bargaining agency, the CIO came out ahead with a wide margin.

## CIO DEMANDS NATIONAL CONTRACT

Now the CIO demands an exclusive national wage contract. This the packers has contemptuously refused. Officials of Armour and Co. accepted an invitation to confer with the City Council labor committee the other day, only to reiterate their flat refusal even to meet with the union.

On this same occasion officials of the AFL Butcher Workmen Union put in their appearance with claims to be considered in negotiations. And, although it was the treasonable conduct of officials of this union which was responsible for the disastrous collapse of the packing house workers' last general strike in January 1922, and despite the fact that this union is still a stockholder in Armour

and Co., it has made some headway of late in organization in stockyards in Chicago and elsewhere.

This particular fact, when viewed in the light of the often acrimonious struggle between the AFL and the CIO, is one of the elements of serious weakness in the present situation. Perhaps it furnishes also one of the reasons for the contempt and haughtiness shown by the meat packers.

## BUT CIO IS IN STRONG POSITION

Yet the CIO union is in a strong position, almost a commanding position. John L. Lewis is made that a proud boast when he hurled his challenge at the Chicago Coliseum meeting:

"Well what have we here?" he said. "The meat packers. They may think they're pretty big. Well, they're no bigger than United States Steel, General Motors and the coal industry. These big industries changed their minds about wage contracts, and we helped them. Now we're going to give the same help to the meat packers." Incidentally, while several of the CIO union leaders (Stalinists or their stooges) at the meeting carried banner streamers, "For Roosevelt in 1940," and while other speak-

ers proclaimed that same choice, Lewis remained silent on this point. Moreover, he made caustic criticism, saying that: "The WPA bill recently passed by Congress is a direct repudiation of the pledges made by the Democratic party in its 1936 platform." He added that the "majority party must share responsibility with the party Republicans for a measure which will deprive a million unemployed of WPA jobs."

## WEAKNESS IN STRIKE PLANS

But to return to the question, will there be a packing house workers strike? Preparations are being intensified on all fronts. That much is certain. The meat packers have shown their attitude clearly and precisely. Much confidence could have been instilled in the minds of the workers, and their ranks could have been enormously solidified, if officials of the PWOC had been at least as clear and precise. It is difficult to regard a leadership as genuinely serious that fails, in anticipation of a major struggle, to propose at least the elementary basis, or the rudimentary forms, for a national union that may begin to give the body both actual flesh and blood. This was not done at the recent convention, which left the packing house organization still in committee form.

It should be necessary, moreover, to formulate at least a simple set of clear and precise demands and not, as is now the case, to reduce everything to the altogether too innocuous formula—that the packers meet with the union. Regardless of whether or not the packers will at this stage listen to the demands, the workers must know for what they may be called upon to strike. They must know a good time in advance. They must be given a solid point around which to rally for the supreme effort.

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## IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

It has taken the Stalinists three whole months to get the necessary instructions on how to deal with the problem of the Ukraine as raised so boldly, honestly and simply by Leon Trotsky in his article printed in the Appeal of May 9, 1939.

Analyzing the position of the Soviet Ukraine under the yoke of the Kremlin autocracy, and the position of those millions of Ukrainian workers and peasants suffering as national minorities under Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian domination, Trotsky raised the slogan of "A united, free and independent workers' and peasants' Soviet Ukraine"—free and independent not only of the German, Polish, Hungarian and Rumanian imperialists but also of the oppressive Stalinist clique.

## Trotsky Anticipated Arguments

In his article, submitted for discussion of the revolutionary movement, Trotsky anticipated the objections of the Moscow apologists to so thorough an extent that the reply they have finally made in the New Masses of August 8, over the signature of the not unknown hack A. B. Magil, may be thoroughly disposed of merely by re-reading what Trotsky wrote.

Magil is one of a numerous tribe trained up at the breast of the Stalinist treasury. When the archives of the old regime were seized and made public by the Bolsheviks in 1917, they disclosed what had long been suspected. The Czarist regime bought up journalists and whole editorial staffs all over the world, whose job it was to defend and justify, with the only type of argument at their disposal, every misdemeanor and crime committed under Nicholas the Bloody. Some of these literary lackeys were paid exceedingly well; none of them went hungry. The Czar didn't do so well by his own people, but he was not stingy when it came to retaining journalistic advocates abroad. Stalin follows the same practice with the boys on his foreign payroll, and from the services they render and the arguments they use, he gets at least as much out of his investment as did the Czar.

Let us pass over the tiresome calumnies repeated by Magil (they all boil down to the charge that Trotsky is Hitler's ally) and comment only on one point he makes. Declaring that the right of nations freely to secede must not, as Lenin said in 1917 and many other occasions, "be confused with the question of whether it would be expedient for any given nation to secede at any given moment (but) must be settled by the party of the proletariat in each particular case independently, from the point of view of the interests of social development as a whole and the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism" — Magil concludes that "when Trotsky, therefore, calls for separation of the Ukraine, what he is advocating is the subjection of the Ukraine to 'imperialist bondage and national oppression.'"

## Denies RIGHT of Separation

Magil is simply making mendacious use of a quotation from Lenin. While Lenin emphasized the need of considering the expediency of advocating separation of one nation or people from another, he never denied the right of separation. That is precisely what Magil denies to the Soviet Ukraine. And not only to it, but also to the Ukrainian minorities in Poland, Rumania and Hungary. Lenin used to point out that the right of divorce does not necessarily mean that at every single moment you advocate a divorce between a given couple. Magil is not only outraged (Outraged? Not in reality; he is merely putting on an act) at the idea of the Soviet Ukraine separating from the Soviet Union, but he is no less indignant at the thought of the Ukrainian minorities in adjacent countries breaking from their oppressors and joining with their co-nationals in a powerful, united Soviet Ukraine.

Such a united country, he says, "formed with the blessing of Hitler and as a result of the dismemberment not only of the U.S.S.R. but of Poland, Rumania and Hungary as well, would deal a death blow to the independence of those three countries. His (Trotsky's) program is, therefore, in contradiction with their national interests."

In other words, the Polish landowners, the Rumanian Boyars and the Hungarian feudal lords who rule over millions of Ukrainian peasants and workers, have found in Magil a stout warrior protecting their "national interests." In other words, furthermore, it would be a "death blow to the independence" of Hungary if the peasants of the Carpatho-Ukraine, whose territory was given to Hungary after Munich "with the blessing of Hitler" (as Magil might say, and this time correctly), were to fight for freedom from Hungarian rule and for incorporation into a more powerful, united Soviet Ukraine.

Present-day Soviet Ukraine must not, cannot separate from Moscow, cries Magil. Why not? Does not the "most democratic Constitution in the world" provide, in Article 17, that "Each Union Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R."? It does; only the "right" is a horrible joke. Anyone who tries to exercise that right is immediately labelled a fascist spy and executed on the spot—unless he is driven to suicide before then, as has been the case of more than one Ukrainian Communist. What value has a right which MAY NOT BE EXERCIZED? The same value as all the other "rights" the Father of the Peoples grants his subjects.

The Stalinist policy towards the Ukrainian question plays right into the hands of reactionary nationalists and of Hitler. The truly imperialistic refusal of Stalin and his Magils to acknowledge and fight for the right of self-determination of peoples, nations and national minorities, has left this field free for reactionary and demagogic exploitation by Hitler. That explains in large part why Hitler was able to win the Sudeten Germans so easily to his standard. Stalin's policy towards the Ukrainian millions is facilitating a similar fate for them.

Their rain dance brought to a close, members of the Zuni Indian tribe of New Mexico awoke the next day to a cloudless sky that augured no let-up in the worst drought they could remember. Wise old headmen opined that the return of the blazing sun indicated the failure of the gods could mean but one thing—for some reason of which they were not aware their ancestors were visiting vengeance upon them. (INS dispatch.) All Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists, etc., will laugh heartily at the naivete of the poor backward Indian.

Dr. Benes, exiled president of Czecho-Slovakia, who helped draft the Versailles treaty 20 years ago, admits that "the Versailles treaty was not perfect." We all know what an imperfect egg is.