A Vote for Shachtman and Paine Is a Vote Against War!

The U.S.S.R. In the War

By Leon Trotsky VOL. III, NO. 77

[The following is a section of a long article by Comrade Trotsky on the "U.S.S.R. in War." The article in full will be published in the November number of the New International. The conclusions of Comrade Trotsky have been endorsed by the plenum of the National Committee and his article is published as an elucidation and evaluation of the new events on the basis of the fundamental

On the Question of Occupied Territories

position of the party.]

As I am writing these lines the question of the territories occupied by the Red Army still remains obscure. The cable dispatches contradict each other, since both sides lie a great deal; but the actual relationships on the scene are no doubt still extremely unsettled. Most of the occupied territories will doubtlessly become part of the USSR. In what

Let us for a moment conceive that in accordance with the treaty with Hitler, the Moscow government leaves untouched the rights of private property in the occupied areas and limits itself to "control" after the Fascist pattern. Such a concession would have a deep-going principled character and might become a starting point for a new chapter in the history of the Soviet regime; and consequently a starting point for a new appraisal on our part of the nature of the

It is more likely, however, that in the territories scheduled to become a part of the USSR, the Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large land owners and statification of the means of production. This variant is most probable not because the bureaucracy remains true to the socialist program but because it is neither desirous nor capable of sharing the power, and the privileges the latter entails, with the old ruling classes in the (Continued on Page 3)

Behind the Lines

his own ruling clique. Now he

In France the most powerful

section of the Comintern was

crushed into the dust. There

even to raise his voice in pro-

test. The party that a little

more than a brief year ago

owned the allegiance of mill-

ions of militant workers has

been snuffed out by order of its

erstwhile hero, Daladier, amid

the revolutionary forces by the

Stalin's "betraval" lies not in

engulfed French capitalism

three years ago. His "betrayal"

lies not in his invasion of Po-

land or his subjection of the

Baltic States. It lies in the snuf-

fing out of the Spanish revolu-

tion for which he was, above all

joicing in this debacle of the

Comintern. In its present form

t heralds not only the disap-

ties. It heralds also the victory

Stalinists afford aid and com-

ec Roses, and all their ilk

whose only aim is to bind the

workers of all countries to the

sume the march toward a wor-

and a workers' world.

else, responsible.

By GEORGE STERN.

of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the re- olutionary forces, these parties didate of the Socialist Workers maining Communist Parties would have been swept under Party for the Bronx, declared have been threshing about like foot by the forward marching today that, "It is encouraging headless snakes. Even in the legions of workers everywhere to note that certain sections of agony of their passing, howev- in open struggle for the overer, they continue to serve not throw of capitalism. the interests of the workers of But thanks largely to the Stal- of the dangers resident in perthe world but the vilest ends of inists themselves, the workers mitting Congress and the Prescapitalist reaction.

More, almost, than any other after another to the talons of single factor in the history of Fascist reaction and finally to the past 15 years, Stalin's Com- the carnage of a new world intern has been responsible for war. Stalin bent the Interna- November can evade a forthworkers' comonwealth instead national interests of the work- time represent himself as a set lialist war. of the foul charnel house that it ers but the national interests of rious opponent of war," Shacht-

Stalin's pact with Hitler, the has cast it aside to lean for brazen rapacity of the Polish awhile on the stronger arm of invasion, the cynical yoking of Hitler. The Communist Parties, the Baltic states to the Krem-split, discredited, hated, and lin's chariot, are only the most- deserted by the masses everyrecently forged links in the where, are falling easy prey to ioning for years and with which ed by the bosses they served so he has shackled and tortured well. the international revolutionary

What a contemptible figure is cut by the Stalinist bureaucrat or so-called intellectual fellowtraveler who accepted without blinking the strangling of the revolution in China, Germany, Austria, France, and Spain who supported without flinching the murderous purge and the witchcraft trials of the old Bolsheviks-and now finds himself suddenly "betrayed" by the Stalin-supported People's Front oncilable opposition to the poppact with Hitler!

The break-up of Stalin's parties in various countries has for at least six years been one of the prime requisites for the fur
Stalin's "hetraval" lies not in

Test Case Taken To Supreme Court

WASHINGTON, D.C. - A test case based on a Worcester, Mass. anti-littering ordinance which has been used to prevent unionists from distributing organizing leaflets is being heard before the US Supreme Court.

The case grew out of the arrest of Pauline Thompson and Elmira Nichols, Worcester unionists, for passing out leaflets issued by the Worcester Industrial Union Council, CIO, protesting wage cuts and demanding more adequate relief stand-

The case went through the Massachusetts courts, including the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court which ruled against the two women

Socialist Appeal

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

LET THE PEOPLE **VOTE ON WAR**

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1939

3c a Copy

BIG BUSINESS SEES NATION HERDED INTO WORLD SLAUGHTER BY SPRING

War Stand Key Issue, Says N. Y. Candidate

Shachtman Points to Anti-War Stand Taken By Several Unions

Pointing to the action of the Rochester Central Trades and Labor Council in adopting a resolution in support of a popular referendum on war and commenting on a similar resolution passed at the recent Duluth convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, Max Ever since the consummation relentless pressure of fresh rev-Shachtman, Councilmanic Canorganized American labor are becoming increasingly aware were abandoned in one country ident to retain their present war-making powers.'

"No candidate who is up for election to the City Council this

Others Silent "Of all the candidates put

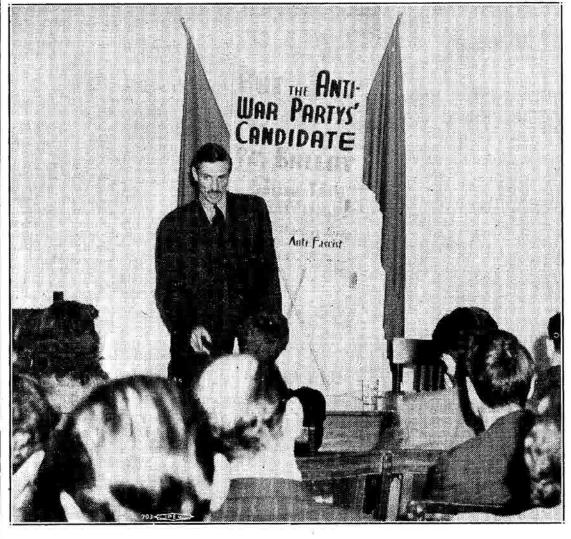
forward by the various political parties for election to the City Council," Shachtman dechain that Stalin has been fash- wartime police reaction direct- clared, "not one has to this date the popular referendum on war.'

"Indeed, these individuals have merely accepted the leads was no one to defend it, no one given by their national figures." Shachtman pointed out. "President Roosevelt and former Secretary of State Henry Stimson, speaking for the Democratic and Republican parties when the Ludlow Amendment to the Constitution was before ly his elevation to power by the zations by stating their irrectober 4.

and the effective dispersal of ular war referendum." "That nothing of a public subscribe to" the pro-war rescharacted can be expected from olution, and made provision conflict" would be made the the various Councilmanic Can-that "any party candidate who didates on this all - important fails, refuses or neglects to act the Labor party. ther successful development of his pact with Hitler but in the issue was further indicated in accordance with this decia genuine revolutionary movement in the working class. Had that break-up come under the class movement that could have class seized power and that almost placing an embargo on all questions of a controversial nature," Shachtman continued.

(Continued on Page 2)

Denounces Roosevelt War Plans



the disorientation and dispers- tional of Lenin into a pliable right statement on this para- George Lyman Paine, Manhattan candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for City Councilai of the forces that could have tool which he used without mount issue of the popular war man, addressing a campaign meeting at the headquarters of the Upper West Side Branch. transformed the world into a scruple not to serve the interreferendum and at the same Comrade Paine spoke on the main issue in the municipal campaign—the fight against imper

ALP Takes Pro-War Line Under Cover of Attack on Stalinism

Move Against Discredited Stalinists Is in Reality a Blow at Genuine Anti-War Forces Who Rely on Labor's Own Might

By FELIX MORROW

The most flagrantly pro-war stand taken by any important the cheers and applause of its erstwhile ally. Leon Blum. On-

lecided to require every ALP candidate to "re-affirm and to

"Acid Test"

Alex Rose, state secretary, "As for Mayor LaGuardia, he in announcing this decision great majority of the American has his eyes glued on a post in stated that while it applied spe- the day when the remaining deany war cabinet selected by cifically only to candidates, the mocracies on the European "resolution on the European

Putting teeth into the decision, the state body the next day

Characterizing Anglo-French imperialism as "the cause of the Western democracies that are fightin gfor the preservation of those democrtaic values and liberties which we in this country treasure so dearly". the war resolution says "the

"acid test" of membership in

(Continued on Page 2)

Somervell Announces New Wage Cut For WPA Clerks

NEW YORK CITY-In its mad drive to turn all WPA funds into war funds, the Roosevelt administration this week again cut WPA wages in this area.

The wages of 13,000 clerks have been cut \$5.20 to \$20.80 a month on direct orders from Washington, Lieut. Colonel Somervell, local WPA administrator announced.

NOTICE

An important meeting of all party and YPSL members will be held Sunday, October 15, 2 P.M. at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Admission by red card only.

Bosses Get "Inside Stuff" on Strategy Of F. D. R. War Deal

Glimpses Behind the Scenes in Washington In Special Service for Business Men Show Extent of "War Spirit" in Washington

If any reader of the Appeal still has any last lingering doubts as to the definiteness of the plans of the War Deal for swinging the nation into the imperialist slaughter abroad, he should get hold of the Kiplinger Washington Letter for the last few weeks, and in particular those for September. 16

The Kiplinger Letter is a well-known compilation of "inside stuff" on governmental activities in Washington. It is written weekly by a staff who have excellent contacts with the highest government circles. "CIRCULATED PRIVATELY TO BUSINESS MEN" reads its letterhead. Kiplinger aims to provide frank and realistic information which can be dependen on as a guide to business policy. The Letter goes out

aganda.

NEW RUSSIAN PARTY PURGE

Pravda Announcement about the current policies of Three Day's Notice

By JOHN G. WRIGHT Moscow's official orders to purge the party again are contained in an editorial of Pravda for September 12, which announces the sudden decision of the Central Committee to hold 'in the period between September 15 to October 15 the regular elections for the party organs in all the primary regional and city party organizations.

Three days' notice!

Pravda admits that the last elections to these "lower" bodies took place more than a year ago, whereas according to the recently adopted party statutes these elections are supposed to occur annually. Why then the emergency decision of the Central Committee? Stalin promised at the Eighteenth Party Congress, held only six months ago, that no more wide-scale purges would be perpetrated. The elections scheduled at short notice are obviously connected with (1) the mobilization orders to the army; (2) the invasion of Poland; (3) the new drive against the peasants, that is, enforced grain collections; (4) the impending elec-(Continued on Page 3)

the War Deal? First of all, what of the general attitude of the Administration towards American entry into the war on the side of the Allies? Kipligner answers: The war spirit in Wash-

to tens of thousands of execu-

tives and corporations who

pay well for the service. Its

data can be relied on to be ac-

curate and objective. When

hard cash is at stake, business

men want cold facts, not prop-

What, then, does the Kip-

linger agency have to say

ington, within EXECUTIVE branch of govt., is greater than throughout the country, especially the interior. By this is meant the possibility that U.S. may get into the war. There are complex ifs-&-ands . . . prospects are far from clear . . . but. . .

The point is this: Within our officialdom, not for quotation, there's VERY MUCH more opinion that the U.S. MAY be drawn into the war than appears in formal official utterances as published. In VERY HIGH official cir-

cles (not the slightest doubt of it) there is solemn talk of the "possibility" of U.S. in war "by January"

Our government, particularly at the TOP, is acting on the theory that the U.S. "may" be at war "sooner than the general public suspects". That's not precise, but that's the way it is put. . . it shows the spirit.

It is our opinion that the Executive branch of our government is putting up a front

No, there is no cause for relocing in this debacle of the THE DECLARATION OF PANAMA'--ROOSEVELT DRIVES TO WAR

The energetic young Sumner Welles, under-secretary of The zone thus includes all of the Caribbean, the islands both bean. In this way it is clearly easier to spot the ships than in fort to the Leon Blums, the Al- of a rumber of them headed by Chile, will go down in history at sea. as a very remarkable document indeed.

The Declaration contains many pious references to the solidarity of the American nations, their neutrality, their resolve war chariots of their masters. to aid each other and to keep out of the war. But its key section To us they leave the ruins from is of course that which defines the "neutral zone" around the from attack by enemy powers—that is, by Germany. which we must try to begin re- Americas.

der a stainless banner will re- Extent of "Neutral" Zone

This neutral zone extends from 300 to 600 miles into the ocean kers' peace, workers' security, from the shores of America, from the latitude of Canada's Central and Northern South American ports, in among the nar- blockade of the Channel, the North Sea and the Baltic. southern border to the last tip of South America.

pearance of the Stalinist par- State, is now on his way back to Washington from Panama with west and east of South America, and even Bermuda. Within the vast reaches of the open sea. But, by the terms of the deca juicy present for the Sixty Families in his pocket. The "Dec- this area all "belligerent acts" are to be forbidden. This means of reaction. In their passing the laration of Panama", which Welles drove through the conference that within this area no ships are to be molested by the warring of the twenty-one American "republics", against the opposition powers, and no military acts of any kind carried out on land or

Let us see what is involved here:

The zone includes more than a hundred territories and possessions of European powers, chiefly British and French and a few Dutch. All of these are therefore declared to be immune

If submarines or raiding cruisers wish to attack ships transchance is to lie in wait near the port, or, in the case of the since they would still have to pass the almost insurmountable row channels through which the ships must pass in the Carib-

laration, ships cannot be attacked within the neutral zone. War Aim of U.S. Imperialism

Here, too, the declaration is aimed primarily at Germany, and in several senses. Ships with goods for Britain or France would sail with safety to the edge of the neutral zone, half way across the Atlantic, and would there be taken up by convoys. The British squadrons now compelled to do duty within the area would be released for work elsewhere. The U.S. navy would be, in effect, convoy to French and British ships to the edge of the zone. Ships for Germany, on the other hand, would not appreciporting goods from an American port to Europe, their best ably benefit, since Germany has no large surface fleet, and

(Continued on Page 2)

By B. J. WIDICK -

An inspiration for the Ameriin the Australian labor move- ma Declaration. ment recently put up against national registration of man-Policeman of the Americas power as a prelude to conscrip-

the Australian federal governfor taking a national register of tinents of the New World. man-power for war purposes, compulsory, but otherwise similar to that recently taken in Great Britain, which was a forerunner to conscription in that country.

"The National Register Act was one of the four measures passed during the last session of the federal parliament for be allowed to operate within its precinct. the purposes of codifying the steps necessary to enable Ausfor British imperialism in the southern Pacific.

Boycott Slogan

"Progressive unionists immediately coined the slogan Boycott the National Register! The whole tradition and experience of the union movement pointed to such a slogan as being most suitable. Back in 1916 a similar register, called the War Census Act, was boycotted quently had to be shelved by dent Flaxer.

paign remained solid, over 1,- interpreters of the whirling aments appropriations, and by 000.000 would refuse to register. Stalinist line. However, the cowardly labor The delegates were subjected a people's referendum on war.' ponse of the rank and file.

they had voted to support.

But the powerful Melbourne and for considering at all times Labor Council refused to accept the interests of this great city. their advice. The rank and file, of course, was thrown into confusion by the shifting position ing to the delegates at the generous income voted to him a vote of 605 to 94. of the union leaders of the Council of Trades Unions.

Stalinist Stand

to avoid 'isolation' and to preserve 'unity' (i. e. unity with ployees. The Mayor, you see Only paid officials and organthe reformist fakers) there hasn't any money—he can't tax izers were granted permission must be no 'individual opposi- anyone; since the union was to speak during the discussion fact that Michael J. Quill, head tion' to the boycott.

er', stood firmly. Besides issu- would have to fire a sufficient ing thousands of leaflets advo- number of workers to compening thousands of leaflets advocating a continuance of the boycott, they publicly burnt a heap

The workers to compensate for the loss in the treasury.

A clause inserted at the beleast of the great John L. Lewis hest of of forms in the Domain. (Burn- the delegates that no organiza- SCMWA to engage in strikes. ing forms to show hostility is a tion would save "an incompe- Sam Sarkin, business manager traditional form of protest in Australia, dating back to the Eureka Stockade struggle in Eureka Stockade struggle in Lent worker," and just to im- of Local 1, joined the craven that the was chorus of the voices of the Carpart of the struggle in the face of every attempt of the San Diego Stalinists to see the struggle in the San Diego Stalinists to see the struggle in the san Diego Stalinists to see the san Diego Stalinists to see the struggle in the san Diego Stalinists to see the struggle in the san Diego Stalinists to see the san Diego Stalini traditional form of protest in tent worker," and just to im- of Local 1, joined the craven

ty seemed to be at variance ces. with the leadership.

was supportd by between 75,000 Transport Workers President, clause, pointing out that its adto 100,000, we consider the fig- brazenly, as if nothing has hap- option meant "endorsement of ure to be nearer 200,000." This pened in the last weeks, de- the strike-breaking tactics of information comes from a very nounced imperialist war, excor- Roosevelt, Murphy, and Hodreliable correspondent from lated the "alleged defocracies," son. Sydney, Australia, in a letter called on the workers (of Eng- In order to forewarn any indated in August.

ed themselves to fight this is- transigently against American policies of the leaders, a proviagainst the Stalinists are today was not possible sue to the end. While there is participation in the war. Mr. sion was injected into the Con- hopelessly discredited in the any considerable body among Quill, at a rather late date, re- stitution to expel anyone who labor movement, their forces war, despite the threat of three "Chamberlain is crying so union. months in gaol and a fifty much for democracy, let him pound fine, the progressives first free the colonies, let him feel they must stand at the free India." head of them," our correspondent adds.

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Roosevelt Drives to War

"The Declaration of Panama"

Py JAMES, BURNHAM

(Continued from Page 1) Empire nor to bring aid and succor to the "democracies", but can union movement is the to gain decisive world dominance for United States financestruggle that the progressives capital against all rivals. This is openly indicated by the Pana-

Washington has not let the grass grow under its feet. It has utilized the "distraction" of the very first stage of the war to "At the beginning of this year announce, through the Panama Declaration, that all of Latin America is its province. It proposes to monopolize economic, ment began active preparations social, and, indirectly at least, political control of the two con-

Who is going to enforce the declaration? Not Ecuador or Bolivia or Columbia or Nicaragua, naturally, but the United the American nations. In the old days, the United States might States fleet and air forces. Already U. S. bombers are patrolling have indulged the hypocritical luxury of allowing this committee Samuel Gompers, his predecesthe Caribbean, along with the Atlantic squadron of the fleet. Re- to have its headquarters at Lima or Rio or even Panama, to sor, did during the first world serve destroyers are being re-conditioned by the scores to go on active duty.

Putting the declaration into effect will not be so simple as But it is of the greatest importance to understand that, though Sumner Welles perhaps imagined. The belligerent powers must the declaration, like so many other of Roosevelt's acts, is pri- first "accept" it; and, when they do in words (as they doubtless marily an intervention against Germany, it is also directed will), it must then be seen whether, under the pressure of their against Britain. We cannot repeat too often that the war aim of necessities as belligerents, they do so in fact. And what will hap-United States imperialism is not to bail out the declining British pen to warships which, when pursued by the enemy, cross the line into the zone where belligerent acts are prohibited? And what about the many German ships now in American harbors? Will they be free to carry on coastal trade among American ports, guaranteed against molestation by the British?

Washington Holds Whip-Hand

Such difficulties, by the nature of the case, are unavoidable. They will be settled not by legalisms or logic but in subordination to the main direction of U.S. policy. The present declaration is designed to carry out, crudely and brutally, one essential step in this policy: to establish unchallenged dominion over Latin America.

The conference in its concluding session set up an executive committee to continue the task of "coordinating" the efforts of dent William Green helped beshow that everyone was "equal" in the new world. But you have war, to act fast in war-time. So the committee will be located where United States imperialism will be the policeman of the it belongs-in Washington. Then it won't be necessary to tele-Americas; and, by the terms of the declaration, no one else will phone or cable to give orders. The boss can call the boys into the office, and no time wasted.

tralia to be used as an arsenal and reservoir for man - power State Workers Convention Produces Little of Value

Civil Service Union Treated to Heavy Dose Of Praise for New York's Little Flower

NEW YORK-The delegates sire for American neutrality in by 200,000 despite heavy penal- at the first national convention the war. Milton D. Levine, a ties. There was also a similar of the State, County and Munic-delegate from Local 45, exexperience fairly recently with ipal Workers of America man-pressed skepticism at the sudthe National Insurance swindle, aged, between speeches, to adden transformation in the offiwhich was boycotted by hun-lopt a constitution and vote a cial peace policy of the union dreds of thousands, and conse-|\$5,000 salary to National Presi-|"leaders." Levine urged the convention to demonstrate its

Speakers during four long "sincerity to work for peace by taken up very widely, and it enly divided between apologists schemes, the M.Day plans, the effort "directed toward keepbecame clear that if the cam- for the LaGuardia machine and War Resources Board, the arming America out of war.'

ers became terrified at the res- glib lips of their bosses, Bor- to "discuss specific proposals" ough President Isaacs, Civil and to allow John L. Lewis to such a stand. They were im- in by the Stalin-Hitler apolo- go into certain odious practices "Forgan Smith, labor prem- Service Commissioner Paul "work out the actual steps for ier of Queenland, said that Kern, and Welfare Commis- maintaining peace." mass law breaking would lead sioner Hodson, who chanted the The delegates accepted a contion against Stalin's cynical alately lies when it pretends that The question of having the

Chided by Mayor

with a statement that in order en the pretense of a fight for low even one delegate favoring calling their resolution an "anmost unreasonable in expecting on per capita taxes. "The labor militants, howev. the increases, Mr. LaGuardia "For the first time the rank money and time by not present- Sarkin drooled, "You cannot

Phony Péace Stand

"While even labor leaders James Carey, secretary of Progressive delegates de-have admitted that the boycott the CIO, and Michael Quill, nounced this strike - breaking land, France and Germany) to dependent member in the union

> A resolution was passed embodying the Quill-Stalinist de-

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ALP ADOPTS PRO-WAR LINE

(Continued from Page 1) aggression of Hitlerism.

Follow Roosevelt

In line with this pro-Ally conception of the war, the resolution endorses Roosevelt's prothe embargo and supplying Anglo-French imperialism with munitions. Following Roosevelt, too, this pro-war move is hypo-

In committing the ALP to declaring yourselves in favor of this brazenly pro-war stand, the ALP bureaucrats pursued measurably aided in this strat- gies. egy by the universal indigna- The ALP resolution deliber- union leaders.

applesauce cart by his undue the convention with an iron un-press is giving effective aid to world. frankness. His Honor, the May-democratic hand. On the ques- this strategy of the ALP lead-"The Stalinists then came out or, castigated the Union for ev- tion of dues he refused to al- ers, praising their action and

of the Transport Workers Union, must adhere to the res-A clause inserted at the be-olution, if he is to run for resides an imperialist war. If otage the move. and file of the Communist Par- ing all their "trivial grievan- strike against the government, Laidler and Crosswaith adhere

worthless.

now! Precisely because of the locality. impotence of the Stalinists, the

stage of war preparations.

rected primarily against the ue. Stalinists. It is directed against

WAR IS KEY

strike and picket."

lic School 67, 179th Street and sonnel. Mohegan Avenue in the Bronx. Admission is free.

'Communist' all opposition to any more than they are taken Justice announced it would also 33rd

unanimously reelected presi- ter a series of speeches which of the warring camps, who op- eration. dent in a no-contest, endeavor- made the issue one between pose both, who declare that Action on the whole problem

(Continued from Page 1) President Roosevelt," Shachtpeople have looked forward to man stated. "It will be an in- ity was well received by the continent would find the structive lesson to organized la- convention partly because it strength to resist the brazen bor in this city, as well as was felt that Roosevelt is now throughout the country," becoming pro-AFL and because Shachtman warned, "when this the organizational gains of the self-avowed friend of labor as- AFL unions in the last year put sumes a post in a national war them in a better position on the cabinet that is entrusted with unity question. the task of implementing the

ISSUE IN N. Y. COUNCIL ELECTION

A.F.L. COMMITS FATAL ERROR IN WAR STAND

Fall in with President's Plan to Get People into the War

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
CINCINNATI, Ohio — The American Federation of Labor convention here repeated its tragic mistake of 1917 by going on record to support the Roosevelt administration in its prowar policies.

In lining up the vast organization of the AFL behind Roosevelt's drive to involve America in the second world war, Presitray the American workers as

Catering to F. D. R. The Roosevelt administra tion's pro-war policies were en dorsed in a nation-wide address that Green made from the convention, and by the passage of a resolution to that effect. The bureaucratic AFL executive council hoped to improve its relations with Roosevelt in a struggle against the CIO by

this betrayal. This settled the main question before the convention.

Roosevelt's plea for labor un-

In view of the better relationposed legislation for repealing Industrial Mobilization Plan, ship between the Roosevelt adwhose execution means an end ministration and the AFL, the convention modulated its pre-Shachtman will address a vious attacks on the Wagner e federal government.

Speakers during four tong of posing Roosevelt's war critically characterized as an day of banal oratory, were every opposing Roosevelt's war critically characterized as an day evening, October 9, at Pubmore on a change in its perpublic election rally this Mon- Act, and now is concentrating

The Building Trades unions are urging the convention to help them prevent Federal in-However, the cowardly labor and trade union reformist lead- to paeans of praise from the The union bureaucrats declined the strategy of identifying as perialist apologies for the war dustry since the Department of vestigation of the building indby some of the building trades

to fascism! Under the pressure giories of living under and wor-stitution providing for initiation liance with Hitler and the Comof the buraucrats the Austral- king for the LaGuardia "labor fees, high dues, high salaries munist party's attempts to justhis war — the "democratic" supporting the Minneapolis ian Council of Trades Unions reform government." The Un- for officers and which grants tify the Stalin-Hitler invasion and the "totalitarian." There is workers against the frame-up finally lifted the boycott which ion was extolled for having re- unlimited authority to the Pres- of Poland. A city conference of a third camp — the anti-war organized by Attorney General HARLEM linquished the strike weapon ident and his ruling clique. ALP functionaries Wednesday workers in this and every other Frank Murphy and the G-men President Flaxer, who was night adopted the resolution af- country who stand with neither has not yet come up for consid-

Chief Boss LaGuardia, speak-ed to prove he was worth the Stalinists and non-Stalinists, by there is a third alternative: the of WPA and the drastic wage fight against both warring cuts ordered last summer by World's Fair, almost upset the by his faithful adherents, ruled The New York capitalist camps, the fight for a workers' Roosevelt is expected at the convention

Alliance Local Balks Stalin Much is being made of the Clique, Refuses to Disband

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) ists. Frank Crosswaith and the National Workers Alliance, lowed was the old squeeze play, Harry W. Laidler, who are set up an independent "Unem- isolating one member after ana real workingman's mayor, eys, hodsons, etc., who deplore opposing the war as on both the San Diego Stalinists to sab- handed methods grew until,

resolution or their anti-war pro- struggle but apparently due to board. Result: whitewash.

The Stalin Plan the working class prepared to membered England's colonial foments, leads or participates dwindling. The best proof of in plan of disorganization was completely disorganized. this was the miserable showing clamped on the Workers Allibute and they made at the ALP city conditions that an ew organized with the news that a new organized with the new organized wi take a militant stand against empire and asserted that if in a dual movement within the this was the miserable showing clamped on the Workers Alli- But Monday Sept. 18, the Esman, Irving Potash of the fur- vertised they were organized nization was being established. riers union, made his main ar- to fight and were winning their gument on the fact that the fights. Their little bi-monthly ALP had never taken a position mimeographed paper enjoyed on international events before, national fame and was feared and therefore should not do so by every baby-starver in the now! Precisely because of the locality.

Workers and Peasants Party) against that danger and will will be a solution of the proletariat and began the usual charges of locality.

Then the Stalin plan was ALP bureaucrats skilfully util- launched. An obedient stooge on the loyalty and dues pay- workers explained this but the ized them as the peg on which was put in as editor of the pato hang their pro-war stand. per to replace the staff of mem-Without the Stalinists as scape-goats, it is doubtful if the ALP bers. The paper was soon a throw-away supporting which-Wtihout the Stalinists as scape- bers. The paper was soon a officials would have been as ever politician the Stalinites debrazen in their stand at this cided upon, and the issues be- Stalinists were not making any diting committee will release ditional" support to General Alapart. The bi-monthly is now issued about every two or three the workers who they thought finished with them. The ALP resolution is not di- months and has almost no val- were leading the rebellion.

taken in by the democratic-im- sue not first approved by the ing committee. The Escondido ganization in San Diego.

bureaucracy. Another was dis-SAN DIEGO, Calif., Sept 22. solved for not buying leaflets -The Workers Alliance of Es- offered for sale by the National

when four locals remained in through the newspapers, sever- Oriental Boro of the Fourth In-Up to this time the Stalinists July, the county president was al declarations which in practernational. strike against the government, to the resolution, they should had succeeded in "building" brought to trial for "dictatorial to the resolution, they should the San Diego Workers Alliance actions." However the trial was be thrown out of the Socialist the San Diego Workers Alliance actions." However the trial was Party, or that party is branded from ten militant locals to one successfully handled by pack-Party, or that party is branded militant local at Escondido, and ing with CP members. Many of been considered both nationally which brings him to offer his one Stalinist local in San Dithese CPers' books had been as and internationally up until a support to the candidacy of cannot stratdle on this issue. viously been destroyed over a and were suddenly paid up and Either they denounce the ALP two-year period with very little the members were on the trial

fessions are exposed as utterly this local being 40 miles from One of the remaining locals cal had been re-established. About two years ago the Stal- The unemployed were almost

Hurl Slander

er." They claimed a mortgage ployed because grievances had gan coming farther and farther effort to repair the breach but

CHICAGD, NEW YORK DO WEEK'S BEST JOB Chicago, Newark and New San Francisco has

Flint

Lynn

Chicago

Detroit

Ithaca

Quakertown

Olivia, Minn.

St. Louis

week is as follows: New newal Newark 4 New Hampshire . . . San Francisco New York City ... 5 Minneapolis Houston

stands.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

York did the best job in a com- stressing in the recent period raratively weak week in the open air meetings as the best matter of new and renewal medium for sale of the Socialsubscriptions. 25 new subscrip- ist Appeal. Meetings have been tions and 15 renewals were ob- held five times a week, at tained. Local Chicago sent in 6 which speakers plug the Press new subscriptions. New York 5 and supporting comrades sell. and Newark 4. Of renewals The St. Louis area continues New York obtained 6 and De- to do a very able job of distribtroit 3. The record for the past ution of the Press, as well as in following through all sub-

scription prospects. Local Detroit has increased its bundle order to 100 and has been stressing house to house distribution in the workers'

Los Angeles has started back on the road to increases by adding 50 copies to its regular bundle order, or a total now of 150.

It still has to regain its previous quota of 200 per issue. Several locals owe unusually large bills both to the Socialist Appeal and the New Interna-

tional. This is official warning that, unless substantial pay-In Rochester, New York add- ments are forthcoming on these ed efforts are now being made bills within the next days, the to place the papers on news- paper and magazine will be sent to them C.O.D.

SOCIALIST APPEAL & NEW INTERNATIONA Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands

LOWER EAST SIDE

4 Catherine Slip; Kand Stationery,
40 Monroe St.; Wmsburg Bridge, Local Downstairs Track No. 2; Delancev and Essex St., NE; Houston and
Clinton St., SW; Fift hSt. and Ave.
B., NW; Tenth St. and Ave. B., SE;
10th St., Between A and B; Ave. D.
and 9th St., SE; 13th St., and Ave.
A., NE; 2nd Ave. and 2nd Et., SW;
2nd Ave. and 4th St., NW; 2nd Ave.
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University Pl., & 12th St., NE; Labor Bookshop, 116 University Pl.;
14th St. & Univer. Pl., SE; 14th St.
& 8th Ave., NW; 14th St. & Broadway, SE; 14th St. & Broadway, SE; 14th St. & BroadAve., SE; 14th St. & BroadAve., SE; 14th St. & 3rd Ave.
SE; 14th St., opp, Jefferson Theatre
& 2nd Ave., NW; 17th St. & 3rd Ave.
SE; 14th St., opp, Jefferson Theatre
& 2nd Ave., NW; 12th St. & 3rd
Ave., SE; Beiderman's, 184 Second
Ave., SE; Beiderman's, 184 Second
Ave., SE; Beiderman's, 184 Second
Ave., SE; 2nd Ave. & 7th St., SE;
Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
SW; Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
SW; Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
SW; Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
SW; Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
SW; Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
SW; Waverly Pl. & Rdway, NW; 51 University Pl., bet. 9 & 10 St.; 42nd St.
SW; Sth St. & 6th Ave., SE; 3th St. & 6th Ave.
SW; 28nd St. & Sth Ave. SW; 28nd St. & 6th Ave.
SW; 28nd St. & Sth Ave.
SW; 28nd St. & S

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Utrecht Ave.; 4003 Ninth Ave.

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NW: Levine, 11°th St. & Lenox Ave.,
NW: Levine, 11°th St. & Lenox Ave.,
NW: 116th St. & 8th Ave., SE:
Green, 27 W. 120th St., near Lenox
Ave., SE: Rown, 127th St. & Lenox
Ave., SE: King, 135th St. & Lenox
Ave., SE: Thompson, 135th St. & Lenox
Sth Ave., SE: Thompson, 135th St. & 8th
Ave., SE: Howard, 145th St. & 8th
Ave., SE: Royn, 125th St. & 8th
Ave., SE: Howard, 145th St. & 8th
Ave., SE: Howard, 145th St. & 8th
Ave., SE: Royn, 125th St. & 8th
Ave., SE: Howard, 145th St. & 8th
Ave., SE: Howard, 145th St. & 8th
Ave., SE: Royn, NE.

INTERNATIONALISTS ON RIVERA

onalista (Internationalist Work- of General Francisco J. Mugiers Party), Mexican Section of ca, Rivera left the ranks of the the Fourth International, has Fourth International and passpublished the following state- ed into the camp of the radical ment with respect to the ac- petty-bourgeoisie and the left tivities of Diego Rivera, who bourgeoisie. The Mexican Sec-

Rivera has made public, approved by the Pan-American presidential candidacy of General Almazan. Since Rivera has a nother political pirouette Fourth International declares:

Disowned Marxism

ments of the Escondido unemwere simply trying to discredit the books as soon as they have mazan — can Rivera be so

However, not one member of Escondido have asked some ex- him, or that he would ever ful-With approval from the Na- the new organization wavered. Workers Alliance members to fill it if he got to the presidenthe anti-war forces. It is di-rected against the tens of thou-sands of class-conscious work-ers in New York who are not

The Partido Obrero Internaci- which supported the candidacy was formerly connected with it: tion declared him to be outside "In the past few days Diego its ranks, and this decision was

Step to the Right

"Now Diego Rivera makes Likewise the Lovestoneites ego. The eight others had pre-Likewise the Lovestoneites ego. The eight others had pre-viously been destroyed over a and were suddenly paid up and internationally up until a support to the candidacy of few months ago as a Trotsky-General Juan Andreu Almazan. ist, the Mexican Section of the With this action he takes one more step to the right and goes "For several months, Diego degeneration. The Mexican Secfar down the road of political San Diego and not so readily was dissolved by ballot the fol-Rivera has had no relations tion holds its own position on Attempts to condone the ALP accessible to the Stalinist lowing week and another the with the Fourth International the electoral campaign. At the ated in August.

"Labor militants have pledg"Labor militants have pledgally. The afore-mentioned ex- existing candidacies and we comrade terminated his mem-work for the creation of a Revbership in the Fourth Interna- olutionary Workers Party which tional as the direct consequence will be able to confront the canbreak. In disowning revolution- ary program and candidate. In ary Marxism, that is, so-called case of the danger of a military Trotskyism, and converting or native fascist dictatorship The bureaucrats appeared at himself into the leader of the our organization is for the unithe Escondido meeting Sept. 22 "P.R.O.C." (Revolutionary ty of action of the proletariat know how to occupy its post in the vanguard of the struggle.

"Membership in the Fourth "blind" as to even think that Almazan will accept the "min-The Unemployed Workers of imum" program that he offers

NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON,

Dr. Charles Petioni is a Negro of West Indian origin who is an enemy of British imperialism. Many years ago, in the island of Trinidad, his opposition to colonial tyranny led him to leave the island. Today in Harlem he is president of the Caribbean Union and is still opposed to Britain. In an interview published but rather by the fact that the Bonapartist dictatorship in the Daily Worker of Oct. 5, 1939, he says:

"India, Africa, and the West Indies have no sympathy for Chamberlain. They will fight on the side of Britain only when forced to do so.'

So far, so good. Dr. Petioni's statement represents what w called last week in this column the powerful revolutionary in stinct of the Negro masses. But in politics instinct is not enough You must have political clarity. And the need for it is alarmingly, illustrated by Dr. Petioni's further statement.

The imperialist countries are on the run. Russia is doing the only logical thing that could be done. When the little buffer states were set up in the Balkans during the last war, they were intended for future powder kegs to be set off the moment the big imperialist countries were ready to mop up with Russia. Now that Russia has removed these explosive the situation is much activity on the part of the masses in the new territories—

A Trap to Be Guarded Against

Thus from his healthy opposition to seeing colonials fight in a war which is not theirs, Dr. Petioni takes a further step and finds himself in the Stalinist camp. The Stalinists say today (Oct. 6: we have to mark the date because nobody, not even they, know what they will be saying tomorrow) that the war is an imperialist war. Dr. Petioni says that the war is an imperialist war. Therefore, say the Stalinists to Dr. Petioni, let us work together against the war and for the emancipation of alliance with Hitler, the Kremlin for a long time deceived the colonial peoples, etc.

A lie that is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies. The Stalinist policy is in reality a trap to catch the Negroes and make them serve the basest interests of world reaction.

the peak of the five-year campaign for a war of the "democracies" against the fascist aggressors. Said James Ford in his book "The Negro and the Democratic Front", "My earnest opinion is that we would make a tragic error in giving our support to any member of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance." Even the world proletariat, the raising of their capacity for deafter the pact was signed, Ford continued to agitate for America's entry into the war. In the Amsterdam News of Sept. 23, appears a letter by Ford dated Aug. 31. In it he says:

"The Soviet Union pursues the policy of peaceful intercourse with all nations and is a threat to no nation, ready at all times to enter into such alliances with the democratic powers to assure

"We see it as our duty as Americans to support this policy with all our power, to enlist the support of our government for cooperative action against acts of aggression and to implement this policy by strengthening the democratic rights of the people in this hour of crisis.'

Swallowing a Bitter Pill

The strengthening of democratic rights is the sugar. The pill is to enlist the support of our government for cooperative action against acts of aggression." That meant war. The whole Stalinist policy for the previous five years was an incitement to war by the "democracies" and the Soviet Union to stop Hitler.

After Ford's letter, however, the international situation de veloped rapidly. Russia invaded Poland and shared in its partition. As time went on, it became clear that Stalin was tying the future of Russia to the victory of Hitler. If America went in to the war to fight for "democracy" it meant that a very powerful country would now be allied to the enemies of Hitler, Stalin's ally. The victory of Hitler, or if not his victory, at least the saving of Hitler from defeat, has become at the present stage, a vital necessity for Stalin and Stalinist policies. Immediately the Stalinists discover that the war is an imperialist war they begin to shed tears for the sufferings of the colonials. They raise the slogan of opposition to the war.

It sounds allright until you realize that what they want is to save Hitler, Stalin's ally, from defeat.

Is Dr. Petioni prepared to endorse this cynical use of the Negro revolutionary masses as a mere pawn in Stalinist foreign policy? Or is he merely caught by the superficial resemblance of the Stalinist policy to his own hatred of British imperialism?

And if he has been trapped, what is the reason for it? It is because he has not taken his own opposition to British imperialism to its logical conclusion. Opposition to British imperialism can not stay isolated. You must be opposed to French imper- present "democratic" form of ialism also, to German imperialism, and to American. You government? Kiplinger answers must maintain an undeviating opposition to all of them. You -in one blunt sentence: must call on Negroes everywhere at all times, to use all their efforts to fight against imperialism in war as well as in peace. a complete dictatorship, of Once you grasp this, you are in a position where you will not allow yourself to be used by one imperialism against the other. And you are in a position also to see the true significance of the bargo affect business? Kip-Stalinist change from war for democracy in August to opposi- linger answers: tion to war for democracy in September. To this very moment the Stalinists do not call on all the workers, Negroes and all, wherever they are, to prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of socialism and the independence of the colonial peoples.

The Road of Revolutionary Struggle

They don't because if the international position should change as it well may, you will find the Stalinists, with that peculiar brazeness which distinguishes them, solemnly telling 150,000,000 all over the world that it is their business now to fight for British, French, and American "democracy" against fascist aggression. These treacherous scoundrels have done it before and will do it again. All this the Socialist Workers Party has explained in a pamphlet "Why the Negro Should Oppose the War" which will be on the market in a few days. The Caribbean Union will hold a mass meeting on Oct. 19 at St. James Presbyterian Church (St. Nicholas Ave. and 141 St.) where Harlem Negroes will discuss their attitude toward the war. Negroes should get hold of this pamphlet and current copies of the Socialist Appeal. There they will see not only an analysis of the war but a program of action which will show them the road of revolutionary struggle and make them immune from capitalist propaganda and Stalinist trickery.

Save the Bulletin of The Russian Opposition

letin is in grave danger! Pub- this time when it can play such lished in France for the past an important role. few years, the war crisis and But we cannot do this alone. published in the United States immediate donation. or cease entirely after ten Make your check or money years of life through periods of order payable to the:

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severe censorship there have We need your help. We ask you forced it to again seek a new to make the regular appearhaven. If the Bulletin is to con- ance of the Bulletin possible by tinue in existence, it must be making a monthly pledge or an

> Russian Opposition Bulletin 116 University Place

Read The New International

New York, N. Y.

The Soviet Union in the War Branded"-karl marx.

(Continued from Page 1)

occupied territories. Here an analogy literally offers itself. The first Bonaparte halted the revolution by means of a military dictatorship. However, when the French troops invaded Poland, Napoleon signed a decree: "Serfdom is abolished." This measure was dictated not by Napoleon's sympathies for the peasants, nor by democratic principles based itself not on feudal, but on bourgeois property relations. Inasmuch as Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship bases itself not on private but on state property, the invasion of Poland by the Red Army should, in the nature of the case, result in the abolition of private capitalist property, so as thus to bring the regime of the occupied territories into accord with the regime of the USSR.

This measure, revolutionary in character-"the exprooriation of the expropriators"—is in this case achieved in a military-bureaucratic fashion. The appeal to independent and without such an appeal, even if worded with extreme caution it is impossible to constitute a new regime-will on the morrow undoubtedly be suppressed by ruthless police measures in order to assure the preponderance of the bureaucracy over the awakened revolutionary masses. This is one side of the matter. But there is another. In order to gain the possibility of occupying Poland through a military and continues to deceive the masses in the USSR and in the whole world, and has thereby brought about the complete disorganization of the ranks of its own Communist When the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, the Stalinists were at International. The primary political criterion for us is not the transformation of property relations in this or another area, however important these may be in themselves, but rather the change in the consciousness and organization of fending former conquests and accomplishing new ones. From this one, and the only decisive standpoint, the politics of Moscow, taken as a whole, wholly retain their reactionary character and remain the chief obstacle on the road to the world revolution.

> Our general appraisal of the Kremlin and Comintern does not, however, alter the particular fact that the statification of property in the occupied territories is in itself a progressive measure. We must recognize this openly. Were Hitler on the morrow to throw his armies against the East, to restore "law and order" in Eastern Poland, the advanced workers would defend against Hitler these new property forms established by the Bonapartist Soviet bureaucracy.

Our Course Remains Unchanged

The statification of the means of production is, as we said, a progressive measure. But its progressiveness is relative; its specific weight depends on the sum-total of all the other factors. Thus, we must first and foremost establish that the extension of the territory dominated by bureaucratic autocracy and parasitism, cloaked by "socialist" measures, can augment the prestige of the Kremlin, engender illusions concerning the possibility of replacing the proletarian revolution by bureaucratic maneuvers and so on. This evil by far outweighs the progressive content of Stalinist reforms in Poland. In order that nationalized property in the occupied areas, as well as in the USSR, become a basis for genuinely progressive, that is to say socialist development, it is necessary to overthrow the Moscow bureaucracy. Our program retains, consequently, all its validity. The events did not catch us unaware. It is necessary only to interpret them correctly. It is necessary to understand clearly that sharp contradictions are contained in the character of the USSR and in her international position. It is impossible to free oneself from those contradictions with the help of terminological sleight-of-hand ("Workers State"-"Not Workers State.") We must take the facts as they are. We must build our policy by taking as our starting point the real relations and contradictions.

We do not entrust the Kremlin with any historic mission. We were and remain against seizures of new territories by the Kremlin. We are for the independence of Soviet Ukraine, and if the Byelo Russians themselves wishof Soviet Byelo Russia. At the same time in the sections of Poland occupied by the Red Army, partisans of the Fourth International must play the most decisive part in expropriating the landlords and capitalists, in dividing the land among the peasants, in creating Soviets and Workers' Committees, etc. While so doing, they must preserve their poltical independence, they must fight during elections to the Soviets and factory committees for the complete independence of the latter from the bureaucracy, and they must conduct revolutionary propaganda in the spirit of distrust towards the Kremlin and its local agencies.

But let us suppose that Hitler turns his weapons against the East and invades territories occupied by the Red Army. Under these conditions, partisans of the Fourth International, without changing in any way their attitude toward the Kremlin oligarchy, will advance to the forefront as the most urgent task of the hour, the military resistance against Hitler. The workers will say, "We cannot cede to Hitler the overthrowing of Stalin; that is our own task". During the military struggle against Hitler, the revolutionary

workers will strive to enter into the closest possible comradely relations with the rank-and-file fighters of the Red Army. While arms in hand they deal blows to Hitler, the Bolshevik-Leninists will at the same time conduct revolutionary propaganda against Stalin preparing his overthrow at the next and perhaps very near stage.

By Leon Trotsky

This kind of "defense of the USSR" will naturally differ, as heaven does from earth, from the official defense which is now being conducted under the slogan: "For the Fatherland! For Stalin!" Our defense of the USSR is carried on under the slogan: "For Socialism! For the world revolution! Against Stalin!" In order that these two varieties of "Defense of the USSR" do not become confused in the consciousness of the masses it is necessary to know clearly and precisely how to formulate slogans which correspond to the concrete situation. But above all it is necessary to establish clearly just what we are defending, just how we are defending it, against whom we are defending it. Our slogans will create confusion among the masses only if we ourselves do not have a clear conception of our tasks.

CONCLUSIONS:

We have no reasons whatsoever at the present time for changing our principled position in relation to the USSR.

War accelerates the various political processes. It may accelerate the process of the revolutionary regeneration of the USSR. But it may also accelerate the process of its final degeneration. For this reason it is indispensable that we follow painstakingly and without prejudice these modifications which war introduces into the internal life of the USSR so that we may give ourselves a timely accounting of them.

Our tasks in the occupied territories remain basically the same as in the USSR itself; but inasmuch as they are posed by events in an extremely sharp form, they enable us all the better to clarify our general tasks in relation to the USSR.

We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending in the USSR, (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and their Comintern). We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production of the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution.

September 25, 1939.

Big Business Sees Nation Herded Into The War by Spring

(Continued from Page 1) of intention-talk about staying out of the war, but is actually

Sorry if this shocks you, but it seems to us to be the fact. What will M-Day do to our

If we get into war, it means course.

How will repeal of the em-

"Business effect of cash.&. carry is bound to be stimulating. It means orders and jobs. And that's an influence FOR repeal of embargo, despite pious talk about "principle" or shuddery talk about "blood money". Of course, materialistic motives will be denied and deplored.

Has American business any thing to gain by prolonging the war as long as possible? Kiplinger answers:

Further business gains for 1940 depend largely on the size of war orders, and on continuation of the war itself. If war goes on, as is expected, most estimates are that U.S. production for 1940 will be the highest of any year since 1929. How much higher will prices

inger answers: The Bureau of Labor Statistics wholesale price index recently was around 75. At

present it is around 80, and the average is still rising. Somewhere between 5 and 10 points gain in the next 6 months is expected by most govt. price experts. This is regarded as "moderate".

And what will the War Deal do about price rises? Kiplinger answers

Administration wants higher farm prices, and recognizes fact that many other raw materials are entitled to MODERATE price increases.

So the fears of higher prices are largely crocodile fears. Is the War Deal right now engaged in preparations for going war? Kiplinger answers: War taxes, if U.S. enters war: Studies are being quiet-

Draft plans are nearing completion: Aim is complete selective service, with voluneers discouraged. Objective is, "Every man in his most useful place, civil or military.

Register all men 18-to-45, make them subject to military orders. Take those from 21-to-30 for

ACTIVE military service. . first. WPA workers of proper

ages are candidates for the military, but this is a subject which officials discuss ginger-

Wage-hour law would stand, but new emphasis would be given to military needs, resulting in flexibility. And this is one reason why an army officer, Col. Fleming may soon replace Elmer Andrews.

Railroads have been served notice that if U.S. goes to war, and if they don't speed up AT ONCE on plans for handling war traffic, they are candidates for govt. operation. This notice is "official".

For power companies, the govt. has war plans which involve extensive interconnections of facilities of private and public plants.

What military commitments has the War Deal already made go as a result of the war? Kip- to the Allied Powers? Kiplinger answers:

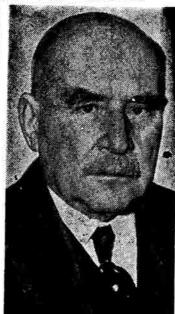
There's close tie-in between govts, of Britain, France, U.S. on war purchases here. Agents of these countries consult each other, through State, War, Navy Depts. and newly created War Resources Board, to prevent interference with our own industrial mobilization program.

Practically, materially, the U.S. is already an ally in war, despite the legal and technical "neutrality".

BECOME A SUBSCRIBER TO "UNSER WORT" The new issue with the J.K.D.'s manifesto on war is to appear shortly. Order it at once through Dale Edwards, POB 173, Sta. D

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ON THE "INSIDE"



J. P. Morgan

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stands and at meetings will gorically: help to increase the sale of the paper to the Negro work-

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NEW RUSSIAN

(Continued from Page 1) ions to the local Soviets; and last but not least (5) the developing crisis in economy. illn is preparing for the latest emergency.

is as follows:

Then follows this significant dence. DINNER to be held by the IN- didates have been accepted as the YCL), two or three young Side. More information on the DIA WELFARE LEAGUE members of the Communist Communists have already been latter will be forthcoming in OF AMERICA. 49th Street, Party of the Soviet Union; hun-expelled and it seems very the next few days. One thing is near 7th Avenue. Saturday, dreds of thousands of eminent likely that another eight or nine evident—the Communist Party October 7 at 7:30 p.m. Prom- people have joined the ranks of will follow shortly. Even those and YCL are in for an awful inent Indian speakers will be the party." It is from the ranks expelled were astounded at the shock in their membership figof these new "hundreds of thou- lack of democracy that was ures. When the next party reg-

An attractive poster has be elected. Pravda makes no since Joe Stalin made his so- many missing. These people, if been prepared to advertise bones about it, citing Stalin's called democratic constitution, they wish to remain in the revthe column in the Socialist directives to the Eighteenth Appeal by J. R. Johnson on Party Congress in relation to "The Negro Question". The the "advancement of new cad-Friction on Top

the "Helmsman" is again zation which defended any of clearing the decks! the two warring imperialist

SOCIALIST APPEAL Subscribe to the

STALIN ORDERS Chicago CP Hit Hard by Rank and File Protest

Expulsions on Grand Scale Begin as Members Question Wisdom of Stalinist Line

printed by Pravda in bold type recent zig-zags in policy, it has national would solve the prob-"THE PARAMOUNT TASK Chicago office of the Socialist that reform was impossible and OF ALL THE PARTY ORGAN- Workers Party that there are that he was leaving the organi-IZATIONS IN THE COMING serious repercussions among zation to become once more a ELECTIONS IS TO ASSURE the rank and file. That there is revolutionary socialist. When THE ELECTION TO THE serious resistance by many the motion to expel was finally LEADING PARTY ORGANS members of the CP and YCL to carried, a large number of YCL-OF THOROUGHLY TESTED the recent polices of Stalinism ers and sympathizers walked BOLSHEVIKS WHO ARE is evident from the wave of ex- out in sympathy with the ex-BOUNDLESSLY LOYAL TO pulsions which has just started. pelled member. Some of these OUR PARTY AND CAPABLE At the Shachtman and Goldman are now being slated for ex-BOOKS BOUGHT in lots or in CF DEFENDING THE CAUSE mass meetings held here in pusion. single volumes. Estimates OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY Chicago groups of disillusioned given on request. Write or TO THEIR LAST BREATH." communists were well in ev- roborated as yet, of several ex-

passage: "During the last year In the Humboldt Park Youth Branch of the YCL as well as hundreds of thousands of can- Club (formerly Dimitroff Br. of breaks in the CP on the South sands" that new leaders are to supposed to exist in the YCL istration is held there will be Lack of Democracy

that one of the leading com- working class, have only one use of these posters on news-Youth Club (outsiders were al- path of the 4th International. lowed to be present at this "Comrade Stalin's directive meeting) who was expelled last ers. The posters are on sale must be realized in the coming week was given only three minfor five cents by the Nation elections; it must be taken as utes to express his views to the al Negro Dept., 116 Univer- the starting point for advancing membership. After his plea sity Place, New York City. candidates to the party bureas, that one who had belonged to regional and city party com- the YCL and Pioneers for the Apparently there is friction en adequate time to present his last fifteen years should be givamong the tops. For there is a views he was allowed the grand veiled warning contained in the total of five minutes. The resoeditorial which "reminds" that lution expelling him was full of the elections to the "upper" erroneous statements which the bodies will take place in six YCLer hardly had time to deny. months, in accordance with the He denied the accusations in The assumed calmness of the to an attack against the line of official press is a clear token of the League. He maintained that the tenseness of the situation. as a young communist ft was But every action taken denotes not in his nor his class interests that a storm is brewing; and to ally himself with any organi-

> camps. More Expulsions Ahead He maintained that the policy of the league was dependent up-

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) on the foreign policy of the So-CHICAGO, Ill.—Despite the viet Union which at times did campaign of silence in the offi- not correspond with the inter-The only passage from the cial Stalinist press regarding ests of the international work-Central Committee directives the attitude of members of the ing class. He had hoped that rerelating to the new elections Communist Party during the form of the Communist Inter-

come to the attention of the lem, but he was now convinced

pulsions in the Jack London clutionary movement and fight We have it on good authority for the emancipation of the

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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- 11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Hitler's Peace

The great German military scientist of the Nineteenth Century, Clausewitz, made the profound and often-repeated statement that "War is a continuation of politics by other means."

Hitler's Reichstag proposals for a settlement of the present European conflict makes it possible to add to Clausewitz's maxim that "Peace is a continuation of war by other means," or, "Peace is an interval between wars."

Hitler's peace, like Hitler's war, is imperialistic through and through. It is quite natural that he should now propose peace, which suits him for two reasons.

First, if his peace terms are accepted by France and England, which is most unlikely, the result would not only be a great moral victory for Germany, but would give Hitler an opportunity to digest the gains he has made thus far and strengthen himself for the next advance against his imperialist rivals.

Second, if his peace terms are rejected, he will seek to pose as the unwilling combattant who, though a lover of peace, was forced to continue the war by the bellicose and bloodthirsty rulers of the opposing nations. In this event, his hand will undoubtedly be strengthened at least among certain sections of the German people. In addition, his direct agents and friends in the socalled "democracies" - and they run from the Fritz Kuhns to sections of the British and French ruling classes—will have a better basis for arguing that a settlement of the war on Hitler's present terms, with the possibility of turning Germany's expansionist lust against Russia, is far preferable to a protracted war which will menace the older empires with dissolution andhorror of horrors! - with revolutionay upris-

ings. Yet, attractive as Hitler's peace may seem to certain people, among them those who think that even the worst peace is better than the best war, labor must reject it out of hand.

Reject it in order to support the war of the "democracies"? NO! Not for a minute and not in the slightest degree. Their peace and their war do not differ from Hitler's in any important get nothing but grief. sense. For years following the last World War, England and France were for peace—THEIR peace. And their peace meant the peaceful (that is, the unopposed) exploitation of the conquests they made in the war; their peace meant the continued subjection of their former and potential imperialist competitor, Germany, to the rank of a third-class power. Their war has the same

It would, however, be idle to deny that the "democratic" imperialist statesmen have very cunningly exploited for their own base aims the sound feelings of the European masses. The people everywhere hate Hitlerism. The people everywhere feel that so long as Hitlerism is in power, there is no possibility of peace, no security against war. This truth is cleverly played upon by the war-mongers who repeat it in their propaganda every day so as to make available a steady supply of cannon-fodder.

But this truth is only a part of the whole truth. Hitlerism means war and the constant threat of war only in the sense that so long as the empires of the world are in the hands of the British and French and American ruling classes, just so long will the "poor" powers seek to take them over for their own exploitation, either by war or by "peaceful" means.

The threat of war, war itself, is inherent in

the rule of imperialism. Under that rule, no lasting peace is possible. Under that rule, what is called "peace" is only a breathing-spell between wars during which one or another gnag of imperialist pirates assimilates its spoils and girds for the conquest of new loot.

The "democrats" lie when they say that peace will be assured if they inflict a military defeat upon Hitler. They and their rule were an indispensable ingredient in the forces that brought Hitlerism into existence and into power. If these forces remained, and Adolph Hitler were defeated tomorrow, another Hitler or worse would arise the day after, and along with him his horrible wars and his worthless peace treaties.

The masses of the people long for peace and security. They can no longer stand a situation in which the sword of war hangs over them by a thread, week in and week out. Life is a nightmare when they do not know whether they will wake up tomorrow to find that they are being sent to the trenches to be slaughtered, or to live through a precarious peace for another day.

Peace and security-these are impossible under imperialism today. They can only be achieved by crushing the monster that rules the world. They can only be achieved by establishing a new. sane and orderly society, the classless order of socialism. Only then will the nightmare of Hitler's and Chamberlain's and Roosevelt's war and peace be removed from the life of mankind and relegated to an irrevocable past.

New WPA Cuts

Quietly, somewhere on an obscure inside page, the newspapers reported this Thursday that Lieut. Col. Brehon B. Somervell, WPA Administrator in New York, announced cuts in the wages of 13,000 WPA clerks, typists and guards of from \$5.20 to \$20.80 per month.

Unlike the September wage cuts on WPA, which were carried out on the pretext that they were required to conform with the new Federal Relief Act that pay scales in various parts of the country be equalized (a fancy word for 'lowered"), the new cuts represent, according to Somervell, an independent act of the administration in Washington.

The government can't afford to keep the WPA workers on the old wage scale, to say nothing of raising it. It is true that the cost of living has risen and continues to rise higher every day, but just the same the government can't afford it. It hasn't too much money and what little it has available it must expend frugally and only for the most urgent necessities.

And since when is the life of an unemployed worker an urgent necessity?

Billions for arms and munitions-those are urgent necessities.

Millions for a bigger and better airfleet to rain down death upon the people-that is an urgent necessity.

Millions from the Export-Import Bank to Latin American countries to facilitate trade and profit of American employers-that is an urgent necessity.

But money for the unemployed? Sorry, none is

By the eternal, it's things like this that make us proud of the government we live under, and make us determined to fight to the last drop of our blood to maintain that government in the

Any other suckers?

Democratic Diet

It seems to us that there are a lot of disgruntled and subversive elements, probably foreign spies or good-for-nothing agitators, who are trying to make a lot of hullabaloo about the miseries of war. Some of them even go so far as to say that while the rich get richer in the war, the poor

An announcement in the press, however, shows that at least in the present war the masses are going to be very well taken care of by the belligerent governments.

Take France, for example. Nobody's going to go hungry if the Great French Democracy can help it. The press announcement says that the French government has suspended all import duties on fresh and refrigerated horse meat until

December 31. Now that's what we call a thoughtful provision of an adequate and cheap supply of a good Democratic staple. Putting aside all false sentintentalism, the French Popular Front government says: Horses be damned, so long as the people get enough to eat!

For breakfast, the average Frenchman can have a dish of braised horse kidneys. A spot of 'lunch might be limited to breast of horse en casserole. For dinner, some horse rump roast or, for

variety, a couple of horse-chops, not too rare. That, at least, will make up the French Democratic Diet until December 31. Beginning with the new year, the rigors of war may compel the government to provide simpler and more frugal fare. And if anybody should be so infernally unpatriotic as to protest against the change, Daladier may well reply in paraphrase of Marie Antoinette: "If they can't get horses, let 'em eat rats."

Brutality, Terror and Starvation--The Measure of Life Under Hitler

From Our Comrades Comes a Picture of Hitler Germany: Increasing Bureaucratization in Every Sphere of Existence As the Whip of Deeper Repression Falls Upon the Masses

pearance of small businesses ing a world war against Gerthe small shopkeepers are many, forced to participate in the naot of ceremony.

LOCKED IN THE VISE OF FASCIST ECONOMY

The bureaucratic Nazi state in general tends to make dependent upon itself as many economic units as is possible. This is shown especially in housing, the many state-supervised ecomanagement of highways. Feudal National Socialist ideology finds practical expression in low salaries and restrictions upon freedom of moving about. An entire army of skilled workers today travels throughout Germany, most of whom were cut by Defense Headquarters and 4-year Plan Administrations wherever armament works make them needed.

Lately, National Socialism has tried to make its way more and more into everyone's private life. Here Ley and Himmler complement one another quite well. One holds out the bait of "joyful relaxation." The other threatens everyone who desires to lead his life accordirg to "liberal principles" with the concentration camp. It is impossible for anyone in Germany today to escape this vise. In some way or other the most indifferent collide with National Socialism and must therefore recoil. The result depends enwhen he appears somewhere and then tell one another Hitler jckes when he has left!

If a young soldier suffers from harsh service, then his attitude towards the regime becomes negative. But if he is promoted to a petty officer, it becomes positive. The capitalist is angry about bureaucratic restrictions prescribed by the -Year Plan—negative attitude. But then, business is better under Hitler after all-positive attitude. If a clerk must work for the Labor Front his attitude will be negative because he has to sacrifice his free time But his attitude will change if his post brings him advantages and privileges. The professional with a career before him forgets the petty, eaeryday annoyances and travels the prescribed line with the prescribed enthusiasm-he is the prototype of the National Socialist of today. The worker honored on posters, in reality without rights, keeps his trap shut tight —also as prescribed.

SILENCE OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP

In Germany today he who cannot keep his trap shut well enough will surely land in the concentration camp. The art of silence must be mastered and is industriously practiced. The concentration camp is a school which teaches its subjects in concentrated form-there are a number of preparatory schools, requirements. "easier" Training camps, re-education camps, camps for teaching 'comradeship." Camps for students, teachers, merchants, technicians, poets, truck-drivers, prize fighters and members of singing societies. Everywhere, always, there are camps in which an official "comradeship" is taught, as the mistrusting and icy behavior of these people who forcibly spend some time in them, is called. Every German at one time or other gets into one of these camps. Nothing but the official slogans as heard over radio and press are given in the "instruction" for Councilman. are given in the "instruction"

at these camps. But here they of all prisoners and it is the This article, published in the are heard with emphasis! Since truth. The SS guards are told July issue of "Unser Wort," is the German hears nothing else to look upon everyone especially timely—though writ-these slogans penetrate his comes into the camp as opten before the war began-as speech and his general views, posed to the State and who, at an inside picture of Germany So it is that on the one hand best, must be physically desunder fascist rule today.-Ed.) these same people curse the re-troyed or at least must be so The more the National Social-gime and on the other hand, be- broken that he will be unable ist regime has succeeded in lieve in "German blood and to even think of opposition. consolidating itself, the more earth." So it is that most Ger- Some light is shed on these terbureaucratic has it become. mans pity the Jew and at the rible conditions by the following Simultaneously with the disap-same time think he is prepar-example:

APING THE TORTURES

On Christmas, 1938, in Sach

senhausen, 29 prisoners com-

electrified wire surrounding the

camp. "Leaping at the wires'

is, for those who can't stand it

concentration camps so as to

put an end to the daily misery

The reason is not the daily mis-

ery, primarily, but the fact that

they must endure it for a long

can count on being freed short-

whom do not remain in camps

The occupants of the concen-

tration camps work 12 hours

daily, including Sunday, with

insufficient food. After work

they must exercise. Last winter

The guards beat, kick and

shove with their rifle butts at

all times. The sick and old

must work and exercise like

everyone else. Very few report

beating or being deprived of

food. Flogging, from 5 to 75

punishment. Unofficial punish-

ments are unlimited in number.

They consist mainly of thumb-

The days when only well known

in the concentration

investigation. All declared that

OF THE INQUISITION

Fear of war is great, but fear ional labor services), the num- of revealing such a fear is ber of offices and officials has greater because of dread of the mitted suicide by touching the grown in unprecedented num- Gestapo. Most German people bers. Since everything is funda- do not know how terribly bad mentally state business, a spe- it is behind the barbed wire of cial office is created for almost the German concentration any more, the usual thing in the anything, which, for appear- camp. The treatment of prisonance's sake, is opened with a ers in the regular jails is relatively still as it used to be. New office buildings are be- but in the labor camp jails and ing erected in all German local-correction homes, in the labor ities—all in the one style per- camps for swamp drainage. time. Also, many prisoners who mitted. "simple sternness," but road building and construction actually expressing only a so- of the Westwall, conditions are ly as "loafers" and many of ber. frigid hardness. Every terrible. Such excesses as ochead makes himself and his curred at the Esterwege camp, for even a year, commit suibureau as important as possi- where prisoners were forced to ble. Thus the bureaucratic can- bite off the heads of live mice cer constantly eats deeper and and had to sit on privy seats for hours, are rarer

ATROCITIES ARE THE REGULAR PRACTICE

Beatings are the rule in all in Sachsenhausen those who camps-not only where the SS collapsed during the exercises men but also where regular were simply covered with snow. functionaries are in control. The number of self-mutilations and attempts at flight are very nomic undertakings and the high, higher than is generally believed. It must also be kept in mind that only the smallest sick because it only means a portion of the prisoners are real criminals-most of them are political oppositionists, homo-strokes, is the official camp sexuals, religious fanatics, etc. People who haven't committed any unlawful act, but somehow forcibly re-educated and sent or other got in dutch with the regime: an official with debts,

stretching and being hung by the arms from a tree-every peasant who misused his torturer can give his particular sadistic impulses free reign. farm, young people who became peddlers instead of workpeople were tormented before ing in a factory, drunkards, the others are over. Today, no comedians who were "too funny," people whose moral con- one escapes cruel mistreatception of life does not conform ments. While the State wishes to the accepted, workers who to keep public German life did not accept the work allotted morally clean, a terrible wave to them by the Labor Office. of moral corruption is actually Under the demagogic blan-sweeping over Germany. Its

ket characterization of "loaf- victims are those in opposition ers" there are in the Sachsen- to the barbaric system hausen concentration camp best part of the nation. near Berlin several thousand | The "sterner" the "re-educaprisoners, most of whom fall tion" into the following typical cat-camps became, the worse beegory: A painter living in Dues- came the Gestapo investigation seldorf whose art didn't earn methods. Nevertheless, the him enough bread went to the German courts, aided by the tirely on how far one permits Labor Office to ask for work. Gestapo, try to deceive world himself to go. After all, these They wanted him to do road opinion. A section of the Gerare the same people who so building. Because of his weak man press, with a great hulla-frantically applaud the Fuehrer constitution be begged for light, baloo at the end of April, 1939, constitution he begged for light-baloo er work. The next day he was reported a trial against memarrested by the SS and brought bers of the illegal International to Sachsenhausen. Many who Socialist Fighters Organization have worked their entire lives who were, incidentally, connow wear the green arm-band demned to an average of 5 because they failed to contrib- years each. In bold faced type ute more often at collections. these rags reported that the (A green arm band is worn by judge, after pointing to foreign by "loafers," a red one by po- press reports, asked the defenliticals, homosexuals wear a dants whether they had been

pink one, professional criminals mistreated in the preliminary blue and Jews yellow.) The German people know that this was not the case. It is perthings are not so good in the fectly clear that they could do concentration camps, but few nothing but deny mistreatment, have any idea what unbelieva- but how terrible the preliminble atrocities are committed ary investigation must be is against the prisoners because shown by the fact that in a centheir tongues are paralyzed tral German city in which a once they leave that hell. "They trial against the ISFO also took say they want to re-educate us place, out of approximately 20 in reality, they want to fin-defendants 3 are already in a

ish us off." This is the opinion lunatic asylum. War--What For?

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By Max Shachtman

From Frances Winwar, we have received a copy of an open letter to the secretary of the League of American Writers signed by fifteen writers, with the request for publication and editorial comment in our column

After reading the letter, we are certainly glad to oblige

The open letter to the Stalinist League says: "Despite the world-shaking events that have ocubiquitous League of American Writers has not curred since August 21, the formerly eloquent and been heard from. Nothing on the war, nothing on the Nazi-Soviet pact, nothing on the partition of Poland, in fact, nothing. Does this organization still exist? If so, has it anything to say to Amer-

"1. What is the character of the present war? Is it an imperialist war or a war of the democracies against Fascism?

ican writers and intellectuals on the following

questions?

"2. What is the role of the Stalin regime in this war? Did the Stlain-Hitler pact advance the cause of world peace or did it promote Fascist aggression? Does the League approve of the partition of Poland between Germany and Russia?

"3. Does the League still hold that the United States should cooperate with the Soviet Union in order to stop the onward rush of Fascism? "4. Does the League still maintain that the

United States should adopt a 'collective security' policy? If so, what countries should be included in such a common front? "5. Does the League of American Writers still

consider the Communist Party to be a force for peace, democracy, and socialism? "If the League of American Writers can recover

its voice, we shall be glad to hear its replies." The open letter is signed by John Dewey, Fred Dupee, James Farrell, B. D. N. Grebanier, Louis Hacker, Sidney Hook, Suzanne LaFollette, Ferdinand Lundberg, Eugene Lyons, Max Nomad, William Phillips, Phillip Rahv, Meyer Schapiro, Ben Stolberg and Frances Winwar. And what makes the open letter interesting is not so much the address to which it is sent, but the signatories who sent it. And it is with them that we ask permission to concern ourselves in the requested editorial comment

Most, if not all the signers of the open letter are members not of the League of American Writers, but of the recently-formed Committee for Cultural Freedom, whose purpose is implied in its name. Now it seems to us that any writer who has advanced beyond the stage of the student who aspires to have his jokes and jingles published in the high-school paper, ought to understand that the maintaining of cultural freedom, to which the fifteen writers are dedicated, is inseparably connected with the problems raised by the present war. For example, what thinking person can believe thta even the limited cultural freedom existing in the United States would be allowed to remain if and when this country entered the war? What thinking person can believe that any cultural freedom, or any culture, would be left in Europe if the war which threatens the total destruction of civilization is not brought to an end by a socialist reorganization of society?

In light of this, isn't it proper to ask that the fifteen writers, who really represent the League for Cultural Freedom, show a little more modesty in submitting questionnaires to the Stalinist League of American Writers? Or more accurately, that before they quiz the Stalinists about their war position, they themselves make clear their own position? For it is entirely possible and fitting to paraphrase the open letter and address it to the fifteen

'Despite the world-shaking events that have occurred since August 21, the formerly eloquent League for Cultural Freedom has not been heard from. Nothing on the war, nothing on the Nazi-Soviet pact, nothing on the partition of Poland, in fact nothing. Does this organization still exist? If so, has it anything to say to American writers, intellectuals and protagonists of cultural freedom on the following questions:

'What is the character of the present war? Is it an imperialist war or a war of the democracies against Fascism? If it is an imperialist war, why do League members Dorothy Thompson and Ben Stolberg call for support of one of the two imperialist gangs in the war? If it is a democratic war on the part of one camp, why doesn't the League come out in support of it in the name of cultural

"What is the role of the Stalin regime in this war? And what is the role of the Chamberlain-Daladier regimes in this war, especially with regard to the League's pet concern - cultural freedom? above all, since it is this country we live in, what i-s the role of the Roosevelt regime in this war: does the League support the Roosevelt war line or oppose it, or is it completely indifferent towards

"Does the League plan to continue straddling or evading these key questions-to which it so imperiously demands an answer from the Stalinist intellectuals? Will it continue, as it has done from its inception, to ignore these questions out of fear (1) of commtiting itself and— (2) of establishing the fact that on the most vital issue of the daymost vital also with reference to cultural freedom -there is no possibility of harmony among the disharmonious elements who compose its committee?'

The open letter says derisively that "if the League of American Writers can recover its voice. we shall be glad to hear its replies." We paraphrase again: "If the League for Cultural Freedom can find its voice (or voices!), we shall be glad to hear its replies."

"With England at war and its people therefore unable to do their part in spreading the new testament gospel throughout the world. America must assume the burden," says Dr. Roland Q. Leavell. superintendent of evangelism of the Southern Baptists. Pardon our crassness, Doctor, but to our poor limited intelligence, it would seem that during the war would be the very best time to push your program, especially the Sermon on the Mount.

Beg Pardon? Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes said the government will oppose vigorously "a rape of our natural resources" by war-time