

The Future Is Not A Gloomy One--- For the Bosses!

AN EDITORIAL

You have no job?
Do you live in a dump?
Are your clothes falling apart?
Are you heading for death in the trenches?
Don't worry. Conditions aren't as bad as you think.
General Motors has been doing fine. The N.Y. Times of Oct. 28 reports of General Motors profits are headlined:
"Third-Quarter Net Profit Equal to 15 Cents a Share, Against 7 cents in Period in 1938." That's an increase of more than 100% in one year.

Not bad, eh? And it's going to get better. "Sloan Sees War a Factor," says another headline. The more war, the more profits.

"For the nine months ended on Sept. 30, the corporation earned \$109,619,799 or \$2.93 a share for the common stock, against \$38,387,707 or 73 cents a share in the 1938 period," and that in view of the fact that "third-quarter results are normally small because of the change-over in car models."

The same issue of the Times shows that General Motors is not alone. "Profit Increase of 55% In Year Is Shown In Quarterly Reports of 220 Companies."

"The heavy industries," continues the Times, "made the most notable improvements. The rise in steel earnings was tremendous."

Last year, 23 steel companies reported a deficit of \$4,372,000.

This year, the same companies report a profit of \$15,732,000.

Last year, 4 aircraft companies reported a profit of \$2,425,000.

This year, they report a profit of \$5,854,000.

And the prospects are getting better every day!

The bigger the war, the bigger the profits.

The more men they can get killed, the bigger the rake-in.

The more steel used in the war, the bigger the profits.

The more bombers, and bombs, the bigger the dividends.

The Merchants of Death are looking forward to a great season. The blood and bones of the war dead will fertilize the soil until it blooms with profit, and more profit and still more profit.

Let labor, which has nothing to gain by the imperialist war and everything to lose, demand the Expropriation of the Death-profits, the munitions-makers, the bomb and bomber makers!

Demand the Expropriation of the Sixty Families, the rulers of America, the war-mongers!

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

When the October revolution transformed Russia 22 years ago, victory of the world workers' revolution seemed near. As the Bolsheviks saw it, their conquest of power advanced them only to the first ramparts of the citadel of capitalist reaction. They opened the first gates to a new future, the glimpse of which dazzled masses all over the world, sickened by the years of slaughter and suffering to which their rulers subjected them.

But the revolution fell short of the greater victories that were needed. Above all, in Germany, the workers held the power in their grasp. Had they retained it, the tides of history would have washed quite other shores. But the Social Democrats became stewards for the capitalists and to them the power was finally returned. In one country after another the masses rose and were beaten back. The revolutionary wave receded and left Russia an isolated rock in the black sea of world reaction.

This was the circumstance that gave rise to Stalin and the ruling bureaucracy he symbolizes and represents. Stalin has ruled revolutionary Russia for 15 of these 22 years. He and his minions have grotesquely mangled the form of the workers' power but have not altered the substance. They remain the usurpers of the power created by the Russian workers in their great revolution. In the upheavals to come they shall be swept away along with all the other instruments of reaction that hold the masses of the world in chains.

It is firmly with that confidence that we celebrate this anniversary of the greatest historical event of our century. It is this

that we seek to drive home into the consciousness of every American worker.

The Russian revolution showed the way out of a world of war and poverty. It was checked and turned off the road because it was left isolated in a hostile world, a world to cope with the gigantic problem of reconstructing one of the largest and one of the most backward countries in the world.

It was the enormity and impossibility of this task that created the premises for the monstrous regime built up around Stalin.

But that does not mean, American workers, that we must fall for the cage propaganda of our bosses that Russia proves the falsehood of the Communist program! No, Russia proves its truth, for the Communist program holds that Socialism must be erected on a world scale to flourish. It cannot survive in one corner of the earth's surface, even so large a corner as Russia.

Stalinism was created out of the backwardness and isolation of Russia. But the American revolution will start from the advanced positions of the most highly industrialized country in the world, a country that holds in its grasp real world leadership. But who will wield it? If we let that leadership be assumed by Wall Street and Co., it will mean more wars, more destruction, fresh crises, and the establishment of Fascism in this land and everywhere. But if we grasp it ourselves we will break across all war fronts with a new revolutionary October which this time will not be hemmed in. It is looking forward to this struggle that we salute this anniversary.

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STALIN'S FAKE 'LEFT TURN' MASKS REACTIONARY FOREIGN POLICY

TWENTY-FIVE MINNEAPOLIS W.P.A. STRIKERS GO ON TRIAL BEFORE HAND-PICKED JURY

Trial Is Third of Series in Which the War
Deal Government Seeks to Railroad 150
Workers to Jail for Striking

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 3—

Twenty-five workers who participated in the nationwide W.P.A. strike last summer went on trial here Monday morning in the third of the series in which the Federal government is attempting to railroad to jail a total of 150 workers indicted, with still other indictments pending.

The specific incident for which they are being tried was the one, at the W.P.A. sewing project, where police fired on the picket line, killing a relief worker and wounding a score of others. The killers are the accusers and witnesses; the victims are on trial—that's the system of justice under capitalism.

Hand-Picked Jury

The jury of eleven men and one woman, picked from the entire Federal district, is made up of five out-of-state farmers, a filing station owner, an accountant, a road grader operator, a non-union carpenter, a salesman, and a garage owner. The lone woman is a housewife. Another farmer and a retail merchant serve as alternates.

The jury panel, it was brought out in the courtroom by defense attorneys, was drawn from the following sources: 22 of the 75 names were submitted by county attorneys; 12 were submitted by clerks of state district courts; 22 were submitted by probate court judges; one was taken from a list submitted by the labor-hating Minneapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce; two were suggested by the postmaster at Albert Lea; fifteen came from rural telephone directories. Needless to say, there

wasn't one union button among the 75 prospective jurors.

Judge Handicaps Defense

The defense attorneys had only ten challenges and quickly expended them on the most obvious labor-haters in the panel. Then the government had a field day picking the jury.

Judge Joyce, who also presided in the two previous trials, began by rejecting one after another, three motions of the defense: to permit a delay of 72 hours in order that the defense might investigate the 75 talesmen; to limit the number of defendants to 10 instead of 25; to permit the defense to question each prospective juror. The government isn't taking any chances that its work-victims escape.

Meanwhile the AFL-W.P.A. Defense Committee, set up by the Central Labor Union, moved to appeal the convictions registered against eight workers in the first two trials.

DOCK STRIKE CRIPPLES N. Y. SHIPPING

Sympathy for Strik-
Longshoremen Seen
Among all Seamen

The strike of 10,000 longshoremen continues to cripple all New York harbor coastwise shipping. No attempts have been made to load cargo or run scabs through the picket lines, so that the union has not found it necessary to guard the docks with more than individual watchers.

Operators have threatened to divert cargoes from coastwise ships to rail and freight transportation. Thus far this remains merely a threat. Sympathy, however, for the striking dockers could be easily aroused among railroaders and teamsters once the call is made, according to current reports.

While Joe Ryan, president of the longshoremen, has turned down offers of cooperation from the N.M.U. it is now clear that widespread interest and sympathy for the cause of the striking longshoremen exists among all seamen, both N.M.U. and S.I.U., and any attempt to sail the struck vessels will meet with active opposition from the seamen.

Considerable concern was expressed among longshoremen here that coastwise shipping might be diverted to other Atlantic ports. Thus far no orders have been sent out from the International office instructing other locals to tie up ships working on coastwise traffic.

BRITISH IMPOSE ONE-MAN RULE ON INDIANS

Constitution Suspend-
ed—Masses Ripe for
Revolutionary Action

The 375,000,000 people of British and Native India are now being placed under one of the crudest one-man dictatorships ever known in history.

Following closely upon the resignation of 6 out of the 8 ministers that were organized by the Indian National Congress, the Viceroy of India has announced that henceforth Article 92 of the Government of India Act is in effect.

Suspend Constitution

Under the provisions of this article the British appointed Viceroy of India, and the Vice-roy-appointed Governor Generals

(Continued on Page 2)

GOOD SHOWING AT POLLS SEEN FOR S.W.P. CANDIDATES

NEW YORK, Nov. 7—Workers throughout the city voted today in elections to the City Council.

Since this issue of the Socialist Appeal will appear too late to carry the returns on the vote for Max Shachtman and George L. Paine, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for the Bronx and Manhattan, complete returns will be carried in Saturday's paper.

Meanwhile, on the eve of the balloting, Max Shachtman reiterated his confidence in an encouraging vote in the Bronx.

"I am confident that our anti-war program, which has been widely made known during the course of this campaign, will be endorsed by many workers. The vote which we receive will be a source of great satisfaction to us," he stated, adding that "it will serve us with a measure for our next step in the fight against the war."

The election campaign for Shachtman wound up Monday night with a series of three mass rallies at which the S.W.P. candidate was the principal speaker. Accompanied by a loud speaker and a number of cars filled with comrades waving bright red flares, Shachtman toured the chief working class areas of the Bronx, addressing large rallies at Townsend Avenue and 170 Street, Prospect Avenue and 161 Street and Simpson and 163 Streets.

Rallies for George L. Paine were held throughout the week in the Yorkville section of Manhattan, where Sarah Rice, former leading member of the Communist Party and present organizer of the Yorkville Branch of the S.W.P., reports that the response to the anti-war candidacy of Paine was warmly received.

Radical Coating of New Comintern Line Serves Alliance with Hitler

By FELIX MORROW

The Communist International openly and officially completed this week its transition from the "democratic" war camp to the Hitler-Stalin war camp.

Three documents sketch the "ideology" of the new line: a lengthy article by Dimitroff, a manifesto of the Comintern and—applying these to America—a speech by Browder (Daily Worker, Nov. 4-6). Every class conscious worker should study these documents, in order to understand to the full the latest infamy of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Stalinists made the transition from the "popular front" to the camp of Hitler in three jumps:

SPEAKS FOR STALIN



MOLOTOFF

NOTE
The next issue of the Socialist Appeal will be devoted to the 22nd Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

1. Aug. 23-Sept. 17—Violent denials from the Stalinists that the Hitler-Stalin alliance would in any way change the popular front line. The British and French Stalinist parties issued declarations supporting their imperialist governments in the war against Hitler.

Here are some typical items from the Stalinist press of those weeks. "Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the great French party, has presented himself for military service with the army of France. . . . Thorez offers his life to defend the national security of France." The Communist party of England "vigorously proclaimed that it continues to work more actively than ever to help win the war against fascist aggression." In America the Stalinists demanded "repeal of the false Neutrality Act" which now stands exposed as being the opposite of a "true neutrality." It is obviously not in America's interest, not in the interest of true neutrality, that America shut off its trade with Poland, England, France, Canada, and Australia." On Sept. 4 the American C.P. issued the following "slogans of action":

"Full moral, diplomatic and economic help for the Polish people and those who help Poland defend its national independence."
"Embargo Japan and Germany for the defeat of fascist aggression and for establishing a democratic peace." (Daily Worker, Sept. 4-7).

Stalinists Used Same Trick in 1935

Unimpressed by all these violent assertions along the old popular front line, we predicted in the Socialist Appeal at the time that all this eyewash would soon be discarded in favor of a line supporting Hitler's war program.

For we had seen this same phenomenon before. In May, 1935 the Stalin-Laval communique sealing the Franco-Soviet pact had been issued; the Stalinists hotly denied that it would change their attitude toward the French bourgeoisie, and as late as the Seventh Comintern Congress that Fall, Dimitroff was swearing that the French Communists would continue to vote against the military budget of the French government. Two months later, of course, the French Stalinists were voting for the military budget, for military loans to reactionary Poland, etc.

As in 1935, so in the recent months, the continuance of the popular front line for a little while after the Hitler-Stalin pact was a deliberate device to keep the duped members of the Stalinist parties on their old course until they could be presumably prepared to swing to the new course.

2. Sept. 18-Oct. 31—The second stage of the transition. Support of the democracies was dropped, and with it all the previous slogans. The British, French and Canadian parties withdrew their previous pro-war manifestoes, Thorez deserted the French army, the American party withdrew its support of Roosevelt's revision of neutrality legislation, the atrocity pictures of the effects of German bombings disappeared from the Stalinist press, etc. A "Declaration" by the Stalinists declared:

"The outbreak of the Second Imperialist War, which for years has been developing as a one-sided war, fundamentally changes the situation hitherto existing. All issues and alignments are being re-examined and re-evaluated in the light of these changes. The previous alignment into democratic and fascist camps loses its former meaning." (Daily Worker, Sept. 19).

Violating All that Lenin Taught

How the character of the war would change upon its actual outbreak and become different from that of the war which had been preparing for years—this strange transmutation the Stalinists did not and could not explain. This "theory"—if one could dignify this scoundrelly alibi as a theory—was of course in direct violation of Marxist principles. "War is the continuation of politics by other (i.e., forcible) means"—this was the fundamental tenet of Leninist analysis of war. Imperialist countries could not but prepare for imperialist war. But the Stalinists had been halting it as a "democratic war against fascism." Their "theory" of transmutation had to be invented for the occasion to justify the flip-flop. In this period all the belligerents were characterized as "equally guilty for this war." That formula lasted just six weeks, until the present documents provided the complete, finished line.

3. The line as now completed is an exact replica of the line as

(Continued on Page 3)

CHRYSLER OFFICIALS STALL ON DEMANDS OF AUTO WORKERS

Workers Ready for Action—Militancy Is
Only Guarantee of Good Settlement

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT, Nov. 7—Chrysler workers remain locked out of their plants while corporation officials are stalling and hedging on the just demands of the auto workers union.

Sufficient concessions have already been made by the corporation to prove the justified basis of the workers' grievances. The main demands for a union shop and voice in setting of production standards are still the object of haggling by the corporation over the conference table.

No Trading

Despite the loud-voiced publicity of the Corporation about slow-down strikes, "sovietization" and similar buncombe, they have agreed to rehire some 70 odd men of the original 105 discharged on the alleged charges indicated above. The union has refused to trade the jobs of any of the workers fired. They are remaining firm on the demand that all of those

fired be returned to their jobs.

The morale of the workers is high and this will undoubtedly be expressed in any attempt the corporation makes to operate the plants on the old conditions. What is proceeding in the negotiations is not completely a matter of public record and it is difficult to say what progress has been made.

A dangerous omen for the outcome of the strike comes with the announcement that union officials may bring Lewis and Murray in from Washington to take over the negotiations. Previous participation of these heads of the CIO in the strike at General Motors resulted in a settlement far inferior to what could have been gained by the workers' militancy.

Join the Socialist
Workers Party

MASS MEETING!

ON THE 22nd ANNIVERSARY
OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Whither Soviet Russia?

The Meaning of Stalin's Role in the European War

Wednesday Evening, November 15th, 1939, at 8 o'clock

Hear the
Answer by

James P. Cannon

National Secretary, S.W.P.

IRVING PLAZA, IRVING PLACE
at 15th Street

Socialist Workers Party—4th Int'l.
Admission: 25c

A New Anti-War Pamphlet

Labor and the Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

The Achievements of Soviet Russia

"But," says the doubter, "capitalism is bankrupt. We agree. Chamberlain is not fighting for 'democracy.' Neither is Roosevelt preparing to fight for 'democracy.' Any fool can see that. But what can we do? Socialism, you say. But look at Russia!"

Many ask this question with genuine concern. They must follow their own advice and look carefully at Russia.

Russian in 1913 was the most backward of the great European states. By 1920, owing to the imperialist war and the war of intervention that followed, production had declined by 82%. Such was the country that the Bolsheviks took over, with every imperialist government plotting their downfall.

This is the record to date.

In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 4.2 million tons of steel; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 17.7 million tons. In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 4.2 million tons of pig iron; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 14.5 million tons. In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 29 million tons of coal; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 127 million. In 1910 Tsarist Russia produced 6.5 million barrels of crude petroleum; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 199 million. Grain production, 801 million centners in 1913, was 1202 millions in 1937. No such economic progress has ever been seen under the capitalist system.

Capitalist Bankruptcy

And while the new system has been piling up these achievements, what have the imperialists to show? Crisis after crisis, stagnation and rottenness. With 1929 as 100, industrial output in Great Britain was 98.8 in 1934 and 112 in 1938. We have seen its catastrophic rise and fall in the United States. In Soviet Russia it was 238.3 in 1934 and 477 in 1938. We need not take Stalin's figures as Gospel; in lies and exaggerations he overtakes and surpasses his imperialist rivals. But the fact remains, admitted by the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union, that in contrast to the worldwide crisis of capitalism since 1929, the public ownership of the means of production and the planned economy of the Soviet Union have started the world by their rapid and long-sustained progress. Some detractors say that it is because the country was backward to begin with. Malice and stupidity here contend for mastery. Spain was backward in 1913. So was China, and India. And what have they to show for their twenty-five years' worship of the capitalist system?

As in the material, so necessarily in the cultural sphere. More of education and facilities for culture have been provided proportionately for the Russian people in twenty years than in India during the last two hundred and twenty. These achievements are history, indelibly inscribed, and there are others that are today in danger of being forgotten. In the early years under Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet

government, in its labor legislation, its social code, its political honesty, its enlightened encouragement of the arts and sciences, gave a glimpse to humanity of the great future that awaits it when imperialist barbarism is overthrown.

Why Then the Terror?

But if these things are true, as they are, why then does Russia today present the dreadful spectacle of political and social tyranny and growing economic chaos, which create doubts in the minds of many who see capitalism for the rottenness that it is? The reason is to be sought, as always, in the productive system, but here not in its basic nature but in its special circumstances.

Russia started too far behind; despite its progress it is still a poverty-stricken country. Where Soviet Russia produces annually 16 meters of cotton fabrics per person of the population, the United States produces 58 and Great Britain 60. Where Soviet Russia produces one pair of shoes per person, the United States produces 2.6 and Britain 2.2. The amount of paper produced in a country is an index of its culture. Where Soviet Russia produces 5 kilograms of paper per person, the United States produces 48 and Britain 42. The output of steel per head in Great Britain was 226 kilograms in 1938; in Soviet Russia it was only 107.

And so on. Russia is still a backward country. In twenty short years even Soviet progress could not lift the actual production per person of Soviet Russia to anywhere near that of the great capitalist countries, bankrupt though they are. Soviet Russia is still a country of great scarcity of the necessities of life, and as long as this is so, socialism must remain only an aspiration.

Socialism demands above all things abundance of production. It is the fierce competition for the means of living that now disfigures our society, divides it into classes, breeds economic exploitation and political tyranny. That abundance of production is possible in America today. The official statisticians of New York City have shown that even under capitalism every American family by working four hours a day could enjoy an annual income of \$4,000. It is capitalism and its system of private ownership which prevent this prosperity. But backward Russia, even with its economy socialized, cannot yet give a tenth of this sum to each family. And on the basis of this poverty and backwardness, on this necessity of the great masses to labor under miserable conditions, there has arisen the bureaucracy.

"Every Cook Must Learn to Govern"

Where all cannot have a free and full existence and all possibility of development, some must be better educated, better fed, better clothed, better housed than the rest, in order to be able to carry on the administration of government and industry. Lenin said that every cook must learn to govern. But that can be only in a socialist society, where cooks work only a few hours a day in highly organized

modern kitchens and draw secure and comfortable wages. Under such conditions, any tyrannical or offensive bureaucrat can be immediately thrown out of office: there would be hundreds to take his place. But in Russia the cook works at a wage lower than the relief rate in this country. Vastly improved as Soviet education is, it cannot yet educate the whole population. It can barely teach the great masses to read, and it has to reserve a thorough training for the privileged few with the more difficult work to do.

Socialism in One Country Impossible

In a backward country like Russia, isolated from the rest of Europe, a bureaucracy living above the level of the masses was inevitable. First the bureaucrats assumed only those privileges and special considerations necessary for their work. But gradually, as production increased, they took advantage of their authoritative position in society to increase their share. They suppressed those who opposed their usurpation. After Lenin's death, Trotsky and his supporters, who opposed the bureaucracy, were isolated by slander and violence and ultimately driven into exile, imprisoned, or killed. The bureaucrats, in defiance of common sense, announced that they would build socialism in a single country, by which they meant that they were quite satisfied with their own position. But the Russian masses were not. This socialism began to look too much like the old capitalism. They had not made the revolution for this. Still and the bureaucrats replied to their dissatisfaction with a redoubled terror.

Were Lenin and Trotsky blind to the possibility of such a degeneration? Certainly not. Long before the revolution actually took place, they warned that socialism could never be built in a backward Russia surrounded by hostile capitalist states. Russia could build socialism only in collaboration with the advanced economy and victorious proletariat of some at least of the more highly developed countries. They saw that either capitalist economy would be transformed by the workers' revolution into international socialism, or Russia would be dragged back to capitalism. Only the workers, in alliance with the farmers and the millions of colonials, could destroy the rotting but still powerful imperialist system. Lenin and Trotsky organized the Communist International to assist the workers of the world in the struggle against imperialist war and capitalist reaction. They knew that sooner or later the workers would face the alternative, victory over capitalism or the destruction of their organizations and the descent into war. For Bolsheviks then and for Trotsky to-day the world revolution was and is the only ultimate safeguard of Russia against internal degeneration (on the basis of a backward economy) or external destruction, by the implacable enmity of world imperialism. And this enmity remains, however much this or the other imperialism might for a moment see an alliance with the Soviet Union and even for a time fight side by side with it.

(Continued in Next Issue)

WORKERS' FORUM

IN ANSWER TO A COMRADE

Editor: In the Workers Forum last week, G.L. writes from Detroit that it's hard for him to sell the Socialist Appeal when it carries news like the Shachtman election campaign, the struggle for Irish and Indian freedom, the ALP, etc.

G.L. writes that when he canvasses with the Appeal, it's hard for him to sell it with such news items.

I think G.L. is wrong. The great thing that has to be impressed on the workers when one canvasses with the Socialist Appeal is that not only is it a workers' paper but that it has enough variety in it to round out the picture of the class struggle.

The big part of canvassing is not so much to sell the paper at one clip, but to give a good impression of it and the party that publishes it. That takes a lot of explaining. The more explaining that is done gives one a chance to really get close to a worker and gain his confidence for further visits and talks. I think these are the big things to remember.

BILL O.

WANTS TO SEE A DAILY APPEAL

Dear Editor: The Socialist Appeal can be criticized for a lot of things. And I have a number of criticisms to make. But I want to speak out in praise first. First, I want to say that B.J. Widick's column, "In the Trade Unions", is an excellent feature. Workers looking for the inside stuff on trade unions are sure to get it in that column. Secondly, George Stern's column, "Behind the Lines", is every bit as good and from a worker's point of view a thousand times better than anything that appears in the capitalist press. The info one gets out of it rates a lot higher than the stuff peddled by Dorothy Thompson, Walter Lippman, Arthur Krock and all the other fancy "writers."

For just four pages put out twice a week, the Socialist Appeal has the edge on plenty of our heavily backed metropolitan dailies. Let's go forward to a real workers' Daily Socialist Appeal.

ED ROBERTS

FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR;



BIG CITIES

FALL BEHIND

The major cities have not done any too well in the past days in the matter of subscriptions, a total of 25 new subscriptions and 7 renewals being the count as follows:

	New	Re-n
New York City	4	2
Lynn	4	..
Chicago	4	..
Minneapolis	2	1
Evansville	3	..
Quakertown	..	2
St. Louis	..	2
Cleveland	1	..
St. Paul	1	..
Boston	1	..
Albany	1	..
Los Angeles	2	..
Connecticut	1	..
Pennsylvania	1	..

The Philadelphia organization under the direction of its new Literature Agent, Lois Lowe, assisted by Sol Thomas, is making determined efforts to put the circulation of the Press on a more substantial foundation and has also taken measures to liquidate more swiftly its debts.

A new order for 10 Socialist Appeals has been placed by a newly organized branch in Cleveland.

Local Chicago has placed orders for additional copies of the Socialist Appeal and The New International, in order to have sufficient to cover their needs for the Russian Revolution Anniversary meetings, etc.

Local Akron, likewise, is putting on a campaign for new subscriptions, and Comrade Carlyle is confident of obtaining several new and renewal subscriptions in the next month.

The St. Louis organization, Everett W. Agent, functions very systematically in the circulation of its Press, and among other things has evolved a method whereby all working members are automatically enrolled as subscribers both to the Socialist Appeal and The New International and payments are made through the Branch Financial Secretary.

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPER IMPROVED

St. Louis is a model, also, alongside of Lynn, Mass., in prompt payment of its accounts, and this is reflected in their systematic distribution of the paper.

Joe Roberts, Toledo, and the comrades there are hopeful of increased circulation.

By and large all the cities are now distributing and selling the Socialist Appeal more systematically, but a sharp lag continues in subscriptions.

Several locals lately have entered legitimate grievances because of the failure of the Socialist Appeal to arrive on schedule. Apologies and an explanation are herewith given. There have been technical difficulties at the printer's which have caused unavoidable delay in publication. It is hoped these can be overcome soon.

BRITISH IMPOSE ONE-MAN RULE ON INDIANS

(Continued from Page 1)

of India's 11 provinces, may now exercise full dictatorial rule over the Indian people. The Constitution of India, with its highly limited democratic rights, is declared suspended. To summarize the situation briefly—the Viceroy of India and his appointees may now do anything whatsoever calculated to maintain British imperialist authority in India. Within their hands reside powers no less great than those of the German Fuehrer himself.

This declaration of dictatorial rule over India is a direct reflection of (1) the complete breakdown of negotiations for a compromise between the British authorities and the conservative nationalist leaders (Gandhi); (2) the rapidly growing clamor of India's workers and peasants that immediate action against British attempts to exploit India for her war needs be taken. The failure of the negotiations is a result of a refusal on the part of the masses to accept any kind of treacherous bargain. They will not support the British imperialists under any conditions. They want their freedom, nothing more and nothing less!

"Divide and Rule"

In an attempt to cover up their real motives for remaining in India and establishing military rule, the British have dragged in the pro-imperialist Moslem League. This organization does not represent the 75,000,000 Moslems who make up India's largest minority grouping. It is headed by Moslem landlords, civil servants and is pro-imperialist. It is a reaction to the British leadership.

The main task in India now falls upon the left wing movement, in particular, upon the Congress Socialist Party. The stage of parliamentary negotiations has a brief span and is now ended. Repressions by the authorities are now on the order of the day. Before this year is up we shall see whether the first stages in India's struggle for national emancipation have indeed begun. It is the workers and peasants who will act now, despite the twists and turns of the conservative and pro-imperialist leadership.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS TURN HUNGRY EYES TOWARDS CHINA

Hence, the Disapproval with Which the U.S. Looks Upon Japan's Creation of a "New Order" in the Far East

By WALTER O'ROURKE

The announcement by Ambassador Grew on October 19 that the United States looks with disapproval at Japan's establishment of a "new order" in the Far East once again brought home the fact that American imperialists are turning hungry eyes toward China.

Talking "straight from the horse's mouth" Grew said the "American people" believe that "... an effort is being made to establish control in Japan's own interests, in large areas of the continent of Asia and impose on them a system of closed economy." Such an opinion, he continued, a government (i.e., the U.S.) "... can not possibly overlook."

The United States News, Oct. 16, says: "Effort to blow up Latin America into an area of vast new opportunities for U. S. business is more interesting than important. By capturing all of the Latin American market for foreign goods this country would add less than a billion dollars to its business."

Big role of the United States in world-wide maneuvers now under way is likely to be played in the Pacific. Europe's pre-occupation will increase temptation for Japan to spread her influence; may lead to American restraint. (Their emphasis—W.O.R.)

China More Valuable The small South American market for foreign goods is far outweighed by the opportunities for imperialist investment in China, i.e., for shipping capital

look and will not fail to reflect in its policies and actions." This threat was answered the following day by the Japanese Foreign Minister with an equally blunt statement that Japanese determination to bring about a new order "... in East Asia is too strong to be changed or affected by the interference of a third power."

scavenger can pick up some mighty fine delectable items such as scraps of top steak, slightly chewed tea biscuits, cork-tipped cigarette butts."

Well we walked and it was a little chilly and George put his hand in his pocket and took out a piece of paper. He handed it to me and I saw it was a license issued by the Sanitation Department of Gary.

I asked him how he got it but the big fellow was silent. So we walked. The two of us not uttering a word. What the hell, that meant I was losing George. Well, you can't expect a guy to keep pushing around in circles. After all his only folk were right there in that town. The blood coursing through him had known only one home and that was Gary. It was strong in him and he had to stay. It will be tough trying to find another George. That guy could certainly spin a yarn.

Who Says That We Have to Starve

By THOMAS FORSEN

He was a big guy and you'd think a guy like that ate pretty regular. But you'd be thinking wrong mister. The squarest meal I ever saw him take was four hamburgers and a cup of coffee down at Joe's Shack. And hamburgers didn't fit for a guy like that. He was tremendous and one gargantuan bite finished half of a hamburger. Eight bites and he was through with the biggest meal I ever saw him take. He would then guzzle down the sizzling coffee, toss his high head back and wait for the cigarette I always offered him. He could spin a yarn that boy. I tried to get him to write. It was futile. His knowledge of the language was too limited and his grammar too unorthodox. So I've turned his tales into a few magazine pieces. We've made a few bucks between us like that.

He always wanted to go back and see his old home town, Gary, Indiana. After all, he had his whole family back there and a guy begins to yearn for old faces and old sights when he's been knocking about the nation. And it's a hell of a nation to be knocking about in. So many people with different thoughts, customs, and diversions. Instead of knowing more about the damned country you only get puzzled, tired, lonely. You begin to ache. Not physically but mentally, and that tears at your brain and makes your blood sick and then the horrible thing happens. You begin to take pity on yourself! That's hell and after that you're licked.

From the Garbage Dump I sold a piece at Chicago for fifty dollars and we hopped a bus for Gary. George was all hepped up about it. You'd think he had

run into the other room of the small shack, and soon she came out displaying some of the "finest stuff" she had salvaged from the dumping grounds.

Joe turned to me. "Sary picked up a dress there, yesterday." And Sary proceeded to wave the filthy rag. "Sary is handy with a needle so she'll fix where its needing it. She brought me some chew tobacco and a set of slippers, and she brought the old man parts for his pipes."

Family License Sarah ran to the kitchen and brought out a pot containing some smelly evil-looking fat. "I picked some of this there," she said.

"Well I think it's a damn fine idea," said George. I looked at the big baboon. "Trouble is," said Joe, "they only allow one license to a family. We could use another hand in picking up some of that stuff."

Sarah said, "Yesterday Emmy across the way could have picked up a fine mattress only she had no one to help her with it. We tried pitching in together and dumping our pickings onto the mattress, but them there fellows standing around are so gosh darn fussy."

Stink A-Plenty "You've got to fight like hell to get a license," said Joe.

That evening George and I walked over to the dumping grounds. We knew we were coming to it when we were ten blocks away. It smelled worse than a tannery. The gates were locked and we stopped to read the sign on the fence.

CITY DUMP KEEP YOUR SEARCH ON A NEAT AND ORDERLY BASIS "What do you think of the whole thing," George asked.

"Goddamn benevolent," I said. "It would seem to me that the City Fathers have taken a long step forward in solving the problem of the ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed."

Nothing registered on the big guy's face.

"You know George," I said, "I

been caught a lot."

"No," said Joe, "they've been new doings here since you've left. They've legalized picking at the dump grounds. They're out issuing licenses now figuring maybe it'll help us poorer folk in the town."

Fine Stuff I whistled. George turned to me.

"They used to catch us picking at the dumps and clamp us in jail for picking up as much as an ash," George said.

"Sure," said Joe, "You can pick up some fine stuff there some days. Granddad used to pick up stray parts for his pipes. He used to sell them and make a few pennies but they clamped him in jail so many times, it didn't pay for the trouble. But now, they've legalized it so Granddad can have his parts now."

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Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN

Associate Editor: EMMANUEL GARRETT

FELIX MORROW

Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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India and the War

If you want to understand why what the newspapers call "this peculiar war" has not broken out into a series of round-house battles on the Western Front, take a look at the situation in India.

The hundreds of millions of British slaves in India long for nothing so much as their independence from the imperialist rule which has brought them untold and unspeakable sufferings for generations. It is no easy matter for even the cleverest British propagandist to work them up to a high pitch of indignation against "German fascism" and its well-known horrors, for the Indian masses have always felt the barbarism of dictatorial rule perpetrated on their own lives by the British ruling class.

With the sound instinct that rarely fails the masses, they now feel that, as the Irish always say, England's difficulty is their opportunity. With the British imperialists engaged on the Western Front, involved in a new world war, the Indian people realize that now is the time for them to strike off the fetters of colonial slavery. And they are, of course, one hundred percent right, and every genuine progressive, every consistent and not merely phrasemongering democrat, will enthusiastically wish the Indians win against the British pigs who lord it over them.

That is precisely what England fears. Chamberlain and Co. understand that the very existence of the old British Empire is imperiled, and along with it the very existence of the noble gentlemen who have fattened on it for generations. The crisis—the war—is speeding the inevitable disintegration of that Empire.

How the British would like to come to a comradely agreement with the German bandits! How they would like to call off this war! How they would like to combine—naturally, on their own terms—with French and German and Italian imperialism for a joint partition of the "still available" areas of exploitation—above all, the Soviet Union!

Only, Chamberlain, like Hitler, is not complete master of his destiny. The conflicts, rivalries and contradictions among the imperialist bandits themselves have been proved, by the reality of the war, to be so sharp that with the best will in the world, poor Chamberlain could not avert it.

But whether averted or not, the old Empires are doomed. One way or another, the out-cast specter of revolution continues to haunt the living and waking hours of the ruling classes. This war will never run its full, "normal" course without revolutionary interruptions everywhere. What it will be tomorrow is difficult to predict. Right now, it is India, which is seething with revolutionary ferment.

All power to the mighty arms of the multi-millioned Indian masses! Now is their chance to strike a death-blow at imperialist rule—just as our chance, in this country, will surely present itself in the days to come.

Lee . . . and Debs

Among the statements issued on Browder's speech at Boston announcing the new Stalinist line in this country, the one of Mr. Algernon Lee, of the Social Democratic Federation, is not the least interesting.

"We Social Democrats are proud to be attacked by Browder as well as by Fascists of all

breeds, native as well as imported. Our big job at present is to help the public to distinguish social democracy, the socialism of Debs and Berger and Hillquit, from the poisoned substitute that Browder is offering."

When Mr. Lee speaks of the "socialism" of Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit, he not only feels at home and knows what he is talking about, but he is undoubtedly true to himself.

But when he speaks in the same breath of Eugene Debs, he displays more impudence than this otherwise prudent and elderly gentleman is accustomed to show.

Lee and his friends are supporters of the imperialist war. They are servants of the American ruling class, its attorneys and apologists, just as Browder and Co. are the agents of the Moscow autocracy. Lee declares:

"No one is going to be really deceived by the pretense that France and Great Britain, aided and abetted by President Roosevelt and his Wall Street friends, are waging an imperialistic war against Germany. . . . It is worth noting, however, that in this country Fritz Kuhn's Bund and all the fascistic adventurers got ahead of Browder in taking up this line of attack."

And this apologist for the war-mongers has the effrontery to speak of himself as a protagonist of the "socialism of Debs"! Lee defames the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917 as a "counter-revolution." Debs proudly proclaimed himself a Bolshevik from his toes to the crown of his head. Lee defames all opponents of American imperialism (not merely the Stalinist pseudo-opponents, but the genuine revolutionary opponents) as agents or friends of the German Nazis. Debs replied in excoriating and contemptuous terms to the scoundrelly patriots of the last World War who accused him and fellow-socialists of being German agents, friends of the Kaiser. Lee is out recruiting for the French, English and American Empires in the Second World War. Debs said, in the *Appeal to Reason* of Sept. 11, 1915:

"It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed to it, and I would be shot for treason before I would enter such a war."

"If I were in Congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war. . . ."

"I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world."

"I would not violate my principles for God, much less for a crazy Kaiser, a savage Czar, a degenerate king, or a band of pot-bellied parasites."

"But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers, whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I have a heart-full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation."

"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any command to fight from the ruling class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for the working class."

"I am opposed to every war but one: I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make it necessary, even to the barricades."

"That is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war."

Compare this bold, ringing declaration of defiance of Debs, the proletarian revolutionist, with the cowering, snivelling servitude to imperialism of Lee, the "social democrat"—and you will get the full measure of Lee's ghoulish insouciance in even daring to mention the name of Eugene Debs to sanctify his own crimes.

Labor Looks Through The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

Raymond Clapper citing the danger of the Roosevelt spy hunt says: "We are not at war and every American has the right to argue as to what our best course should be. It is only after we declare war when the time for argument is over." Like a true liberal Clapper thinks freedom of thought is a fine thing—except when it's necessary.

In London all venomous snakes, black widow spiders, scorpions, and other dangerous insects of the London zoo were destroyed as a war precaution. However, the most venomous insects of them all, the bosses, are still at large.

Bertrand Russell, speaking in Santa Barbara, said that "after three or four more wars people will be willing to be under international law." But the Socialist Workers Party intends to make this national workers' law.

the last war before the world is under interna-

A. P. Giannini, approaching 70, acknowledged that "this is a young man's day." The chairman of the board of the far-flung Transamerica Corporation said in an interview, "although I'm still chairman of the board, I'm really on the shelf; I leave everything to the young men." How about the swag?

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

The Color Line in Culture

Waite Phillips is a Tulsa, Oklahoma, oil magnate—an "oilgarch," in Time's vocabulary. Mr. Phillips, a great public benefactor of Tulsa, recently turned over his big Italian-style mansion to be used as an Art Center. The other day the Art Center had its grand opening. Every one in Tulsa was there, except those whose skins happened to be black. Their presence was most distinctly not requested. But the Tulsa oilgarchs are broad-minded. They recognize that it would be unjust to exclude the city's Negroes from the cultural advantages of the Art Center. Therefore, according to Time for November 6: "One Thursday a month will be set aside as Jim Crow day at the Art Center."

Blood Money

Bourgeois economists lament the disappearance of the economic frontier in American capitalism. But there does exist one last great economic frontier for world capitalism, one remaining major market for the consumption of manufactured goods—a frontier which is at present located between the Westwall and the Maginot Line. The bombing plane, furthermore, has extended the range of this sort of "consumption" from the actual battlefields to the whole of Europe. The beauty of air raids on industrial centers, from an economic point of view, is that not only are large quantities of those expensive and complicated mechanisms called bombs used up, but that their consumption destroys even vaster amounts of other machines and commodities on the ground. Thus is created a double-barrelled market for goods: to replace those destroyed, and to destroy still others.

Merely on the strength of such rosy prospects, our own capitalist system in the last few months has taken a new lease on life. The N.Y. Times weekly index of business activity has risen from 2.3 of "normal" in the week ending August 26 last to 104.7 in the week ending October 28. Secretary of Commerce Hopkins has reported that the national income was \$50,800,000,000 in the first nine months of this year, as against \$48,700,000,000 in the same period last year. The American Federation of Labor, in its monthly business survey, states that since the war crisis began to sharpen at the beginning of August, about one million and a quarter American workers have found jobs.

The New Deal has been administering to American capitalism various reformist "shots in the arm" for the last seven years. But all sections of bourgeois opinion, from the AFL bureaucracy to the big business press, agree that the outbreak of the war has done more for American business than anything ever pulled out of the hat by Roosevelt and his brain trusters. This is flatly stated by the AFL business survey, and it is pointedly echoed by the N.Y. Times, chief newspaper voice of big business. "Much as one may deplore a business boom arising out of the tragedy of war," writes the Times in its usual sanctimonious style, "it is significant that the mere expectation of war demand has done more for recovery than our actual Government spending program."

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Voices Against the War on the Increase in England

It is cheering to learn that right in the midst of the war, the revolutionary internationalists of the British Militant Labour League have decided to transform their excellent little paper, the *Militant*, from a monthly to a fortnightly. Our comrades from the M.L.L. remain as before the clearest voices in the consistent socialist struggle against war there. The fact that they have combined political clarity with a practical knowledge of how to function from day to day in the official Labour movement augurs well for the future progress of revolutionary internationalism in England.

In the current issue of the *Militant* they define their stand in an article entitled "Working Class Attitude to War" as follows:

"This present war is a thoroughly reactionary war. The British capitalist class have embarked upon it in order to preserve their own colonial possessions, their own foreign investments against the growing menace of German imperialism. The working class have no possessions in the colonies, no investments. They have nothing to defend except their living standards and their democratic rights which are threatened by the war, and these must be defended against the capitalists who are already attacking them. The enemy is in our own country, it is our own ruling class. The only victory which can bring any benefit to the working class is the victory over the exploiters. Only the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism can end wars, exploitation and poverty for all time."

Contrast this unequivocal presentation of the internationalist working class stand against war with that of the centrists in the Independent Labour Party as expressed in the latest issue of its paper, the *New Leader*, to reach here. That paper carries as its main head: "Will Revolution in Germany End the War?" The headline itself could just as easily be the lead in the Conservative Times. As a matter of fact, the entire capitalist press of Great Britain features revolution in Germany.

The article in the I.L.P. paper takes up most of its space with a description of the possibilities of an overthrow of the Hitler regime. Only towards the end does it remind itself that "we must strive to secure that when this war ends (is it presumably to end only in one way, by revolution in Germany?—P.G.S.) the system of capitalism which causes poverty and war ends with it, and that here, too (well, well—Ed.) we begin to build a Socialist Britain and a Socialist World."

The I.L.P.'s "internationalism" has always been strangely coupled with a peculiarly nationalist behavior of its chief parliamentary spokesman, James Maxton. Here is an example of Maxton presenting the I.L.P. position, so to speak, at a time when anti-Munich sentiment ran high in the Commons:

"I am not a fighting man. I am not bellicose. I

Great Expectations

But it is also significant—and a little worrying—that so far the whole war boom has been based on nothing but expectations. The September merchandise exports of the United States were 17% higher than they were in the same month last year. But this increase was not to any great extent in war goods: over a third of it was in cotton, shipped under the subsidy plan, and the rest was largely other agricultural products. The war demand hasn't yet materialized. Steel production has gone up to over 90% of capacity, and more steel is now being produced per week than ever before in our history. But this is all based on the expectation of future war orders. And if the war fails to become 'serious' in the next few months, or if, even worse, some sort of peace is patched up, then American business will find itself far out on a limb.

The Continental Steel Corporation recently announced that it was setting aside in a special fund the equivalent of two-months' earnings as a "reserve for contingencies." The "contingency" it stated in these frank terms: "The war in Europe, together with a domestic business improvement, has brought about an inflationary condition that could be rapidly reversed if peace negotiations were effected." Or, in plain language, peace would be a disastrous blow to the Continental Steel Corporation, as to other American corporations.

The First Swallow

A ready first swallow of spring has arrived, a harbinger of the fertile summertime in store for American capitalism if only the war doesn't peter out. This is the repeal of the Embargo. Writing in last Sunday's *Times*, Arthur Krock realistically summarized its significance: "The majority in Congress was persuaded that repeal of the arms embargo was desirable for two purposes—to remove the disadvantage it imposed on Great Britain and France in fighting Germany, and to set up an industrial war machine in the United States in the interest of national security."

As to the first point, it is reported that the aviation industry has already received from the Allies \$170,000,000 worth of plane orders. England is about to launch a \$1,000,000,000 war on drive among its citizens, the proceeds from which will mainly go for the purchase of American munitions. Washington officials estimate that in the next few weeks the Allies will place over here war orders totalling \$500,000,000, and in the next eight months \$2,000,000,000.

Krock's point about repeal making it possible to build up, before the United States enters the war, a big native munitions industry has also received factual confirmation in the last few days. President Roosevelt has personally urged that a steel-producing center be established on the Pacific Coast to turn out armaments. Also, the French Government has announced that it is lending \$5,000,000 to two American airplane manufacturers so that they can expand their plants sufficiently to produce the huge number of plane. France will need, thus Allied capital will be used to help finance the expansion of our industrial war machine. This is what American "neutrality" means in the present war.

Their Government

By James Burnham

Any lingering doubts about the real meaning of Roosevelt's Neutrality Act, which honest men may have held on the basis of Roosevelt's own message to the Special Session and the Congressional debate which followed, should have been thoroughly cleared up during these few days since the Act's passage. Anyone in his right mind should now be able to see that Roosevelt's message was brazen demagoguery, and the debate, on both sides, shameless hypocrisy from beginning to end.

Roosevelt and the Congressmen told us, beforehand, that they were trying to work out the best program for "keeping the United States out of the war." After the Act became law, not a single commentator tried to keep up the pretense any longer. All of the discussion centered on the questions of how exactly the Act would affect the war, how many hundreds of millions of war orders it would bring, and how world shipping would be reorganized in accordance with it.

In all of the European capitals the passing of the Act was recognized and proclaimed as a smashing victory for England and France. Paris and London didn't make any bones about it: they told their people how the Act brought the weight of the United States into their side of the scales.

What the Act Provides

The Act is supposed to establish elaborate restrictions which will prevent this country from becoming "involved." As finally amended and passed, the important restrictions boil down to little more than this: travel by U.S. citizens and ships to a small zone in the north of Europe is prohibited. Citizens, if they are of the right sort, can always get special permission. This leaves about ninety U.S. ships, heretofore in the north European trade, to suffer handicap. But even these ninety ships will be able to take care of themselves. Some will be transferred to foreign registers so that the prohibition will not apply to them. Others will take the place of British and French ships normally sailing in unrestricted zones, which will be transferred to the north Atlantic routes.

There are so many loopholes in the alleged provisions against granting credit that they will serve chiefly to make the war commerce as safe and profitable as possible for U.S. corporations.

The original plan to prohibit U.S. ships from all belligerent ports was dropped. With the exception of the small "danger zone," they can go anywhere and carry anything except arms. There is no restriction on shipment into Canada.

There are no restrictions of any sort on what U.S. business is permitted to sell to the belligerents. An amendment that would have prohibited the export of poison gas and flame-throwers was howled down in the Senate by a four-to-one vote. This vote was a rather ironic comment on the moral indignation of our democratic rulers over "inhuman methods of warfare."

One Foot In

With the passing of this Act, the United States has one foot solidly in the war. From now on, that foot will be pulling and straining to drag the other after it.

United States industry becomes part of the armory of Britain and France. Indeed, this is just the way in which the London papers put it.

But the Act is not an isolated event. It fits in exactly with the other moves of the Administration since the war began. The armed forces of the United States are also, in their own way, already in the war. The declaration that the belligerent, Canada, would be defended by the United States against its enemy in effect places a U.S.-manned Maginot Line around Canada. Just as the French Maginot Line, even when no shooting is going on, affects the military balance, so does the declaration on Canada.

Roosevelt's neutrality is no more genuine than would be that of the biggest bully on the block who, at the beginning of a street fight, would say: "I am not going to do any hitting, yet. But I am going to supply one of the gangs with all the rocks and bricks they need. And I am going to keep an eye on my special favorites: they can throw rocks at the other side as much as they want, but if they get any in return, you'll hear from me."

How Will the Act Affect the War?

It is generally conceded that at the beginning of the war German aviation was superior to both England and France combined, and Germany's factories were turning planes out at a faster rate than her enemies. This relation would be reversed if and when the flow across the ocean of U.S. planes—which are probably the best in the world—got into full stride.

The experiences of Spain and Poland, and of Ethiopia and China in a less conclusive way, do not show that superiority in the air alone can win a modern war; but they seem to indicate that air superiority is a vital and perhaps necessary factor in winning a victory which is clinched by other means. At the very least, decisive superiority in the air seems able to paralyze transportation and reconnaissance to such an extent as to weaken vastly the ground forces. Whether planes can win out against sea power is not yet established.

Germany is of course fully aware of the alteration in the balance of air power which the U.S. action can bring.

It seems to me to follow, therefore, that within the next week or two—month or two at the longest—Germany will be compelled to "begin the war in earnest." This need not mean a mass campaign on the western front. But it would mean actions designed to gain and preserve superiority in the air: air bombardments of strategically important objectives (airfields, factories—especially those connected with plane manufacture—docks, key railroad junctions, etc.), and a big-time campaign on and under the sea.

I consequently expect such moves in the very near future. I do not see how they can be avoided. If they do not occur, only one explanation seems to me possible: that, below the diplomatic surface, really serious negotiations are under way between England and Germany, and that Hitler believes these negotiations are going to get results.

The British government advised the House of Commons that sportsmen might be asked to make sacrifices to aid wartime economy. The government was considering whether to restrict fox hunting and was consulting county war committees on the advisability of putting sheep to graze on golf courses. This impertinent suggestion must be voted down! Make the working cads do the sacrificing—they ought to be used to it seeing that they've been doing it all their lives.