

**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 take-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-profiters, 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, the consciousness of every American worker 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 then 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

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 boss, ruled 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 cagy propaganda of our bosses that Russia proves the 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 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.

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Socialist Appeal

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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 WPA 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 WPA 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 filling 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 worker-victims escape.

Meanwhile the AFL-WPA 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.

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 Dimitrov, 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



STALIN

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, Dimitrov 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 atrocious 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 could 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)

MASS MEETING!

ON THE 22nd ANNIVERSARY
OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Whither Soviet Russia?

Hear the
Answer by

James P. Cannon

The Meaning of Stalin's Role in the European War

National Secretary, S.W.P.

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

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 tons 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 \$4000. 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. Stalin 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 enemy of world imperialism. And this enemy remains, however much this or the other imperialism might for a moment seek 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

Dear 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.

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. Wilder'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;

BILL O.



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:

Table with 3 columns: City, New, and R. Lists cities like New York City, Lynn, Chicago, Minneapolis, 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, a.s.o., 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 the India's workers and peasants that immediate action against Britain's 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, avowed imperialists and is pro-imperialist. It is a reactionary communal organization similar to the Urban League of America and attempts to split the unity of the Hindu-Moslem people for the benefit of the British imperialists.

There is no question that under its present Gandhi leadership the Nationalist Congress is pro-Hindu. This too serves the interests of the British "divide and rule" policy. The net effect of the Moslem leadership and the Gandhi leadership is the same—division of the masses into warring communal camps, all to the advantage of the British.

Ripe for Revolt But the Nationalist Congress has launched the demand for a freely elected All-India Constituent Assembly which will frame a constitution for an independent India. If this slogan is taken seriously and is pushed forward by the Congress left wing then there will be an end to such miserable undertakings as Gandhi's negotiations with the Viceroy. The Congress right wing desired not real independence for India, but Parliamentary concessions in the Central Government. But the British, knowing that the Congress would sweep any democratic elections and hold an overwhelming majority in the Central Legislative Assembly, could not make even this concession. They know that things in India are ripe for revolt!

The main task in India now falls upon the left wing movement, in particular, upon the Congress Socialist Party. The stage of parliamentary negotiations had 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 despite the threats and turns of the Congress leadership.

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 square 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 it was 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 riled up about it. So I think he had

run into the other room of the small shack, and soon she came out displaying some of the "fine 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 baobab. "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

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 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."

South America Insufficient There is a tendency, even among those who recognize the imperialist character of American economy and government, to believe that the main course on the menu for American imperialists is South America. "Upper" circles, however, already feel that South America is not enough. 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 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 imperialism in the vast continent of China. (U.S. for shipping capital

abroad. The ideal country for imperialist exploitation is one with a large population and low industrial development.

One of the best indexes of industrial development is railroad mileage per capita; a glance at a very few statistics shows why China presents such a far more enticing dish than South America for American imperialists. The mileage of railroad for each million inhabitants is as follows. (U.S. and India are included for purpose of comparison):

Table with 2 columns: Country and Mileage per million inhabitants. Lists China, India, S.A., and U.S.

Here is shown in vivid contrast the reason for the superior worth of China over South America to desperate imperialist nations. South America has 35 times China's per capita railroad mileage; the steel mills of U.S. Steel (whose chairman Edward R. Stettinius Jr. was appointed chairman of the War Resources Board by Roosevelt) could be kept busy for quite a time "developing" the vast Asiatic continent.

Herein lies the compelling reason why the American capitalists must challenge and eventually fight Japan over the right to exploit China. Herein lies the reason for the entire U.S. fleet being in the Pacific, and for the recent Grew speech and its consequences.

American Labor Aid 125 West 33 Street New York City Dear Friend:

I PLEDGE MYSELF to contribute \$..... to the defense of Frank Watson, imprisoned by Canada's government for the crime of speaking out as a worker against the war of imperialism.

Let the People Vote on War!

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Industry and the Negro

Then came the Civil War. Every Negro should know by now why the Civil War took place. The capitalists and their allies of the North were fighting for control of American economy and of the Federal Government. The Southern slave-owners wanted to maintain that control. Every new State added to the union meant more representatives and more power to one side or the other. If a new state was a slave-state then the slave-owners gained more power at Washington. If the new state was a state based on free labor, then Lincoln and the Northern capitalists gained more power. So that for years there was always a quarrel whenever a new state was to be added to the Union.

But the slave-owners were in a jam, not only politically but economically as well. To make profits at all they had to have new land. The huge plantations and their wasteful methods of cultivation exhausted the soil and periodically they had to extend the territory they controlled. So that when the North said, "No more new slave states" the slave owners replied, "If we do not get new territory our economy will collapse." And the next thing was the Civil War.

Lincoln would never have fought to free the slaves. He didn't intend to free slaves at all. But he found that he could not win unless he pulled the slaves powerfully over to his side. This he could do only by declaring the abolition of slavery.

International Labor Aided Emancipation

There was also another powerful current sweeping Lincoln toward the abolition of slavery in America. When the Civil War began, the British ruling class wanted to intervene on the side of the Southern slave owners. But the British working class, took the side of Lincoln. Led chiefly by Karl Marx, they maintained a powerful agitation in Britain, mass meetings, protests to Parliament, and open letters of support to Abraham Lincoln, etc. The British ruling class used to point to the fact that the North was not fighting any war to abolish slavery, for Lincoln himself had said so. But one of the strongest weapons in the working class anti-war agitation in Britain was this very argument, that the war of the North was a war for abolition. Lincoln, therefore, for the sake of his valuable working class allies in Great Britain, was further driven to declare the abolition of slavery in America. A Negro, therefore, who is really trying to get at the root of the Negro position today, cannot help drawing the following conclusions: "The actual question of color had very little to do with the abolition of slavery in America. Powerful economic and political forces were at work in America. The military assistance that the Negroes could give played a great part. And, finally, the international working class movement, in this case the British working class in particular, played a great part in Negro emancipation."

From this, such a Negro worker would be justified in thinking that if color played so little part in that great event it is not at all unlikely that in the great events of today, color and race, which in everyday affairs seem to occupy so large a place, will in reality at the decisive moment, prove as unimportant as they did in the Civil War.

Negroes Enter the Factories

How does that apply in recent history? The biggest event that has taken place in the history of the American Negroes since the Civil War is the great migration of millions of Negroes from the South to the North that began in 1915. Between 1915 and 1923, 1,200,000 Negroes came from the South to the North. The Negro gained a place for himself in industry. Now, ten thousand workers in a factory have infinitely more capacity to struggle for better wages, better living conditions, and an extension of their democratic rights than fifty thousand farmers scattered over the countryside. Thus the entry of millions of Negro workers into industry, particularly in the North, marked a decisive stage in the development of the American Negro. But how did it happen? Was it because the white employers had listened to some preachers and had been converted to the view that Negroes should have a better chance in life? Nothing of the sort.

What happened was that Northern industry was faced with a tremendous opportunity for expansion due to the war. At the same time the stream of immigrants from Europe was cut short, because instead of working or coming to America to work these Germans, Austrians, Italians, and others had to spend their time and strength massacring each other for the profits of their imperialist masters. Our American capitalists, therefore, not only took Negroes into their factories but sent hundreds of agents into the South offering Negroes free passage into the North and promising them a happy life. The Negro population of New York rose from 91,000 in 1910 to 327,000 in 1930, while over the same period the Negro population of Detroit rose from 5,700 to 120,000. This meant millions of dollars more in the pockets of Negro wage earners. Negroes were able to get much better education and opportunities for development. Negroes living in cities were better able to organize and fight for social and political equality. To serve the needs of these Negroes a greater number of Negro doctors, teachers, and other professional men was needed.

Of course we know that the Negroes still continue to suffer under heavy discrimination. But the fact remains that this migration and opportunity to enter into industry was a great step forward. And it had nothing to do with color. A great economic and social change was taking place in the country as a whole; great numbers of Negroes were swept along by it, and thus had an opportunity to improve their position.

The Next Step Forward

What was the next great step forward of the Negroes? It came in 1937 with the organization of the CIO. Here again we see that the decisive factor was not the question of race but the question of economic and social and political change, affecting American society as a whole. Up to 1937 the American Federation of Labor, representing on the whole the more privileged sections of the American working class, kept Negroes out of its ranks. But with the great crisis of 1929, American labor entered into a new phase of existence. One of the most important results of this shake-up was the organization of all workers in industrial unions, particularly the semi-skilled and the unskilled. The CIO was essentially the organization of the poorer types of workers. But the CIO organizers found that if they were to organize the workers in an industry as a whole they could not leave out the Negroes. In the packing-houses in Chicago and elsewhere the employers had deliberately brought Negroes into industry in order to use them against the white workers. Obviously these new CIO unions, to win their battles, had to have the Negroes in. And today, 1939, we can see hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the new unions, firmly knit with the white workers and gaining many of the great advantages that come to all workers who carry on militant struggles in workers' organizations. This does not mean that prejudice and discrimination have been wiped away, even in the best of the new unions. But it means that a great step forward has been made. And here again the decisive factor was not color.

On the Eve of Great Upheavals

It may seem to an individual Negro that it is the color of his skin that is making all the difference. But this is true only to a limited extent. From an examination of history it can be stated with confidence that the Negroes as a whole, millions of them, have made strides forward owing to great economic, social, and political changes which were powerful enough to sweep aside the barriers of color. And this should teach us a great lesson for the future.

All human society today stands at the crossroads. Europe is plunged into a great war. In the Far East, Japan and China have been fighting for two years. America is visibly preparing to enter into the war. What is the cause of all this universal confusion? The cause is one thing and one thing only: the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. There are in America today over thirty million people starving in the midst of plenty. The capitalist system can no longer function, neither here nor elsewhere. The capitalists did not solve

AN INTERVIEW WITH A COMRADE CEYLONESE MASSES WANT NO PART OF THE BOSSES' WAR

A comrade from the island of Ceylon representing the Ceylonese Socialist Party which is conducting a struggle for the independence of their country from the British imperialists had the following to say when interviewed by the Socialist Appeal:

Ceylon's 6,000,000 workers and peasants are absolutely opposed to giving any sort of support to England in the present imperialist war. The reason for this is simple.

"This war is not being fought for democracy. This war is fought for who shall have the privilege of standing on our necks and exploiting our people. Ceylon, one of the colonies of the British and French Empires, is a bone over which the imperialist dogs are fighting. The people of the colonies will have nothing to do with either gang.

"Whatever democratic liberties we had won during the course of the last three and a half years were being smashed by the British 'democrats' who feared the tremendous growth of our liberation movement. The English have organized an illegal terrorist militia which they are beginning to employ against the workers' and peasants' unions throughout Ceylon. The British-appointed Governor General has suspended the constitution and now governs by military decree, in the fashion of Hitler.

"If the Sinhalese people were able to express themselves by means of a democratic vote 80-90 percent would vote to break away from the British Empire which they feel is strangling them. But since this right is not given to them they must employ other means to obtain their freedom.

"And this is where the work of our Party, the Ceylon Socialist Party, comes in. We are definitely opposed to the Second (Social Democratic) International which endorses the war aims of the Allied imperialists. Likewise, we denounce the policy of the Third (Stalinist) International which is for the defense of

one imperialist bloc as against the other. Our policy is the policy of internationalism—that is, the workers of every country must act independently of their rulers and oppressors. They must fight for their own freedom and for socialism.

"It is our belief that the colonial peoples will be the first to raise the banner of revolt against this imperialist war. When that time comes we know that class conscious American workers will be of real aid to us in assuring our victory. From what I have observed in America, the Socialist Workers Party is the only anti-war, revolutionary party that is preparing to lead the workers to socialism. We socialists and revolutionists of Ceylon wish to extend our fraternal greetings."

N. M. U. Bureaucrats Stand in Way Of Winning Seamen's Real Demands

By SIDNEY MOORE
(Continued from Last Issue)

There is at present a sharp disproportion between the working conditions, the economic standards of the maritime working class and their organized power, their will to struggle for such concrete demands and their unswerving militancy. A mutually frightened and conservative officialdom is resting like a dead weight upon the power and resources of the seamen.

Witness the peculiar and supposedly practical method of putting the main emphasis on "secondary" picketing at such important centers as gasoline stations during the recent Tanker strike. Also the "practical" strike tactic of allowing union crews to sail vessels that were using the "hot oil" loaded from scab-run tanker ships.

Witness the militant caliber of the present officialdom by how quickly they bowed when the Maritime Commission barked and threw them a bone for a "war-bonus" in the form of a 25 percent increase in wages. An agreement that settled nothing but only increased the resentment of the rank and file and the belligerence of the administration-shipowners union-busting alliance.

Shifting the Blame
As always, whenever a battle is lost, the officialdom blames it upon the "non-understanding" and "backward" membership. There is soon coming the day when these despicable insults to the militancy of the membership will not go unanswered. Time and time again, these maritime workers have demonstrated a willingness "to go down the line" for their demands and always the Stalinists went down first without even a fight.

The present officialdom, trying vainly to act as a conciliatory medium between the steamship owners - administration alliance

Stalin's Fake 'Left Turn' Masks Reactionary Foreign Policy

(Continued from Page 1)
It stood prior to Aug. 23, except that the place then occupied by England and France is now taken by Germany. Then Germany was the "aggressor", now England and France are the "aggressors"! Then the "peace-loving" powers were England and France, now Hitler is the peace-lover!

The same false methodology of making a fundamental distinction between the two imperialist camps is used today as before. Aug. 23, only the distinction is now made in favor of Hitler.

Molotov and Dimitrov Whitewash Hitler

Molotov's Oct. 31 speech officially indicated the new line. "Today, as far as the European great powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a State that is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaring against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1).

This estimate received its full-dress formulation by Dimitrov, two days later. He developed a "theory" of "two stages" in the war. "In the first stage", Hitler was the aggressor. "Now, on the other

hand, the imperialists of Britain and France have passed over to the offensive, have hurled their peoples into war against Germany. . . . it is the British and French imperialists who have now come forward as the most zealous supporters of the continuation and further incitement of war."

The manifesto of the Communist International, in accordance with this theory of "two stages", directs all its fire against the democratic imperialists and has not a word of criticism of Hitler! Having served its purpose for six weeks, the view that all the belligerents are "equally guilty" is now dropped. Now only France and England are held to be culprits.

Comintern Struggles on Hitler's Behalf

The manifesto calls for struggle against England and France—but not against Hitler. Its formulations are carefully tailored for this purpose: "Take a stand against those who favor continuation of the war"—and the Comintern says that Hitler is for peace. "No support for the policy of the ruling classes directed towards continuation and spread of the imperialist slaughter." But, by obvious implication, support for the policy of the ruling classes directed against continuation of the slaughter, i.e., support for Hitler. Such are the key slogans of the manifesto of the Comintern.

Browder, applying the line to America, repeats it like a phonograph record. "At this moment," he says, "the responsibility for continuing this war lies, before all, upon the British and French imperialists."

We have cited the sections of the latest documents which make clear what the new line means: support of Hitler, masked as support of his "peace" policy. However, even dressed up with the "two stages" theory of Dimitrov, that line would be too unpalatable a dose for even the members of the Communist parties, not to speak of the impossibility of selling this line to the masses outside the Stalinist organizations.

Sweetening Stalin's Peppery Dish

The line is therefore encased in radical language such as the Stalinist has not employed since 1933. It is offered in a casing of talk about the "socialist revolution", the "bankruptcy of capitalism", etc. This radical verbiage has no other function than to serve as sugar-coating, as ornamentation, to the decidedly bitter, utilitarian core: support of Hitler in the present war. The radical coating is what the judges call obiter dicta: words and opinions which are irrelevant and separable from the practical conclusion which is embodied in a judge's decision.

The radical sugar-coating is, indeed, in flagrant contradiction to the practical conclusion reached. For example, Dimitrov quotes this from Lenin: "The character of the war depends not on who attacked and on whose side the 'enemy' is, but on which class is waging the war, what policy is being continued by the given war." If this very correct quotation from Lenin were more than sugar-coating for the document, it would be impossible for Dimitrov to go on to talk of two stages, in one of which Germany was the aggressor and the present one in which England and France are the aggressors. For what is Lenin saying? He is denying, repudiating, the concept of "aggressor"; he doesn't care who attacked.

For this very reason, Lenin refused to make any distinction between the two warring imperialist camps. That Germany made peace with the Soviet Union in March, 1918, and that a few months later both Austro-Hungary and Germany were seeking peace while the Allies pressed for a victorious conclusion—this made no difference whatsoever to Lenin in characterizing both camps as imperialist warring camps, and calling for class war against both camps. Dimitrov has the effrontery to quote Lenin for window-dressing, all the better to advocate a policy which is the opposite of that which Lenin advocated!

The radical sugar-coating is also in flagrant contradiction to the truth. "The Communists," says the manifesto, "have always fought against such a war. They warned the working people again and again that the ruling classes were preparing a destructive and bloody slaughter for hundreds of millions of people." But as late as Sept. 17, a few short weeks ago, the Stalinists, as we have seen, were still touting this war as a war for democracy!

Why the Press Passes this Counterfeit

The radical sugar-coating resembles the revolutionary policy of Lenin just about as much as the commodity sold in a house of prostitution resembles love. The Stalinists are, nevertheless, not alone in peddling this counterfeit as the real coin. They are being ably supported in this obscene business by the capitalist press. "Reds urge world revolt," says the New York Times headline, and the other papers differ only in being more sensational. Why are they so insistent upon helping the Stalinists pass off this counterfeit? For one reason only: the Stalinists are hopelessly vulnerable to repression, being identified by the masses as a tool of Hitler; the Stalinists are labelled revolutionaries by the capitalists, precisely in order to assault all real revolutionaries. As the Stalinists made an amalgam between revolutionaries and fascists in order to destroy the revolutionaries in the purges, the capitalists are making an amalgam between Stalinists and revolutionaries in order to attempt to destroy the revolutionaries.

A Balance Sheet of the Peoples Front

The capitalists are everywhere on the offensive against the revolutionaries. This is a period of stark reaction, no question about it. That it is such a period, the Stalinists have made possible as far as they can within their power. In closing their books for the peoples front period, the Stalinists are constrained to mention all their former partners in crime. Browder says: "The president and his administration . . . makes use of its former prestige among the masses to secure their acceptance of the program of Wall Street." But who provided Roosevelt with his "former" prestige? Who contributed more zealously than the Stalinists? Who concealed his every crime until today? Who called his WPA slashes the work of others, who supported his "neutrality" and armament program, marshalled the trade unions under his banners, etc.? Dimitrov says: "The Social-Democratic, Democratic and Radical funkeys of the bourgeoisie are brazenly distorting the anti-fascist slogans of the peoples front and are using them to deceive the masses." But the slogans are not distorted, they are the slogans of the peoples front—written by the Stalinists during the last five years, and the Stalinists, by uniting with these "funkeys of the bourgeoisie" in the peoples front and the French government, gave these funkeys a new lease on life, helped them smash the French working class.

"The peoples front tactics pursued in recent years," says Dimitrov, "helped the Spanish people to wage an armed struggle for two and a half years"—and, as history testifies, doomed that struggle to defeat. "If made it possible," Dimitrov goes on, "for the proletariat of France to obtain considerable social gains"—where are the gains? The peoples front movement, Dimitrov has the effrontery to say, "made it possible to postpone for a time the outbreak of the European war." Was that the effect of the peoples front votes—including the votes of the Stalinists—for military loans to Poland, for French armaments, for Daladier as premier? The Stalinists change their line, but not its predominant characteristic: a fabric of foul, brazen lies.

Thanks to the Stalinists and their Social-Democratic and bourgeois allies in the peoples front, the masses of Europe were delivered bound hand and foot to the war-makers.

Now the Stalinists change . . . war camps. That is the only change they make: from one imperialist camp to the other.

The Third Camp

Against both these camps the irreconcilable war of the working class must be waged. Not in alliance with either of these camps, but in deadly conflict against both of them, will the masses of the world secure their emancipation from war and all the other evils of capitalism. Neither the camp of Hitler-Stalin nor that of Daladier-Chamberlain-Roosevelt! The third camp, the camp of revolutionary struggle against war—that is the place for the workers of the world.

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OPENING
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HEADQUARTERS
Saturday, Nov. 11th
AT 8 P.M.
Dancing • Refreshments
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188 LENOX AVENUE
(Between 119-120th St.)

and the bulk of the rank and file seamen has only demonstrated their inability to deal any serious blows against the present boss offensive. This has only served to whet the open-shop appetites of the ship-owners. The Stalinists have succeeded in producing nothing but a series of retreats, compromises and general stalling with disappointment the only end-result. Of course, this stalling is always accompanied by truculent and militant editorials in the Pilot. This in the main is a picture of the N.M.U. during the last year and a half of its existence.

Bosses Understand
The bosses have long since sensed this bureaucratic immobility and have brazenly launched a drive against the very core of the maritime workers' power—the closed shop. This explains why during the recent weeks, the Negotiating Committee of the union has found the sessions at a stalemate with the bosses driving for the very dissolution of the union.

The conflict has sharpened to such an extent only because of the general preparation of American industry for the new war. Neither the Roosevelt Administration nor the shipowners wishes to face an organized maritime personnel during war. A major offensive seems about to begin on the waterfronts. They are undoubtedly heartened by a vacillating and compromising leadership in control of the organized seamen's ranks.

Opposition Program
The entire membership of the N.M.U. would instantly mobilize if it were given a concrete program that reflects their sentiments, as outlined above. The present agreement is entirely inadequate in meeting the economic needs of the seamen. In this situation the compromisers must be cleaned out by a bona fide progressive opposition.

This opposition must however proceed strictly on the basis of a program. It would doom itself to utter failure and sterility if it proceeded mainly on an "anti-Stalinist" or "anti-C.P. control" program. The issues in the maritime industry must not be limited to the mere ousting of a number of centrally-located Stalinist stooges. You won't convince anybody that way, except perhaps, some minor American Legion elements.

The real problem facing the maritime workers is to produce a leadership that would militantly attempt to win the economic demands. We do not oppose the present leadership only because they are C.P. stooges. We oppose any trade union leadership, C.P. or not, only when its policies fail to carry through the demands of the rank and file majority. An

position organized along such lines and with such a programmatic perspective could sweep the Stalinist misrulers from their seats in no time, as proven by the defeat of the Stalinist Westcoast administration in the New York Painters Union, District Council No. 9, despite the presence in the union of a more powerful C.P. fraction than in the N.M.U.

Agree on "True"
Meanwhile, another temporary truce" has been agreed upon by the N.M.U. leadership and the shipowners, with the shipowners demanding the open shop, no less! It must become clear to every honest seaman that this despicable drive against his living standards and organized power can only be met with a militant counter-offensive.

An end to all this cowardly stalling! Translate the "militant" tone of the Pilot editorials and headlines into some real job militancy in the field! Demand a clear and precise trade union program against the bosses and their stooges in the Maritime Commission!

A GIFT FOR VOROSHILOV

The German Nazi press has reported the following:

"Field Marshal Goering presents an Airplane to the Russian Minister of War Voroshilov." (headline)

"MOSCOW, Oct. 10 (TO)—A German plane of the 'Fieseler-Storch' type, piloted by members of the German Air Corps, landed at the local airfield. It was sent to the Soviet Minister of War Voroshilov as a gift by Field Marshal Goering."

Goering will now, in all probability, be rewarded with the Order of Stalin.

Russian Opposition Bulletin

The current issue of the Russian Opposition Bulletin is now available at the following book stores in New York City: Labor Book Shop, 116 University Pl.; Foreign News Depot, Times Bldg.; Meisel's Book Store, 278 Grand St.; Biederman's Book Store, 2nd Ave. & 12th St.; newstand, 3rd Ave. & 14th St., (NW).

This 32-page Bulletin contains 12 articles by Leon Trotsky, including: The USSR in War, Stalin—Agent of Hitler, The Enigma of the USSR, and others of extreme importance. Readers of Russian cannot afford to miss this issue.

ANNOUNCEMENT

CELEBRATE THE 22nd ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION at the Lower East Side Anniversary Social Refreshments—music by Stanton—games—prizes and surprises. 163 Norfolk St., (14th St. cross-town bus to Stanton St.) Nov. 11, 1939 Contribution—15c.

HEADQUARTERS Opening Social, Joe Hill Unit Y.P.S.L. invites all comrades and friends to a gala affair. Community Sing, Folk Dancing, Professional Magician, Sat., Nov. 11, 8:30, 4370 Broadway (186 St.) Washington Heights Youth Center. Admission 20c.

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WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

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 war; 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 sides 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 imperilled, 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 oft-exorcized 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 fascist 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 international workers' law.

The last war before the world is under international law.

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 this swag?

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

The Color Line in Culture

Waite Phillips is a Tulsa, Oklahoma, oil magnate—an "oligarch," 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 oligarchs 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-barreled 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 23.3 of "normal" in the week ending August 26 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 colorfully echoed by the N.Y. *Times*, chief newspaper 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 here. 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.

In the current issue of 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

Already the 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 Crook 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.

Crook'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.

am reasonable and rational. Great Britain (!) never disarmed, never without great resources of men, money and materials, could surely face up and say something definite (!) to the powerful dictatorial nations of Europe."

His speech greeting Chamberlain's efforts at Munich itself created a scandal which is still remembered. The social patriots used it to great advantage in Great Britain today. Thus, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, whom we mentioned in a recent column, in the course of an article in *Forward*: "Even James Maxton, the chief spokesman of the pacifists in Parliament, has admitted that the Prime Minister did everything possible to avert the catastrophe."

The difference between the I.L.P. stand and that of the Militant Labour League is the difference between opportunists to whom program is a matter of indifference and revolutionists who approach every problem precisely from the point of view of their fundamental program.

John McGovern, another I.L.P. parliamentarian, whose politics are not much better than Maxton's, nevertheless occasionally rises to a higher level of moral courage. The British press tells this story:

On September 2, when the declaration of war was being debated in the House of Commons, Arthur Greenwood, the leader of the Labour Party got up to make an impassioned speech pledging the support of the social patriots to the Chamberlain government. His ringing jingoistic phrases were greeted by "members of all parties" with cheers and cries: "Speak for England!" Greenwood reached the peak of his oratory with this sentence:

"If we march I hope we shall march in complete unity, and march with France."

Suddenly, the papers report, "there was a dramatic intervention by Mr. John McGovern."

"Turning round and facing the crowded Socialist benches, Mr. McGovern shouted: 'You people don't intend to march, not a damn one of you!'"

The press attacked McGovern's remarks as "in bad taste." He was not polite enough to refrain from reminding the war-mongering Labour generals behind the front that their generous pledges to "sacrifice all" were to be taken out exclusively from the hides of the millions of their trade union followers. Greenwood and Co., as is well known, are amply provided with soft berths in the administration at the rear.

McGovern's commendable "rowdiness" in the House of Commons is about the high point of the I.L.P.'s contribution to the struggle against war. While we admire McGovern's sense of the dramatic we cannot refrain from pointing out that even such completely middle class politicians as the elder LaFollette in the United States Senate have in their time shown a similar disregard for the amenities on occasion with similar personal courage—without thereby furthering the ultimate struggle against war appreciably.

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 a netty 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. 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 soundly 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.