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Two Votes In The House

Roosevelt cut the relief appropriation to the tune of a billion dollars. No funds.
 Congress cut the appropriation by another \$150,000,000. No funds.

The big majority of Congress, including Democrats and Republicans, were denounced as Tories, reactionaries, enemies of the people, heartless scoundrels—especially by the Stalinists.

By almost unanimous vote (367 to 15), the House voted last Wednesday to increase the Army Air Corps to 5,500 serviceable airplanes. With other expenditures in the May bill, an outlay of more than a third of a billion dollars (about \$376,000,000) is involved.
 No funds for the millions of hungry and homeless unemployed.

Plenty of funds with which to plunge the masses into the massacre of imperialist war.
 The Stalinists leading the cheering squad for Roosevelt's war-armaments program because it is in the "cause of democracy."

Then how does it happen that virtually every single Congressman, including all the Tories, reactionaries, Liberty Leaguers, enemies of the people, heartless scoundrels, and friends of Fascism in the House of Representatives—voted for this "democratic" war program?

The professional liars of the Communist Party try to explain away their embarrassing position by saying that the "reactionary Republicans" were afraid of the people, who are allegedly aching to leap into another war.

But, they weren't afraid of the people when they cut the relief budget right through the bone.
 The real reason for the almost unanimous vote of the House is, as every child should know, that the Roosevelt arms program is a reactionary imperialist program.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties, and all their factions, are imperialist to the marrow.
 They differ slightly on how much to starve the jobless.

They are solidly united in preparing a war to defend and extend Wall Street's imperialist interests throughout the world.

Exhuming Mr. Hoover

On fitting occasions such as high holidays and memorial ceremonies for capitalist politicians long ago laid under tombstones, the bourgeois press dedicates a few columns to Herbert Hoover, ex-president of the United States.

His photograph generally illustrates his statements, staring accusingly at the voter from above a profitable underwear advertisement, with all the expression of a fat man in a butcher shop window.

Everybody knows that Herbert Hoover as a political deluder of the workers and farmers is nothing but a memory. No one takes him seriously except possibly Bill Green, who is as fast on his feet as a sack of coal, and even Bill must wonder sometimes if Hoover will ever really be president again.

The capitalist press prints Herbert's face and Herbert's statements with the same nostalgic longing for the good old days of the past that a doddering octogenarian exhibits when he turns back the pages of the family album. See, here's great-grandpaw; he shot the Indians. Grandpaw, there slaughtered the Mexicans.
 Next to him is great-uncle. He got all the national forests, the richest deposits of minerals, the water power of the nation, and organized fraud, corruption and the big corporations.

And this is Herbert. He was the most promising of all. He promised us prosperity forever. If Herbert were in office now. . . . Do you remember how he ran the bonus army out of Washington?

Lincoln's birthday was the memorial occasion for Herbert's last appearance in the capitalist press. He gave a long speech accusing Franklin D. of usurping

the mantle of Abraham Lincoln. Herbert claims the mantle. We are not concerned about who wins this squabble over the mantle. Neither Franklin nor Herbert look much like the giant rail-splitter.

Yet it would be completely unrealistic not to see that unless a third alternative is presented before 1940, the Republican party, no doubt with a stream-lined New Dealer to replace Hoover, will stand good chances of winning the election.

The dissatisfaction of the workers and farmers expressed itself at the last election with substantial Republican victories. And Bill Green's criticisms of the New Deal fit nicely into that pattern.

So long as the people are presented with only two parties to choose from, the pendulum will shift further and further to the right.

Only a party that is really the workers' own can hope to break through this combination. The first step on the road to ending all capitalist politics whether of the Hoover, Roosevelt, or *Daily Worker* variety is the formation of a Labor Party.

The giant flying fortresses recently seen in Minneapolis "can perform feats unequalled by any other plane in the world," i.e., kill more damned workers per square yard than any other kind of plane.

Dividends and Profits Week

Thanksgiving Day and Christmas are celebrated by most people as the two days in the year when everyone should rejoice, give thanks, and overflow with peace and goodwill toward all living creatures, including the boss.

But the workers on starvation wages, for relief clients, the unemployed, and the 3,000,000 American youth permanently locked out from industry, the happiest days of the year come in January when the giant corporations of the country publish their reports of the year's shakedown.

We therefore add our voice to the happy rejoicing of our supporters over the rosy items in the financial sections of the capitalist press and move that an official holiday be declared the better to commemorate the agreeable profits and blessings capitalism has wrung from us during its year's exploitation of our labor power.

During DIVIDENDS AND PROFITS WEEK we celebrate gratefully the following sweet tidbits gouged from the point of production in 1938 (nothing less than a million dollar shakedown mentioned):

TO THE

Stockholders of National Biscuit Co.	\$12,799,770
Stockholders of American Snuff Co.	\$1,654,984
Stockholders of Beneficial Industrial...	\$6,185,949
Stockholders of Cream of Wheat Corp.	\$1,232,291
Stockholders of Link-Belt Co.	\$1,106,041
Stockholders of Murphy Company...	\$2,489,866
Stockholders of Nat'l Bond & Invest.	\$1,213,450
Stockholders of National Lead Co.	\$4,499,797

For SPECIAL GRATITUDE DAY during the festive time of DIVIDENDS AND PROFITS WEEK, we nominate the net profits of eight chain store corporations for the year 1937 (figures just released by the Securities and Exchange Commission): \$59,000,000.

When the shouts of joy and hallelujahs over this chunk of pie have died down, we propose commemorative exercises for the following profits in the years mentioned for these same eight corporations: 1936, \$61,000,000; 1935, \$57,000,000; 1934, \$56,000,000. Praise capitalism!

Now for those rolling in the wealth of a W.P.A. salary or spending their way to happiness on a relief check, we are happy to report that their fellow-workers on the Board of Directors of these eight companies were not far below them in benefits received during the year of capitalist economy.

For lolling in a mahogany chair at a few directors' meetings one company paid its board for a single year's slavery during the four year period covered by the Commission report, the sum of \$1,168,328.

The smallest of the eight companies during 1937, the worst year of the four, had to cut down to \$89,250 for the year, but the other companies made up for it in democratic fashion, paying anywhere from a half million to a million dollars to its directors and officers, to each according to his needs as the saying goes.

When we have cleared away the dollar signs, the ticker tape, and clipped coupons of this week's celebration, we will spread around the check stubs of some more corporations for another week of grateful thanks and joy for capitalism.

Fables For The Russians

In its issue of Feb. 15 the *Daily Worker* prints the text of an article cabled to the Moscow *Pravda* by Earl Browder, boss of the Communist party. Here is one of the little fables Browder tells the Russian masses:

"The progressive camp, with Roosevelt's leadership, has clearly come out for a policy of halting the aggressor powers, and for armaments adequate to support such a policy. Republicans and Tory Democrats have equally demonstrated their support to an American equivalent of the policy of Chamberlain, modified by opposition to American armaments. . . ."

The very same day, Feb. 15, the House of Representatives voted almost unanimously for the May war planes bill. All the Republicans (except 14) and all the Democrats, Tories included (except 1) voted for the Roosevelt Administration armaments bill.

The cable companies must have a grand time (and an honest profit) by carrying Stalin's lies about Russia to the United States and Browder's lies about the United States to Russia.

Is Stalinist Foreign Policy Moving To Conciliation with the Fascists?

Recent Steps by the Kremlin in the Trade Pact With Italy Indicate A New Trend for 'Post-Munich' Times

Two weeks ago, a few days after the fall of Barcelona, the news appeared rather obscurely in the world press that the Soviet Union had just concluded a new trade pact with Italy. The report stated that Soviet-Italian trade was expected to increase under the new pact from around \$20,000,000 yearly to \$50,000,000.

Several years ago the then existing Italian-Soviet pact was broken off with recriminations from both sides, and the majority of the respective consulates and commercial representatives of the two countries were withdrawn. The new development thus sharply reverses the action taken at that time.

Notoriously Silent on the Refugees

The pact with Italy seems to fit in with a number of incidents which have occurred, and rumors which have been circulated, since Munich. Several delegations have been travelling back and forth between Berlin and Moscow. During the autumn, Walter Duranty, unofficial but authoritative Kremlin spokesman, wrote several articles putting forward the notion that Germany, since the absorption of Austria and the Sudetenland, had become the major force in Europe for peace and stability—required by Germany, said Duranty, in order to consolidate its conquests and its new domination of the greater part of the Continent.

During the height of the Nazi persecutions this autumn and winter, the Kremlin notoriously omitted any offer of refuge, and in general had very little to say. In Hitler's recent speech to the Reichstag, it was widely remarked that he turned his attention away from the Ukraine, and concentrated on Germany's need for exports and for colonies. Though he had a few standard phrases about "Bolshevism," he said nothing about Russia—in startling

contrast to almost all of his previous major speeches.

Franco Used Russian Fuel
 In the financial section of the N. Y. Times of Sunday, February 12, there appeared a solid and circumstantial article by the ace reporter Carmichael on the question of the present trend in Soviet foreign trade policy, particularly with respect to petroleum. He showed the enormous sales of petroleum, and plans for sales, to Germany and Italy, and related these to the new Italian-Soviet pact.

No general criticism "in principle" can, of course, be made to Soviet trade with the fascist countries. The Soviet Union is isolated in the world economic market of imperialism, and it must attempt to utilize that market for its own purposes. That, in passing, is a basic reason for the absurdity of the Stalinist conception of "socialism in one country."

It must, however, be confessed that the signing of the new pact with Italy under the given circumstances and at the given time was an act, at the very least, of the most contemptible cynicism and hypocrisy. Russia supplies the fuel—which Italy otherwise lacks—with which the armies of Franco destroy Spain! But this was precisely foreshadowed by the fact that the fuel used by Italy in Ethiopia also came largely from Russia.

Munich Ended A Period in Soviet Policy
 Likewise are these incidents a sufficiently obvious commentary upon the Stalinist campaigns for boycotts of Italy or Germany carried on within the democratic imperialist nations.

But much more than this is involved. These events, serve to throw additional light on the present trend in the orientation of the foreign policy of the Kremlin, a

trend which set in immediately following Munich and which has been gathering strength.

Munich brought to a close one period of Kremlin policy—the policy of exclusive orientation on the democracies, the period of the Franco-Soviet Pact. This policy simply blew up at Munich.

Stalin turns, then, toward Hitler and Mussolini: there is no other way to read what has happened. Two possible variants seem to be envisaged: The turn might fully succeed; a deal might be concluded with either Hitler or Mussolini or both, preferably the former; and in such a case, Stalin dreams (quite vainly) that he would be sitting safe and pretty.

Outcome Depends on Hitler
 Or, assuming that a deal is unlikely or even impossible, the threat of such a deal can be used in an attempt to blackmail an alliance out of Great Britain and France. Stalin is trying to say to Chamberlain: you wouldn't play ball; very well, unless you come around I'll turn to a new friend and leave you on a limb, permit your empire to be plucked to pieces; and if you don't believe me, keep your eyes open.

The outcome, however, does not depend primarily on Stalin. That Hitler should make a deal with the Kremlin is not excluded; but his price would be high, very high, perhaps so high that Stalin's acceptance of it would mean his fall internally. But the first cards are now being played.

Above all the new events demonstrate again that Stalin and Stalinism can no longer in any sense defend the interests of the Soviet Union. That job belongs to the workers, of Russia and of the entire world; and to do their job they have got to finish once and for all with Stalin, and his gang, and their ways that have led and will lead only to defeat and disaster.

Colonel Batista Visits Mexico

The Man Who Established A Bloodthirsty Regime of Terror Against the Cuban Masses is Being Dressed Up by Stalin's Hirelings As A Snow-White Democrat

By MIGUEL SANCHEZ
 The "good-will" tour is one of the standard commodities of the Latin-American politics of our time, and Colonel Fulgencio Batista's recent mission to Mexico, mostly glossed over in the bourgeois press was just this type of visit. At the same time it gave new prominence to issues which such tours are supposed to cloak.

The diplomatic intrigues his trip involved need command but little of our attention. Washington, for example, was supposed to disapprove of his visit, while Argentine watched it with malicious interest. Mexico, so it was said, angled to gain support for her expropriations policy; how, was never revealed. Batista's demagogic invocation of a Mexico City-Havana-Washington axis, the axis to end all axes, strove actually to give a phantom reality to the fiction of Cuban sovereignty. Over and above all this, there is for us another phase of the whole affair that is very much our immediate concern.

Whitewashed by Stalinists
 For some months now the Communist Party of Cuba has striven mightily to sell Batista in his new guise of "democrat." The party press pictures him as a true son of the proletariat—a man in turn barber, tailor, carpenter, cane worker, railroad, soldier and stenographer—who, at this late date, after years of bloody rule as a dictator, is repenting his unsavory past and nostalgically recalling his humble origin. James Ford of the Communist Party of the United States, for instance, took an enthusiastic lead in the "ovation" tendered Batista on his return to Havana from Washington some months back.

The Stalinists in Mexico helped this cause along on the occasion of the official reception in Mexico City by putting on an impressive show of trade unionists, marching in review before the very man who, only three years ago in his own country, destroyed trade unionism, murdered its leaders, jailed and tortured the rest in what has been denounced as one of the most atrocious reigns of terror in the history of the New World.

Soothsayers for Russia
 It is one thing for Mexican labor, at the bidding of its leaders, to parade its armed militia, even before Batista; for, in a way it prudently advertises thereby consciousness of its own deep reservoirs of strength. The Stalinist

leaders, however, who made open obedience to Batista the high point of his visit, made a public declaration of an entirely different order; namely, their kinship with a pan-Americanism, which harbors grave dangers for the millions of English and Spanish speaking workers of both Americas.

These dangers relate first, to the war plans of the "democratic" bloc of nations; second, and cut from the same cloth, to the preparations by American finance capital for an economic stranglehold over the life of the "raw-material nations" to the south of us, actions, obviously, not at all contradictory. In this connection, a footnote can be written to the Lima conference, at which the United States made its deliberate bid for trade supremacy in Latin America, in that the strongest support and most vociferous praise for such a course was voiced in the Communist press throughout the United States and Ibero-America.

The reason behind this is clear. The Stalinist parties act not in the interests of the landless peasantry or the exploited proletariat, but as sooth-sayers for Russia's foreign policy.

Their vicious maneuvers are calculated to hold the United States in line as an ally of Stalin in a European war. Because of that they do not merely overlook American imperialist drives, lest they step on sensitive corns in Washington; they go much further and act as advance agents for that imperialism and as bulwarks for tottering straw-bosses like Batista.

Over-reach Themselves
 Yet evidences are at hand that the Stalinists are over-reaching themselves in Latin America, and that hatred of Yankee imperialism is far from quenched. The beginning of political wisdom does not consist in playing Wall Street's looting game. Their meager success in palming off Batista as the "democratic" white hope of impoverished Cuba is a dangerous stimulant to Stalinists, who are even less lovely in waving the banner of "democracy" in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Latin America than in draping themselves with the Stars and Stripes at home.

The paramount fact in the currently seething Cuban sugar bowl is that the Communist party there is doing everything possible to prevent the emergence of the Cuban masses against Batista. It is ham-stringing the deep-felt wish for genuine trade unionism and militancy by a cynical policy of class collaborationism.

In the realignment of political forces now taking shape on the island, the Stalinists have the lead in the People's Front, formed on behalf of Batista, by the C. P., Sergio Carbo of the old Partido Revolucionario Cubano and the Partido Liberal, Machado's old party. Opposing this, is the so-called "Civlist Front," composed of Grau San Martin, Menocal, Miguel Gomez and the A.B.C., discredited politicians all. Between these two groups, the Cuban masses are ground as between two millstones. The difference between them is one of degree, not of kind.

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IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

"A nation, no more than a woman, is excused for the unguarded hour when the first adventurer who comes along can do violence to her. . . . There remains to be explained how a nation of thirty-six millions can be surprised by three swindlers, and taken to prison without resistance."

What Karl Marx wrote about Louis Bonaparte's France of 1851 applies not only to the Czechoslovakia of 1938, or to nations and women in general, but to men and parties and all political leaders.

The liberal of the Stalinist, social-democratic or old-fashioned persuasion, has thickened the atmosphere for months on end with a wall of agonized and bewildered grief. Like the incautious lady who is repeatedly yanked into an alley by escorts who turn out to be a bit on the caddish side, they continue, between execrating sobs, to tell soul-searing tales of how they were betrayed by the Democracies with whom they kept company.

You can hardly pick up a copy of the *Post* in New York, where Mr. Ludwig Lore runs a column of foreign news comment, or the *Daily Worker*, where Mr. Harry Gannes does the same, without reading a lurid confession of how they were done dirt—alas, not for the first time—by some Democratic statesman in whom they put their girlish trust.

Betrayed By Their Best Friends
 They hail "Schuschnigg, and he betrays them. General Sirovy betrays them. So do Chamberlain and Daladier. So does King Carol of Rumania. And it is all beyond their comprehension.

Why do Chamberlain and Daladier, spokesmen of British and French Democracy, allow Hitler to take first Austria and then Czechoslovakia without a fight? Why don't they send their mighty Armadas to prevent their rival, Mussolini, from swallowing up first Ethiopia and then Spain? Why does British Democracy sit by idly while the Japanese ogre carves up China and even encroaches directly upon the southern provinces in which millions of good English sterling are invested? Why has Browder failed thus far to convince Roosevelt and the Chamber of Commerce to send an expedition to Asia to protect Wall Street's investments in China?

Why, in a word, have not yet the Great Democracies started a Holy War against the Fascist Aggressors to protect the Little Democracies instead of "betraying" them?

Sassoon Explains. . . .
Business Is Business
 A thousandfold sander answer than you can find in any of the Stalinist, social-democratic or liberal press, was given the other day by a man who has more to say in deciding the foreign policy of the "democracies" than half a dozen Prime Ministers and two-thirds of the members of their respective Parliaments. They come and go and are forgotten. He and his like remain. We refer to the gentleman who recently passed through the United States on his way home, Sir Victor Sassoon, of the House of E. D. Sassoon and Co.

The House of Sassoon, international bankers and investors, has existed for generations. Its interests lie in Bombay, Shanghai, Istanbul, Cairo, Salonika, London—everywhere. It is part of that upper circle of moneyed overlords like the Lazards, Rothschilds, Baring, Goldschmids, Morgans, Ralls, etc., which dominates not only the counting rooms of the world, but most of its governments, and has dominated them for years.

He wants, he said in an interview with the N. Y. *Post* (Feb. 2) Great Britain to back Japan and not Russia. And the United Democratic Front? Nonsense! Business is business.

"Suppose the Japanese crushed or won over its opposition in China. They'd have to have a great deal of money to develop or make anything of it. The only places to get those sums would be the United States and Britain and perhaps France. . . . They're facing what Italy faces after conquering Ethiopia: What can they do with it, lacking enormous capital? All the Japanese bankers, economists and diplomats I've talked to see that clearly, if the army doesn't."

Statesmen Are Loyal To Their Class
 But why doesn't this British patriot and banker advocate at least that economic embargo against Japan which, we are assured by the Champions of Democracy, would bring the Aggressor to his knees without resorting to war? The *Post* story explains that, too:

"Japan doesn't want to declare war on China, he explained, because that would bring down the American embargo on exports. Seventy percent of the essential materials for war that Britain must import have been coming from us, Great Britain and France—not the dictator nations.

"He admitted that if the democratic Powers clamped an economic embargo on Japan they could stop the undeclared war in China. However, this probably would bring on a Japanese economic collapse and that would likely bring Communism to Japan."

Three paragraphs from Sir Victor are, as we see, more important and more revealing than a Popular Front speech by Daladier plus a Fireside Chat by Roosevelt plus a House of Commons report by Chamberlain plus a Peace-Through-War manifesto by Browder, with a maudlin *Nation* editorial thrown in.

We rise to defend the good name of the statesmen of Democratic capitalism. They are loyal to their class and its interests. They defend them stoutly. They are not traitors to their avowed cause. But the "labor leaders" who ask the masses to follow them, are!

Labor Looks Through The Press
 By ARTHUR HOPKINS

The Japanese finance ministry calls upon all Japanese women to stop eating sweet potatoes and help win the war. Potatoes are needed for conversion into badly needed alcohol. This applies only to the upper classes, of course, since the lower don't know what a sweet potato tastes like. All the latter is called upon to sacrifice is the blood of their male relatives.

In Louisville a hill-billy appealed to an attorney to take his case against a cigar salesman who sold him a cigar for \$1.50 with a guarantee that it would grow longer as he smoked it. The cigar burned down like an ordinary cigar, he complained. Don't laugh, gentle reader—this is no stupider than the theory that what goes into the bosses' pockets benefits the workers.