

# DEMOCRACY

Jackson, Miss., Feb. 9 (AP).—White and Negro school children in Mississippi will have separate sets of civics textbooks....

The Senate passed yesterday, 37-9, a measure providing free textbooks in the first eight grades but adopted an amendment which.... would eliminate from the civics texts for Negroes instruction in such principles as voting.

The lawmaking body also voted to keep free textbooks for Negroes in separate warehouses. Dr. E. M. Gavin, senator from Stafford Springs, said:

"The prevalence of syphilis and tuberculosis among the Negro population makes this amendment advisable and I am for it."

# REVOLT

Published by the Central Committee of the  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, U.S.

P. O. Box 5463, Chicago, Ill.

3 cents a copy—50 cents a half year (13 issues)—\$1.00 a year (26 issues)

Vol. III.—No. 4

CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 2, 1940

Whole No. 35

## Riddle: WHAT IS WELLES' MISSION?

**AN AIR** of mystery surrounds the mission of Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, to Rome, Berlin, Paris and London. As originally announced on February 9 it was to be a fact finding mission to get data on the situation of the various governments he was to visit for the use of U. S. government of which he is an important officer. To avoid charges that it was another case of President Wilson and Colonel House, Roosevelt explained that Welles was not authorized to make any proposals or commitments. His business was exclusively to collect facts.

Why Roosevelt had to resort to this extraordinary means of getting facts when he has at his disposal the entire diplomatic machinery of the United States government, when he has Ambassadors and well staffed and highly paid Embassies in the cities Welles was to visit, Roosevelt did not explain. And on the next day after his announcement of Welles' mission Roosevelt appeared before the American Youth Congress, then in session, and made an attack on the German government, one of the governments Welles was scheduled to visit.

**ALMOST IMMEDIATELY** following these events began to circulate the effort that

mission to Roosevelt to advance his own ambitions as a big figure; that Secretary of State, Hull, Welles' superior, was opposed to the mission; and that a number of the Ambassadors to the countries Welles was to visit were resentful of the mission as a reflection on the reports they had been sending in to Washington.

Hull indignantly denied that there was any rift in policy between himself and Roosevelt either as to general foreign policy and this mission. In view of the fact that a number of Hull's policies have run counter to New Deal policies and have been the cause of friction in the New Deal camp since his appointment to the Cabinet, his denial only deepens the mystery.

Welles sailed on the seventeenth together with Taylor, Roosevelt's personal representative to the Vatican with which the United States government has had no diplomatic relations since 1867. This was the occasion for comment in the foreign press, which has not thrown any real light on the purpose or significance of the mission. **Red Star**, organ of the Stalinist red army, denounced the mission:

**Welles' task consists of studying plans for the erection of new war theaters and prospects for American trade.**

**American plutocracy is interested in war, not peace. Welles must learn what compensation awaits the United States for aiding plans for spreading war.**

**LEON BLUM**, lackey of the French ruling class wrote in an editorial in **Populaire**, organ of the French socialist party:

**I consider it entirely a plausible hypothesis that by sending Mr. Welles to Europe President Roosevelt may have the desire to weigh with all possible precision one of the elements of his eventual decision.**

by which the author of the "non-intervention committee" policy for Spain in 1936-39, meant Roosevelt's candidacy for a third term.

A wireless to the **New York Times** from London said:

**Financial opinion here concerning the forthcoming visit of... Welles to Europe is well expressed by the ECONOMIST, which says that the mission apparently is an attempt to reconcile very different types of opinion. To the isolationists President Roosevelt can argue that his is not a policy drifting into war, that he is doing his best to shorten the conflict and that the terms of Mr. Welles' mission make it impossible for any entanglement in the war to result from the visit.**

On the other hand, says the **ECONOMIST**, taking the point of view of the New Dealers and others who have a positive idea of the role of the United States in world politics, the President can argue that Mr. Welles' mission does serve to keep the United States claim to leadership and to participation in the ultimate peace settlement well before the eyes of the Allies.

**The United States does not want to be drawn into European affairs, neither does it want to be left out. Mr. Welles' mission exactly expresses this paradox.**

What appears to have been a highly confused and contradictory article in the **Relazione Internazionale**, described as an Italian semi-official political magazine, declared that since Welles' mission did not have a "concrete objective, it cannot be successful." If this were meant sarcastically it might have a meaning. But it appears to have been meant seriously which only shows that the mission is not only mysterious but mystifying in its effects.

**ALL THIS** was on the seventeenth. Three days later while Welles was en route for Rome, John

## The Social Democrats Show their Solidarity With the Capitalists

**VANCOUVER**, B. C., Jan. 31 (UP).—An appeal is on its way today from Socialist Mayor J. Lyle Telford to the Canadian government to give unemployed men first chance to join the army to save them from being jailed as vagrants....

**PARIS**, Feb. 27 (AP).—Increased propaganda in the United States to make the Allied version of war aims clear to Americans was urged by Socialist Deputy Raymond Vidal in the Chamber of Deputies debate today....

Vidal said that, without desiring the intervention of the United States he believed, nevertheless, that "if Americans were better informed they would give more aid to hasten our victory."

More scandalous than the behaviour of the Canadian and French socialists has been the behaviour of the Finnish and Swedish social-democrats.

In 1917 when the social-democrats were the overwhelming majority party in the country and had power in their hands they did not proclaim a workers' government and take steps to smash the resistance of the Finnish capitalist plotters against the Finnish workers and peasants. They allowed Baron Mannerheim to organize an army to drown the Finnish revolution in blood.

**MANNERHEIM**, with German help, tortured and killed tens of thousands of workers' and imprisoned close to a hundred thousand more. So terrible was the white terror that ever since the revolutionary movement has been prostrate. And the Finnish workers and peasants have been bled white to pay interest and principal on the loans Mannerheim's government made in English and American capitalist markets. Chief instrument in Mannerheim's terror has been the Civic Guard.

For this, said Lenin, the Finnish capitalists will never be forgiven.

When Stalin began to threaten Finland last fall the social-democratic party which is the largest party in the Finnish parliament although not the

T. Whitaker cabled the **Chicago Daily News** from Paris:

Neither France nor Britain wants peace now. The Allies are not fighting to negotiate a peace which would leave Adolf Hitler's army intact and risk another adventure in German expansion as soon as the British and French were demobilized....

Whatever Welles may do on this trip, the French feel that his visit will be exploited by German propaganda. The Germans will try to persuade the French and British publics that one of the Allies is secretly seeking peace behind the other's back and has connived with President Roosevelt....

Regardless of President Roosevelt's instructions to Welles his visit, once he has arrived in Rome, will begin to appear as straight negotiations for a drawn peace, it is felt here. That is what Premier Mussolini wants, that is what the Pope wants, and it is felt that they will be able to put that complexion on it.

**ON THE TWENTY** first the United Press reported from Welles' ship, the Rex:

...Welles... will survey the whole field of German-American relations during the visit in Berlin, this correspondent was informed today.

His recommendations to the President and Mr. Hull, it was understood, may result in re-establishment of full diplomatic relations between the United States and the Third Reich....

Part of the work of the Welles mission, informants said, is to find out what the United States can do toward laying a groundwork for lasting peace in concert with other neutral powers, when the present war ends....

Italy is the only neutral country on Welles  
Continued on page two

majority began negotiations with the Civic Guard to "bury the hatchet."

On February 20 formal announcements were made, according to a cable to the **New York Times**, that "social-democrats would join the Guard."

**IN SWEDEN** the social democratic party is the largest party in the Riksdag, or parliament, having very close to a majority. The Premier is Per A. Hansson, social-democrat, whose cabinet of twelve has eight social-democratic ministers. The overwhelming sympathy of the Swedish social Democrats is with the Finnish comrades who are facing extermination at the hands of Stalin. Popular opinion is for sending direct military aid to the Finnish government.

But King Gustav has declared that from the first day of the Russian-Finnish war it has been the deliberate policy of the Swedish government not to send direct military aid to Finland. And to this it has added refusal to permit the transport of Allied troops across its territory to Finland. The Swedish capitalists are afraid of becoming involved in the Allied-German war and are afraid of Stalin.

Popular resentment against this policy is great. But the King stands fast. Shoulder to shoulder with the King stands his loyal footman, social-democratic Premier, Per A. Hansson.

In Canada and France the social-democrat leaders stand loyally by the ruling class to help them win the imperialist war by shedding workers' blood.

In Sweden they serve the nationalist interests of their capitalist masters by standing aloof from the war and sacrificing their Finnish comrades and the lofty ideals they proclaim with so many words.

Even in Finland in the very shadow of death they take advantage of the need of the workers to defend themselves against the Stalinist butchers to make peace with their Finnish butchers.

Can one imagine a more craven policy and peo-  
than the social-democracy?

# DOUBLE CROSS FOR PALESTINE JEWS

"The Jews of Palestine," said Dr. Chaim Weizman, leader of world Zionism and life-long supporter of British imperialism who favored the Royal Commission's plan to partition Palestine in 1937, in what the **Chicago Times** of January 31 called an exclusive interview—

**will fight for England in the Near East or anywhere in the world.**

**My people are ready to send a regiment of Zionists to the western front whenever the British say they need help....**

**Every able-bodied Jewish man and woman, boy and girl in Palestine has registered for war service. We even offered to train troops for service outside Palestine.**

On February 28 Edward Agly who is "With the British Army in France" telephoned the **New York Herald Tribune**:

**British general headquarters announced today the arrival at a French Mediterranean port of the first contingent of the Palestine Auxiliary Military Pioneers Corps. The contingent numbers about 700 men. Of these, it is understood about three-fourths are Jews and the rest Arabs with a small British staff in command....**

**All members of this first Jewish-Arab contingent to reach the west-**

**ern war zone are volunteers.**

We see that Weizman was not making empty boasts.

In that interview he said:

**There is a temporary lull in Palestine....**

This also appears to have been the truth. On January 9 Joseph M. Levy cabled from Cairo to the **New York Times**:

**Arabs were unwilling to discuss any political solution of the Palestine problem, yet they were eager for close economic cooperation with the Jews....**

It would be a gross misrepresentation to say that the Arabs are now reconciled to the Zionist aims for Palestine. Arab nationalism and the Arab opposition to Zionism are as strong as ever. It is a simple fear of starvation, which the Arabs believe may result from the war, that impels them to seek the benefits accruing from economic cooperation. Some time later Miss Sulamith Schwartz "who recently returned to New York City after living five years in Palestine," said the **New York Times**, reported:

**...formerly, hostile Arabs now are eager to sell land to Jewish settlers, and are even offering territory to the Jewish National Fund in sections long regarded as**

**"purely and permanently Arabic."**

In his interview Weizman said:

**The English would like to see Arab and Jew settle their own difficulties.**

On February 28, the same day that the first "purely Palestinian contingent" landed in France to "fight for England" a cable to the **New York Times** from London reported:

**The British Government, which promised during the World War to support both Arab and Jewish claims in Palestine, tonight virtually brought to a standstill Jewish penetration of agricultural areas in that country by defining one large region in which Jews were prohibited from purchasing land and restricting their purchases in another region....**

**The government's decision was taken against the will of the League of Nations Permanent Mandate Commission and without the approval of the League Council...**

Because he is a stickler for the niceties of international law and such things as the corpse of the League Major Clement Atlee, head of the British Labor Party, demanded to know "why the government was flouting the authority of the League and international law."

The **Times** cable said that "the government explained" that it was restricting and prohibiting the sale of land to Jews "to maintain the Arabs' existing standard of living and prevent the creation of a 'considerable landless Arab population'."

The Jewish Agency of which Weizman is the head, however, issued a

statement in which it charged that the restrictions were a "concession to Arab political claims, not a measure for the protection of Arab cultivators."

There is great bitterness in Palestine as a result of the government's action. In view of the tense situation in the Near East it appears to have been an exceedingly stupid thing for the British government to have stirred up the embers of a smouldering antagonism which has led, in 23 years to bitter struggles and taken its toll in thousands of lives. It would seem that the British government would have been overjoyed that at this time the bloody struggle was in abeyance and both sides were apparently lending support to its war against Germany.

Perhaps the presence of tens of thousands of Anzac troops in nearby Egypt encouraged it to think it could deal firmly with any opposition to its decision. But even if this were so it would be a stupid thing to needlessly arouse the bitter antagonism of millions of Jews in countries like the United States whose support it solicited during the last war by issuing the Balfour Declaration of 1917 establishing Palestine as a Jewish national homeland.

Surely, unless one is ready to believe that the British government is even more incredibly stupid than the speeches of Churchill and Chamberlain proclaim it to be, one must conclude that it had a compelling reason. William H. Stonehan cabled the **Chicago Daily News** on February 29

**The danger of another Arab rebellion in the Holy Land, with**

(Continued From Page One)

schedule. In a brief interview in his suite the day he sailed Welles "denied that he would see Pope Pius XII or visit the Hague or Brussels." Hence the reference to other neutrals puts the mission in this light: that it is necessary to send the second highest official in the Department of State to three belligerent countries and one country which describes itself as not neutral but non-belligerent, to gather data in order to lay a groundwork for peace after the war in concert with other neutrals whom

... through ordinary channels, or a second mission. Whoever believes this absurd nonsense is welcome to it.

On the same day that the United Press made these disclosures, it is also reported from the **Rex** there is reason for return of an Ambassador to Berlin... it will be to gather data regarding Russia as well as to establish closer contact with the German Foreign Office.

ON THE TWENTY third the Associated Press reported that a talk had been arranged between Hitler and Welles when the latter arrived in Berlin. The next day, on the twenty fourth, the Associated Press reported:

**Nazi Germany tonight put a strict official ban on publication of news of the impending visit of Sumner Welles.... As the war goes on, German officials turn more and more to the viewpoint that the United States Neutrality Law has many good points; and Berlin is ready to go a long way to keep the United States in the neutral column. Attacks on the United States virtually have ceased.**

On the twenty fifth Welles arrived in Rome. Herbert L. Matthews telephoned the **New York Times**:

**...Mr. Welles was received with a minimum of ceremony and the Italian press ignored his visit....**

The Associated Press reported:  
**...Welles was welcomed with non-committal courtesy by the Italian Government tonight....**

ON THE TWENTY sixth Welles saw Ciano and Mussolini. He spent an hour and a half with the former and a similarly brief period with the latter. On the twenty seventh he was scheduled to leave for Switzerland "just for a rest" (this is written on the twenty seventh) and is due in Berlin Friday.

It does not require the imagination of Shakespeare or Dante to see that Welles did very little digging for facts in Rome.

An official communique issued in Rome said that Welles had delivered an "autographed message" from Roosevelt to Mussolini. Was there nothing for Ciano?

An American Embassy official explained the reference to an autographed message as a "personal letter from the President conveying personal greetings and introducing Mr. Welles."

It must have been a touching scene as the head of the fascist dictatorship read the personal greetings from the great champion of democracy and the freedom of small nations like Ethiopia and Albania. Did Roosevelt wish him good health and

success in his plans? Did he ask whether he slept well or whether he was still troubled by the ghost of Matteotti?

WERE THESE the facts that Welles went to find out with a mission to lay the groundwork for lasting peace after the war in concert with other neutrals?

All these questions are part of the super-detective thriller of the age, *The Mystery of the Missing Fact*, being the exciting adventures of that ace detective, Sumner Welles among the great statesmen of Europe, by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

James M. Minifie, correspondent of the **New York Herald Tribune** reported from Rome:

**The official explanation of the "message" as being nothing more or less than a letter of introduction has not convinced observers here. French quarters find it particularly hard to believe. They are apprehensive that Mr. Welles may, despite official disclaimers, have brought with him some plan for a peace or mediation which they fear would be encouraged by both Mussolini and Fuehrer Adolf Hitler, but which would be totally unacceptable to the Allies at this juncture.**

From Paris the United Press reported:

**A semi-official source said here today that, at present, "no mediation or peace offensive, whatever its patronage, could be made with any chance of success.... The necessity of assuring the prosperity of humanity, liberty and the permanent security of individuals and peoples must be placed ahead of the evident interest there is in the return of prosperity, freedom and security of commerce...."**

The language is contradictory. But its sense is fairly clear. Uncle Sam is warned that if Welles is coming with proposals for peace the French government is determined not to agree. It is bent on fighting the war to finish; let United States trade fall away.

The Associated Press reported from Rome:

**The skepticism with which authoritative Italians greeted the announcement of the American envoy's visit melted noticeably after his talk with Ciano and still more after he met Mussolini.**

**The fascist press with one accord took a sudden interest in Mr. Welles' activities, after having virtually ignored his visit. The sudden warmth of the press reaction inspired a belief in some quarters that Mr. Welles might have made some specific suggestion which struck a responsive chord in Italian policy.**

What was that suggestion? What was that chord?

WHATEVER THEY were one thing is certain. We cannot expect to penetrate the mystery of Welles' mission from newspaper reports and official, semi-official statements, and authoritative reports from informed quarters.

According to these sources Welles is going to get

data for the purpose of laying a groundwork for lasting peace in concert with other neutrals after the war. He is also going to patch up the diplomatic rift between the United States and Germany for the

purpose of sending a personal message from Roosevelt to Mussolini in which he is introduced to Mussolini as the bearer of personal greetings. Such is the picture one gets from the press and diplomacy.

If we are to find out what it is all about we will have to try to deduce the truth from broad and well established facts. In this attempt some of the facts reported in connection with Welles's trip provide a clue.

Most important facts so far reported are: the hostile attitude toward Welles' trip taken by the French government and the cool attitude taken by the British; and the rather tepid warmth with which the German government regards his visit in which it is now seconded by the Italian government. When these facts are considered against the background of the situation of the Allied-German war they indicate the broad character of Roosevelt's and Welles' purpose.

Germany, having gobbled up Austria, Czechoslovakia and half of Poland would be content for a time to remain at peace while it gears up its industrial plant for keener competition in trade and investments abroad with England. England and France on the other hand, faced with an aggressive and economically superior rival in Germany, and having undertaken the present war in the name of ridding the world of Hitlerism and securing the restoration of the independence of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria cannot consent to what they call a drawn peace without being entirely discredited at home.

Besides, the economic and social cost of gearing the British Empire for war is a much more difficult task than it is in Nazi Germany where opposition is put down by torture and murder. Peace which would be a breather between two rounds of war would therefore work a greater hardship on the Allies than on Germany.

THESE FACTS account for the difference in attitude which has been revealed in connection with Welles' trip. But this does not yet explain why Welles is making his trip.

To find the answer to this riddle we must follow up the facts already cited. Taking all present factors into consideration, military, strategic, economic and political, it is undoubtedly true that neither side is strong enough to defeat the other by taking the offensive on land. For each side it would mean a tremendous effort which would even if it were successful, exhaust the attacker and bring about the collapse of its economic and social structure. Revolution would flare in the territory of victor and vanquished alike.

Hence the stalemate on land. And hence the

## Riddle: WHAT IS

German backing, was given today as one of the immediate reasons for the British government's drastic action in curtailing the transfer of land from Arabs to Jews in a large part of Palestine.

This can hardly be accepted. First: Stoneham says that this reason "was given." Or, British government propaganda. And, therefore, not reliable.

Second: It is given as an "immediate reason." But he says:

Although Palestine at the moment is quieter than it has been for years, those responsible for British policy there feel that another rebellion is bound to occur unless something definite is done to placate the Arab population. In time of war, and particularly when the Near East threatens to become a theater of active operations, it is felt that such an outbreak would be intolerable.

This is contradictory. It is obviously not an immediate problem at all. Moreover, it is in contradiction to the facts about Arab-Jewish relations reported by Weizman, Levy, Schwartz.

Notice that this explanation which was "given" is not concerned at all with the problem of economic protection for the standard of living of the Arabs.

We will have to look elsewhere for the real reason. But true or not it is a policy which cynically sacrifices the Jews to the Arabs. The object of this little stroke in characteristic British ruling class hypocrisy and cynicism is not far to seek.

In India a vast civil-disobedience campaign for dominion status is loom-

ing. It is expected to be launched in March. The India National Congress Working Committee has more than once expressed sympathy with the struggle of the Arabs against their common enemy, the British government. The British government thus hopes to placate the Congress a little by offering the Arabs these concessions to their long standing demands to prohibit the sale of land to Jews and to stop all Jewish immigration to Palestine.

But it has a subtler and more cynical reason even than that. In India the British government pits the Moslem minority against the Hindu majority in a never-ending religious and political struggle. Since the Congress is largely Hindu the Moslem minority is opposed to it.

In the present war the Moslem leaders are with the British government, the Congress leaders withhold their support, offering to give it in return for the promise of dominion status.

If the Moslem minority were to join forces with the Congress the British government would be about through in India. Its sole hope of defeating the Congress and the coming civil disobedience campaign in the present circumstances is by maintaining the Moslem-Congress antagonism.

To placate the Moslem minority in India it sacrifices the Jews in Palestine to the Arabs who are Moslems.

In the dirty game of Empire policy the Jews are the pawns today in the Near East as yesterday the Arabs were in the last war against the Turks, and as the Moslems are in India.

## FRANCE FIGHTS FOR DEMOCRACY

FRANCE, SAYS the French government, is a democracy. France, says Daladier, is fighting for democracy, security for individuals and peoples, against the totalitarian, barbarian dictatorship of Hitler.

It is true that in Germany labor is crushed with an iron hand. Strikes are outlawed. Unions don't exist.

How is it in France? The following dispatch tells its own story.

### France Crushes Strike In War Orders Factory Depots Foreign Workers and Sends Own to Front

Marseilles, Feb. 28 (UP).—The government has crushed the first strike attempted in France since the war started, it was disclosed today.

Severe "sanctions" were applied to strikers in a national defense factory working on war orders. Foreign workers were arrested and ordered deported. French workers of military age were transferred to combat regiments and dispatched to the

Only when this Empire is overthrown by its slaves will the Jews, Arabs, Hindus and Moslems be able to live in peace and build decent lives for the teeming millions who now writhe under the lash of British imperialism.

In that rising lackeys like Weizman who play the game of Empire politics will get their just due.

front regardless of their technical skill. Non-mobilized workers who were indicted for striking will be tried under a severe war-time decree and may be jailed.

\* \* \*

Only a thin line separates capitalist democracy from open capitalist dictatorship. War wipes out that line. Today, as far as the rights of labor are concerned there is no difference between Hitlerite Germany and democratic France. German workers have nothing to gain from fighting Hitler's war. French workers have nothing to gain from fighting Daladier's war. They have already lost all their democratic rights.

But both the German and French workers have everything to gain from joining hands and turning the war into a war of the workers of both countries against the rulers of both countries. That, of course, is also true of the English workers. On that road they can find lasting peace, security, democracy and socialism.

\* \* \*

There is a lesson in these events for United States workers. If they go to war they will lose their democratic rights. They can defend their democratic rights only if they will fight not in but against any war which the government of the United States may declare.

The real enemy of democratic rights of the French workers is not Hitler but Daladier. The real enemy of the democratic rights of the United States workers is not in Germany, Russia, Japan, Italy or any other country. It is the ruling class of this country. Or, as Karl Liebknecht said years ago: The enemy is at home.

# WELLES' MISSION?

Allied strategy of blockading Germany and trying to starve her into submission. Hence, also, the counter-strategy of Germany in trying to break the blockade of all imports of food, oil and other necessities. The tactic of trying to wedge between Britain and France which so far has met with total failure.

THE FIRST SIX months of this general strategy have shown that on neither side has it been so successful as to encourage the belligerents to let the situation rest as it is and wait for hunger to take its dreadful toll. Damage has been inflicted on either side and more damage will be inflicted as time passes. But at the present rate it will not yield a decision.

And there are close to thirteen million men in Europe under arms, who are standing by, waiting, men who produce no wealth since they are taken out of the process of production. Armed men who wait while their relatives are put on ever smaller rations may decide they have had enough. It may occur to them that they can end the stalemate in a way that will really lay the groundwork for lasting peace. They may decide to take the solution of the issues of war and peace into their own hands.

Be that as it may, close at hand or far removed, the fact remains that Allied strategy is hard at work to increase the effectiveness of the blockade. Three focal points of this strategy emerge from recent developments: the far north; the Near East; Rumania.

TAKING THEM in this order: the aim of the first is to cut off the supply of Swedish iron ore to Germany; the second possibly to cut off Russian oil and wheat from reaching Germany by seizing the oil fields of Baku and the wheat fields of the Ukraine; the third to shut Germany out of Rumanian oil and wheat.

If the Allies can achieve these objectives they will win the war. But how can they win them? If winning them involves Rumania and other Balkan countries in the war, as it will, they will be content as it will give them a theater of war in which they can hope to strike Germany from the flank where there is no westwall. And it will add several million men to their armies. Hence their unremitting pressure on Rumania to cut down on oil to Germany.

If they can they will push Sweden into war with Germany by forcing her to consent to the passage of Allied troops to Finland which Germany would immediately oppose with all her strength since it would automatically cut off close to forty per cent of all her iron ore. Hence the importance of the Altmark case for them in creating a justification for violating Norwegian and Swedish neutrality by interfering with vessels bound for Germany in the territorial waters of these countries. And, also the preparations to demand that Sweden which has refused to permit the passage of Allied troops across

its territory, shall do so since it is provided for in the covenant of the League of Nations which though dead expelled Russia because of its invasion of Finland and called on the members of the League to render all possible assistance to Finland.

Aiding Finland with troops just as trying to seize the Baku oil fields means war with Russia. And that is the stumbling block. If the Allies cannot by themselves defeat Germany alone in direct military conflict what chance do they have of defeating both Germany and Russia whether the latter make a military alliance and co-ordinate their strategy as France and England do, or whether they fight separately against a common foe?

Russia against the Marmorhein Line in Arctic weather was not as impressive as Germany in Poland. But Russia on the defensive in her interminable territory is unconquerable from without as Napoleon and the Allied invasion of 1919-21 have proved. The incredible number and amount of men and supplies to wage war against Russia might give Germany exactly the opportunity to smash England and France.

WHAT WOULD the role of Italy be? Would it not seize the proper moments to attack the Mediterranean life line of England? And Japan? Would it not see in that situation an opportunity to ally itself with Germany and Russia, and possibly Italy, for the complete conquest of China and the seizure of British, French and even Dutch Far Eastern possessions?

What would the role of the United States be? Could it stand by while Germany and Russia rocked the British Empire until it cracked and broke and let loose a world wide wave of colonial revolution in which Uncle Sam's dreams of trade and investment went up in smoke? Could the United States enter the war in Europe against Germany and leave Japan a free hand in the Far East? Could the United States try to stop Japan in the Far East and leave England and France to the uncertain fortunes of war against Germany and Russia and possibly Italy? Could the United States fight a war on land in Europe and a war at sea in the Pacific against Japan?

ALL THESE are problems which are rising to the fore as Allied strategy grapples with the problem of fighting a war which cannot be fought without ending in revolution, of extending a blockade which cannot be made effective without involving Russia and who knows what other consequences which, in turn, almost insures defeat.

There can be no doubt that if Welles' trip had any serious purpose at all it is connected with the problem the United States government would face should Allied strategy push Russia into war while Germany and England are at war. If Welles has been sent to bring pressure on the Allied governments to take no action which would make Russia a belligerent; or to avoid this by coming to an

understanding with Germany his trip would have a meaning in the light of the present situation and recent developments. It would explain the non-inclusion of Moscow in his itinerary and the attitude of the French and German governments.

This would also be the case if Welles had been sent to urge solution of the Allied-German war by turning it into a crusade against Russia. For the United States this would be the best solution of its problems since it would remove, at least for the time being, the danger of a break-up of the British Empire which would result in world wide colonial

three things:

FINANCE AND ARM the crusade at an enormous profit;

Give it the opportunity to displace English capital as the dominant economic power in the British Empire without giving a giant impetus to colonial revolution;

Fight Japan in the Far East if that should prove to be necessary.

But if that is Roosevelt's plan, if that is what Welles went to get data about, it is doomed to failure. Events, including reaction to Welles' trip, show that the Allied governments are too deeply committed to war against Germany, the economic and political antagonisms are too great, for them to make peace without a military solution. The political and social consequences at home would be disastrous for them. If they could do it now, they could have done it before, when they had not advanced so far with the present war.

It seems impossible that this should not be known in Washington. What then is the purpose of Welles' trip? Is Roosevelt, aware of these things, cynically sending Welles on a mysterious peace mission which he knows must fail in order to build himself as a champion of peace on the state of international and national politics as Leon Blum has suggested in more diplomatic language?

We can only suggest that perhaps all of the reports contain a little of the truth. No doubt Roosevelt does have his eye on the 1940 elections. And Welles' trip does represent a paradox as the London Economist says. But not quite the paradox the Economist defines. Welles' mission may be reduced to two main elements: to advise against extension of the war; to urge a common assault on Russia. In the nature of things today these propositions cannot be realized. This is not only the paradox of Welles' trip. It is a symbol of the weakness and ineffectiveness of the policy of the American government which is at one and the same time the most powerful government in the world yet helpless before the great problem presented by the war in Europe and the situation in the Far East.

Behind the riddle of Welles' mission is a greater riddle, the dilemma of American imperialism: will it have to fight? in Europe? the Far East? in both areas? and how? Whatever Welles reports to Roosevelt on his return can only deepen the dilemma of American imperialism. It cannot indicate a solution.

Thus it is altogether fitting that while Welles is fishing in European chancelleries Roosevelt should be fishing in the Caribbean.

## Letters To Revolt

**CHICAGO**—In spite of all the millions the state of Illinois collects for relief from the sales tax alone, according to Samuel L. Nudelman, state finance director the state is fast running out of money to use for public assistance.

Of course, Governor Horner might not know of these conditions. He spends so little time in the state. Nor probably does he care. After all, he is in a position where he can take a year's vacation to recuperate from a common cold. It's a trivial matter to him that school children are so hungry they can't even study about what a great free country this is. Yes—it's free—free to starve! No one will stop you.

I see by the *Chicago News* of Feb. 15, that all the children have received from the state is a new prison. What fun. This so-called capitalistic liberty is okay but you can't eat it and you can't wear it.

Children go hungry while the capitalist parasite gorges himself with profits he or his children cannot spend in their lifetime.

**MEN BEG** for work to enable them to feed their families, while big corporations refuse them because if they hire a few more men they will only net the measly sum of \$14,000,000 instead of \$15,000,000.

The American Can Company reports a net income of \$18,284,964. They could have added 1,000 men to their payroll and paid each man \$35.00 per week and still netted the huge sum of \$16,284,964.

Wake up! Don't let the capitalists pull the wool over your eyes with their shouts of freedom. Freedom would taste better on a full stomach and you could hear them better if your body was well clothed.

Of course you want—freedom—freedom from hunger; freedom

worrying whether you're going to work next week or not; and, that's what you'll get if you unite. You workers, hold the whip hand; you are the backbone of the nation. If you stop work the whole country ceases to function. You create the daily bread of the capitalists.

You have a right to live! Don't relinquish it! Fight! Money is poured daily in the reserve for relief but by the time crooked politicians get through with it there is very little left.

When a pair of shoes wear out they are no longer of any use to you. You throw them out. Throw out the present capitalist system. It has worn itself out.

K.

**NEW YORK, Feb. 16.**—The Stalinists in my union have accused me of being a member of your organization because I have been distributing *Revolt*. They also accused another member of my local of the same. I didn't know about that so I got acquainted with him at the first opportunity.

I told a militant functionary in my union about this and asked him if he ever read the paper. He said he had, and asked for the latest issue. After reading three different issues he said it was the best labor paper he read and asked for ten copies to distribute himself. So I've decided to make ten copies too.

## LABOR LEADER OR LABOR BLEEDER?

Miami, Beach, Fla., March 1 (*Chicago Tribune*).—John L. Lewis, the C.I.O. boss, his wife and daughter, Kathryn, have been here since Tuesday on a sojourn expected to last about ten days. They are staying at the exclusive Nautilus hotel, where the labor leader pays \$38 a day for two rooms.

\$38 a day rent is more than most workers pay monthly.

John L. Lewis, dresses, eats, vacations—lives—like a capitalist. He pays income tax on \$25,000 a year salary!

# Shop Talk

**NEW YORK.**—The layoffs in my shop began. We had expected it sooner or later, and when it came we were prepared for the shock. The warehouse was full of merchandise which we had produced and some of the workers spent their last hours carting packing cases to stock.

"Looks like the boss won't be unemployed while we are," I bitterly told my partner on the hand truck. He wiped the sweat off his face and asked me:

"Is that a nice thing to say about a big shot with expenses? He's gotta live in the style, he's used to. And so must you—on the other side of the railroad tracks."

"So sorry." I replied with a bow. "For a moment I forgot my place in society."

I straightened up from a kick in the pants. Another worker had come over. With a smile he said:

"Pardon me gentlemen, but will you write me out a check for \$1,000. I need a little extra spending money now that I will have plenty of spare time to spend it."

"Don't tell me you couldn't save any money all these months. What's the working class coming to," I said throwing up my hands. "What's going on here?" the foreman yelled. And we hustled to.

"Boy would I like to say goodbye to him," whispered my partner as we entered the freight elevator. When we got off in the storeroom I said:

**"LET'S GET** serious. Here is thousands of dollars of merchandise which we produced. We got paid, but we have nothing to show for it. After we're out the boss will be selling this stuff, but we'll be trying to sell our labor to another boss, but there won't be any buyers."

"Well if we could get paid from these goods," said my partner, "we'd have something there."

"You hit the bull's eye. That was what I was going to say. But only the workers' revolution could bring that about. The bosses and their government would never let this come about while they rule the country."

"Don't talk about revolution, it will never come," said the worker who fanned the seat of my pants. You can't change human nature. Besides it will never work out, though I would like to see it."

"That's your opinion now," I replied. "But when you and millions more like you will be unemployed and hungry, when you'll see your relatives and friends killed in the war while the boss

and his kind stack up their millions and grow fat, you'll think different.

D. Whitman

**DETROIT**—It was after hours. There were three of us guys from the plant sitting at Luke Whitney's soda fountain, drinking Cokes. Doc Willingham was there, too.

He, Luke, and the rest of us were gassing away over the counter, talking about "conditions."

"Well, how's things on the job, Frank," asked Luke, "They workin' you pretty steady?"

"No said Glenn, No need for you to worry for a while. We'll be buyin' Cokes for a couple-three months yet. And payin' for 'em too!"

Luke grinned, we laughed, even Doc Willingham smiled.

Then Frank said, "We're still so much mule meat on the hoof, you know."

"Oh come on now, it can't be that bad!"

"Oh can't it?" broke in Glenn. "The way they drive us, you'd

## Roosevelt the Rotten

Roosevelt's 1932 platform declared:

"National Defense: A navy and army adequate for national defense, based upon a survey of all facts... that the people in time of peace may not be burdened by an expenditure fast approaching a billion dollars annually."

National "defense" expenditures for 1940-41 are \$2,400,000,000 and military experts predicted the U.S. cannot be

think we were a flock of horses pullin' away at their precious production."

The three of us laughed, a little bitterly. Luke and the Doc clouded up.

"But I should think," ventured Luke, cautiously, "that you'd feel good, just to be workin'."

"Well, we got to work to eat," I came in. "But that don't mean we have to enjoy our slavery."

"Slavery?" he repeated with sarcasm. "That's an old one."

"Right," I answered. "But it's true anyway. That's just what we are. They use all sorts of means to speed us up. First they

kid with us, then they just talk to us, after that they raise holy hell, and if that don't work they fire some of us. That usually does the trick, but it's terror of the worst kind."

"And what else could you expect?" broke in the Doc for the first time.

"I don't know what you mean," said Glenn. "But if you think that we should take a bullyin' and like it, well then I can only realize that you don't know what you're talkin' about and let it go at that."

"Wait a minute, wait a minute there fella," The Doc was a little mad. "It happens that I do know what I'm talkin' about. I worked as first aid man in that same plant a number of years ago."

"But that's nothin' like production."

"Maybe so. But I got to talkin' to the fellas as they came in to get bandaged up. I found out that they just didn't give a damn about it all. Their big ambition was to dog it as much as possible. I hate to say this, but most of your factory men are just down right lazy and you don't give a hoot in hell whether the plant runs efficiently or not."

"And what else could you expect?" I countered, throwing his own words back at him.

"What do you mean?"

"I mean this. We men are not in a position to care. We have no stake in the plant or in its profits. All we do is sell our ability to work, and we try to get as high a price as we can, that's all."

"But that just proves my point," cried the Doc in triumph. "You as much as admitted that I was right!"

"You're right," I replied.

"We men certainly aint in any hurry to wear ourselves out on the job. It aint worth it to us, and the only way we'll do it is to be whipped into it. But here's the point, Doc. It's just as natural for us to resent the whip as it is natural for the bosses to use it. In fact, we resent it so much, that someday we're gonna get together and do some whipping of our own. And remember this, Doc. There's more of us, who's workin' in plants that there's guys owning them. Keep that in mind."

Mike Bono

Congress leaders always signed treaties or truces which were later broken and remain so to this day. The best example of this is the Gandhi-Irwin Treaty of 1931.

The author has the gall to make the following remark in his introduction:

...Complete non-violence on one side seems to have reduced the violence and destruction on the part of the opponent to the barest minimum.

The author, however, describes numerous incidents in which the masses of workers and peasants were annihilated while the British and hired Indian constabulary were left untouched.

The author, attempting to prove "victories" of non-violence outside of India, says "The Russian General Strike of 1905 secured the promise of the first Duma."

He appears unaware of the fact that it took the revolution of 1905 to secure the first Duma from the Czar. The workers had to build barricades, create Soviets and engage in armed struggle.

The Indians will win freedom from Britain. But not by "Satyagraha." When they shake the mighty fist of revolution in John Bull's face they will win it. That is the only language imperialism understands.

E. DENNY

## In the Richest Country in The World

...Daughter to one John Pierpont Morgan... Anne Morgan, head of the American friends of France, told a Manhattan interviewer: "I live on a trust fund (\$3,000,000) and I happen to have confidence in my brother. He handles all of my business. I wouldn't know how to manage my own affairs." —Times, Feb. 19.

Kansas City, Kan., March 1.—A.P. Screaming "I'm tired of living on corn meal mush" 11-year-old Harry Larsen ran into his bedroom and slammed the door. A short time later he was found strangled to death.

Members of the family said Harry had taken his own life because of lack of variety in his food.

Mrs. Larsen said she, six sons and daughters and a daughter-in-law had been living on meager rations for several months.

New York, Feb. 19. (AP).—Gloria Laura Morgan Vanderbilt will be 16 years old tomorrow.

Now a young lady with an annual allowance of \$25,750, she seems to be slated to succeed Brenda Frazier as New York's superglamour girl.

...She... enjoys dancing the rhumba. Where the young heiress to \$4,200,000 would spend her birthday wasn't disclosed at the home of her mother, Mrs. Gloria Vanderbilt.

"There is great suffering among the thousands of destitute in Illinois... It is the duty of public officials to relieve this suffering. Our state is not doing all that is required. Not only is inadequate relief being granted, but there are not enough workers assigned to the Chicago Relief Administration..."—Joel D. Hunter, general sup't. of United Charities.

...It requires 30 to 40 days to obtain a passport after...

...The people apply daily is so badly understaffed, many of the destitute applicants are sent home without help and ordered to return the next morning. Many of these people must walk miles to a cold home where there is not even a cup of hot tea to warm them..." —G. Lang, Executive secretary of Workers Alliance.

John Fewkes, president of the Chicago Teachers union told the governor's representatives:

"It is impossible to interest starving children in their lessons. Many teachers report to me they see their pupils fading away from malnutrition..."—Chicago, Times, Feb. 15.

New York, Feb. 28 (Special to Chicago Tribune).—Salaries paid many of the nation's top-ranking business executives, including several Chicagoans were revealed today in reports to the Securities and Exchange commission...

Armour & Co. paid \$72,740 to Robert H. Cabell, who retired as president on Sept. 15, 1939....

Wilson & Co. paid to Thomas E. Wilson, chairman of the board, a salary of \$80,599....

Cudahy Packing company paid E. A. Cudahy Jr. president, \$50,000....

"Unless we meet certain basic needs we are gambling with the future health of a large part of our population. It is well to remember that a good portion of the persons on relief are children. They are our future citizens.

"And what kind of citizens will they make if their bodies have been denied a chance for proper development? What kind of future can we, as a nation, look forward to if we permit our boys and girls to grow into underdeveloped, physically retarded men and women?"

"Relief is... in the final analysis, a matter-of-fact means of protecting the future well-being of our country..."—