

# DEFENSE AGAINST WHAT?

## Starving Workers:

PRESIDENT Roosevelt's budget called for a decrease in funds for relief, of about half a billion dollars.

But it provided for an increase for the army and navy. The appropriation called for by the President for the fighting forces is the largest single item in his budget, \$2,200,000,000. The President said this sum is necessary for national defense.

Defense against what?

Newspaper writers and other people in favor of spending such gigantic sums on armaments while millions are slowly starving say that if Germany won the war with England she would come over to the Western hemisphere and try to take away our wealth and our liberties. Others, like Admiral Starke who testified in a Congressional hearing a few days ago, speculate on the possibility of a Russian-German-Italian-Japanese alliance against the United States if Germany licks England and France.

Any intelligent worker can see that these learned, high-paid and honored gentlemen are talking through their expensive hats. Are just blowing off steam to conceal the real purpose of the government in asking this huge appropriation.

It is not likely that Germany will beat England as things stand at present. But let us assume that she does. It would take several years to do it. At the end of the war Germany would be very much weaker than she is today. And in no position to tackle the United States which would be tremendously stronger than Germany.

But let us assume further that Germany would be as strong as she is now or even stronger. Could she attack the United States? How could she do it?

By sea?

If France were a German province and Germany wished to attack the United States, she would have to cross 3,000 miles

of the navy to fortify Guam. Could one German fleet or the Japanese fleet or both fleets together supported by other fleets cross these oceans, destroy the American fleet and invade the United States? This is what the navy men themselves say about this.

REAR ADMIRAL Cooke told a U. S. Senate Committee:

I do not think any fleet could ever make landing in effective force on our coast, whether we had a navy or not, provided there are enough shore based aircraft available.... I do not think.... that any nation can successfully invade our country leaving out aircraft or anything else.

Head of the U. S. Navy in World War I, Admiral William S. Sims, said:

No foreign power or group of powers can operate across the ocean and stand in combat with the American Navy and planes operating from home bases.

Admiral Harry Yarnell, formerly in command of the U. S. Asiatic fleet, stated:

Japan which still has a much smaller fleet than the United States would need one double the size of the present fleet to hope for any success in a battle with the Americans.

Admiral Leahy told Congress the same thing, and Rear Admiral W. W. Phelps said:

...there is no possibility ever of any hostile attack on either of our coasts.

Can the United States be invaded by air?

Military expert, Major George Fielding Eliot, has stated regarding an attack on New York:

...the number of planes required for continuity of effort rises to astronomical figures, and we are therefore immune from direct attack by the weapon of the air....

Can the United States be invaded by land?

Of this Major Eliot said:

...armies would have to come here...equipped with rifles, machine guns, tanks, cannon, barges, cranes, all kind of ammunition and thousands of tons of other essential supplies. During the World War (I) we tried to land 50,000 tons of supplies daily in France.... But we were never able to land more than 25,000 tons. All of which seems to prove that General

Continued on Page Three

# 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. 2 CHICAGO, ILL., JANUARY 27, 1940 Whole No. 33

## U.S.-JAPAN WAR NEARS

AS JANUARY 26, the date for the termination of the 1911 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan, draws near, tension in the relations between the governments of the two countries increases. The government of Abe, assigned the impossible task of pushing the campaign in China and placating the U.S., failed to lessen the friction, and gave way to the government of Yonai. There is no indication that the U.S. government regards this as a step to meet its wishes. And in a short time Congress will consider Pittman's resolution for an embargo on war materials to Japan.

Involved in the situation which is rapidly developing are consequences of great importance, not only for the two countries but for the entire world. Boiled down to its most important element and stated in the briefest way, the issue is war between the United States and Japan.

War between the two countries has long been recognized as inevitable. Preparation for it has been a large factor in the construction of the American fleet, the fortification of the Aleutian Islands off Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands and the

development of transportation

of the navy to fortify Guam. IN RULING navy circles the main strategic outlines of this war is a problem which has already been worked out and only awaits application. Admiral Yarnell, now retired, for example, openly expresses the opinion that the war will take place, that it will be a naval war and that no expeditionary force will be needed. It is obvious that he speaks not only for himself.

The issue in such a war will be: domination of the Asiatic market. Other powers are interested in this issue, principally Britain which has a large stake in the Far East, and also France. But the war in Europe now claims all their attention with the result that their fate in this area will be largely determined by the outcome of the struggle between the United States and Japan.

United States capitalists have \$750,000,000 invested in the Far East. Standard Oil owns or controls about a third of this huge sum. Trade with the entire Far East amounts to half a billion dollars yearly. Huge as these stakes are, potentially they are larger. Total foreign investments in China alone are over \$3½ billion; world trade with that country is close to the \$5 billion mark annually. Its resources are virtually untapped. And its more than four hundred million people

constitute for capitalist hopes and plans, a market of vast wealth and incredible profits.

WITH EUROPE out of the picture for years, if not forever, as a field for profitable investment and trade the importance of the Far East for the very life of capitalist powers like Japan and the United States is now decisive.

Since 1931 when Japan took over Manchuko the question of who will control the Chinese market has become acute. American interests lost heavily through that event. In 1933 the navy began a huge expansion program.

The present war in China has made the issue much sharper. The outbreak of war between England and Germany has created a condition favoring Japanese expansion. Involvement of Russia in Finland is another factor operating in Japan's favor. Only the United States now stands between Japan and the conquest of a tremendous empire.

Roosevelt's government has been criticized for condemning Japan's aggression in China but continuing to supply Japan with the means of waging war. Humanitarians and missionaries have demanded an embargo be applied to Japan to cripple her war machine. The navy demands a more aggressive policy. Others openly demand war.

From the standpoint of American capitalist interests Roosevelt has applied the best possible policy. It is true that the United States could have applied pressure on Japan by recognizing a state of war between China and Japan, and imposing an embargo on the export of arms and munitions. Japan would no doubt have retaliated and embargoed the export of raw silk.

BUT consider the result! Japan is the U. S. third best customer, importing an average of \$250,000,000 yearly from this country, four times as much as China. One third of this import is cotton of which the United States has an enormous surplus; the remainder consists mainly of iron, steel, oil and other basic raw material. Should this trade have been wiped out unemployment would have risen in the United States. Taking into account the probability that war with Japan would be primarily a naval affair the increase in unemployment would not be offset by a corresponding increase in the armed forces. The national debt, already over forty billions, would increase still more, as a result of the need to supply the fleet, with munitions and planes, and

Continued on Page Three

## On the Merry-go-round

### Chicago Relief Cut

CHICAGO, Jan. 18.—The City Council approved Mayor Kelly's 1940 budget of \$56,620,000 yesterday. Of the \$39,000,000 relief budget proposed by Leo M. Lyons, Relief Administrator, (\$4¼ million less than 1939) the Council appropriated only \$5,520,000—an average of six cents a day for 250,000 unemployed.

\$5,520,000 will last exactly one month and 17 days. The unemployed will then be informed that there are "no funds available." Relief will be cut off completely. This is known as a "relief crisis"!

After several weeks of protest by humanitarians, liberals, postcard revolutionaries, and Republican newspaper exposures of the Democratic Administration as viciously inhuman—Governor Horner will call a "special session of the legislature, as he has done since 1933 when he first took office. The "special" session will appropriate \$6-7,000,000 which will last two months.

The merry-go-round goes round — every two months.

And 250,000 unemployed are slowly starved to death.

When the unemployed organize a fighting union, as in 1932, to force the State to use the \$100,000,000 treasury balance to feed them, the merry-go-round will break down!

Dear Richard:

# DON'T STEAL! ORGANIZE!

I am a man of 22 years, married and the father of a seven months old baby girl. My wife has been bed-ridden for the past month; and so she was unable to care for our daughter. I gave up my job on the WPA because there was no one to care for her. I applied for relief today. There was 22 cents in the house and there is nothing now. I was told I would not get relief for at least two weeks. I can now understand why married men turn to crime. When you get into the position I am in your mind turns to robbery RICHARD L.—Chicago Times, Jan. 17.

Dear Richard:

You don't have to starve. And you don't have to steal. There is another way to solve your problem.

The condition in which you find yourself is the position in which hundreds of thousands of workers find themselves all over the country, in every state of the union. Millions of people are starving in the richest country in the world, in the midst of enormous plenty while a mere handful of rich men make tremendous profit, and their government cuts relief. Tens of thousands of workers keep body and soul together by stealing a can of sardines or something else every day. But this is no solution.

If each one of the millions of starving workers, if only the one worker in each family who is responsible for the family, tried to solve his problem by individual action, by stealing, the result would be complete chaos. And failure. They might get along for a time by using up the existing stores of food and clothing. But what then? What would happen then? If all the food and clothing that were produced were stolen the producers would stop producing since in the present scheme of things they produce in order to make a profit and not to feed and clothe people who are starving but can't buy what they need.

IN OTHER WORDS the worker cannot solve his problem by his means. He

to tackle the problem from another angle. Since the property owner can't do it and the government evidently can't it is up to the worker to work out a system of things in which the production and distribution of food and clothing and housing and other things will be carried on to meet the needs of the workers themselves. In order to be able to do this he has to take the whole productive plant of the United States away from the capitalists who own it and who throw millions out of work in order to keep profit up.

To be successful in this the workers will have to organize by the hundreds of thousands and millions into unions which can handle the problem in the factories, and into a political party which can coordinate their fight on a national scale, and protect their interests against the efforts which the government will make to terrorize them, and the armed forces which it will use to prevent the workers from carrying out this reorganization.

This takes time. And right now you need medical care for your wife, proper food and clothing for your daughter. You can't wait until the workers wake up and take over.

But you can begin to solve your problem right now. Together with other workers who are in the same fix.

Instead of a hundred workers each stealing what he needs, let the hundred workers go down to a relief station and demand what they need. Let them show by their solid, organized stand that they are determined not to starve. They will stand a much better chance of getting what they want this way.

If this doesn't solve the immediate problem, let them increase the size of their body. Let it grow into several thousand.

If a large demonstration cannot get immediate relief, then there is only one thing left that the workers can do:

Take the food and clothing that they need.

But not in an individual, anarchistic, every-man-for-himself way.

IF AND WHEN it comes to taking food and clothing the thing should be done openly by large numbers of workers in an organized way. Committees should be appointed to plan the seizure of food and clothing and its distribution. The supplies

Continued on Page

**EVER SINCE** the invasion and partition of Czechoslovakia the shadow of similar events has hung over Rumania. The invasion and partition of Poland has deepened the shadow while the invasion of Finland is regarded as a prelude to a like attack on Rumania. Ever since the dismemberment of the Czech state, says the United Press, King Carol's government "has constructed hundreds of miles of canals and ditches to defend her frontiers." This defense system is known as "the king's dike."

"The dike parallels the Hungarian frontier... and the border of Bessarabia to the Black Sea... In the hills of Bukovina, which could not be fortified with canals, the line of defense has been studded with pill boxes..."

Notwithstanding these rather extensive measures, by December, 1939, the situation appeared so desperate to the government that all troops were withdrawn from Bessarabia. Carol explained that the territory could not be defended against Russian attack. But the surprising effectiveness of Finnish resistance to Stalin's invasion—together with Franco-British pressure—induced Carol to change his policy, and earlier this month troops were again sent into Bessarabia.

On the occasion of a big review of land and air forces at Kishineff, capitol of Bessarabia, on January 6, Carol declared that all Rumanians "are ready to die together to defend their borders." The speech made the headlines in all the major newspapers throughout the United States. So did a similar speech by Premier Tatarescu on January 2 to the sailors of the Rumanian navy at Constanza, the country's most important sea port on the Black Sea, in which Tatarescu said that the Rumanians would defend "to the last man" the Bukovina, Bessarabia and Transylvania areas acquired from imperial Austria, Russia and Hungary, respectively, as a result of World War I.

These speeches were interpreted as expressing Rumania's determination to maintain her present borders against the revisionist claims of Hungary and the Transylvania and Banat areas; of Russia on Bessarabia and perhaps Bukovina; and of Bulgarians on the southern Debruja. They were also regarded as a defiance against Germany whose aspirations to control if not acquire Rumania or the part of it up to the Carpathian-Transylvania border are nobody's secret; and of Italy whose slogan it "Italy's frontier is on the Carpathian."

**THE REALITIES** of the situation, however, are against Rumania as they were against Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and as they are against Finland today. In World War I Rumania tried to remain neutral. But in 1916, frightened by Russian successes, and bribed by Allied promises of territory to which she had no historical or ethnic right and which she could not hope to acquire by purchase, negotiation or force through her own efforts, she entered the war against Germany.

She was soon overrun by the armies of Mackensen and appeared doomed to vassalage under the heel of the Hohenzollern Empire. The victory of the Allies rescued her from this fate and assigned her a new role in European politics as a part of the system of small states hostile to Germany, dependent on France and England, with which the victors hoped to confine the beaten German imperialists to the territory assigned to them.

When this system began to fall under the hammerblows of Hitler, when Czechoslovakia and Poland fell beneath the Nazi juggernaut, the role assigned to Rumania by the Versailles Treaty came to an end, and a new era in her history began. What role she will play in the present situation remains to be seen.

No doubt she would like to remain aloof from the conflicts which are raging in Europe and threaten to engulf her, and preserve the booty which she got out of the last war. Unless events take so sharp a turn that we can call them a miracle Rumania will not be able to realize her wishes. She will have to choose sides and suffer the consequences.

For this there are now three main reasons: strategic; economic; and the problem of national minorities. Taking them in order this is the picture we get:

**Strategic:** Rumania is traversed from north to south by mountain ranges which form a natural and formidable obstacle to trade and armies on the march. These mountain ranges do not stop at Rumania's southern border but continue southward across northeastern Jugo-slavia and across Bulgaria. This barrier is pierced by the Danube River which together with the broad plains adjoining it, constitute a natural highway across the Balkans between the Black Sea and Central Europe.

Or, to put it in other words, the Danube is the lifeline of German trade with the Balkans, the Near East, and to a large extent with Russia. It is the road which Germany must take to strike at enemies

either on the Black Sea or further southward and eastward in the Near East. Today it is doubly and triply important for Germany as a means of getting around England's blockade.

**AND FOR THE** same reason it is vital for the Allies to close this channel of supplies. For them it is important for yet another reason. They cannot smash Germany by frontal attack against the Siegfried line and must try to create a battlefield in Germany's rear or flank. Russian opposition excludes the Baltic states. Italian neutrality thus far excludes northern Italy and the Brenner pass. Holland and Belgium are excluded for military and political reasons, at least at present. There remain the Balkans which means, now, primarily Rumania. Thus, taken from the standpoint of either side Rumania must become involved in the war.

The independent course which Russia has been following since the war began offers Rumania no hope of escaping the holocaust but adds an additional threat since Stalinists plans indicate an attempt to repossess Bessarabia in order to secure the Ukraine and lands further east against imperialist attacks by either England, Germany, or both together.

**Economic:** Oil and wheat. In 1937 they formed 55.9% of her total exports (Int'l Trade Statistics, 1937-League of Nations).

The existence of oil in Rumania was known from the 17th century on, but not until 1900 with the influx of foreign capital, especially Germany (principally through the Deutsches Bank) was the exploitation of this mineral accelerated. Production rose from 54,000 metric tons in 1890 to 1,848,000 by 1913; and, following a steady increase since the war and the influx of French, British and American capital, to 8,376,999 tons in 1935. In 1938 it had fallen to 6,603,000 (The Balkan States, Royal Ins. of Int'l Aff., 1936).

In Europe (without Russia) there is not even a close rival to Rumania in oil production. Germany (without annexation) produced 552,000 metric tons in comparison with Rumania's 6,603,000. The total for Europe (without Russia) was 7,999,000 metric tons in 1938 (League of Nations

Year Book, 1938-9). In other words, over 80% of European oil produced in 1938 was produced in Rumania. In 1936 it was over 88%.

**IN THE** world market. Rumania was fifth in production in both 1937 and 1938, being surpassed by the United States, Venezuela, Iran, and the Netherlands Indies in that order (Idem). Rumania's percentage of world production was 2.4 in 1938 and 2.7 in 1937. In production of motor fuel Rumania was 8th in the world in 1937 and second in Europe (without Russia), France being first in this field (Idem).

Rumania is an important source of oil for Italy and Germany. According to The Balkan States Rumania is Italy's largest supplier. Italy is also Rumania's largest market. In 1937 she imported 1,058 thousand metric tons of oil and of this Rumania supplied 347 thousand, about 30% (Int'l Trade Statistics, 1937). It is probable that this will increase as a result of trade agreements when the Danube is navigable again in the spring.

**ALTHOUGH NATURAL** gas is not a mineral, it should be mentioned here, inasmuch as it can be used for transformation into gasoline. In the production of natural gas Rumania was first in Europe in 1937 with 2,007,000 cubic meters, Germany produced only 21. On the world scale Rumania was behind only the United States in 1937, which had a production of 67,113,000 cubic meters (League of Nations Year Book, 1938-9).

The production of oil far overshadows the production of other minerals in Rumania. However, this country does contain a number which are invaluable for war purposes, such as coal, iron ore, manganese and bauxite. The State Institute of Geology estimates reserves of 32.5 million tons of black coal, 13.8 million tons of iron ore, 7.8 of manganese ore and 26 million tons and perhaps more of bauxite (Southeastern Europe). In Europe Rumania in 1938 was far behind other countries in the production of coal, iron ore, and bauxite.

However, in the production of manganese ore in 1937 Rumania was second in Europe, Germany being first, although far behind other countries. In the production

of lignite Rumania is 5th in Europe; in lead ore, 8th; in zinc ore far behind. According to the 1930 census, 78% of the population of Rumania was engaged in agriculture and forestry, although one source places the figure as high as 80% in agriculture alone. There are only about 800,000 in industry, of which 350,000 were employed in factories.

**RUMANIA** is part of that wheat belt, the largest in Europe (including Russia) which begins in Hungary, sweeps down to Belgrade, where it narrows, and then widening, extends north of the Black Sea through the Ukraine to the River Don. In the production of wheat Rumania in 1937 was fifth in Europe, behind Russia, France, Italy and Turkey in that order.

In value wheat formed 16.6% of Rumania's total exports in 1937, placing it fourth in the world in 1937 even ahead of the U. S.

Although maize (corn) totaled only 5.5% of the total value of exports in 1937, its production placed Rumania first in Europe, including Russia, and second only to the United States. In 1938 its production was 25% of Europe's total without Russia, although its total area was over 38% of the total. In the export of corn Rumania was fourth in the world.

Because of its great wealth, especially in oil and wheat, Rumania has been for many years a source of great interest to imperialist powers, principally to Germany which lacks oil almost entirely and must import wheat; but also to Germany's rivals, England and France above all. Both in the spheres of trade and capital investment Rumania has been a battleground of the great economic struggle among these powers.

Germany not only sells more goods to Rumania than any other country, but also buys more. Since Rumania is principally an oil-wheat exporting country and a machinery - and - manufacturing importing country, she lends herself easily to Germany's situation which is pretty much the opposite. In 1937 Germany (without annexations) took 19.2% of Rumania's exports and sold 28.9% of her imports.

The only real competitors were Austria and Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom. The latter bought 8.8% of Rumania's exports and sold 9.4% of her imports (Int'l Trade Statistics, 1937, L. of N.). But figures for 1938 show clearly the effects of Germany's absorption of Austria and Czechoslovakia. With these two United Germany accounted for 49.5% of Rumania's total imports and 35.9% of her exports; 40% and 26.5% without Austria and Czechoslovakia (Southeastern Europe). The United States only figured negligibly in Rumanian trade, in 1937, taking 1.7% of Rumania's exports and supplying 3.9% of her imports. France and Italy were a little better but behind England.

**A FIVE-YEAR** treaty between Rumania and Germany signed March, 1939, indicates that Germany will make still further inroads on Rumanian trade at the expense of England, France, Italy and the United States. The treaty provides for a plan to take into account German needs for imports, Rumanian internal needs and Rumania's need for trade with other countries. Germany is to deliver armament and equipment for Rumania's armed forces and armament industry.

However, one British source remarks, the fact that a new Franco-Rumanian trade agreement was signed March 31; and that an Anglo-Rumanian protocol was signed May 11 providing a British credit of 5 million pounds, and for Britain to purchase 200,000 tons of wheat from the next Rumanian harvest (if available at world prices) "made it clear that Germany has not as yet acquired an exclusive position." (Southeastern Europe).

**THAT RUMANIA** is heavily indebted to foreign capitalists can be seen from the fact that of a public debt of 117,874 millions of lei in 1938, 78,398 millions or about 67% was in foreign indebtedness (L. of N. Year Book, 1938-9) Rumania did not receive a League of Nations loan after the war, but in 1922 borrowed 37,500,000 lei in London and New York, and further sums in 1929 and 1931 in London, Paris and New York.

the heavy industry of the country." (Problems of Int'l Investment, Royal Institute of Int'l Aff., 1937) The Balkan States asserts that the iron and steel industry is mainly financed by foreign capital, with British and French prevailing. Recent figures place United States investments in Rumania at \$25 million, and these are probably below France and England. Foreign capital in the oil industry form at least half the total foreign investments in Rumania (Balkan States).

"Foreign capital in fact dominates the whole industry," Balkan States says about Rumanian oil. It goes on to say that some 80% of the capital comes from companies controlled abroad.

**ANOTHER** work asserts that it is believed that Royal Dutch Shell has just (1939) bought out most of the Rumanian capital in the oil industry so that 85% of the capital is in foreign hands (Southeastern Europe). The figures for 1931 from the latter source give Anglo-Dutch investments as 36.05% (which would be increased if the statement is true that Royal Dutch Shell has bought out most of the Rumanian interests); France next at 16.30%; America 10.49%; Belgium 6.47%; Italy 2.92%; Holland .51%; and Germany .66%. Here we see Anglo-French domination in Rumania clearly.

Other known investments are as follows: The Resita large iron and steel and armament works, and the Copsa Mica and Cuigur metallurgical works, which were closely allied with Czech capital are now under German control. British capital is important in the Titan Nadrag Colan metallurgical works and Malaxa Locomotive factories. British capital is also more important than any other in the Rumanian banking system, although total capital of banks in which her capital participates is only about 500 million lei. Belgian capital predominates in the distribution of electricity. The Italian group, Foresta Roma, is important in timber. French capital in textile, glass, gold-mining, Hungarian, German and Swiss in the chemical industry, Belgian in the coal mines is relatively small.

**THE FIVE YEAR** treaty between Rumania and Germany signed March 1939 may alter this French-British-American domination in short order. The treaty provides for the establishment of Rumanian and German companies to exploit

for collaboration in industrial and financial spheres.

American, British and French interests will strive to "persuade" Rumania to sabotage or annul this treaty. When Rumania is drawn into the war it will signify that the economic and political conflict for control of Rumanian wealth will be decided by the conflict of arms.

**The problem of the minorities:** The minorities "headache" which Rumania suffers today goes back to the 19th century but is due almost entirely to the peace treaties followed World War I. As a result of these Rumania more than doubled her population, from 7,500,000 in 1916 to 19,500,000, July 1, 1937; and also more than doubled her territory. The additions of Dobruja, Bessarabia, Transylvania and the Banat (without Bukovina and others) added 57,368 square miles. Today Rumania's area is 113,884 square miles.

Along with the new territories came minorities. It is true that there were minorities in Rumania before the war (i.e., Wallachia and Moldavia and southern Dobruja, the latter acquired in 1913), but these numbered only about 500,000, whereas the present minorities total about 5,500,000 or more than 25% of the total population.

Rumania's complete independence from Turkey was confirmed by article 43 of the Congress of Berlin, signed July 13, 1878. The Congress gave Rumania northern Dobruja as an answer to Russia's taking Bessarabia at the same time. With this annexation Rumania received 60—100,000 Bulgars living in that area and a large number of Turks, Tartars and Gauz, remnants of previous Turkish rule (All the figures on minorities are from National States and National Minorities, by C. A. MacCartney, Royal Inst. of Int'l Aff., 1934).

According to these sources, Bessarabia declared its independence in January, 1918 and voted for union, with local autonomy, with Rumania.

According to the New York Times, Dec. 17, 1939, Rumanians are in a majority in Bessarabia today: 1,300,000 out of a total population of 2,700,000. This source gives the number of Ukrainians in Bessarabia at 500,000, Russians 415,000, Bulgarians, 225,000, Germans 90,000. However, MacCartney states that until 1918 the Rumanians were a minority. It is probable that Rumania has moved in her own people

# What Fate Awaits The King's Dike?

since 1918, and that is why Rumanians are in a majority today.

Other sources contend that the Treaty of Paris was never ratified by Japan, that the United States was not even present to sign it, and that, therefore, legally, Bessarabia does not belong to Rumania. One source claims that Bessarabia has become so Russianized that it might still be a province of the Romanoffs. Russian maps do not show Bessarabia in Rumania.

In Bukovina during or after the war the retiring Austrian governor placed the administration in the hands of the Ruthene majority, but the local Rumanians proclaimed union with Rumania and called in troops from old Rumania who occupied the country. The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria recognized Rumanian possession. In the Bukovina are large German minorities, 70-80,000, settled there in the 18th and 19th centuries; and extremely large Ruthene or Ukrainian minorities, whose number is hard to determine for Bukovina alone, but 500-600,000 of which live in northern Bukovina and northern Bessarabia. These Ukrainians never belonged to an organized Ukrainian state, and in 1918 wished to form part of a Ruthene state with eastern Galicia.

**THE HUNGARIAN CLAIM** to Transylvania goes back to the 11th century. Hungarian maps today do not accept Rumanian tenure. In Transylvania are large Hungarian minorities, 1,100,000-1,300,000, and large German minorities, 225,000 Saxons who once ruled Transylvania.

The Banat, like Transylvania, was acquired by Rumania as a result of the treaty of Trianon with Hungary. Here there are large German minorities, 280,000, and smaller Serbian minorities, 60,000. Until 1918, at least, Rumanians were a minority under Hungarian rule.

This, then, in sum is Rumania's minorities problem: about half her population and territory are claimed by other nations. Russia claims Bessarabia; Bulgaria southern Dobruja; Hungary Transylvania, Banat and other western districts; and in Bukovina which no nation seems to claim at the moment there are large Ukrainian and German minorities. There is tinder aplenty here for interested powers to drop sparks of war.

Thus, Carol is caught in a number of dilemmas: if he comes to an agreement with Hungary (and Germany behind it), against Russia (and perhaps Bulgaria) he will lose Transylvania, the Banat, and other western districts. If he looks to

Russia for protection against Germany and Hungary, he will lose Bessarabia, and perhaps all of the Dobruja; certainly southern Dobruja to Bulgaria and Russia may demand northern Dobruja to have control of the Black Sea littoral along with Bul-

# U. S. - JAPAN WAR

Continued from Page One

of the need for greater expenditures for unemployment relief.

Japan would have been driven to seek other sources of supply and would have no doubt made binding alliances with other powers, possibly Britain (before Britain went to war with Germany) but almost certainly Germany, (since the war broke out), and most likely Russia.

Roosevelt's policy was shrewder. While Japan became ever more deeply involved in China and confronted the threat of large scale war with Russia, American capitalists continued to make profit out of their investments and trade with Japan.

**THE RESULT** has been that today Japan is very much weaker than she was in 1937. Her currency has been inflated about 33% and her gold reserve is down to \$400 million. Compare that with the American gold reserve of \$17¼ billion! For every yen Japan invests in Manchukuo and China in industrial enterprises she is forced to spend a yen and a half for her army and navy.

While the outbreak of war in Europe created a political condition favoring Japanese expansion, it created an economic condition which makes Japan absolutely dependent on the United States. In 1938 Japan's imports from Europe were \$188 million. 50% of this came from Germany, 17% from England. The war has cut off the greater part of this trade. Japan must turn to the United States.

Some idea of what this means can be had from the following figures. Japan imports 90% of all its copper from the U.S.; 82% of its ferro-alloys; 70% of aircraft and parts; 67% of other machinery; 45% of its lead; coal, 40%; scrap iron and steel, 90%; and oil, 93%. On the other hand the United States is her best customer for raw silk.

In a word the war in Europe has given the United States a tremendous economic

For many months the American government has been applying a remorseless pressure on Japan. By denouncing the treaty of 1911 it hung over Japan's head the threat of complete economic strangulation. This was followed by the so-called moral embargo on aircraft and parts. It is now extended to aviation gasoline by the recall of engineers who were working in Japan on the construction of refining plants to handle this type of gasoline.

This last will cost an unnamed American company \$750,000 dollars through breach of its contract. As the newspapers have made clear this withdrawal was not voluntary but came about as a result of pressure from the government, the same government which denounces Japan's violations of the Nine Power Treaty guaranteeing the integrity of China. Taking into account the losses incurred by the embargo on Aircraft it is clear that the United States is playing for huge stakes since it is willing to throw away millions of dollars in applying its "moral" embargoes.

Press reports from Japan have Ambassador Grew discussing a new treaty. The reports point out that related political problems are also under discussion. What they are is not stated. But no conclusion is indicated until some time after January 26. The United States government is in no hurry. It can afford to wait. At the same time the United States government is not slow to indicate that closer relations between Japan and Russia will not induce it to take a friendlier attitude toward Japan.

After January 26 the United States government will be in a very good position. It can allow trade to continue without a treaty, and yet be able, should it decide to do so, to apply a complete embargo at one stroke or gradually.

How far can the United States go along this line? Pressure of the kind it is applying may have results which it will like even less than the present situation. For example, capitulation in the form of withdrawal from China would cause the greatest upheaval in Japan. Revolution which is simmering now beneath the surface would flare up. If the working class seized power then all the plans of Uncle Sam would go up in smoke. If he applies too much pressure Uncle Sam will find himself in the position of having to try to rescue the capitalist system in Japan.

**AN IDEAL SOLUTION** for Uncle Sam would be a set-up in which he can control Japanese policy in Japan and China, as he controls the policy of the Cuban government and of other government in Latin America. If he could arrange it so that the Japanese army and navy were used to protect investments from which the lion's share of the profits would find their way into his pocket he would call it a good deal. That way he might avoid pushing things too far.

This, however, is not a likely outcome. Such an arrangement of things would put the Japanese capitalists in the position of taking the leavings of Uncle Sam's meals. They would be put on rations. They would lose the greater part of their wealth while they would still have to pay the gigantic expenses of their war machine. They would face reduction to the status of the ruling class in the semi-colonial countries, or of the rulers of countries like Holland and Belgium.

In a word, the Japanese ruling class has two alternatives: 1—to capitulate by withdrawal from China, abandon the struggle for empire; or accommodate itself to American imperialist overlordship and control of its policy and very life; 2—war.

Either variant of the first alternative is unacceptable since it means a tremendous lowering of its standard of living.

The only possible outcome of the U.S.-Japan conflict is, therefore, war.

On the basis of the present situation Japan does not stand a chance in such a war. Her economic dependence on the United States means that in the event of war she would be totally cut off from the sources of essential raw materials and armaments. A successful naval blockade would finish her in short order.

The problem is, therefore, whether the American fleet can enforce such a blockade. Only experience will show. Data for 1936 reveals the following:

	Japan	U.S.
Tonnage (in thousands)	841	1,072
Battleships	9	15
Cruisers	41	37
Destroyers	111	230
Submarines	59	96

Against United States superiority is the fact that in an attempt at a blockade and the naval engagements that would result from it the Japanese fleet would be based on home ports while the American fleet would lose a considerable percentage of its effective fighting strength because of its greater distance from its home bases.

It is true that the American fleet has bases in Hawaii and the Philippines. And is the only power allowed by Britain to use the naval base at Singapore. But it is doubtful whether this permission would be continued in the event of such a war; and it is also doubtful whether the United States could hold the Philippines. Opinion on this varies. But even if the United States could use Singapore, and taking into account the Hawaiian base, the result would not be sufficient to maintain the total superiority which he figures show.

The United States is building ships three times as rapidly as Japan. Time, up to a point, is working to increase the superiority of the American fleet.

The superiority of the United States will compel Japan to seek alliances. In such plans sources of supply must be the determining factor. Hence Russia may be important but obviously more for strategic than economic reasons. While the belligerents in Europe are excluded as direct sources of supply they must become involved.

In Malaysia and the Dutch East Indies are large sources of oil; and the bulk of the world's tin and rubber. If Holland becomes a belligerent Japan may decide to make a grab for the East Indies. Or it may be the other way round. Unable to wait under the remorseless pressure of the United States Japan may make the effort while Holland is still neutral.

Either way, in the present circumstances, the logic of Japan's position is an alliance with Germany, war against Britain. And any attempt to grab the East Indies will bring the United States into the war. It will give Uncle Sam exactly the right issue: defense of weak nations against aggression.

Faced with the alternative of losing everything through capitulation, or losing

garia, which she can in turn control herself.

Carol might decide to throw himself on the mercy of the Allies, but he remembers Czechoslovakia and Poland and Finland. Besides geographical difficulties make it unlikely that the Allies can get aid to Rumania in time to save it.

The internal political history of Rumania reflects (1) the struggle of worker and employer; peasant and landowner; landowner and industrialist and financier; (2) the attempts of the minorities to escape from the yoke of the oppression of the of the imperialist powers to control and Rumanian ruling class; (3) the struggle of the imperialist powers to control and exploit the country's resources and dominate its government, in the course of which they have supported the struggles of the minorities for freedom.

Despite its existence as a separate state Rumania is no more independent, is no more able to make its own basic economic and political decisions, than is Cuba or other countries similarly situated;

It will not be able to escape involvement in the imperialist war and in Stalin's military adventures but will be drawn in as a pawn of one or the other contending powers;

It can no more receive real freedom from imperialist oppression through victory in the war than it can from defeat, although, of course, in the latter case, it would be even more oppressed; and

The minorities living in it cannot expect freedom at the hands of its imperialist conquerors if Rumania is on the losing side;

That the problem of the minorities, like the entire problem of the freedom of Rumania's resources and her people, can be solved, that Rumania can be rescued from the terrible plight in which she finds herself only by proletarian revolution; only by the workers in the territory known as Rumania and in the adjoining territories and in the territory of the big imperialist powers in the first place, taking matters into their own hands, ending the war and overthrowing capitalism, reorganizing production to satisfy human needs instead of capitalist greed for profits; and establishing security through the free association of peoples in free unions of proletarian states.

E. Barton

## DEFENSE

Butler was not so far wrong when he said that there aren't enough ships in all the world to bring to the shores of the U. S. enough men and supplies seriously to menace the U. S.

It is pretty obvious that the government doesn't need so much money for defense against attack. But even if it did what would you have to defend. You haven't any wealth that Germany or any other country could take away from you. And as for liberty what liberty do you have except the liberty to starve to death in the midst of enormous plenty?

No matter how you look at it it isn't a problem in defense at all.

Although the government doesn't talk about the real purposes for which it wants so much money the real reason isn't hard to discover at all. The truth is really very simple.

If all this money is to be spent for armaments which are not needed for defense then it must be that this armament is intended for offense.

Offense against what?

War against Japan for domination of the Asiatic market.

Possibly for war in Europe against German totalitarianism, or the menace of Russian bolshevism.

Or war against revolution in some big capitalist country if other countries can't put it down.

Or against revolution in the United States by workers driven to desperation by starvation.

Or against some combination of all these possibilities.

And when it goes to war the government intends to conscript the starving workers, to drill them to be good soldiers, and blow them to bits, so that Ford, Du Pont, Morgan, Rockefeller and the other rich parasites of the United States, the men who live in luxury while millions starve, will grow richer still.

This is the plan of the Roosevelt government.

What are you going to do about it?

Are you going to submit to it?

Are you going to put your faith in some tool of the wealthy and elect him to the Republican or anti-New Deal Democratic presidency only to find he is the same poison under a different label?

Or are you going to organize to overthrow the capitalist system which spends billions to destroy men and wealth while millions starve?

## ORGANIZE

Continued from Page One

of little stores should not be taken since they are generally insufficient to meet the workers' needs, and since the owners of these stores are very often little better than broke themselves. Supplies should be taken from large warehouses and other places where there are large accumulations.

Great care should also be taken to explain to other workers why and how food and clothing are being seized in order to counteract the lying propaganda of the papers and the radio that the workers engaged in this action are a mob of criminals hell-bent on anarchy and destruction; and to assist other workers in the same fix to solve their immediate problem in the same way.

But isn't this stealing? Isn't it against the law?

The answer to this is: the right of thousands and millions of starving workers to feed and clothe themselves and their families is a higher right than the property right of a few in the food and clothing which the workers need. If the large property owners of food and clothing will not voluntarily give up their right to prevent starvation and those who are starving are unable to get food and clothing from the government the workers have no choice but to exercise their right to live.

Such actions will teach the workers that they can solve their own problems. It will teach them organization and solidarity. And prepare them for the final solution of the problem.

You may not like what is said here. It may sound too radical, revolutionary. But think it over. And when you come down to it, have you any choice in the matter? Isn't it a choice between slow starvation and organized mass struggle to overthrow the system which is responsible for it?

through war, the Japanese ruling class will fight. War even against overwhelming odds, offers a desperate gambler's chance of winning.

When war will break out cannot be foretold on the calendar. But all events indicate that it is close. Events in Europe may speed it up or retard it. But it cannot be far off.

# Book Review

## The Mexican Challenge

By Frank L. Kluckhohn

Doubleday Doran & Co., 1939, 296 pgs.

IT SEEMS to be the accepted procedure these days for newspaper correspondents to be bounced from the countries they are covering and then write a book about it. Mr. Kluckhohn, former correspondent in Mexico for the N. Y. Times went thru these motions and produced a well rounded story of Mexico under Cardenas.

It is the author's opinion that there is not only a form of "state socialism" in Mexico, but that the entire nationalization program and oil confiscations are a huge flop. Of the latter he says:

Oil wages are lower today, however, than they were when the private companies controlled, taking perquisites and overtime into account. Rather than collective bargaining agencies, the labor unions have become agencies thru which the government operates the properties. Hand picked labor leaders are official agents, rather than representatives of the workers, although stage-managed labor elections are still held.

Strikes have not been permitted... and expulsion from the union, with consequent loss of employment, is the price that must be paid for mutiny.

As for "democracy" in Mexico, it is just as much a farce as in any other capitalist country. The official caste, composed of generals and politicians dominate Congress, the judiciary, the press and the army. In fact, says Kluckhohn, "the army still rules to the generals' benefit. Cardenas knows full well that the day he offends the military caste as a whole, is his last one in office." There never has been a free election in Mexico, and the ballot boxes are always stuffed and are manipulated to suit the party in power, are other charges made by him.

The Mexican Trade union, the CTM, led by the Stalinist, Toledano, was formed by Cardenas in order to offset the rival trade union, the CROM, led by Morones and supporting Calles. The author corrects comments that any time the generals think it necessary, "they could back another labor leader and oust Toledano just as Cardenas backed Toledano and ousted Morones."

KLUCKHOHN THINKS "Socialist" education in Mexico is a complete farce. The Cardenas regime must speak in terms of revolution and other left wing phrases, in order to cater to the natural radicalism of the Mexican masses. Imperialism is attacked and some elements of socialism are taught in the abstract. The system of capitalism "is severely questioned but not attacked per se." The leaders of the government and trade unions go to such lengths as to attack "Kautsky's revisionism." Such demagogy serves its purpose and maintains Cardenas' prestige.

The role of American Imperialism is dealt with at intervals. The author prefers to call it "our State Dept." and "Good Neighbor policy," etc. He claims that the policy of the U.S. is to support Cardenas in power much as it dislikes some of his actions. Any time Uncle Sam wants a new president in Mexico, says Kluckhohn, all he has to do is open the border at the Rio Grande to allow gun-running. Then he has to pick out the correct general and finance an army. The Taft and Wilson Administrations did this in dealing with Madero and Huerta respectively!

It is obvious that correspondent Kluckhohn takes a somewhat romantic view of Mexican politics. It appears to be tinged with the point of view of class B moving pictures.

But what emerges from his account is the picture of a capitalist regime dominated by its more powerful neighbor to the north.

This makes ridiculous his attempt to call the set-up in Mexico "state socialism." Anyone who knows anything about socialism knows that it is a system of society in which there is no state, no government, because society will satisfy the need of all and governments will not be necessary to protect the wealth of a few from the desperate need of the masses to take what should be theirs because they produce it.

Whatever his purpose in calling Mexico a state socialist society Kluckhohn's book only conveys to others the confusion which exists in his own mind, and adds his mite to the ceaseless effort of the capitalist class to discredit socialism in the eyes of the hungry workers. E. Denny

# In the Richest Country In the World

Brenda Frazier, New York's No. 1 glamour girl,..... was allowed \$1,000 weekly for her support during the coming year. The mother said that although Brenda is just 18 that amount is required to support her in the style to which she has been accustomed. — Chicago News, Jan. 6.

Last week the Cleveland Chapter of the non-political American Association of Social Workers made public a report.... on Ohio.... Among 374 cases picked at random....:

A boy vomiting in school because he had only tea for his breakfasts; six destitute children shivering in an unheated room, waiting for the moment when their mother lighted a brief wood fire and cooked their one meal of corn bread; a mother and eight children living in one room in the house of a friend; a nine-year old boy, stricken last year with spinal meningitis without underwear, clothed only in a cotton blouse, a pair of pants; a mother recovering from child-birth, still confined to her bed, living on black coffee and cereal.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 8 (Special to the Chicago Tribune). — Here's what the guests at tonight's Jackson day dinner here paid \$100 to eat and drink:

Diamond Back Terrapin Soup with Amontillado Sherry, Hot Butter Crusts, Heart of Celery, Olives Pecans, Graves Rosechatel, 1933; Lobster Crabflakes and Scallops a la Newburg, with Madeira; Old Fashioned Cornbread Cucumber Sandwiches, Margaux, 1933, Heart of Filet Mignon, Excelsior, New String Beans Anglaise, Potatoes Macaire, Hearts of Romaine with

Melon, Grapefruit and Asparagus Tips, Vinaigrette, Cheese Wafers; Real Spumoni Ice Cream with Spun Sugar, Anis Madeleines, Demi-tasse.

An agent of the society looked into the larder of one middle-aged couple, found "two apples, one-quarter of a melon, and about a cup of beans." Said the wife: "If we could just once get enough to eat."

A story told by a 14-year-old girl: "I found my aunt and the little children crying.... because they were hungry. They hadn't had any food that day and nothing but cornmeal the day before. My little cousin had found some onions and was eating those with mustard...."

New York, Jan. 4 (Special to the Chicago Tribune). — Gloria Vanderbilt, heiress who will be 16 years old on Feb. 20, spent only \$10 out of her \$25,750 personal allowance in 1939, and her estate increased \$191,484 during the year to total \$4,260,077. Her sole drawing on the allowance was to purchase \$10 worth of books....

...medical fees took \$2,816, but this sum did not come out of her personal allowance....

With hunger and cold came pneumonia, influenza, tuberculosis, pleurisy, aggravation of cardiac and diabetic cases....

16 of the 374 cases were close to nervous breakdown. "In ten cases there was definite threat of suicide...in four cases mothers threatened desertion and in two, mothers threatened to 'do away' with their children." — Time, Jan. 8.

# Shop Talk

It was after quitting time and Glenn was driving me home. He was mad as blazes. The big boss had bawled him out that day.

"That s.o.b." he was yelling, "Had the nerve to talk to me the way he did!"

"What's it all about?" I asked.

"The head-bolt crew was short a man today," he told me, "and they pushed us down the line."

"And what did Jones do? raise hell I suppose?"

"Raise hell aint the word for it," he answered. "He tore into me with a bang."

"What did he say?"

"Well, first he asked me if I wanted to work. Then when I said 'yes' he said, 'Well you'd better show it, there's better men than you lookin' for your job.' Then when I told him about the head-bolt crew, he told me to help them too."

"That's Jones all over," I offered.

"And how! And the way that monkey says it. 'How come you're down this far, Glenn? Get that 'how come business. And then that 'do you want to work? That god-damned, bull-dozin' brow-beatin' attitude of his! For two cents I'd a told him what to do with his lousy job!"

"And what good would that have done?"

"I know, I know. That's why I didn't do it. I'll pocket my pride now but when the day comes and things start stirrin' around here, then we'll put Mr. Jones in his place. He'll be humble and meek as a lamb then."

"Right," I answered as I got out of the car. "And keep that in mind, Glenn; 'Don't you worry yourself,' he answered. 'I sure as hell will.'"

Mike Bono

# Sell-Out in India

THE MARQUESS of Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, recently said "that only disagreement among the various Indian parties prevented England from granting dominion status to India." — N. Y. Times, Jan. 21.

The honorable gentleman is a plain and unvarnished liar. England

ence. Part of Britain's strategy... them. It pits Moslem against Hindu, as in Palestine it pits Arabs against Jew. It supports the fabulously rich native Indian princes against the starving workers and debt-ridden peasants.

Without consulting the Indian people the British government which claims it is fighting for democracy against injustice and oppression, has declared India at war with Germany. The India National Congress is willing to support the British government if it will apply to India the principles for which it says it is fighting.

THE BRITISH government has promised to consider dominion status after the war. But Indians remember how Britain broke her promise to give the Arabs freedom after the last war.

Now Gandhi, Congress leader, declared, according to Jan. 18 Int'l News Service,

I know for certain that if I cannot discover methods of non-violent action.... nothing on earth can prevent an outbreak of violence resulting for the time being in anarchy and red ruin.

Commenting on Linlithgow's lying statement, Gandhi said

...I have not lost faith in Britain.

I believe the latest pronouncement by Lord Linlithgow. I believe in his sincerity. — N. Y. Times.

Mr. Gandhi, says the N. Y. Times "was eager for a compromise with Britain if it could be had with honor."

Mr. Gandhi, says REVOLT, is afraid the Indian masses will reject his pacifist, religious non-violent methods and throw the British government into the Indian ocean.

To Mr. Gandhi this is anarchy and ruin. He is trying to head this off with what he calls "compromise with.... honor." REVOLT calls it a sell-out.

trying to understand them all.

"K"—Chicago housewife  
Jan. 15, 1940.

A letter was received from the Communist Workers Group rejecting unity. No letter has been received from the Revolutionary Workers League (Fighting Worker). A report on the CWG letter and the RWL (FW) letter if it is received will appear in the next issue of REVOLT.

# Letters to Revolt

DETROIT, Jan. 12.—Officers of Local 2

got an agreement between the Union and the Murray Body Corp., ratified at a "mass" meeting, Dec. 2, 1939, by the old reliable method. It is doubtful if more than 10% of the membership realized what they were ratifying when a vote was taken, and those opposed to certain clauses had three strikes on them before they came to bat.

Approval of imperialism is tacitly implied by the insertion of a clause pertaining to members entering war service, protecting their rights "provided they are honorably discharged," entirely overlooking the fact that they might not come back at all, or might come back in pieces.

Further dictatorial aims are shown in Article 3, Section 3, Clause G., which reads as follows:

Any employee may be disciplined... for failure to maintain established standards of production or for breach of agreed shop rules. If as a result of such discipline he takes action detrimental to the union or the company he will be placed at the bottom of the seniority list.

This discipline clause gives full power of life and death over members to the Co. and its stooges, the officers, for a man must have money to live, and to get this he must have a job. But when a member, for some reason or purpose which can easily be political or personal, is demoted to the bottom of the list, his job is lost, for this local has upward of 2,000 unemployed.

It goes without saying that the Co. was only too glad to share this "plum" with the Local leadership. So now the boys and girls are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. It's a case of if the Lord don't get you the Devil certainly must. Looks like the boys will have to learn to part their hair on both sides.

One of the Boys

REVOLT—what a terrifying and unstartling word. The first impression of a non-sympathiser and uninformed member of this great country when seeing the title of your paper is—(just another mud-slinging super-radical Communist paper. And, what is a communist? Oh, someone skinny and half starved with a long beard and wild eyes who stands on a soapbox most of the time yelling for labor to be saved. A communist is non-American. A communist doesn't work or attempt to, at least not often).

That, readers, is the opinion of the

majority of the people

connected with it. I know, because I had that opinion once and, a great many people I know still have. Needless to say, I am of the conviction that the Communist in America, as much as I know to date of him, is the really true American with the earnest desire to see his fellow Americans on their feet with the workers receiving a liveable wage and decent hours and not working themselves in an early grave for it. Whereas, the so-called real American, the political big shot or the executive millionaire is not pro-American but really "pro-ego."

I don't suppose my opinion, the mere opinion of a housewife and mother, especially since I am not yet a member of your organization, means anything to you readers but, if you are interested in having the republicans and democrats and, they are the greater majority politically, read your paper then change your paper's name. Call it something that won't scare the readers away. Like, for instance, "Your Paper," or "Pro-America Program." You can probably think of a better one than these.

But, after all, aren't you more interested in increasing your readers and members? Then, for heaven's sake, don't frighten them away. A name is very important. Don't give them too big a dose to swallow the first glance. People don't really understand and know very much about your program. Give them a chance to learn.

Another thing, you writers, try to use simple language. Of course a lot of people have good educations but a lot haven't. The people you want to reach aren't the ones who are already for your cause and have read and re-read your issues, but the ones who come upon it for the first time. They are the ones whose interest you want to get and to hold.

Do you suppose "Frank" who works in a mill and who has a grammar school education, who has always been a republican but who is dis-satisfied with his working conditions knows and understands what your party wants to do for him? I have looked and looked in your issues but have failed to find a clear A-B-C version of your program. Why not put a large double-spaced paragraph in every issue on the top sheet, stating your aims for the workers.

My criticism isn't meant to be malicious or un-sympathetic. I understand part of your aims and am groping in the dark