

HOW CAN WE FIGHT HITLER?

War Plans Pushed By Roosevelt

**Pittman Rips Mask
Off Military
Program**

MOBILIZE INDUSTRY

The Roosevelt administration, with the approval of Republican leaders, has moved swiftly day by day during the European crisis to utilize it for the American government's own war preparations.

Intensifying the crisis atmosphere by a series of moves against Nazi Germany, the administration—having thus presumably created the necessary hysterical atmosphere—moved to expand the American war machine by wiping out existing neutrality legislation.

The role of exports of munitions as a method of expanding American war industries was emphasized by Senator Key Pittman, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, in a radio broadcast Sunday night:

"The emergency demands of our government an expeditious and enormous increase of the capacity in this country for the production of materials and instruments of defense.

"It is totally impracticable, if not impossible, for our government to sufficiently increase the capacity of government works to meet any such emergency. Our government must rely upon the expansion of the capacity of private industry. Private industry will not expand if it is denied the right and power to export its products."

Pittman Moves Fast

Pittman's first statement, on Saturday, proposed to permit the export of arms to belligerents in time of war on the so-called cash-and-carry basis—that is, all right, title and interest in the consignment would have to be transferred to some foreign government before export, and the arms be carried in vessels of foreign registry.

But by Sunday night he went further, foreshadowing provisions in the new law permitting American vessels to carry the materials of war. Recalling that it was the determination to "fight for our rights as neutrals on the high seas that forced us into the World War," he added:

"The existing Neutrality Law constitutes a surrender of those legal rights that we fought for in the World War."

Pittman further justified his proposal by the "realistic" argument that it serves to secure "a substantial balance of power" in Europe, so that no European group will be free to interfere with American interests anywhere.

"We have sufficient power through our navy and through our tremendous financial and economic resources to resist any encroachment upon our rights," said Pittman.

"We are interested, however, in seeing that there is maintained in Europe a substantial balance of power because if any one group obtains absolute power over Europe and Asia, then we are faced with the defense of the Monroe Doctrine in Latin America."

Frankly Imperialistic

Pittman's statements—as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee he undoubtedly speaks for the majority in the Senate as well as Roosevelt's intimate circle—differed from the stream of "idealistic" propaganda with which the American people were flooded throughout the week, in its frankness in expressing American imperialist objectives.

Like a loyal Rooseveltian he interspersed his points with indignant references to "aggressors," "totalitarian regimes," etc., but concentrated mainly on explaining to hard-headed businessmen just what the government

(Continued on page 3)

A Lesson for the Workers, Too!



STALINISTS SILENT ON SHOOTING OF MADRID LEADER

**Miaja Executes His
Fellow-Communist,
Barcelo**

Lieutenant Colonel Luis Barcelo, a leader of the troops who revolted against the Popular Front Junta's plans to capitulate to Franco, was shot by a firing squad in Madrid on March 19, the morning after Julian Besteiro, as Minister of State of the Junta, had radioed an appeal for peace to Franco.

But this bloody sacrifice did not appease the Spanish Butcher, any more than did Gen. Miaja's suppression of the troops who wanted to continue the fight against Franco.

"Our caudillo, General Franco, has prepared an army which will carry to the last village in Spain the only peace which is honorable—a peace obtained by arms," the Burgos radio announced, in interpreting the direct answer to Besteiro by Ramon Serrano y Suner, Franco's brother-in-law, that "Nationalist Spain can only accept a victorious peace."

Will Massacre Workers
No mercy would be shown to the "red militiamen" who alleged—(Continued on Page 3)

Stalin Waits For Nazi Reply to Bid

**Duranty Quotes Bismarck to Support Idea
of Soviet-German Friendship**

Despite its bombastic note about the invasion of Bohemia and Moravia, the Stalin government of the Soviet Union is still leaving its door wide open to a deal with Hitler.

Britain and France only yesterday were ready to throw the Soviet Ukraine to Hitler's tender mercies if in return he would only let them alone. That was the meaning of Munich.

But now London and Paris realize that Hitler will not, can not, leave them alone and they are preparing for war as swiftly, as feverishly as they can. Part of these preparations is a fresh offer of a bloc to the threatened states of Eastern Europe, Poland, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R.

Waiting to See

In answer to British diplomatic soundings, the Soviet government proposed a nine-power parity. In the present circumstances this is nothing but a stall, because Stalin is still waiting to see what Hitler will do. In his speech at the Russian Communist Party congress last week, as we pointed out in these columns, Stalin openly invited Hitler to make terms with him instead of fighting him.

A few days ago Pravda, Stalin's official organ, denied that in taking over Czechoslovakia Hitler was driving toward the Soviet

(Continued on Page 3)

Auto Union Groups Shape Up for Coming Convention

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT, March 17.—From all present indications the Cleveland convention of the United Automobile Workers will be no love-feast of harmony, tolerance and unity.

The rumblings of a scramble for power become louder every day. Unless John L. Lewis by gentle persuasion or not-so-gentle threats can parcel out the posts, at least to the temporary satisfaction of the contestants, the trouble now brewing in the Executive Board will boil over in Cleveland during the week of March 27.

Three major tendencies have come to the front. First, the Frankenstein-Addes combination, which is looked upon approvingly by the Stalinists and probably directed from behind the scenes by the Communist Party commissar.

This faction controls a sizeable bloc of votes and will have great bargaining power in Cleveland. It will control the large Flint dele-

(Continued on Page 2)

Boss War Will Mean Spread of Hitlerism

**Workers of the United States! The Only Way to
Fight Against War and Fascism Is to Overthrow
the International System of Capitalist Slavery**

The latest events in Europe once again, in the most acute form, raise in the minds of every worker the questions: Can we stop Hitler? How can we stop Hitler? How can we prevent this monstrous juggernaut from enslaving the world?

Let us reply at once to the first of these questions: We can and we must stop Hitler. His appearance of unbeatable strength is in reality a deception. What strength he has is the strength of desperation, like the frantic strength of a man in his death throes. He seems strong only because of the disorganization of the forces opposed to him.

ONLY TWO CHOICES

The crucial question is the second: How can we stop Hitler? This is what we must answer, with absolute clarity. We must stop him, and we will, but we must know exactly how to do it. If we do not, we may fail; or we may succeed in stopping Hitler only to end up with something as bad or even far worse than Hitler.

All proposals for stopping Hitler sift down, on analysis, to two. Realistically considered, our choice is between these two, and between them only.

The first is the proposal of the patriots and social-patriots, of Roosevelt and the Stalinists and the social-democrats. This is, in brief, to reconsolidate the anti-German alliance of the World War, and to have the allied powers, headed by England, France and the United States, go to war against Germany. The masses of workers and farmers are asked to support these powers in the war.

WAR BRINGS REPRESSION

What will be the result of this proposal, if it is accepted by the masses, and acted upon?

We see the beginning of the answer already, in France. The dictatorial powers granted to Daladier will swiftly result in the wiping out all the gains and rights of the workers: the 40-hour week will be changed to 50-hours and then 60-hours; strikes will be prohibited; the rights of free assemblage and free press done away with; all militants in the labor movement will be hounded, jailed or shot; the working-class political parties will be outlawed; the unions will be illegalized or reduced to obedient parts of the dictatorial state machine.

Exactly the same measures are fully prepared in both England and the United States. Totalitarian military dictatorships will be imposed in both countries the moment war starts, or even, as in France, begun before war starts.

Universal conscription laws, already on the books, will draft the finest of the young workers and farmers into armies. Tens of millions, literally tens of millions, will be slaughtered—combatants and non-combatants alike.

Two Positions

The official not represents the public position—which will be translated into acceptance of the Anglo-French flirtation in case Hitler does not respond to the unofficial position—stated with characteristic crudity by Stalin last week, and somewhat more aptly by Duranty in his dispatch on Monday.

In other words the Soviet Union under Stalin, in mortal peril of its very existence, is banking its life on the momentary shifts among the imperialist blocs. That the Soviet Union should take every possible advantage of such shifts goes without saying. But Stalin's crime is that he depends solely upon them, having long since abandoned his links to the

(Continued on Page 3)

many this time but spread throughout the world.

Germany's Hitler may be prevented from getting the colonies which he seeks. The colonial peoples will be no less horribly oppressed by the Hitlers of England, France and the United States. The fascist yoke around our necks in England, France and the United States may not wear a label, "Made in Germany"; but it will bear down no less heavily as a "home product".

RULERS LOOK TO FASCISM

The rulers of England, France and the United States do not like Hitler, because he threatens their own possessions. But they have no objection, in spite of their present demagoguery, to Hitlerism. On the contrary, they know that the totalitarian organization of their own nations is now the only method they have for preserving their own powers and privileges.

The first proposal for stopping Hitler, then, adds up to just this: for the sake of defending the possessions of the finance-capitalists of London, Paris and New York, to guarantee the victory of fascism throughout the world.

The second proposal for stopping Hitler is that of the revolutionary socialists, of the Fourth International.

MAIN ENEMY AT HOME

This proposal declares: Workers of every imperialist state, of England and France and the United States no less than Germany, the main enemy is in your own country! It is the bosses of your own country who throw you out of work, drive down your wages, send their police and troops against you, and who plan in their war and forever after to impose dictatorship on you to drive you to the slaughter.

Your first job, therefore, is to get rid of these bosses and their government in your own country, to free yourselves, to take over the factories and mines and resources of your country for yourselves and administer them through your own government—a workers' and not a bosses' government.

UNITE AGAINST TYRANNY!

Inspired and learning from your struggle, the workers of Germany will once again take hope and courage. They will turn their anger and their weapons, not against their fellow-workers of France and England and the United States, but against their own main enemy, against their own government, against Hitler. Hitler will be swept aside; and this time not merely Hitler but Hitlerism; and Hitlerism not merely in Germany but throughout the world.

The German workers are our brothers and comrades, not our enemies. Shall we devote ourselves to killing them and being killed by them, because Roosevelt asks us to do so in order to safeguard the profits of the Sixty Families?

No! We must join with them, help them to join with us in the common struggle of all workers of every country, the world-wide struggle to wipe out the rotten system which condemns all workers to tyranny and starvation, and to replace it with the free socialist society of free men in a free and peace-assured world.

New World War Again Threatens

**Bosses Prepare to
Hurl Masses Into
Slaughter**

ARMIES ON MOVE

The peoples of the world were being dragged this week at a frighteningly swift pace toward a new world war.

On half a dozen fronts millions of men—the workers of all lands—were once more being prepared for the mutual slaughter.

The desperate world struggle of the capitalists for markets and raw materials was again reaching the point where, as in 1914-1918, it was passing over to the stage of armed conflict.

They almost reached the point of war last September but managed at the last moment to reach a "compromise"—the Munich accord—and now, after a brief six months the rival capitalist powers face each other once more on the edge of the precipice of war.

Little Room for Deal
A much slimmer base exists now for a "compromise" than existed at the time of Munich. But it is plain as day that any postponement will be only for weeks or for months. World capitalism can no more control its convulsive thrusts toward war than a dying man can control his convulsions as his end draws near.

Anglo-French efforts to keep the hungry imperialisms of Germany and Italy in check are failing fast. The British and French colonial empires, erected over the mangled bodies and with the stolen wealth of hundreds of millions of subjected slaves, are now directly threatened by the "starved" imperialism of Germany and its satellite, Italy.

The World War of 1914-1918 was fought by the capitalists of France, Britain, and the United States to crush the rising economic might of the Kaiser's Germany. The vindictive post-war settlement at Versailles sought to suffocate the conquered foe. Thanks to the treacherous failures of the Second and Third Internationals, the German revolution was beheaded and the result was—Hitler.

Hitler's Stages
Hitler took as his task the reconstitution of the German Empire. First crushing the workers, he then proceeded systematically with a program of rearmament and conquest that now brings him into direct collision once more with the rival capitalist empires of the world. That is the source of the threatening conflict.

In swift succession Hitler re-established German power in the Saar, reoccupied the Rhineland, rebuilt the German Army and Navy, seized Austria, annexed the Sudetenland, and last week bloodlessly conquered the rest of Czechoslovakia and now looks hungrily toward the oil and wheat of Rumania and the Soviet Ukraine.

Last Fall Britain and France deemed themselves unprepared to go to war immediately. They calculated that if they could turn Hitler's attention eastward by giving him a "free hand" in the Danube Basin, and against Russia, they would save their own skins, at best, and, at worst, give themselves a further period in which to complete their war preparations. That was the essential meaning of the Munich pact.

Face Too Fast

Hitler has moved however, at a far swifter pace than Chamberlain and Daladier calculated upon. They see developing a colossus which threatens to become strong enough to tear them down almost at will. Under conditions of normal economic competition, the Anglo-French bloc could hope to checkmate Hitler to some extent in Central Europe. But that hope disappears as Hitler goes far beyond

(Continued on Page 3)

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

New Recruits for Social Patriotism in France

Hitler's latest "surprise," swallowing nearly all that there was left of what was once Czechoslovakia, appears to have finally shattered the tender hopes of an understanding with him in French and British ruling circles. In France, Daladier is pushing through the Chamber of Deputies decrees giving him full dictatorial powers for eight months in anticipation of the inevitable clash with the Rome-Berlin axis.

While the social democrats under Blum and the Stalinists under Thorez grumble against this step and call for the "union sacrée" or national coalition cabinet, there is very little likelihood that they will go beyond that. They have prepared their following for just such moves as Daladier is now making.

The latter, taking a leaf out of Hitler's book, knows that if you can get your opponents to accept a partial defeat without serious resistance, you can get them used to accepting greater defeats without any resistance at all. Blum, Thorez and the trade union leader Jouhaux have played right into the hands of this henchman of French imperialism from the very first days of the "Popular Front." They will support him with or without the official "union sacrée."

Social reformism, Stalinism and the trade union bureaucracy have long been lined up for national defense, and their support of French imperialism has been virtually guaranteed. Now new recruits have come over to the side of social-patriotism from unexpected quarters. They are the leaders of the purely syndicalist tendency in the French trade union movement who go under the name of "Amis de Syndicats" or Friends of the Unions. Their chief stock in trade throughout their existence has been: Lay off politics! Under this banner, they had attacked the social democrats and the Stalinists, as well as Jouhaux, from the "left." During the crisis last September, they were naturally against the war-mongering of the Stalinists. Since then, their fight against working-class participation in politics has taken them on strange paths—and into the camp of Chamberlain-Daladier "appeasement."

At a recent banquet one of the syndicalist leaders, the general secretary of the Teachers Union, Delmas, went so far as to say: "If, for once, capitalism serves to stop a war, it will make up in part for the evils it has caused." Then he added: "Huge armaments may well be the price of peace."

The speech caused a sensation in France. Shortly after a manifesto issued by the group incorporating the same line appeared in the *Petit Provençal*, an organ of the reactionary Fernand Boulousson who is allied with the pro-Fascist group of former Premier Flaminio. The paper commented enthusiastically on the manifesto. Now, when the "appeasement" policy

culminates in war preparations under a dictatorial Daladier regime, the anti-political syndicalists, headed by Delmas, Belin and Co., can be said to have done their share for the "union sacrée" equally well with the social democrats and the Stalinists.

As always in the past, the only consistent and reliable opponents of the social-patriotic wave in present-day France are the political revolutionists, those whose policies are based on Marxism. Any hope of resisting the war plans in France rests with the P.O.I. (the French Fourth Internationalists) and with the leftward development of the centrist P.S.O.P. (Socialist Workers and Peasants Party) which contains many excellent Marxist militants.

Paul Faure and His New Newspaper

Just a step ahead of the anti-political pacifists in this treacherous game is the "pacifist" minority of the S.F.I.O. (French Section of the Second International), led by Paul Faure who recently broke with Blum after a life-long collaboration.

Mr. Paul Faure's enthusiasm for "appeasement" is a la Daladier has led him to launch the publication of a newspaper called "Le Reveil du Peuple" (The Awakening of the People) co-jointly with . . . one Rene Brunet, an associate of the reactionary Guey Bonnet, present Foreign Minister.

Where is the money for the enterprise coming from? The cry is raised in the French revolutionary press. The answer is obvious.

Another Blow at Our French Comrades

In addition to the persecutions directed by Daladier against our comrades Suzanne Charpy and Loret, reported here last week, a new court sentence has hit one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth (Fourth Internationalist), comrade Steve. Steve has been sentenced to six months imprisonment for a placard which appeared on the walls of Paris entitled "This War Is Not Our War."

Heavy Prison Sentences for Algerian Fighters

Among the preparations of the French imperialists for their fight against the "Fascist powers" is a savage attack against the political organizations of the oppressed in the colonies. The latest to come under their blows are the militants of the Algerian Popular Party. Twenty-three leaders of the party recently faced a mass trial and were given sentences averaging one year's imprisonment each. Prominent among them was Ben Dahmane Amar, who was arrested in Paris last September and deported to Algiers.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

John was an Italian worker who came to America looking for a job. He was a stone-cutter and a good one. He could not speak English and had little time to learn because there were four small children and a wife to feed. And when the employment agent sent him to a Vermont quarry to work, he borrowed some money from friends and took the family along. A new life had begun for John and he was happy.

It was hard work and no time for play or study. Up early to work and home late and to bed. The boss was always nearby, and it was hurry, hurry, hurry every minute of the long day. John did not complain or ask questions. No matter how weary his arms or sore his back, John's heart sang with joy because the job meant that the bambinoes and the mother had a roof over their heads and spaghetti on the stove.

And it meant also that his oldest son, Joseph, could go to school and grow up to be a smart fellow like the boss. Maybe he would be a doctor or a lawyer—who knows, maybe President?

"Why Must People Be Hungry?"

Four years went by and John worked harder each year. He had not saved any money, but who saves money when times are good? Besides there were so many little bills to pay each week, each month. One must pay rent. One cannot sleep in the fields—especially when little Elsie had the cough that didn't go away. . . . And a family must eat. In winter every one must have coal to heat the house. Growing boys wear clothes to shreds overnight. Doctors must get paid or they, too, get hungry.

One day there was no work at all. The boss came out and told the men to go home until he sent for them. John waited for the others to leave and then he went up to the boss. "I work very much. I do not ask questions. I need the job very much. I'll take less pay if you keep me on the job, please?" The boss just walked away. He didn't even answer John.

It was a long winter. John thought every day the boss would send for him. Sometimes he walked to the great quarry where he used to work and looked at all the stone waiting to be cut into big blocks for building, houses and bridges and statues. Sometimes he thought, "What has happened in America? Why must people be hungry when there is so much fine land for growing potatoes, wheat, corn and tomatoes? Why do people live in houses like stables when lumber and stone and iron are right in the ground under the very nose? Why must people shiver in thin rags and walk in broken shoes while clothing stores are overflowing? Why? What is wrong?"

He could not answer these questions without getting dangerous ideas which frightened him and yet made him feel better right away. "There are answers to all questions," he would say to himself.

There Was a Depression

One day, when spring came, John packed up the family's goods in a big tablecloth and took the mother and the children to the road and started off toward the city. A truck stopped and the driver said, "Hop in." They accepted the invitation without knowing where they were going.

New York City is very large, and it is easy to get lost there because all the streets look so much alike. With two children in their arms and two walking alongside, the family walked and walked. After a great many blocks, they

came to an Italian neighborhood. There they found a man who bought their wedding ring for half the original price. John almost cried but did not because his wife would see him and the children would see him and then everybody would cry, too. He just left them in a doorway, while he looked for a room where they could sleep.

The next day John found a job. Not much of a job for a man who had been a stone-cutter, but it would do until he found a better one. He was a dishwasher in a small, dirty lunch room where no daylight ever came into the kitchen. At night he would wrap scraps of food in a newspaper and take them home to his waiting family. On Saturday the boss paid him six dollars for a week's work.

On Sunday John met some men who told him that elections were near and that the district leader could use a man to distribute circulars in mail boxes and under doors. The job paid two dollars a day. So John applied and then spent his time walking endless miles of dark stairways and long streets. It was better than washing dishes. After the elections were over, John was out of a job again.

It went on like this for two years. Little jobs and little pay. People said there was a depression. John's health began to play tricks on him. He often was unable to get out of bed because his head felt dizzy and his heart made queer thumps. Elsie's cough became so bad she kept the whole family awake at night. Joseph quit school and tried to earn some money shining shoes in Tompkins Square Park. The mother cried to herself. There was a depression.

So Nobody Would See His Shame

One day a neighbor told John to go to the Home Relief Bureau. There they will help you if you say the right words and tell everything. But John didn't want charity, he said, and refused to ask for something for nothing. He was a stone-cutter and he wanted only a chance to earn his money. But four children and a wife must eat. . . . So in the end he went to the relief station. There he stood in line all morning. In the afternoon a man called his name and began to ask many questions. John tried to understand. He tried to remember where his father was born, how old his mother had been, how many little jobs he had in the past three years and many other questions. Then the man gave him a long piece of paper with many more questions printed on it in English. Fill this out and come back next week, the man said.

For three weeks John tried to do everything necessary to receive food for the family. Always there was some mistake on the paper. Always they said come back next week. Always John felt like a beggar in front of the smart fellows in the Relief Bureau. And more weeks went by.

One day after John had filled out the paper for the sixth or seventh time, he brought it back to the Bureau and waited five hours for the man to call his name. John was hungry and he did not feel good in the head. When the man called him he walked up quickly. The man looked at the paper and said, "You spelled the words wrong again and I can't read your signature. Take it home and fill it out again."

John went home slowly. He tried to think. What was next? What should a man do? The children were hungry. The mother cried in her sleep. John's head became dizzy again. He went home and hanged himself in the closet, so nobody would see his shame.

(To be continued next week)

Boss Governments Prepare to Hurl Masses Into a New World Slaughter

(Continued from Page 1)

yond mere economic penetration and gobbles up territory under the marching feet and trundling wheels of his swollen army.

Moreover they understand perfectly well that Hitler's eastward march does not release them from fear of incursions upon their own empires. Italy is hungrily—and impatiently—awaiting its turn and Hitler has never renounced his demand for overseas colonies that could only be provided at the expense of the Western powers.

That is why under the hammer blows of Hitler's latest moves—and the new moves in immediate preparation—Britain and France are attempting to stiffen up sufficiently to challenge the threat of German imperialist expansion.

The Turn in France

In France the first move was the conversion of the Daladier government—only six months ago the fountain-head of the People's Front—into an open dictatorship. Daladier demanded and received, by overwhelming votes of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, full powers, unlimited and undefined, to govern by decree until next November.

Daladier made it plain that he intended to rule with an iron hand, to slash down the living standards of the workers, to increase hours, to speed up armaments, to make France an armed camp under a dictatorship that will permit no breath of freedom that interferes with the "grave eventualities"—i.e., the war—of which Daladier openly spoke.

Nothing could more plainly than this show how false and hypocritical is the propaganda that tries to befuddle the workers into thinking that the coming war is a war of "democracy" against the Fascist dictatorships.

The "Democracies"

France, even before the actual outbreak of war, is already swiftly converting itself into a totalitarian state where the worker who tries to oppose his own interests to those of the capitalists will be as ruthlessly crushed as he is in Hitlerite Germany.

In England it has already been publicly announced that the country will be broken up in time of war into twelve regions under the absolute rule of local dictators appointed by the government. Compulsory military service is likewise on the immediate order of the day in "democratic" Britain.

In this country the blotting out of the Barkley amendment from the air corps expansion bill—the

STALINISTS MUM ON SHOOTING OF MADRID LEADER

(Continued from Page 1)

edly committed various "crimes," said Suner. These "crimes," he said, must be taken into consideration when one speaks of generosity.

France was preparing for an offensive if the Junta did not shortly surrender unconditionally. In his radioed appeal to Franco, Besteiro had addressed the fascists as "the Nationalist Government."

"The moment has come when the National Defense Junta must carry out its mission, and in consequence it addresses your government to inform it that we are disposed to undertake negotiations which will assure us an honorable peace. We await your decision."

Barcelo Was Communist

Lieutenant Colonel Barcelo was due to death less than two days after an "Emergency Tribunal"—secret courts established by the Negrin government—had found him guilty of "complicity" in the Worker on Monday, nor did it revolt against the Junta.

He was a member of the Communist Party of Spain.

News of his execution was not reported by the Stalinist Daily Worker. As reported in the last issue of the Appeal, all references to the Popular Front Junta, which had previously been denounced as capitulators to the fascists, disappeared from the Daily Worker, beginning March 13.

Press reports of the reappearance of the Communist party press in Loyalist Spain, indicating that the Stalinists have made their peace with the Mija-led Junta, have not been denied by the Daily Worker.

Why Stalinists are Silent

The silence of the Stalinist press here, in the face of the latest Spanish events, can only be interpreted as an attempt to hide from the Communist party membership the fact that the Spanish Communist Party is going along with the Besteiro-Mija Junta's

amendment which would have slimsly safeguarded workers' union rights—and the well-known industrial mobilization plans which will place the workers in a strait-jacket in time of war are also ample proof that "democratic" America too will convert itself into a Fascist dictatorship during the coming war.

"Democratic" Allies

And if any more proof were needed, we remind workers of the fact that "poor little Rumania" and "poor little Poland"—the next objects of Hitler's attention—are nothing but bloody dictatorships in which workers' rights were long ago crushed under the heel of totalitarian governments. These are the "allies" to whom the democracies, so-called, now appeal for encirclement of Fascist Germany.

Let no one be fooled by the

propaganda already dripping in thick blobs from the entire press, from the Tory Herald Tribune to the Stalinist Daily Worker. The coming war is a war among the bosses, fighting like wolves over the prey, the rich produce of the workers and the profits they make out of them.

The Soviet Position

Britain and France are also turning now, in the present crisis, to the Soviet Union—which they were ready only yesterday to hand over to Hitler—for renewal of the long-discarded collective security pacts. To these overtures Stalin, as explained elsewhere in these columns, is giving a cynically cautious response, waiting to see if Hitler will respond to his public bid for a bloc against the Western powers.

In any case, we are witnessing one of the final—if not the final—period of desperate pre-war ma-

neuvering for position. Events are beginning to move far more swiftly than the numbing minds of the capitalist diplomats. The new imperialist war, the new slaughter of the nations is almost upon us. United action by the workers of the world will transform that war of the bosses into a war for the emancipation of all mankind by overthrowing the system that breeds wars—capitalism. But for the historic treachery of the Second and Third Internationals during the past two decades, such action would have long since taken place. Now, in these darkest of hours, that gigantic task falls to the Fourth International, which will fight to the utmost of its powers to smash the war-makers and on the smoking ruins of capitalism erect the new world order, the only order of world peace, the order of world socialism.

LEFT — JABS

Believe It Or Not

The credential below, which was clipped from "Justice," was handed to an International Ladies Garment Workers Union organizer when he asked for a permit to give out leaflets in Waltham, Mass. Other town authorities have their minds made up and changed in the same way, as Beal, but few are frank or dumb enough to say so.

"To whom it may concern:

"Mr. James R. Gallagher, at 11:10 A.M. on Thursday, February 23, 1939, has made application for a permit to pass out hand bills at what I shall call the Mill Gate on Moody Street.

"His object is to unionize the Boston Maid Company. I decline to issue the permit for the best interests of the City of Waltham. I have suggested to Mr. Gallagher that he might confer with the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and thereby possibly have me change my mind.

Very truly yours,
(signed) Henry F. Beal
City Engineer and Director"

The LaGuardias of Prague

The government officials, the anti-fascist LaGuardias, and Newbold Morris of Prague, called on the people to submit quietly to Hitler, to make no demonstration against him and to lay down their arms.

The Cops

The Prague LaGuardias sent their cops (with tears streaming down their faces) to help Hitler's Storm Troopers arrest anti-fascists and Jews.

The Czech Civil Liberties Union

The C.L.U. of Prague — there must be one—no doubt demanded free speech for Hitler and the safeguarding of all his democratic rights.

General Syrov

The one-eyed democratic peoples leader of Czechia showed that he was true to type and welcomed Hitler with a hearty handshake.

A Haven!

Universal News Reel shows what they announce as "Jewish people driven from Europe find a haven of refuge," and then shows them landing in—Shanghai!

Did Browder Send Greetings?

News Item: "Lieut. Jose Mijala, son of the Council head, who was released March 10 by the Nationalists, arrived in Madrid in time to celebrate his saint's day with his father."

SPAIN CP'ers TOLD "NOT TO MOVE AGAINST CASADO," ADMITS FISCHER

That the Negrin cabinet had no intention of prolonging the war against Franco, and that the Communist party of Spain ordered its members not to oppose the Mija-Casado Junta which ousted Negrin — charges made in previous issues of the Appeal—are corroborated by Louis Fischer, the well-known "unofficial" Stalinist journalist, in a cable to The Nation, March 18.

On Negrin's policy, Fischer says: "When Barcelona fell, the Loyalists realized that the war was lost and would soon end. On February 1 Negrin enunciated to the Cortes three conditions for the cessation of hostilities—national independence, a regime with popular support, and the promise of no reprisals; but within a week the British and French governments were informed that the republic was ready to reduce these to one—clemency."

"The administration wants Congress in this perilous time to abandon its effort to legislate foreign policy and put its trust in the Executive. It wants discretion for him to enforce a unilateral policy of aid extending to arms, ammunition and implements of war. It proposes that the President shall have a power of decision, supported by all the resources of this nation, which will enable him effectively to throw our whole weight on any bloody scale according to his concept of national interest."

Hull's Hypocrisy
This revealing summary of the president's objectives indicates how hypocritical was Secretary of State Cordell Hull's argument against the proposed popular referendum on war.

Hull argued that such a referendum was incompatible with representative government, that the people, having elected their representatives to Congress had thereby delegated to them the power to deal with the question of war and peace. This subterfuge hides the real aim: to take the decision away, not only from the people directly, but from Congress.

Meanwhile, even before revision of the neutrality act, the government was in a position to initiate a gigantic process of expanding war industries, on the basis of putting through the ar-

ment program already voted or about to be voted by Congress. Present Arms Costs
Not even the administration pretends to be able to estimate the exact cost of the measures which are receiving Congressional authorization, but it will amount to at least four billion dollars during the next two fiscal years.

These sums are primarily allocated to expansion of the naval and air forces, for these involve types of equipment required to be on hand before war breaks out, while the equipping of a gigantic army requires merely the existing economic capacity of the nation's factories plus the re-tooling and re-training of personnel which will be provided by army "educational orders" and manufacture of munitions for England and France.

Eventual Arms Costs
Tens of billions will be spent on the army, but these costs will begin on the immediate eve of war. Every million dollars now voted for "educational orders" is mainly used by the contracting companies for preparing for mass production of war materials. For every million thus expended now, a billion will have to be expended later on the actual war materials. The Administration is thus paving the way for the most gigantic and expensive war that mankind has ever seen.

Orders Not to Resist
Before they left Spain," says Fischer, "Communist leaders gave orders not to oppose Casado with arms. I know definitely that the Communist pilots were told by their chief not to move against Casado."

This confirms our contention that the Stalinist leaders, already in agreement with Negrin for a speedy peace, were ready to subordinate themselves to the Casado-Mija Junta.

The leaders having thereupon fled, the ranks of the Communist party took things in their own hands and fought back when they were attacked. Safe outside Spain, the leaders refused to accept any responsibility for the heroic resistance.

Workers' Information Please!

Your Questions Answered by Our Board of Experts
Shaechman-Morrow-Burnham
Master of Ceremonies—Garrett
at the
'QUESTION MARK' DANCE
Saturday Night, March 25
916 9th Avenue
Hot Music! Admission 30c

FLASH!

Prize for any question you submit that our Experts fail to answer, BUT you must be present at the Dance to receive your prize. Submit your question in advance.

QUEENS Anti-Fascist Rally

FRIDAY, MARCH 24
8:00 P.M.

Oddfellow's Hall, Jamaica

159-81 90th Avenue

Speakers: Albert Goldman

E. R. McKinney

(8th Ave. Subway to Parsons Blvd. — E.M.T. to 160th St.)

Auspices: Jamaica and Astoria

Branches, S.W.P.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III—No. 18 March 24, 1939

Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle
orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per
copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for
six months; \$3.00 for one year.
"Reentered as second class matter February 18,
1938, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under
the Act of March 3, 1879."

Editor:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors:
HAROLD ROBERTS **FELIX MORROW**
Staff Members:
EMANUEL GARRETT **JOSEPH HANSEN**
Business Manager:
S. STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent wage for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor party.
11. Workers Defense Guards against Vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Stalin is trying to balance himself on the razor edge of imperialist rivalries in Europe.

He thinks he is going to save the Soviet Union in its hour of mortal peril by playing off Hitler-Mussolini against Chamberlain-Daladier.

That road, followed without basing the main defense of the Soviet Union on the bulwark of a revolutionary policy designed to arouse the working class of the entire world against its own masters, is the road to disaster.

The revolutionary might of the international working class is the only power in the world that can save the Soviet Union.

It will do so not by allying itself with the Chamberlains, Daladiers, Roosevelts, Hitlers and Mussolinis, but by overthrowing them all and replacing their governments with the power of the working class.

The Soviet Union is in mortal peril. Despite the ravages of the decadent Stalinist bureaucracy, the socialized means of production created as a result of the October revolution remain the most precious possession of the international working class.

The Fourth International is the only force in the entire world that calls upon the workers to organize the revolutionary defense of the U.S.S.R.

The Fourth International is the only force in the entire world that calls upon the workers to break the shackles that bind them to their war-making masters and when war comes, to transform that imperialist war into a revolutionary war for the emancipation of all mankind from capitalist thralldom.

An end to all the cowardly policies that would engulf the workers in the "democratic" and fascist war machines!

Forward toward the workers' revolution and a workers' peace!

There is no other way to save the Soviet Union.

"Defense" Means Slavery

While Congress argues with President Roosevelt over the precise mathematical point to which relief appropriations can be slashed without becoming converted into relief demonstrations, it swells the golden stream of money pouring into the war machine to flood proportions.

No mechanical or chemical contrivance ingeniously designed to wipe out the greatest number of victims in the most horrible manner is too expensive for the gentlemen who sit in the halls of Congress.

It will doom the women, children, and workers of a whole city—destroy at one blow the heritage of 3,000 years civilization? Good. We will appropriate money for it.

What irony in this sordid scheming for war, these back stage agreements over future profits! The poor worker who must endure a relief cut for the sake of "economy" and starve until his backbone meets his belt buckle is exactly the same person who will die in all the splendor of a modern bomb paid for with money from his relief allowance.

Yes, the Congressmen are as ingenious in their way as the dealers in machine guns and poison gas. It's a neat plan, taking the money away from the unemployed in order to make a bright shiny butcher's tool with which to kill him.

But the unemployed are not the only victims of Congress.

Listen to these pretty details of what the honorable gentlemen in Washington are arranging for those who come under the classification of workers:

1. The Berkeley amendment to the Air Corps Expansion Bill has been rejected by Congress. The Berkeley amendment would have denied any government contracts to munition makers convicted of intimidating workers from joining unions or refusing to bargain collectively.

Why did Congress reject this amendment? Can it be because the makers of machine guns, for example,

want to try them out on their workers without fear of losing a juicy government contract?

2. The Walsh-Healey Act has been amended. The Act originally provided that munitions makers and other government contractors should pay the prevailing rate of wages and work their men a maximum of 40 hours a week.

But Congress amended the Act, striking out just these provisions and no others. Congress has become so economy-minded that it is guaranteeing all the manufacturers who get fat government contracts that they shall also get the privilege of driving their workers for any number of hours and at any rate of pay.

Naturally this is all done in the name of National Defense. For the workers, National Defense means slavery, sweat, terror, death. For the employers it means enormous profits, luxurious living, government aid in wielding the steel-tipped whip on the backs of their workers.

But these Congressional enactments are just pleasant little teasers compared to what is in store for the workers when the guns of war begin crashing on the battle front.

When that time comes the Industrial Mobilization Plan, already carefully outlined by Army officials, will clamp an iron muzzle upon the entire labor movement. All limitations of whatever nature upon hours of work, wages, collective bargaining will be wiped out at one stroke.

A military dictatorship will rule the labor movement in a fashion that will make Hitler and Mussolini look like peanut snatchers. Any union leader who calls strikes for higher wages or union recognition, automatically becomes a traitor and is liable to arrest under the charge of treason.

The war guns are rolling and Congress is doing its bit to prepare the unemployed and the workers for the slaughter.

The Supreme Court's decision declaring sit-down strikes illegal and denying participants protection of the Wagner labor relations act, was expected to mark the disappearance of that technique in labor disputes. They mean, hope.

"We Don't Have Spies"

Asked by the Senate what it knew about Japanese fortifications on islands adjacent to Guam, the State Department replied that it had "no knowledge."

The smug hypocrisy of this irked the well-informed Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, the Washington writers of the syndicated column, "Merry-Go-Round." In the N. Y. Daily Mirror, March 17, they call the State Department's denial "an all-time record" of diplomatic equivocation.

In the files of the State Department, they write, is a copy of a report by an American spy, describing the Japanese fortifications on these mandated islands. It was secured by the U. S. Navy, which sent two officers to get it in 1932. They spent months learning the Malay language, stained their bodies brown, and shipped as Kanaka seamen. One of them never came back, probably shot by the Japanese. The other wrote the report which the State Department has.

Spies are an integral instrument in the mechanics of imperialist war preparations. They all use them. The spy scares engineered by the Roosevelt administration are also part of the war preparations. The usefulness of these spy scares, however, depends on duping the American people into believing that only the wicked nations use spies. Pearson and Allen's revelation—which of course is not denied by the State Department—serves to bring home the point that the American government is as guilty of this method of preparing for war as is any other imperialist regime.

Asked whether he would bear arms against Soviet Communists, in the event of a war between the United States and Soviet Russia, Carl Winter, Minnesota Communist Party state secretary, declared: "My answer would be yes." Winter quoted Earl Browder and the tenth party convention platform as authority. Every time these scissorblades open their mouths, we think that the final depth of Stalinism has been plumbed, but additional utterances on their part prove only that the depths have not yet been reached.

His Anti-Fascism Is Suspect

Before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, New York's Mayor LaGuardia spoke his indignation over the Nazi barbarities—and over German competition with American business in Latin America.

Americans, said LaGuardia, must fight the menace of German fascism, even to the point of waging war. They must stop at nothing to oppose the fascist invasion into American life, and profits.

But it would appear that His Honor is somewhat limited in his opposition to fascism. For as we recall, the very man who so boldly affirmed his readiness to yield every last workers' life to safeguard Wall Street's profits, was a wee less "indignant" when the Nazis brazenly met in Madison Square Garden under his protection. At that time, His Honor used every means at his disposal not to prevent the fascists from meeting, but to guarantee the fascists the "rights of democracy" by very undemocratically denying New York's anti-fascist workers the right to picket. Some 1,700 police were called out, we remember, to club the demonstrators. And we further remember that his handling of the anti-fascists won for the Mayor the plaudits of the Nazi spokesmen.

His Honor's game is transparently clear. We want no part of his "anti-fascism." That is to say, we want no part of any boss war, fought with our lives, to enrich the idlers; nor any part of the sugar-coated fakery under which boss politicians push their war plans.

Fascism must be fought by every means. But it is we who will do the fighting, and with our own instruments. Against the fascists we will hurl, not the phoney speeches of politicians, but the organized might of Workers Defense Guards.

Japan Tries to Conceal Unrest
In Korea and Formosa Colonies

Overlords Fear Repercussions In Other Colonies
As Korean Movement for Independence and Unity
With China Gains Adherents Despite Repressions

Information seeping through the rigid censorship to the outside world gives ample indication of the unrest that has now spread, and continues to spread, through Formosa and Korea.

The relative mildness with which Japan has pursued hostilities against Fukien Province, in China, just across the channel from Formosa, tends to lend confirmation to the reports. With the exception of the capture of Amoy in May, 1938, a strategic necessity, Fukien has been virtually free from attack. There may be other reasons for this, but it is safe to say that one important deterrent has been Japan's well-founded fear that the ruthless spoliation of Fukien would have repercussions in her Formosan colony.

Cultural, racial and economic ties between the Formosans and this particular area of the Chinese mainland are extremely close, despite efforts since 1895 to Japanize the island. The bonds of kinship between the peoples living on either side of the Straits of Formosa are far deeper than the love of the Formosans for the Japanese imperialists who have oppressed them and drained their country of its wealth.

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

In Korea, evidences of ferment and of an attitude of watchful waiting are even more evident than they are in Formosa. This is readily understandable. Ruthless as the Japanese have been in Formosa, they have been even more vicious in their enslavement of the Koreans and even more brutal in their efforts to stamp out Korean culture and customs.

For decades Japan has persecuted Korean nationalists and revolutionists wherever they resided, not excluding foreign-con-

trolled areas in China, but the Korean movement has refused to disappear. It continues with a persistence born of undying hatred for the Japanese rulers.

Recent Japanese propaganda efforts have sought to conceal the presence of this continuing movement. Government-sponsored delegations returning from Korea have brought back glowing reports of the "patriotism" that exists there. Japanese representatives report evidences of this same "patriotism" and "devotion" to the Japanese sovereign amongst the Koreans living in China.

BACK CHINESE STRUGGLE

But the rulers of Japan, themselves, give no credence to these propaganda reports. Instead they are resorting to friendly gestures to mollify the angered feelings of the Koreans. A Japanese report quoted in the China Weekly Review of January 21, spoke of a movement for the complete "assimilation" of Koreans with Japanese so as to eradicate the "slight barrier of racial prejudice" existing between them. Koreans would henceforth be called "compatriots" and be regarded by the Japanese as their "own flesh and blood." This delicate concern, occurring just at this time, for people who hitherto have been eloquent with bestial ferocity, is eloquent of Japan's anxiety over conditions in Korea.

Connections are still close between the Koreans living in China and those living in the homeland. The actions and declarations of the exiles are a reflection of the feelings animating those still living under the heel of Japan.

On October 10 last year, anniversary of China's first revolution, a manifesto by a group of Koreans in Hankow (then still in Chinese possession) an-

nounced the formation of a Korean Legion which pledged loyalty to the cause of China.

Recently the Korean People's Party issued a defiant manifesto, pledging full support to the Chinese in the fight against their common enemy. The manifesto states in part (China Weekly Review, Jan. 21, 1939):

DEFIANT MANIFESTO

"It has been 29 years now since Korea was conquered by Japan. During these 29 years, under the principle of interior extension, the 23,000,000 Koreans have been forced to live like animals. The sufferings and oppressions we Koreans have been receiving are beyond imagination."

"Since the beginning of the present war, the Japanese military has had a severe lesson. Comrades of the Korean People's Party have all risen to avenge the grievances of these 29 years, and to fight for justice, peace, and the mother country. Only the lack of strength has made large-scale rebellion impossible. But anti-Japanese activities have never ceased for a single day."

"China and Korea are historically related. Both nations have been subjected to Japanese aggression in the past scores of years. . . . The Koreans believe that when China wins in her war of resistance, all the weak and small nations will be benefited, emancipated, and can return to a state of freedom and equality."

These are hardly the words of "patriots" who are consumed with a growing feeling of "devotion" to their imperial sovereign. They are a clear indication that the Koreans, enslaved, degraded, hounded and persecuted by their Japanese overlords, are only awaiting an opportune moment to rise up against their vicious masters.

Saga of a Liberal Publisher
... How He Got There

By SOL BRODWIN

One of the shining knights of liberalism is J. David Stern, publisher of the New York Post, the Philadelphia Record, and smaller papers.

All the necessary qualities are allegedly his—intelligence, courage, principles. "I am not in the business to make money," he has said, "but to get a kick out of it."

In an article in the Literary Digest, entitled "The Renaissance of the Editorial Page," Stern proclaimed his crusading mission. "Who," he says, "is to take care of the big bank or the utility company when it steps over the line, if the publisher be not at hand? . . . I have never been approached with an offer of money for editorial support, nor has any banker to whom I owed money ever attempted the squeeze play."

"PRACTICALLY NON-PROFIT MAKING"

It is Stern's claim that he is running what is practically a non-profit making institution devoted to the interests of the people and high ideals, and not for the interests of himself and his backers. Hence he claims the support of his readers—and sacrifices from his employees. Refusing a raise in wages to the New York Post employees in 1935, he pleaded, besides the financial condition of the paper, that, "No body who is a friend of the paper ought to jeopardize it. . . . I am justified in being adamant because I am fighting to preserve an institution which ought to be preserved."

Stern's attitude towards the unions of his employees is the best commentary on his liberalism. He has fired employees for union activity like any Tory employer. In Camden, New Jersey, with Stern's knowledge, a strong-arm man was hired by the editor of the Camden Courier to find out who the unionists were and "to slap down anybody who got snotty." This whole story was told in the New York Post Guild shop paper of Sept., 1938.

The wage scales of the New York Post have never equaled those of the News, World-Telegram or Sun.

FOR UNIONS—WHEN THEY'RE NOT MILITANT

Stern's cutest trick was to secure a loan of 10 per cent from the New York Post employees' salaries in September, 1938, to be repaid at 2 per cent interest (below savings bank interest) whenever the paper would make money. At first the Post Guild objected, but a frantic plea to Roosevelt was relayed to John L. Lewis, who put pressure on the Guild to accept. The paper, having lost even more circulation and advertising, Stern a few months ago tried to put through another loan but failed.

Stern adopts a patronizing manner to the Guild. He is "all for trade unionism"—but frowns upon trouble making, militant unionism, and considers that the Guild units of his papers exist by the grace of J. David Stern. "How far do you think you can presume on the good will of a friend?" he once remarked at a heated conference of the management and the Guild representatives. Elsewhere he said, "There is a growing suspicion that the Guild is now in the hands of leaders who are more interested in breeding friction and ill will than harmony."

In June, 1935, he asked the New York Post Guild to conduct a school of Journalism for copyboys and other employees who want to learn newspaper work. This, he said, should be the chief aim of the Guild. He urged the Guild "not to take the attitude simply of a labor union—I found you get as much as you give. It would raise the dignity of the Guild. It would be good window dressing—something else than the Guild slapping down a contract without giving anything in return. The effect on the public is not good. It makes your motive look definitely selfish. . . ."

Stern married Julia Lit, whose family owns the big Philadelphia department store. Buying run-down papers and making successes of them, Stern made the big time in 1929 with the purchase of the Philadelphia Record.

Albert Greenfield, of the Bankers Security Corporation of Philadelphia, became the financial guiding hand for all Stern's ventures, managing the purchase of the Record and The Post and securing the necessary financial support. And these backers are no pikers. They are millionaires and near millionaires: Warner Bros.; Louis J. Kolb, director of General Baking Corp., and owner of theatres in Philadelphia; Wil-

liam Fox, movie magnate; Samuel Fels, soap manufacturer; George Earle, former Philadelphia Governor; Joseph J. Guffey, Pennsylvania Senator; Samuel Untermyer, Vincent Astor and Bernard Gimbel.

BE NICE TO STOCK-OLDERS

Stern has been anti-Wall Street, pro-inflation and liberal spending by the government—and not without good reason. Lundberg in "America's 60 Families" has pointed out that Stern's organization is backed by consumers' goods industrialists, motion picture companies and real estate holders, heavily in debt to the banks, and that the above policies are in line with their interests.

After the purchase of the New York Post, Stern fired Ernest Gruening, his editor, who wanted to conduct a campaign against the slum properties of Vincent Astor, a stockholder in the Post.

Margiotti, former attorney General of Pennsylvania, charged that Stern sold support for legislation for Sunday movies in Philadelphia to movie companies. Stern denied this, but the presence of Louis J. Kolb, Philadelphia theatre owner, Warner Bros. and Albert Greenfield, financial agent for both Stern and Warner Bros. among his backers, lends some credence to the charge.

A LIBERAL WHEN IT DOESN'T HURT

The blackest episode in Stern's career is his capitulation to the Catholic Church over the Spanish civil war. After an editorial friendly to the Loyalists in the Record the Catholic Church called for a boycott of the Record. Stern then crawled to Cardinal Dougherty, writing, "At the time we did not know—as I admitted we should have known—that the Catholic Church was involved in this uprising." Then came an editorial denouncing Loyalist action against the Church.

Circulation still restored, Stern implored His Eminence for "advice as to what I should or should not do in this matter." Finally the matter was ended with a reprimand to the penitent Stern!

Stern has described himself as a "practical liberal" which means that like any bourgeois liberal and especially one who is a moderately large capitalist, he is a liberal only when it does not hurt.

Inevitably as a capitalist he lines up in basic situations with his class. He condemns sit-down strikes, anti-Nazi demonstrations and indulges in red-baiting and patriotic flag waving just like any reactionary.

Now that capitalism is putting the screws on liberalism, liberals of the Stern type will more and more in the future conform to its necessarily reactionary line.

THEIR
GOVERNMENT

By James Burnham

In the March 13th issue of the magazine, *Time*, there is a long article on Hearst. It is an excellent piece of journalism, summarizing the career of Hearst and his enterprises. It sketches the great expansive days that reached their zenith in 1922. It shows how, during the '20's, Hearst kept up what had become the illusion of expansion through huge borrowings; how even in 1930 he was able to sell \$50,000,000 of preferred stock to the public.

But Hearst's gross extravagances, the top-heavy financial structure, the complexity and internal instability of his empire, were sapping the foundations. A definite crisis of the entire Hearst system came to a head in 1937. Application to issue \$35,500,000 in debentures was filed before the S.E.C. Objections were made to the issue, and it became clear that it would not get approval.

Enters the New Regime

In this crisis, Hearst, like hundreds of other capitalists in hundreds of similar crises, was faced with a choice between two alternatives only: to continue along the old lines and in a few months to lose everything—ownership, control, income, everything; or to institute a drastic, savage reorganization which would also mean giving up a good deal but which would have a chance of saving something—some income, privileges, rights—for the present and the future.

Hearst chose, not unnaturally, the lesser evil. On June 27, 1937, he turned management of his affairs over to a regent, Clarence John Shearn, a hardened New York attorney closely associated with the Chase Bank.

The regent got ruthlessly to work. Unprofitable units of the empire were sold. Many luxuries, such as the grotesque Hearst art collection, were dumped. Hundreds of individuals, from workers to high executives, were fired. Wages and salaries, including Hearst's own salary, were sharply cut. Rigorous financial control was instituted. A drive (though this is left delicately unnoticed by the *Time* article) against the wages and working conditions of employees was conducted by all necessary means—including the thugs and gangsters used in the strikes at Milwaukee, Chicago and on the Pacific Coast.

The fat, rich old days are gone. But the empire, desperate, stripped and shaken, still stands; still, at any rate, today.

The Scale Drawing

The story of Hearst is interesting in itself. But what struck me particularly, once again reading it, is the astonishing fullness of the analogy which it, and the so frequent business situations comparable to it, bear to that more generalized "drastic, savage reorganization" of capitalist enterprise—to fascism.

What happens in fascism? Not Hearst, or any individual capitalist, but the capitalist class as a whole comes face to face with Hearst's choice between two alternatives only: to continue along the old lines and in a few months to lose everything—ownership, control, income, everything; or to institute a drastic, savage reorganization which would mean giving up a good deal, but which would have a chance of saving something—some income, privileges, rights—for the present and the future.

Like Hearst, the class chooses the lesser evil. A "regent"—the fascist party and its führer—is brought in. He gets ruthlessly to work. Many luxuries are stripped away; financial control and coordination is instituted; unprofitable units dropped or absorbed. Above all, the thugs and gangsters, now with the legal sanction of state power, smash the organization of the masses, and drive down wages and working conditions.

But the analogy is even more illuminating. For it shows how and why the capitalists themselves have to pay a heavy cost for fascism. Their own income, privileges, freedom are decreased. It shows why capitalists, most of them, "do not like" fascism—any more than a business man "likes" those measures necessary to save his business from immediately threatened bankruptcy. Observing the limitations which capitalists in Italy and Germany have accepted, our liberal nincompoops try to tell us that the capitalists there were "mistaken" as to their own interests when they put fascism in governmental power, or even that capitalism has disappeared in Germany and Italy. It has no more disappeared, they were no more mistaken, than in the case of the individual enterprise, like Hearst's, striving to keep alive through frantic, totalitarian reorganization. Fascism is the politics of bourgeois desperation. The fat, old rich days are gone. But the empire, desperate, stripped and shaken, still stands.

The Analogy Strikes Home

And for the United States? The great expansive days reach their zenith in 1929 (Hearst's 1922). The illusion of expansion is then sustained through huge borrowings. The gross extravagances, the top-heavy financial structure, the complexity and the internal instability of the empire, sap the foundations. The definitive crisis of the entire system comes to a head. The United States approaches swiftly Hearst's 1937.

Labor Looks Through
The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

Says a Minneapolis Tribune editorial: "The democracy versus dictatorship theme is an entrancing one, but there are occasional sour notes . . . the United States, for example, pretending that Latin America is a stronghold of democracy, when it has more blown-in-the-bottle dictators, of the European variety, than Mr. Hull could shake a stick at." Why this got passed, I dunno, unless it is the fact that it must be devilishly tiresome to tell lies all the time.

An 83-year-old American woman accidentally meets the King and Queen of England when they attend the British industries fair. All spectators had been asked to leave when royalty had arrived, but the American was deemed too old to be removed. "When the Queen saw me she held out her hand and I kissed it," said the aged woman. "She is so sweet and dainty." "Sweet and dainty!" But she and the King and the royal parasites feed on the same food as Cimex lectularius (the bedbug)—the blood of the working class.

Denver psychiatrists are now working on John Bollinger, 35-year-old dishwasher, who lost his job and immediately started walking backwards. Physicians state that he has a rare disease, caused by a maladjustment of the inner ear. It is indeed a wonder that such a disease is rare in this world where everything is run backwards and upside down—where every day captive good attends captain ill.

Mrs. Dorothy Barber, 20, wife of a Kansas City W.P.A. worker, is slowly eating herself to death while physicians puzzled over her strange case which indicates that there is some disturbance of the pancreas causing a low blood sugar count and an abnormal flow of digestive juices. How truly horrible—to have an appetite on a W.P.A. income!

DEBATE

Has
Bolshevism
Failed?JOSEPH SHAPLEN
Social Democrat

Says Yes!

MAX SHACHTMAN
Trotskyist

Says No!

(Socialist Workers Party)

Friday, March 31

8:30 P.M.

in Auditorium of
RAND SCHOOL

7 East 15th Street

Elias L. Tartak, Chairman

Sponsors:

RAND SCHOOL FORUM
and MARXIST SCHOOL

Admission 25c