Workers of the World Unite!

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# 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 wip ing out existing neutrality legis-

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 governmeet any such emergency. Our vate industry. Private industry will not expand if it is denied the right and power to expert its right and power to export its

Pittman Moves Fast 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 Franco, was shot by a firing squad

further, foreshadowing provisions ister of State of the Junta, had in the new law permitting Amer- radioed an appeal for peace to ican vessels to carry the materi- Franco. als of war. Recalling that it was the determination to "fight for not appease the Spanish Butcher, our rights as neutrals on the high any more than did Gen. Miaja's 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 the "red militiamen" who allegencroachment 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 Amer-

### Frankly Imperialistic

Pittman's statements-as chair man 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 loval 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) will control the large Flint dele-

A Lesson for the Workers, Too!



# government must rely upon the expansion of the capacity of pri-

### Miaja Executes His Fellow-Communist, Barcelo

Lieutenant Colonel Luis Barcelo leader of the troops who revolted against the Popular Front Junta's plans to capitalate to in Madrid on March 19, the morn-But by Sunday night he went ing after Julian Besteiro, as Min-

> But this bloody sacrifice did 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 Rammon 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

(Continued on Page 3)

# ment to sufficiently increase the capacity of government works to meet any such emergency. Our **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.

Soviet Ukraine to Hitler's tender mercies if in return he would | Ukraine. He was merely "clearing the meaning of Munich.

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, Ru-

Waiting to See In answer to British diplomatic soundings, the Soviet government proposed a nine-power parley. 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

fighting him. A few days ago Pravda, Stalin's official organ, denied that in taking over Czecho-Slovakia Hitler was driving toward the Soviet

But now London and Paris not leave them alone and they

mania, and the U.S.S.R.

make terms with him instead of

# 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 lovefeast of harmony, tolerance and unity.

The rumblings of a scramble for power become louder every Hitler does not respond to the 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 Frankensteen-Addes combination which is looked upon approvingly Packard and Murray Body deleby the Stalinists and probably

bargaining power in Cleveland. It from Lewis and Roosevelt, so

gates in Detroit, most of Toledo directed from behind the scenes and most of Cleveland and all of by the Communist Party commis- South Bend. It has no independent program-at least none vis-This faction controls a sizeable ible to the naked eye. It is perbloc of votes and will have great feetly content to take orders

(Continued on Page 2)

Britain and France only yesterday were ready to throw the

only let them alone. That was his tail from possible complications in the rear" before launching an attack upon the Western realize that Hitler will not, can powers. In other words, despite Hitler's unmistakable threat to the Soviet Union, Stalin was keeping his skirts clear for a deal while at the same time coyly holding Britain and France off at

> arms length Duranty's Dispatch

The middle position was stated most openly and most cynically Walter Duranty, unofficial Kremlin spokesman, in a dispatch to the New York Times from

Moscow on March 19: "The Russians do not believe (Duranty wired)-as Stalin has said-that the Germans will be so silly as to play Mr. Chamberlain's game or M. Bonnet's game by attacking the U.S.S.R. . .

"It looks to me, in this matter of Russia and Germany, rather like what Bismarck said and played as a major policy, that both of them ought to be friends, because they are complementary, meaning useful to each other."

This was published on the same day as the Soviet note to Germany, condemning in officially violent tones, the annexation of Bohemia and Moravia. Two Positions

The official not represents the position-which will be translated into acceptance of the Anglo-French flirtation in case 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)

# Boss War Will Mean New World 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.

### HITLERISM WILL SPREAD

And what will be the final outcome? Hitler - Hitler, the individual human being-will lose out, will be defeated.

But Hitlerism, the barbaric and inhuman system of which Hitler the individual is only one expression, far from being overthrown, will only be a thousand times reinforced, not merely in Germany 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 demagogy, 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 rotted 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

# **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

Little Room for Deal 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'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 Czecho-Slovakia 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.

Pace 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 be-(Continued on Page 3)

of the Briggs Local. They have

scattering support throughout

Banks on Lewis Support

Insofar as any real battle with

possible because the group pos-

sesses no strong anti-Stalinist pro-

gram which is at the same time

a program of militancy and ag-

Some faint stirrings in the di-

rection of a program have ap-

peared in the writings and the

speeches of members of this

group. "The Voice of Local 212,"

organ of the Briggs Local, carries

support of a drive for the 30-

hour week at 40 hours pay. Reu-

tion of competitive parts plants.

it being borrowed from the pro-

in the Feb. 14 issue of the Social-

ist Appeal. The major battle,

Chrysler Against Board

Next to Marshall but not di-

"Tuttle for President" movement

lighter touch to the internal mix-

Frank B. Tuttle derives his

"What Will Lewis Say?"

Between these forces there is

Will Lewis demand a unity

differences will be patched up

and some of the boys will leave |

Cleveland happy and others will

This is what the Stalinists most

desire, for it will allow them to

remain in positions of influence

and even to extend their present

controls over the union. Such a

solution will lead to a terrible

go home nursing their grudges.

This is all to the good, much of

a bitter taste of what's going to together by the strings of the fensive. While they will not lightin the coming world war which serves not so much as a political ing, to be pushed out of the picthey voted to support at the party for them but rather as a ture entirely, they distinctly do C.I.O. convention last fall. And loose form of caucus organization. not want an open cleavage bethe Roosevelt administration is Both Mazey and Reuther were tween the Communist Party on disciplinary rights granted the doing a beautiful job of sticking connected with the Stalinist-con- the one side and John L. Lewis corporation; a knife into the back of the C.I.O. trolled Unity Group until recently backed by the "non-politicals" on under the guise of "serving the when Walter Reuther broke with the other. best interests of national de- the Communist Party. He has

now openly attacked the Commu-This situation came into the nist Party over the radio, and it limelight with the dispute in is publicly acknowledged that the that John L Lewis is their leader. Senate over the \$358,000,000 emer- Unity Group is split down the gency army expansion bill. It middle. Reuther is said to be seemed that John L. Lewis want- backing R. J. Thomas for Presied provisions in the bill which dent. would guarantee that no contracts would be given manufacturers who violated the Wagner the Stalinist caucus is to be expected at Cleveland over leader-Labor Disputes Act.

Lewis thought he wasn't ask- ship in the union it will come ing too much for labor which, from this group. Naturally, the after all, has to shed all the blood inevitable hotel-room maneuvers in war while the industrialists and horse-trades may upset this prediction. And this is entirely get richer.

### Lewis Gave Manufacturers a Loophole

However, the National Associa-However, the National Associa-tion of Manufacturers saw a what this group is principally loophole in the Wagner Act ad-banking on is support from ministration in the fact that "Papa" Lewis. Lewis wanted a special law say- Lewis has already indicated ining it pertained to industry en- directly, through the Hillmangaged in national defense work. Murray report as receivers of the So it obtained the aid of the War International, that he proposes to Department (a non-political body, drop his C.P. allies. you understand) and they put the heat on the Senate committee, so that now the Lewis demand which Barkley, Democratic whip, promised to support has been emasculated.

The Senate is going to work a policy article written obviously out a "compromise." Press re- by Mazey. In it he declares for ports say, "the compromise would curbing the powers of the Presipermit discrimination (note the dent and the Executive Board choice of words) only against and extending the rights of the firms that had been held guilty membership. He also declares his of Wagner Act violations within two years prior to awarding of the contract."

ther, on his part, has elaborated "A second provision would pera detailed plan for the organizamit the President to issue a proclamation exempting any firm from the amendments provisions if he deems such action in the gram of the third group printed best interests of national defense."

Such a compromise formula however, will rage around control which is backed by Roosevelt gives the manufacturers a legal of the Executive Board and Inloophole from observing any of ternational Offices. the provisions of the Wagner Act. "Defense" Is a Weapon

### Against Labor

gaged in building armaments to plank is the elimination of all 24 the conferences, the decision of pay the wages provided for under the Walsh-Healy Act which we explained in a recent column.

sponsibility for the present seri-The manufacturers are chiselous split in the union. To emphaing there, too. "Requirements of national defense are so impera- size his point, Marshall purtive that we can not meet the chased 15,000 souvenir brooms and rash "breach of faith" in violating provisions of the Walsh-Healy circulated them among Detroit the covenant of secrecy and stated unionists Act and give the government loval and immediate service," the steel barons say.

Summed up in a few words, the manufacturers see another pow- sponsored by the Dodge Truck erful weapon in their hands local. Although also another inagainst the union movement with dication of rank and file sentithe adoption of the various de ment, this movement adds the fense measures.

And Mr. Roosevelt, who rides up. roughshod over the Army and fame from a twenty-year career Navy to sell airplanes to France, says not one word of criticism as letter-writer to the Detroit against the combined Army-Navy News. He has a homely philosoand munitions maker lobby phy, slightly tinged with the bibwhich is squeezing labor to make lical socialism of the horse-andmore blood profits. In fact buggy days but as far as the union is concerned, it can be Roosevelt supports the manufacsummed up in his winged phrase: turers in their drive against un-"As long as I have access to a ionism in steel and other basic industries.

One can expect steps soon to outlaw all strikes in industries make." engaged in building ships, or war material of any kind under the the inevitable maneuvering and claim that this is "treason counter-maneuvering. Locals give against the national defense." And workers who protest against inhuman conditions and low group one day and withdraw it and the totalitarian states. wages and discrimination against the next. The principal question union men will be branded uppermost in the minds of the leading union politicians is: "What "agents of a foreign power!"

The strategy of the manufac- will John (Lewis) say?" turers is to make it a serious crime for any worker or group convention with all friction re- of L. officials merely shifted their of workers to fight for unionism duced to a minimum and kept attack to the supposedly "deadly and all that it means in better behind the scenes? Or will he identity" between the C.I.O. peace wages, hours and working conditions as a "jeopardy to national Communist Party and "all outside sal which they quote from the defense" and at the same time political groups" and then permake it a crime to interfere in mit the convention to plunge into the slightest way with their ina free-for-all for control of the satiable thirst for profits, under Executive Board? the guise of "fatal interference If he decrees the former, with with industry engaged in nation- the possible exception of some al defense work! group of stubborn delegates, the

SHERIDAN SANDWICH SHOPPE 114 University Place next to headquarters Special 25c Lunch! Soup, 15c Sandwish, Coffee or Milk with Pastry! "Union Food at a Union Place"

Get Your APPEAL

Outcome of CIO Auto Convention Seen Resting With Lewis Decision

(Continued from Page 1) long as it is allowed to direct the union and collect the salaries.

Next in prominence is the Reuther-Mazy faction. Walter Part ther is the land.

(Special to the surface hits the major keys of anti-continuous distribution. The State that the Martin continuous distribution and collect the salaries.

Next in prominence is the Reuther-Mazy faction. Walter Part there is the land.

Red-Scare Certain

The C.I.O. leaders are getting other locals. This group is tied the Stalinists clearly on the de-

They must maintain the fiction that they are above all "respectable," "responsible" unionists and Hence they can be expected to seek desperately for some kind, any kind of compromise.

And if the heat is turned on too strong, it is not at all unlikely C.I.O. industrial unions; that the leading supporters of Stalinism in the auto union today autonomy including protection of will turn their backs on the Communist Party. The fleshpots of Roosevelt and Lewis are far more popular than the secret sinecure of this "foreign agency" the Communist Party.

be waged to the accompaniment labor bill which has just been loud or so discordant as the one at the Martin convention but the undertones and even the overtones will be quite audible. "Politicals" will not be in good favor at the convention.

Third Group Program One group alone, small in numbers, without extensive influence, elections and all important poliwill go to bat for a fighting dem- cies, and recall of all International ocratic program This program officers.

the auto union. The chief planks The other alternative will see in the program of the Third Group follow:

1. 30-hour week at 40 hours happen to the union movement Michigan Socialist Party, which ly consent, with their large back, pay-to abolish unemployment in the auto industry:

> 2. Closed shop contract for General Motors and abolition of the

3. Organization of Ford and parts plants with a specific provision that no local union is to work on parts fabricated in a struck plant;

4. Launching of a campaign for a \$5,000,000,000 W.P.A. approriation, the establishment of the \$30-30 hour standard and the chartering of W.P.A. workers into

5. Democratic rights and local minority opinion: 6. Union Defense Guard

against vigilantes and fascists and

company thugs-not goon squads used against union men; 7. A fight against all anti-labor In either case, the struggle will legislation such as the Fitzgerald

of a red-scare. It may not be so passed in the Michigan legisla-8. Vigorous opposition to the "red scare" as a device of the

> outright reactionaries or by Communist party reactionaries; 9. A constitutional amendment providing for a referendum on

employers either when used by

# AFL Red-Baiting Attack On C10 Hurts Unification

### Offer No Adequate Substitute for CIO by this association not only in in the situation, that is the inter-Proposals

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, March 19.—In an ultimatum charged with redspired and "identical" in meaning Communist party, with Moscow's approval, two years ago."

Although the delegates from the officials' jobs and salaries. Finally, there are the "indepen-A.F. of L., who had been considerdent" locals which respond most ing with C.I.O. representatives directly to the pressure of the various plans that might lead to without reason, of sharing in re- C.I.O. officials.

C.I.O. Indignant

Spokesmen high in the C.I.O. charged the Federation with a that the new charges created an "irritating influence" upon the rectly connected with him is the eventual outcome of the peace

The CIO had proposed unification of the C.I.O., the A.F. of Labor, a plan which would unite

Suspicious Motives

for this criticism were not above telephone, I will never make a suspicion. It is notorious that A.F. mistake John L. Lewis wouldn't of L officials are intimately connected with the Republican party and would not at all object to ocratic party hopes for the coming election. Hence the innuendo their allegiance to this or that of similarity between Roosevelt

But far from explaining why any government interference with trade unionism exercises a baleful the war danger. influence, whether the government be democratic or fascist, the A.F. issue a papal bull against the proposal and a unification propo-

Subscription 49c

Metal Trades Division of the A. F. of L., who enlarged upon the press release denouncing the baiting, American Federation of C.I.O., made no attempt to Labor officials, last night denounced the Congress of Industrial Organizations as "infiltrated with Communism," and termed the C.I.O. peace plan Communist-inspired and "identical" in meaning on the traditional red herring to the proposal or to present a better proposal or to members of Local No. 1, who have an agreement including the have an agreement including the conductance of the present one from a reasonable point of view. He merely attacked it as "Communist inspired" and let his argument rest spired and "identical" in meaning on the traditional red herring such jobs, usually Locals 463 and the sub-servient Stalinist leader ship of Local 463 auxiliary. These
Stalinists while paying lip service to need of amalgamating the two locals, do everything to bloc it. Ave. 'O' & 65th St. Sub St. Brighton locals, do everything to bloc it. As a membership meeting of local 463 or present a better proposal or to members of Local No. 1, who have an agreement including the reasonable point of view. He merely attacked it as "Communist inspired" and let his argument rest line of their striking brothers. In such jobs, usually Locals 463 and let his argument rest line of their striking brothers. In such jobs, usually Locals 463 and let his argument rest line of their striking brothers. In such jobs, usually Locals 463 and let his argument rest line of their striking brothers. In such jobs, usually Locals 463 and let his argument rest line of their striking brothers. In such jobs, usually Locals 463 and let his argument rest line of their striking brothers. In such jobs, usually Locals 463 and let his argument rest line of their striking brothers. In such jobs, usually Locals 463 and let his argument rest let a such jobs and let his argument rest line of their striking brothers. In such jobs, usually Locals 463 and let his argument rest let a such jobs argument rest on the traditional red herring such jobs, usually, Locals 463 and auxiliary, March 20, a member of QUEENS with unity proposals "made by the which constitutes the official A.F. of L. answer to any proposal from any source which might threaten

A Progressive Step While Lewis's plan to gather la-Against Labor

Only a few weeks ago the C.I.O. protested against the failure of steel manufacturers en
directly to the pressure of the various plants that angle the various plants that angle the various plants that angle the labor moveto the pressure of the various plants that angle the labor moveto the labor movethe defects, especially its lack of provisions for demoto secrecy regarding the result of cratic control by the members and bor into one big union was marred its inclusion of government memembers of the present Executive the A.F. of L officialdom was diation, still it was a progressive Board. He accuses them, not made public without consulting step and met with wide response from the rank and file of both organizations.

Whether the present denunciation by the A.F. of L. will lead to the dissolution of the present clear. Certainly it will act as an additional stumbling block to final unification of the labor movement.

Restrictions May Follow

As yet President Roosevelt has L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods made no comment upon the A.F. in a new organization to be of L statement. When he called called the American Congress of the two camps together several weeks ago and asked that they more than 10,000,000 American find a common ground upon which to compose their differences, it was generally understood that if Although the A.F. of L. quite the efforts led to nothing Roosejustly criticised the inclusion of velt would very likely introduce government mediation in the la- restrictive labor legislation. He is bor dispute, pointing to the bale- deeply interested in uniting the laful role of the government in bor movement behind his 1940 po-"totalitarian States," the motives litical campaign and in tying the workers of the country through their officials to the war machine

he is building. The unification of the labor movement has long been militantdelivering a serious blow to Dem- ly advocated by progressives. Under a democratic program, unification of all trade unions into one organization would immeasurably increase the efficiency of labor in obtaining concessions from the employers and in fighting

### NOTICE The special combination offer

to the Socialist Appeal, New In- hired assistant pastor of Wesley ternational and Partisan Review has expired.

Without Fool's Attire 650

Please do not send in subscrip-Daily Worker of two years ago. tions based on this former offer, lice headquarters on the complaint John P. Frey, president of the as they will not be accepted.

GALA EVENT OF THE SEASON!

APRIL FOOL'S MASOUERADE

Entertainment - Games

SATURDAY, APRIL 1 - 9 P.M.

Irving Plaza (Irving Pl. & 15th St.)

Music by: TOBY WOOD'S SWINGSTERS

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party (Local New York)

PHILADELPHIA .-- A call to this city's workers to mass in demonstration against a Nazi rally which will be held March 23 in the Metropolitan Opera House has been issued by the Socialist Workers Party and Young People's Socialist League. All workers and antifascists must gather says the call, to picket the brazen and provocative Bundfest.

Organized by the Philadelphia Committee for the Defense of Constitutional Rights, the Nazi rally is intended to gather all of Philadelphia's anti-labor and anti-Semitic scum. Well-known fascists and labor-haters, like Thomas A. Blissard and Bessie Burchett, have been announced as speak

The S.W.P. asks all workers and anti-fascists to demonstrate with it at Broad and Poplar, at 7:30 P.M., on Thursday, March 23,

### PLUMBER STRIKE FOR 6-HOUR DAY SPREADS RAPIDLY fle the unemployed, the member-ship of the W.A. in Illinois has

### Stalinists Whip Up Strikebreaking Maneuvers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) NEW YORK, March 20 .- Striking to retain the 6-hour day and their present rate of pay, 2,500 plumbers and helpers of New York City, swung into action on the picket line today, as all work in Manhattan, the Bronx and the World's Fair was tied up Local 3 made a ringing appeal for

against the Master Plumbers As- struggle of the past for the 8-hour sociation of Manhattan and the workday. Bronx, tied up all jobs controlled

Erooklyn and Queens were closed Mr. Masterson is working through down tighter than a drum, as the sub-servient Stalinist leader-1 divide the work fifty-fifty.

6 Firms Sign

Members of other building trades unions shouted encouragement to the pickets and in a number of cases refused to work, in the local and its president though their own jobs were not made a long winded speech in directly affected.

Archie Hechler, business agent among the rank and file of the of Local 463, announced today striking local. His arguments in that six firms had already signed brief were that the strike is unup with the union. Others are ex- authorized by the parent body pected to fall in line as the power and being a Stalinist experienced of the union is increasingly felt. in the art of bootlicking, he ad-

The Master Plumbers Associa- vised the auxiliary not to do anytion which had previously at- thing that has the possibility of tempted to put over the 8-hour arousing the ire of Masterson. day with a 25 percent reduction Heisler also tried to scare the Joint Unity Committee is not yet in pay in violation of the agree- membership into believing that ment for the 6 hour day and the the striking local will try to sign two-dollar wage, are now at- an agreement that will include tempting to put across an in- also jobbing and alteration work, crease to 7 hours with a 10 per- thus depriving the auxiliary memcent reduction in pay.

The ranks of Local 463, deterready won, are solidly united in mation printed in the last issue the fight for the 30 hour week, of the Appeal, that plumbers Loand the two dollars per hour cal 463 decided by unanimous

Brotherhood of Electrical Work- the purpose of negotiating a ers, one of the most powerful and common agreement with the emprogressive unions in the building ployers. While the striking local trades, is outstanding in its sup- is extending a hand of friendship port of the strike. Speaking to a to the Auxiliary, the Stalinist membership meeting of the leadership of the auxiliary is sowplumbers, President Kirkman of ing distrust, suspicion and hate.

# C.P. CONTROL

Sever All Relations With Parent Body

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) CHICAGO, ILL,-Twelve locals neluding Local 1, the first unemployed organization in Cook County, have severed all connections with the Stalinist controlled Workers Alliance. This makes a majority of the Chicago locals who have left the W. A. A. because of the Communist Party's sell-out line. At a recent meeting of Local 1,

Frank W. McCulloch, State Secretary of the W. A. A. explained why he had been suspended by the Stalinists from the national organization. Using trickery and high-handed methods the Stalinists attempted to remove Mc-Culloch in order to cover up their petrayal of the unemployed. At a time when there was \$1,000,000 in the State Treasury available for relief the Stalinists refused to al-

Plumbers Local 463, striking day, comparing it with the heroic

the local moved to back the strike 100%, and as evidence of it one thousand dollars be given to

striking local. Saul Heisler, the Stalinist whip which he tried to spread distrust NEWARK, N. J.

In this he deliberately withheld mined to retain the conditions al- from the membership the inforvote of the membership to ap-Local 3 of the International proach the Auxiliary Local for

bers of their jobs.

# The Reverend Burt In A Mest Embarrassing Spot

neapolis Appeal Brigade sold Ap- other members of the Appeal Bripeals last Sunday morning, March gade and challenged the police de-19, in front of the Wesley Church, cision. Cops threatened arrests, a trustee of the church called the and two squad cars hovered

Rev. Roy E. Burt, National Secretary of the Norman Thomas "Socialist Party," is the recently

Police took Appeal salesmen Mike Freed and Si Barach to pothat they were violating a city ordinance by distributing literature and that they were interfering with the freedom of worship. Threaten Arrests

our papers; we don't give them nervously fingered the carnation away, Since when does selling a workingclass newspaper constitute interviewers: interference with the right to worship?"

Captain Bleed said: "The com-

When six members of the Min- | Freed and Barach rejoined the around, but no arrests were made

Very Embarrassing After the services, Freed and Barach entered the church and interviewed Rev. Burt. Told that his trustee had called the cops, Rev. Burt said: "I had nothing to do with calling the police. I never use such tactics.'

Asked why he had accepted employment with a church whose head pastor, Rev. Mecklenburg, is the most notorious enemy of or-Freed told the cops: "We sell ganized labor in Minneapolis, Burt in his lapel and admonished his

"This is no way to build the movement, by embarrasing me." The Socialist Workers Party plaint itself is proof of your in- will lodge a formal protest with terference. You can't sell your Mayor George Leach against the papers. If you don't like my de- high-handed illegal action of Rev. cision, see the city attorney in the Burt's trustee and the police department.

# TWELVE W. A. A. By Philly SWP CONTROL TWELVE W. A. A. APPEAL ARMY

ANOTHER RECORD SUB-

for the Appeal is at hand.

neapolis and Chicago are really keeping us busy here filling out the new subscriptions— all of which shows that the Appeal is reaching hundreds of new readers. We have decided to extend the

subscription drive for 1.000 new readers until April 15th so that every branch will be given a full opportunity to fulfill its quota. Many have done so already. Next week we'll publish the list again now. and we hope to be well on the way STATEMENTS IN THE MAIL: towards the goal of 1,000.

In addition, we're going to award wants; a batch of our newsboy Appeal going forward.

aprons for branch use; and sets SCRIPTION WEEK LOOMING! of bound volumes. Don't forget The way subs are pouring into that prize No. 1 consists of a comour office leads us to believe that plete set of Lenin's writings, prize another all-time record sub week No. 2 is a complete collection of the writings of Leon Trotaky. You New York City branches, Min-still have 3 weeks to complete your quotas!

MAY DAY APPEAL:

Every branch now has in its possession details about the special May-Day issue of the Appeal. Get busy on the collection lists, branch greetings, greetings from friends of the Appeal, etc.

And don't forget to plan and place your extra bundle orders

Branch bundle-order statements are going out this week. As usual, many more prizes—including sub- what is required on this is immescriptions to the Appeal that the diate action. Send in your paybranch can donate to whomever it ments and keep the Socialist

### SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands

the State Treasury available for relief the Stalinists refused to allow the locals to demand an adequate budget because it would embarrass Governor Horner and his machine. As a result of this and other similar attempts to stifle the unemployed, the membership of the W.A. in Illinois has fallen continuously.

Going Places

When the vote to break with the W. A. A. was taken all but two new members voted to split.

The membership of the locals which have broken away from the shackles of Stalinism feel that now is the time to "go places and do things" and are starting a drive for membership and at the same time fighting to restore the relief budget to former levels and a \$5,000,000 monthly relief budget.

Local 3 made a ringing appeal for a fight to a finish for the 6-hour day, comparing it with the heroic struggle of the past for the 8-hour workday.

There is, however, one danger in the situation, that is the interval of the situation and the sit

BRONX by this association not only in the situation, that is the interthe two boroughs, but throughout Greater New York and even as far as Connecticut.

Jobs controlled by the Manhattan and Bronx Association in Erooklyn and Queens were closed

The Assistant General President Mr. Masterson is working through

I Longwood Ave. & Southern Boulevard—
S.W. 171st St. & Fulton Ave.—S.E. 167th St. & Jerome Ave. Jerome & Burnside Ave. 161st the employers foist a longer workday and reduction of pay.

The Assistant General President Mr. Masterson is working through

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

A PARTY by the Astoria Branch —For the benefit of the new Polish paper — WALKA, Sat., March 25 at 28-40 31st St., Astoria, L.I. 25c. Take Astoria train to Grand Ave.

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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 Czeohoslovakia, 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 sacree" 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 hat chetman of French imperialism from the very first days of the "Popular Front." They will support him with or without the official "union

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-Daladler "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 Prevencal, an organ of the reactionary Fernand Boulsson who is allied with the pro-Fascist group of former Premier Flandin. 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 shares for the "union sacree" 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 col-

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

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 International), 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

# 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 metint that the bambinoes and the mother had a roof over their heads and spaghetti on the

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? "Wby 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

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

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 naid 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' 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 everyhing 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 signa-

ture. 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 no-

body would see his shame. (To be continued next week)

# IN THE WORLD OF LABOR BOSS Governments Prepare to Hurl Masses Into a New World Slaughter

(Continued from Page 1) wheels of his swollen army.

empires. Italy is hungrily-and the coming war. 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 movesand 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 ntended 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 utbreak 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

# MADRID LEADER

(Continued from Page 1) dly committed various "crimes", said Suner. These "crimes," he said, must be taken into consideration when one speaks of gener-

Franco 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 done 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 Com-

nunist Party of Spain. News of his execution was not eported by the Stalinist Daily report the Junta's peace appeal. Loyalist Spain has disappeared from the front pages of the Dally 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, disppeared from the Dally Worker, by a news item, much less a dec-

eginning 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 Miaja-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 memership the fact that the Spanish Communist Party is going along with the Besteiro - Miaja Junta's

wond mere economic penetration slimly safeguarded workers' union thick blobs from the entire press, are beginning to move far more and gobbles up territory under rights—and the well-known indus- from the Tory Herald Tribune to swiftly than the numbing minds the marching feet and trundling trial mobilization plans which will the Stalinist Daily Worker. The of the capitalist diplomats. The Moreover they understand per- jacket in time of war are also bosses, fighting like wolves over slaughter of the nations is almost fectly well that Hitler's eastward ample proof that "democratic" the prey, the rich produce of the upon us. United action by the march does not release them from America too will convert itself workers and the profits they make workers of the world will transfear of incursions upon their own into a Fascist dictatorship during out of them.

"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 Ger-

Let no one be fooled by the period of desperate pre-war ma- socialism.

(Continued from Page 1)

was seeking to achieve by its lat-

No obstacles were placed in

lican and anti-"New Deal" Demo-

Republican Spokesman Approves

the National Republican Club,

directly answering the question

whether he approved the admin-

istration's denunciation of Ger-

many, declared that he "certain-

The requisite atmosphere for

jamming through the abrogation

of neutrality legislation was

effect any steps taken by France

and England during this crisis,

that America has taken the lead-

ership in a world offensive

against the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo

Nazis React Sharply

Washington's imposition of the

blow to German official and, par-

ticularly, business circles." re-

Week" Hits "Isms"

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW ORLEANS. - "Ameri-

canism Week" was celebrated

here the first week of March

by the Communist Party, Lou-

Postcards sent out read ver-

"May we remind you that

"The Communist Party of

Louisiana declares its steadfast

lovalty to our Nation's demo-

cratic institutions, pledging

ourselves in word and deed to

fight any 'ism' of any clique

groups or minority from with-

in our country or from abroad

that would destroy or under-

mine our democratic institu-

"Tune in on 'Pauperism is

Unamerican,' Station WDSU,

Friday, March 3rd, 8:30 p.m.

Hear Mr. Jerome Benton, Sec-

retary of the Communist Party

Press reports on March 15 quot-

ed La Verdad, Communist party

organ in Valencia, as asserting

that the Communist party also

wanted "an honorable peace," as

Barcelo, who took his member-

ship in the Communist party se

riously, believed the word "Com

munist" meant what it once did

and fought to prevent capitula-

tion to Franco, was executed by

the Junta-and in death is not

even honored by the Stalinist press

QUEENS

**Anti-Fascist Rally** 

FRIDAY, MARCH 24

8:00 P.M.

Oddfellows Hall, Jamaica

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batim:

CP "Americanism

est moves.

y approved."

German goods.

The Soviet Position

the Western powers.

one of the final-if not the final- of world peace, the order of world

Push Arms Program and Propaganda

any doubt that the new duties

were prohibitive and virtually

Roosevelt's way by the Repub- shut Germany out of her normal- pretends to be able to estimate

Senator Robert A. Taft of ures taken by Roosevelt would in- amount to at least four billion

Ohio, generally regarded as an crease the mad desperation of dollars during the next two fiscal

litical circles were quick to pre-

dict that Germany would imme-

diately retaliate by stopping her

and possibly by even more drastic

measures in line with her posi-

Welles Opens Fire

The opening gun in the series

of President Roosevelt, declaring

sanctions against the German re- and of arbitrary force are threat- begin on the immediate eve of

gime far exceeded in scope and ening world peace" and refusing war. Every million dollars now

and expressed once more, as did Moravia as anything but "tem- companies for preparing for mass

rectly to Germany. It was ex-

in its sensational character as a

Roosevelt Seeks All Power

gress, the body of the govern-

ment which most directly re-

What Roosevelt wants Con-

gress to do is summarized by Ar-

thur Krock, Washington corre-

spondent of the Times, on March

"The administration wants

Congress in this perlious time

to abandon its effort to legis-

late foreign policy and put its

trust in the Executive. It wants

discretion for him to enforce a

unilateral policy of aid extend-

ing 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 effective

ly to throw our whole weight

on any bloody scale according

to his concept of national in-

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

Hull argued that such a ref-

erendum 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 subter-

fuge hides the real aim: to take

basis of putting through the ar- ternational.

panding war industries, on the der the banner of the Fourth In-

referendum on war.

terest."

Congress.

sponds to public opinion

move against Germany.

mining foreign policy.

new duties "came as a stunning the way for a formal protest di- has ever seen.

Welles' statement was, how-

This application of economic that "acts of wanton lawlessness on the army, but these costs will

tion as a world power."

ly biggest overseas market."

important possibility for the Re- the Nazi government, was indi- years.

publican presidential nomination cated also by the Times corre-

in 1940, speaking on Saturday at spondent, who reported that "po-

sought by the dramatic step, of American moves was the

taken Saturday, March 18, of statement issued March 17 by

applying new tariff duties, re- Acting Secretary of State Sum-

garded as prohibitive, against mer Welles, with the approval

the Lima Conference, the fact porary extinguishment."

Roosevelt Uses European Crisis to

place the workers in a strait- coming war is a war among the new imperialist war, the new Britain and France are also all mankind by overthrowing the turning now, in the present crisis, system that breeds wars-capitalto the Soviet Union-which they ism. But for the historic treachwere ready only yesterday to ery of the Second and Third Inhand over to Hitler-for renewal ternationals during the past two of the long-discarded collective se- decades, such action would have curity pacts. To these overtures long since taken place. Now, in Stalin, as explained elsewhere in these darkest of hours, that githese columns, is giving a cyni- gantic task falls to the Fourth cally cautious response, waiting International, which will fight to to see if Hitler will respond to the utmost of its powers to smash

ported the N. Y. Times corre-| mament program already voted

That, far from putting a halt which are receiving Congression-

to Germany, the punitive meas- al authorization, but it will

rurchases from the United States breaks out, while the equipping

to characteristize incorporation voted for "educational orders" is

into the Reich of Bohemia and mainly used by the contracting

ever, merely a stop-gap for pub- a billion will have to be expended

lic consumption until receipt af- leter on the actual war materials.

terward of a German note offici- The Administration is thus pav-

form that war of the bosses into war for the emancipation of his public bid for a bloc against the war-makers and on the smoking ruins of capitalism erect the In any case, we are witnessing new world order, the only order

Present Arms Costs

Not even the administration

the exact cost of the measures

These sums are primarily al-

located to expansion of the na-

val and air forces, for these in-

volve types of equipment re-

quired to be on hand before war

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 pro-

vided by army "educational or-

ders" and manufacture of muni-

tions for England and France.

**Eventual Arms Costs** 

production of war materials. For

every million thus expended now,

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

The LaGuardias of Prague

Believe It Or Not

The credential below, which we

clipped from "Justice," was handed

to an International Ladies Gar-

ment 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:

11:10 A.M. on Thursday, Febru-

ary 23, 1939, has made applica-

tion 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 de-

cline 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

"Mr. James R. Gallagher, at

The government officials, the anti-fascist La Guardias, and Newbold Morrises of Prague, called on the people to submit quietly to spondent in Berlin. "Neither had or about to be voted by Congress. Hitler, to make no demonstration against him and to lay down their

The Cops

The Prague La Guardias 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 Syrovy

The one-eyed democratic peoples leader of Czechia showed that he was true to type and welcomed Hitler with a hearty handshake, Tens of billions will be spent

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 Miaja,

son of the Council head, who was released March 10 by the Nationally informing this government ing the way for the most gigantic alists, arrived in Madrid in time of the occupation. This opened and expensive war that mankind to celebrate his saints' day with

## pected that the formal protest would rival the punitive duties SPAIN CP'ers TOLD "NOT TO MOYE **AGAINST CASADO," ADMITS FISCHER**

The Roosevelt Administration utilized these moves not only to break down any tendency by intention of prolonging the war Congress to seek a voice in deter- against Franco, and that the Com- Catalonia, not to prolong the war, Even the big Democratic ma- members not to oppose the Miaja- the sole purpose of extorting the jority in Congress, and the ap- Casado Junta which ousted Ne- best possible terms from France." proval of his moves voiced by grin - charges made in previous Republican leaders, does not re- issues of the Appeal-are corrobassure Roosevelt, for he knows orated by Louis Fischer, the well- Spain was deluding its readers that when the present hysteria known "unofficial" Stalinist jour- with stories that Negrin was dewears off, the powerful anti-war nalist, in a cable to The Nation, termined to fight to the end, and sentiment of the masses will March 18. again create pressure on Con-

On Negrin's policy, Fischer says: with him. In the midst of Negrin's alists realized that the war was lost and would soon end. On Feb- Daily Worker here was assuring ruary 1 Negrin enunciated to the its trusting Communist party Cortes three conditions for the members that nothing of the sort 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. . . . STALIN AWAITS HITLER'S REPLY

(Continued from Page 1) only real ally of the Soviets, the international working class. Fate of the U.S.S.R.

Crawling from one capitalist ing and beating his breast in vain responsibility for the heroic resistbraggadochio, Stalin is ready to ance. bank the fate of the Soviet Union on capitalist promises - either from London-Paris or Berlin-Rome, which obviously are not worth the paper they are written upon. The fate of Czecho-Slovakia, surely, is sufficient proof of this-and that goes both for Hitler and for Chamberlain-Daladier. But the fate of the Soviet Union will not rest with those who have taken the roles of gravediggers of the decision away, not only from the great October revolution, any the people directly, but from more than it will be permitted to rest with the imperialist bandits Meanwhile, even before revi- of whatever stripe. This question, sion of the neutrality act, the like all the questions raised in government was in a position to the coming war, will be settled initiate a gigantic process of ex- by the workers of the world un-

That the Negrin cabinet had no | "Negrin and Del Vayo flew to central Spain after the collapse of munist party of Spain ordered its but to organize resistance with

While these events were taking place, the Stalinist press outside that Azana was in full agreement "When Barcelona fell, the Loy- appeals to the British and French governments for mediation, the was taking place!

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-Miaja 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, camp to another, alternately whin- the leaders refused to accept any

> Workers' Information Please! Your Questions Answered by Our Board of Experts

Shachtman-Morrow-Burnham Master of Ceremonies Garrett at the

QUESTION MARK' DANCE Saturday Nite, 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.

### SOCIALIST APPEAL

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S. STANLEY

### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- I. 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 30hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pen-
- 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.
- II\_ 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

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 thraldom.

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 Barkeley amendment to the Air Corps Expansion bill has been rejected by Congress. The Barkeley 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 disppearance 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 tht 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 revelationwhich 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 scissorbills 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

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 THEIR In Korea and Formosa Colonies

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

spread, and continues to spread, tred for the Japanese rulers. hrough Formosa and Korea.

may be other reasons for this, amongst the Koreans living in but it is safe to say that one im- China. portant deterrent has been Ja- BACK CHINESE STRUGGLE pan's well-founded fear that the ruthless spoliation of Fukien 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

### FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

In Korea, evidences of ferment waiting are even more evident brutal in their efforts to stamp pan.

out Korean culture and customs sided, not excluding foreign-con- in Chinese possession) an- cious masters.

By SOL BRODWIN

iberalism is J. David Stern, pub-

lisher of the New York Post, the

Philadelphia Record, and smaller

All the necessary qualities are

allegedly his - independence,

courage, principles. "I am not in

the business to make money," he

has said, "but to get a kick out

In an article in the Literary

Digest, entitled "The Renais-

sance of the Editorial Page,"

squeeze play."
"PRACTICALLY" NON-

It is Stern's claim that he is

voted to the interests of the

for the interests of himself and

his backers. Hence he claims the

support of his readers-and sac-

fusing a raise in wages to the

body who is a friend of the paper

institution which ought to be pre-

Stern's attitude towards the

best commentary on his liberal-

ployer. 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

The wage scales of the New

York Post have never equaled

those of the News, World-Tele-

Stern's cutest trick was to se-

cure a loan of 10 per cent from

the New York Post employees'

salaries in September, 1938, to be

repaid at 2 per cent interest (be-

low savings bank interest) when-

ever the paper would make mo-

ney. At first the Post Guild ob-

jected, but a frantic plea to

Roosevelt was relayed to John L.

Lewis, who put pressure on the

Guild to accept. The paper, hav-

ing lost even more circulation

and advertising, Stern a few

months ago tried to put through

Stern adopts a patronizing

manner to the Guild. He is "all

another loan but failed.

shop paper of Sept., 1936.

FOR UNIONS-WHEN

THEY'RE NOT MILITANT

PROFIT MAKING

Stern proclaimed his crusading than harmony."

papers.

Information seeping through trolled areas in China, but the nounced the formation of a Kothe rigid censorship to the out- Korean movement has refused to rean Legion which pledged loyside world gives ample indication disappear. It continues with a alty to the cause of China. of the unrest that has now persistence born of undying ha-

The relative mildness with efforts have sought to conceal the nese in the fight against their which Japan has pursued hostili- presence of this continuing moveties against Fukien Province, in ment. Government-sponsored del- states in part (China Weekly Re-China, just across the channel egations returning from Korea from Formosa, tends to lend con- have brought back glowing re- DEFIANT MANIFESTO firmation to the reports. With ports of the "patriotism" that the exception of the capture of exists there. Japanese represen-Amoy in May, 1938, a strategic tatives report evidences of this During these 29 years, under the necessity, Fukien has been vir- same "patriotism" and "devotion" tually free from attack. There to the Japanese sovereign the 23,000,000 Koreans have been

But the rulers of Japan, themselves, give no credence to these would have repercussions in her propaganda reports. Instead they are resorting to friendly gestures tary has had a severe lesson to mollify the angered feelings Comrades of the Korean Peoof the Koreans. A Japanese re- ple's Party have all risen to port quoted in the China Weekly avenge the grievances of these Review of January 21, spoke of 29 years, and to fight for justice, "assimilation" of Koreans with Only the lack of strength has Japanese so as to eradicate the made large-scale rebellion impos-"slight barrier of racial preju- sible. But anti-Japanese activities dice" existing between them. Ko- have never ceased for a single reans would henceforth be called day. 'compatriots" and be regarded by the Japanese as their "own ically related. Both nations have flesh and blood." This delicate been subjected to Japanese agconcern, occurring just at this gression in the past scores of time, for people who hitherto years. . . . The Koreans believe have been exploited with bestial that when China wins in her war ferocity, is eloquent of Japan's of resistance, all the weak and

Connections are still close bethan they are in Formosa. This tween the Koreans living in Chiis readily understandable. Ruth- na and those living in the homeless as the Japanese have been land. The actions and declarain Formosa, they have been even tios of the exiles are a reflection more vicious in their enslavement of the feelings animating those of the Koreans and even more still living under the heel of Ja-

On October 10 last year, anni-For decades Japan has perse- versary of China's first revolu- by their Japanese overlords, are cuted Korean nationalists and tion, a manifesto by a group of only awaiting an opportune morevolutionists wherever they re- Koreans in Hankow (then still ment to rise up against their vi-

Saga of a Liberal Publisher

. . . How He Got There

One of the shining knights of upon trouble making, militant uel Fels, soap manufacturer

mission. "Who," he says, "is to In June, 1935, he asked the goods industrialists, motion pictake care of the big bank or the New York Post Guild to conduct ture companies and real estate

utility company when it steps a school of Journalism for copy- holders, heavily in debt to the

common enemy. The manifesto

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

"Since the beginning of the movement for the complete peace, and the mother country.

"China and Korea are historand of an attitude of watchful anxiety over conditions in Korea. 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 "devo tion" to their imperial sovereign. They are a clear indication that the Koreans, enslaved, degraded, hounded and persecuted

zation is backed by consumers'-

Stern denied this, but the pres-

ence of Louis J. Kolb, Philadel-

and Albert Greenfield, financial

agent for both Stern and War-

ner Bros. among his backers,

The blackest episode in Stern's

-that the Catholic Church was

involved in this uprising," Then

came an editorial denonucing

Loyalist action against the

Circulation still unrestored,

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 peni-

Stern has described himself as

"practical liberal" which means

that like any bourgeois liberal

moderately large capitalist, he

is a liberal only when it does not

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

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.

and especially one who is a

Church.

tent Stern!

hurt.

any reactionary.

Recently the Korean People' Party issued a defiant manifesto, Recent Japanese propaganda pledging full support to the Chi-

beyond imagination. .

present war, the Japanese mili-

# By James Burnham GOVERNMENT

In the March 13th issue of the magazine, Time, there is a long article on Hearst. It is an excellent plece 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, privieges, 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 "drasic, sayage 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 stewart, 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

### 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 blownin-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 Engand 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 other 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!

Social Democrat Says Yes!

(Social Democratic Fed.) MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, March 31 8:30 P.M. in Auditorium of

Elias L. Tartak, Chairman

over the line, if the publisher be boys and other employees who banks, and that the above policies not at hand? . . . I have never want to learn newspaper work, are in line with their interests. been approached with an offer This, he said, should be the chief After the purchase of the of money for editorial support, aim of the Guild. He urged the New York Post, Stern fired nor has any banker to whom I Guild "not to take the attitude Ernest Gruening, his editor, owed money ever attempted the simply of a labor union—I found who wanted to conduct a camyou get as much as you give. It paign against the slum proper would raise the dignity of the ties of Vincent Astor, a stock Guild, It would be good window holder in the Post. dressing - something else than Margiotti, former attorney running what is practically a the Guild slapping down a con-General of Pennsylvania, charged non-profit making institution de- tract without giving anything in that Stern sold support for legisreturn. The effect on the public lation for Sunday movies in Phil people and high ideals, and not is not good. It makes your moadelphia to movie companies.

for trade unionism"-but frowns liam Fox, movie magnate; Sam

unionism, and considers that the George Earle, former Philadel

Guild units of his papers exist by phia Governor; Joseph J. Guffey,

the grace of J. David Stern. Pennsylvania Senator; Samue

presume on the good will of a Bernard Gimbel.

heated conference of the man- HOLDERS

friend?" he once remarked at a BE NICE TO STOCK-

"How far do you think you can Untermeyer, Vincent Astor and

agement and the Guild represen- Stern has been anti-Wall Street,

tatives. Elsewhere he said, "There pro-inflation and liberal spending

is a growing suspicion that the by the government—and not

Guild is now in the hands of without good reason. Lundberg

leaders who are more interested in "America's 60 Families" has

in breeding friction and ill will pointed out that Stern's organi-

tive look definitely selfish . . . Stern married Julia Lit, whose family owns the big Philadelphia rhia theatre owner, Warner Bros. rifices from his employees. Re- department store. Buying rundown papers and making suc-New York Post employees in 1935, cesses of them, Stern made the he pleaded, besides the financial big time in 1929 with the pur-

lends some credence to the condition of the paper, that, "No- chase of the Philadelphia Record. charge. Albert Greenfield, of the Bank-A LIBERAL WHEN IT ought to jeopardize it . . . I am ers Security Corporation of Phil-DOESN'T HURT justified in being adamant be- adelphia, became the financial cause I am fighting to preserve an guiding hand for all Stern's vencareer is his capitulation to the tures, managing the purchase of Catholic Church over the Spanthe Record and The Post and ish civil war. After an editorial securing the necessary financial friendly to the Loyalists in the support. And these backers are Record the Catholic Church unions of his employees is the no pikers. They are millionaires called for a boycott of the Recism. He has fired employees for and near millionaires: Warner ord, Stern then crawled to Car-Bros.; Louis J. Kolb, director of dinal Daugherty, writing, "At union activity like any Tory em-General Baking Corp., and owner the time we did not know-as I of theatres in Philadelphia; Wiladmitted we should have known

> DEBATE Has **Bolshevism** Failed?

JOSEPH SHAPLEN

Says No! (Socialist Workers Party)

RAND SCHOOL 7 East 15th Street

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