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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

Defend the Soviet Union!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is no other way to save the Soviet Union.

"Defense" Means Slavery

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

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

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

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

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

But the unemployed are not the only victims of Congress.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"We Don't Have Spies"

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

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

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

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

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

His Anti-Fascism Is Suspect

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

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

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

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

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

Japan Tries to Conceal Unrest In Korea and Formosa Colonies

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

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

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

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

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

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

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

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

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

BACK CHINESE STRUGGLE

But the rulers of Japan, themselves, give no credence to these propaganda reports. Instead they are resorting to friendly gestures to mollify the angered feelings of the Koreans. A Japanese report quoted in the China Weekly Review of January 21, spoke of a movement for the complete "assimilation" of Koreans with Japanese so as to eradicate the "slight barrier of racial prejudice" existing between them. Koreans would henceforth be called "compatriots" and be regarded by the Japanese as their "own flesh and blood."

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

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

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

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

DEFIANT MANIFESTO

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

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

"China and Korea are historically related. Both nations have been subjected to Japanese aggression in the past scores of years. . . . The Koreans believe that when China wins in her war of resistance, all the weak and small nations will be benefited, emancipated, and can return to a state of freedom and equality. . . . These are hardly the words of 'patriots' who are consumed with a growing feeling of 'devotion' to their imperial sovereign. They are a clear indication that the Koreans, enslaved, degraded, hounded and persecuted by their Japanese overlords, are only awaiting an opportune moment to rise up against their vicious masters."

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

By SOL BROWWIN

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

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

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

"PRACTICALLY" NON-PROFIT MAKING

It is Stern's claim that he is running what is practically a non-profit making institution devoted to the interests of the people and high ideals, and not for the interests of himself and his backers. Hence he claims the support of his readers—and sacrifices from his employees. Refusing a raise in wages to the New York Post employees in 1935, he pleaded, besides the financial condition of the paper, that, "Nobody who is a friend of the paper ought to jeopardize it. . . . I am justified in being adamant because I am fighting to preserve an institution which ought to be preserved."

Stern's attitude towards the unions of his employees is the best commentary on his liberalism. He has fired employees for union activity like any Tory employer. In Camden, New Jersey, with Stern's knowledge, a strong-arm man was hired by the editor of the Camden Courier to find out who the unionists were and "to slap down anybody who got snotty." This whole story was told in the New York Post Guild shop paper of Sept., 1936.

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

FOR UNIONS—WHEN THEY'RE NOT MILITANT

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

Stern adopts a patronizing manner to the Guild. He is "all

for trade unionism"—but frowns upon trouble making, militant unionism, and considers that the Guild units of his papers exist by the grace of J. David Stern.

"How far do you think you can presume on the good will of a friend?" he once remarked at a heated conference of the management and the Guild representatives. Elsewhere he said, "There is a growing suspicion that the Guild is now in the hands of leaders who are more interested in breeding friction and ill will than harmony."

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

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

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

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

BE NICE TO STOCK-HOLDERS

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

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

Margiotti, former attorney

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

A LIBERAL WHEN IT DOESN'T HURT

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

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

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

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

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

THEIR GOVERNMENT

By James Burnham

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

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

Enters the New Regime

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

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

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

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

The Scale Drawing

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

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

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

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

The Analogy Strikes Home

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

Labor Looks Through The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

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

An 83-year-old American woman accidentally meets the King and Queen of England when they attend the British industries fair. All spectators had been asked to leave when royalty had arrived, but the American was deemed too old to be removed. "When the Queen saw me she held out her hand and I kissed it," said the aged woman. "She is so sweet and dainty." "Sweet and dainty!" But she and the King and the 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 backward. 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 god 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!