

Mass Against WPA Cuts on April 1!

AN EDITORIAL

On April 1 mass cuts from the W.P.A. rolls begin.

According to Col. Harrington, W.P.A. administrator, these cuts, as based upon the current appropriation measure, will have to total at least a million, more probably a million and a half, between April 1 and June 30.

This prospect is not just a wild joke or a scarehead. As things stand, it is a cold-sober necessity. The money appropriated by Congress won't go any further.

And the mass cuts are scheduled to begin on April 1.

The strategy of the administration is clear. It plans to begin the cuts suddenly, and on a huge scale, while the unemployed are off guard. It will keep throwing hundreds of thousands into the street until mass protests begin to arise.

Then, if disorders threaten, the President will propose a small additional appropriation. This will not be enough to put those already fired back on the rolls. It will not be enough to keep even the lowered figure.

Its only purpose will be to draw the teeth from the mass protest. Roosevelt counts on Lewis and the Workers Alliance swinging behind him. In other words, he plans to put across a mass reduction of W.P.A. and at the same time to get the "official" leaders of the unemployed to help him, and to praise him afterwards as the true champion of the unemployed.

This shameful, criminal plot is already well on its way. The entire press of the country is keeping a conspiratorial silence about the cuts, now only three weeks away. All the governmental and business big shots are yelling daily about "the need for greater economy." Neither the A.F.L. nor the C.I.O. nor the W.A.A. is taking a single step to prepare for a fight.

The unemployed will have to take matters into their own hands, or they are going to wake up a month from now in the doghouse.

If the unemployed wait until after the cuts have begun, it will be too late to save hundreds of thousands of workers, with their families, from destitution. They have got to prepare now.

The question is no longer one of another fifty or a hundred millions in an additional appropriation. This is completely inadequate, and a fight on such a basis would get nowhere.

The unemployed have got to make known their real needs and demands: W.P.A. jobs at union wages for all unemployed; an over-all \$30 weekly minimum; a \$20,000,000,000 public works program; opening of all idle factories to be operated with government subsidies under workers' control; all war funds to the unemployed. And no cuts whatever—not a single worker taken from the rolls.

The danger must be proclaimed from the housetops—there can be no exaggeration.

The demands must be made known not by letters to Congressmen or appearances before committees or back-stage lobbying in Washington, but by large-scale, militant mass action. This is the only move that Congress and the administration will take seriously.

As a first major concrete step, we believe that the unemployed in each locality throughout the country should carry through simultaneously on April 1—the day the mass cuts are scheduled to begin—mass demonstrations at the local relief headquarters. Thus will the unemployed make known that they will not tolerate the cut of a single man, and thus will they put forward in the most unmistakable way their own positive demands.

There was a day when the unemployed movement in this country knew how to act with an unparalleled militancy. Let us return to that day in this new emergency!

Let us turn the heat on these scoundrels who vote \$100,000,000 for a single battleship without turning a hair, and in the next breath decree starvation for millions of unemployed!

And let us act now, before it is too late!

For nation-wide demonstrations on April 1 against the cuts and for a genuine answer to the needs of the unemployed!

Thousands Fired from W.P.A. in First Slashes

Million Scheduled to Go by June 30 as Various States Also Move Toward Drastic Relief 'Economies'

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
Washington, D. C.—The Roosevelt campaign completely to abolish W. P. A. and reduce emergency relief to the absolute minimum is now in full swing as the order to fire 80,000 workers classified as aliens was sent out this week.

An additional measure, designed to provide a large and helpless number of unemployed workers for the labor market and insure plenty of recruits for the coming war, was the stipulation that the fired workers are to be ineligible for relief rolls.

"Eliminate Waste"
While this campaign is under way all State administrators have received instructions drastically to tighten up the machinery of the W. P. A. offices and to reduce office help to the minimum. "Wastes," says the order, "must be eliminated."

The next list to be used for firing is now being prepared by an "investigation" of all W. P. A. workers to determine whether they have outside sources of income. This investigation in many places takes the form of continual hounding and cross-examination of each worker. This is designed to demoralize the workers and prevent them from doing the work assigned by administrators. Hundreds of forms must be filled out each month and these are carefully checked to discover errors. Home visits by stool-pigeons and constant cross-examination by investigators are all part of the campaign to abolish the work relief program.

More than 1,000,000 workers are to be fired by June 30th and each month until then hundreds of thousands of workers will receive

dismissal notices. The plan is purposely designed to measure carefully the amount of resistance to the firing. The next large group to be dropped from the pay rolls will be notified this month and will be fired as of April 1.

Thousands Already Fired
Already thousands of workers have received dismissal notices while the Workers Alliance has gradually become a company union in the service of the Roosevelt administration.

It is to be expected that Roosevelt will ask Congress for a trifling increase in W. P. A. funds but unless the workers organize to fight against the cuts, Roosevelt will merely ask for funds from a Congress which has already made clear its intention of doing away with the entire program. The President knows in advance that Congress will refuse to vote more funds so he has nothing to lose by making a feeble gesture.

Bulk Not From Centers
The bulk of this convention is made up of delegates or supposed delegates not from Detroit or Flint or Cleveland or the main auto centers but from such substantial places as Meriden, Conn., Massillon, Ohio, and Philadelphia. The credentials committee has not yet completed its report—it did not have the brass to recognize without "mature deliberation" so-called "rank and file delegations"—24 of them—representing the "majority" of the large locals of the union.

It is as impossible for a progressive to breathe at this convention as it would be for a revolutionist to make himself at home at a convocation of the American Legion or the Daughters of the American Revolution. The whole atmosphere is permeated with a one-hundred percent Americanism that hits one between the eyes (Continued on Page 2)

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MADRID SEEKS TRUCE

Martin Tries to Skip Affiliation Question

Detroit Convention Delegates Represent Less Than One-Fourth of Auto Workers in Nation

PATRIOTISM KEYNOTE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, Mar. 5—Even the patriotic, anti-C.I.O. delegates of Martin's convention rose up in arms when Martin proposed that the question of future affiliation be left in the hands of the incoming Executive Board. At a closed session of the convention, Martin proposed this measure—completely contradicting all previous statements that he would leave this question up to the convention—which would give him the necessary power to railroad the remaining locals following him into the A.F.L. The delegates refused to grant the power and after a hotly-contested fight the question was referred to other sessions of the convention for action.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, Mar. 5—Homer Martin's convention was on a merry-go-round today and the director couldn't tell whether he had erred in starting the contraption or how or when to bring it to a stop.

After two days the convention of the Martin forces representing less than one-third of the organized automobile workers of America had accomplished exactly the equivalent of zero. The convention was scheduled to end today but it could not because the main question is still undecided: will Martin affiliate to the A.F.L.?

Martin himself has been fearful of answering this question. If he calls for affiliation, the remaining locals connected with him, may jump the traces. And if he does not, where will the finances—the cold cash—come from to finance the union and even the convention which has already reached a pretty humble status? So what is to be done? Bashful Martin is waiting for the rank and file to pop the question. And the rank and file, abiding by the good Victorian conventions are waiting for suitor Martin to propose—which leaves everything in an uncomfortable muddle.

Who Represented
Who is represented at the Martin convention? All the backwoods and the backwash of the auto workers union. According to the report of the credentials committee some 236 delegates were empowered to cast 629 votes at the convention. This would add up to a total of 62,900 workers supporting Martin if the constitution rules regarding representation to conventions were adhered to. This is less than one-fourth of the organized dues-paying auto workers of this country.

With the exception of Flint and Pontiac, where Martin's claims are highly exaggerated, the locals represented at this convention have no decisive weight in the auto industry. None of Chrysler is represented in this list. None of the independents, Hudson, Nash, Studebaker are represented. Only Plymouth and Packard. Even here, the true figures would reveal that upwards of 60 percent of these workers have already declared their allegiance to the C.I.O.

Woll Pledges Allegiance
Speaking before the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York last Friday, he pledged allegiance to big business, stating that he would continue to see "eye to eye" with the economic royalists.

He commended the Supreme Court in the following words: "This clear, unequivocal action on the part of the Supreme Court of the United States in outlawing sit-down strikes is a matter which we as representatives of the American Federation of Labor whole-heartedly endorse."

"I mention this fact and this decision because it will disclose to your minds as perhaps no other thing in the area of constitution law how definitely the responsible leaders of the Federation of Labor have seen eye to eye with the responsible leaders of American employers."

New Anti-Labor Decisions
"I feel confident that there will be other decisions following, and that other actions shall take place upon which we shall see eye to eye, agreeing in principle, even though we may approach the solution of the problems from a different point of view or by different argumentation." (Continued on Page 2)

BOSSES ACT FAST FOLLOWING COURT SITDOWN RULING

Wholesale Firings in Jersey; Woll Hails Decision

The strengthening of the employer-government drive against labor through the recent Supreme Court decision in the Fansteel Metallurgical case holding sit-down strikes to be illegal was apparent this week on widely different fronts.

As an immediate consequence of reactionary decision, the J. E. Mergott Company of Newark, N. J., sent summary dismissals to 248 of its employees who had engaged in a sit-down strike during February when the company refused to renew its contract with the union and began a vicious attack against the C. I. O. as bargaining agent.

Fires Fifty
Another wholesale dismissal followed this one when the Archer-Daniels Midland Linseed Oil Company of Edgewater, N. J., fired 50 of its employees who recently took part in a five-hour sit-down strike.

At a third New Jersey plant the jobs of more than 200 workers were believed endangered by the Court decision.

In Detroit the Chrysler Corporation, responding to the Supreme Court decision, struck a blow against union workers, announcing "disciplinary" action would be taken against four United Automobile Workers members for taking part in a strike last week. One of the union employees was fired and three others were laid off for two weeks to a month.

Gleeful as were the employers over the decision none of them expressed more satisfaction over the Supreme Court's action than A. F. of L. sewer-rat Matthew Woll.

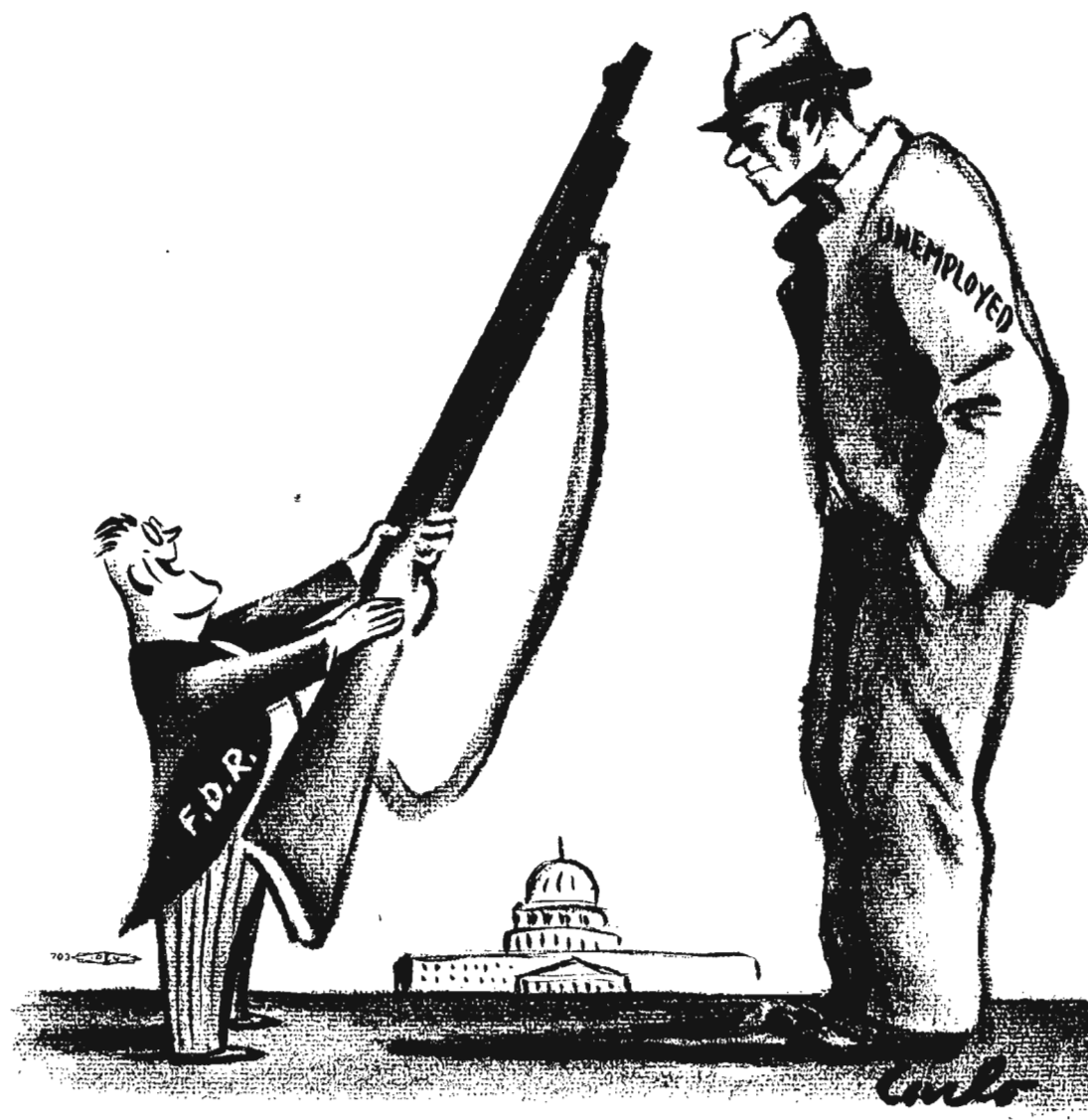
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"A Job for Every Worker"



Army Bill Voted by House Is One More Step on War Road

Last week, in an action unprecedented in the entire history of this country, the House of Representatives voted unanimously, and without even the proposal for a single amendment, the colossal "regular" Army appropriation bill, totalling with its supplements \$520,000,000.

By this unanimous vote, the House proved the altogether secondary character of the pretended Congressional "objections" to Roosevelt's "defense program," proved beyond the shadow of doubt that the entire list of these legislative harlots of Wall Street, from the A.L.P.-Stalinist Marcantonio to the arch-Tory Republicans, is 100% behind Roosevelt's plan to launch aggressive war in the interests of American imperialism.

Huge as is the sum in this regular Army appropriation, it nevertheless is but a tiny fraction of the total armament budget now being driven through Congress. The war appropriations are being broken up into a dozen separate bills, in order to deceive the public about the incredible size of the entire outlay.

(Continued on Page 2)

Carl Hichin Quits C. P. in Canada; Joins 4th Int'l.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
TORONTO, Ont.—Carl Hichin, former political feature writer on the Daily Clarion and special correspondent for half a dozen other Stalinist organs in Canada, this week made known his complete severance from the Communist Party of Canada and its "now irrevocable reformism" and "social patriotism."

To his public repudiation of the Third International, the former C. P. writer added an expression of his accord with the principles and policies of the Socialist Workers' League and an appeal to his revolutionary colleagues still in the C. P. of C. "that they too, publicly repudiate the C. I. and join in building the true party of revolutionary Marxism—The Fourth International."

For the past several years Hichin was probably the most "by-lined" journalist in the Canadian Stalinist press. Previously he was for many years widely known throughout western Canada for his militant activities.

Gandhi Fast Is Forerunner Of Major Indian Struggles

Since the article printed below was written, Gandhi has ended his fast at the request of the Viceroy of India, thus once again capitulating to British imperialism. The analysis of Gandhi's role in the Indian situation is, of course, in no way changed; if anything it is made clearer.

By SHERMAN STANLEY
In tiny Rajkot—a minor state with 75,540 people, located in the Kathiawar area of Western India and ruled over by a feudal lord with absolute powers—Mohandas K. Gandhi, conservative and compromising leader of nationalist India is conducting another of his hunger strikes "unto death."

The 69-year old Gandhi, now weighing less than 80 pounds, has launched another of his dramatic, individualistic acts because of the failure of the Thakore Sahib (29-year old feudal lord) to live up to an agreement that had been made between Gandhi and him-

For the past four months the workers, peasants and villagers of Rajkot have conducted a militant struggle against the dictatorial ruler and his corrupt administration. The total income of the Raja in the past four years has amounted to \$2,300,000. This has been sweated out of the 65 peasant villages in the State.

Civil Liberties Unknown
Today the treasury is empty. Out of this money all but \$8,000 was spent on the ruler and his numerous vices. The \$8,000 constitutes the sum total spent on "education" over four years! It is estimated that the Thakore Sahib spends \$720 per day on himself. His despotic privileges include that of making the people work at forced labor. Civil liberties are unknown to Rajkot.

It was against this tyranny that the masses, organized in their Praja Mandal (States' People Congress), rose. Their mass (Continued on Page 2)

Generals Take Over In Capital

Negrin Is Charged With Plan to Flee With Funds

MAKE PEACE PLEA

In the hope of heading off a growing wave of mass hostility to the People's Front government's preparations for surrender to Franco, Loyalist military chiefs-tains took power late Sunday night in the name of a "National Defense Junta."

But one of its first acts was to address an appeal for peace to Franco.

In the radioed manifesto of the new regime, Col. Segismundo Casado, head of the new government, charged that the Negrin ministers "abandoned their posts and sought in shameful flight the means of saving their lives. . . . It is intolerable that while demanding that the people resist, they are preparing for a convenient and lucrative flight."

Cipriano Mera, C.N.T. leader and army commander, denounced in a radio speech the "traitorous and criminal conduct of Negrin," and declared that the Loyalist ministers "are thinking of gathering up the national treasury and fleeing while the Spanish people are abandoned to the enemy."

Retains Negrin Policy
A revealing contrast between his public denunciations of the Negrin ministers and Colonel Casado's private talks with them were revealed by newspapermen. Sitting in Casado's office, they heard him explain the overturn to various Loyalist ministers over the telephone, including Minister of Justice Pena and Interior Minister Saenz. Saenz said the ministers would come to Madrid.

"No," replied Casado. "With all the friendship I have for you, I beg of you not to come. The people are tired of you. I can assure you that the Defense Council has more power than the government."

The change in government, therefore, can only be interpreted as a maneuver to retain Negrin's policy of surrender, while dropping the previous ministers, hated by the workers and peasants for their responsibility for the loss of Catalonia.

Appeal to Franco
Any difference of basic policy between the Negrin government and its successor was not discernible to the naked eye. Negrin's terms for surrender, summed up as "independence for Spain" and amnesty for Loyalist leaders, were echoed in the radioed appeal of the Junta to Franco.

"In your hands, not ours, is the peace which Spain needs to recover and to end the bloody war which is weakening it and placing it at the service of invaders. Choose! If you offer us peace you will find generous Spanish hearts."

Julian Besteiro, the right-wing socialist leader who disgraced himself by his cowardly opposition to the proletarian revolt of October, 1934, emerged from virtual retirement to enter the new Junta. In much the same language as Negrin, he declared: "Our struggle will not end so long as the independence of Spain is not assured. The Spanish people will lay down their arms only when guaranteed a peace without crimes. Establish such a peace."

Miaja Enters Junta
General Jose Miaja, whom Azana quoted last week as having declared some time ago that further struggle was hopeless, also (Continued on Page 3)

ATTENTION NEW YORKERS!
The SOCIALIST APPEAL is placed on the newsstands every Wednesday and Saturday.

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

The Case of Peter Forster: G.P.U. and Refugees

In June 1938, two courageous anti-Fascists, Emil Bargatski and Peter Forster, fled the concentration camp at Buchenwald near Weimar. An armed storm trooper tried to prevent their escape. He was laid low with a shovel. It was the only chance these anti-Fascists had of getting out of the Hitlerite hell, where thousands of socialists and communists, Jews as well as Catholics are forced to submit daily to the sadistic outrages of the Nazi degenerates.

Bargatski was caught and beheaded shortly thereafter. Forster managed to cross the border into Czechoslovakia. Immediately after the Sudeten crisis broke out, Forster appealed to the Soviet consulate for an entry permit to the U.S.S.R. Time and again he was given the run-around. In the meantime, the Communist Party and the Stalinist "Red Aid" made ample use of him in public meetings, where he was drummed up for collection purposes, instead of being guarded against the ever-watchful Gestapo.

Early in September, he was given to understand by the Czech government that it would be best for him to get out of the country. Again he made frantic efforts to get the necessary papers from the Soviet consulate. Again he was told to wait. Even a temporary visa was refused him. An attempt to flee in a plane headed for Russia was stopped by the Czech foreign office at the airport.

"Munich" came and the Czech government, which had previously refused to turn him over to the Gestapo, finally agreed to deliver him to the German authorities "on condition that his life be spared." Meaningless condition! A few days later, Forster was beheaded in a Weimar prison.

The fate of this valiant anti-Nazi fighter has recently been made public by Erich Wollenberg, German revolutionist and author of a recent work on the Red Army, in which he served as an officer for many years. Wollenberg also gives us an insight into the behind-the-scenes machinations that are back of the Forster case.

It seems that High Commissioner Malcolm, who is in charge of evacuating the German emigrants in Czechoslovakia, has as his secretary a certain German emigrant by the name of E. Katz. This Katz has been in the employ of the Stalinist G.P.U. since 1931, working for it in the "Red Aid" organizations, and finally landing, after being catapulted through various People's Front committees, as Secretary of the "Emigrants' Recognition Committee" in Paris.

This gentleman goes over the lists of emigrants to be evacuated. Naturally he had charge of the Forster case. Quite naturally, no refugee who has ever had any kind of a clash with the Stalinists stand a chance of getting a square deal from this corrupt and conscienceless tool of the Kremlin. Dissident communists, revolutionary socialists are practically doomed in advance, if their case has to be handled by Mr. Katz. How many Trotskyists and other anti-Stalinist refugees have already suffered rank betrayal by this G.P.U. agent into the hands of Hitler's Gestapo is not known.

Forster is dead. But thousands of non-conformist anti-Fascist Germans are still at large in Czechoslovakia. They must not be allowed

to share his fate.

You can do your part to prevent this, by giving every ounce of moral and material aid to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees.

New Repressions Against the 4th Internationalists in Indo-China

Readers of the Appeal are aware of the terrible treatment accorded our comrade Ta Tu Thau, municipal councillor of Saigon, by the French colonial authorities in Indo-China. Half-paralyzed, Ta Tu Thau carries on the struggle from prison.

Now word comes from Tonkin, that another leader of the Indo-Chinese Fourth Internationalists has been jailed in the hell-holes of French imperialism in the Far East. Comrade Thai Van Tam has been arrested in that city and sentenced to a long term in prison for a series of anti-imperialist articles he published in *Thoi Dam*; the organ of the Fourth International in Tonkin. The articles were written at the time of the September crisis, when mobilization was decreed in Indo-China because of French fears of Japanese attacks in case of war, Japan being allied with Hitler.

Comrade Tam was one of the founders of the Communist Party in Indo-China and the first editor of its paper. He broke with the Stalinists after the suppression of the Indo-Chinese Congress and organized the first Fourth Internationalist group in Tonkin.

Neither the arrest of Ta Tu Thau nor that of Tam has succeeded in stemming the growth of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Indo-China. The banner of the Fourth International seems to be firmly implanted among the oppressed in the colonies. An active movement for the liberation of the two great Indo-Chinese class war prisoners has been organized by our comrades in Indo-China as well as in France.

Universal Suffrage as Practiced in Eastern Europe

On November 6 last, elections to the Polish Sejm (parliament) took place. The character of elections in this Bonapartist state, hope of the Stalinists and the "democrats" against Hitler's threat to Eastern Europe, may best be illumined by a little court incident reported from Warsaw.

The day after the elections, the worker Baranowski was hauled up before a magistrate. The charge: He stood in front of a polling place all day, constantly taking something out of one pocket and putting it into the other. Finally, some enterprising dick decided to arrest him. At the police station, he was frisked. But, instead of infernal machines, it was found that his pockets were full of . . . raw peas. In court, Baranowski maintained that he simply liked to chew raw peas. But witnesses were introduced who testified that Baranowski passed the peas from one pocket to the other, in order to determine the exact number of voters entering the polling place. Naturally, the court believed the witnesses, and not Baranowski.

But even so, the magistrate was perplexed when he came to the verdict. Not for long, however. Since no law exists punishing unbelief in official figures, Baranowski was sentenced for "an attempt to obstruct normal traffic."

'THE WAY TO FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM IS TO LIE DOWN AND MAKE BELIEVE YOU ARE DEAD'

The Daily Worker Finally Breaks Its Silence and Explains That It Sabotaged the Anti-Nazi Rally Because of Its Line Against Doing Anything to Displease the Professional Capitalist Politicians

ARTICLE ONE
By FELIX MORROW

In the Daily Worker, Friday, Mar. 3—nearly two weeks after the anti-Nazi counter-demonstration of February 20—V. J. Jerome lengthily answers, in "Questions from the People," why "the Communist party did not see fit to take any measures to stop the Monday night Nazi Bund meeting or at least call for picket lines around it."

The widespread indignation within its own ranks and followers against its cowardly refusal to meet the Nazi challenge has thus finally forced the Stalinist leadership to a public justification of its opposition to the anti-Nazi demonstration.

Jerome's answer is an important document, one which every anti-fascist should read, for it reveals that the Stalinist boycott of the anti-Nazi fight of February 20 was not an isolated incident, not a blunder, but was an integral part of a basic policy opposed to militant methods of fighting against fascism. Under the pressure of the questioners, the Communist party, in Jerome's article, was compelled to state more openly than ever before its opposition to class-struggle methods of smashing fascism.

EXPLAINS C.P. REJECTION OF ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

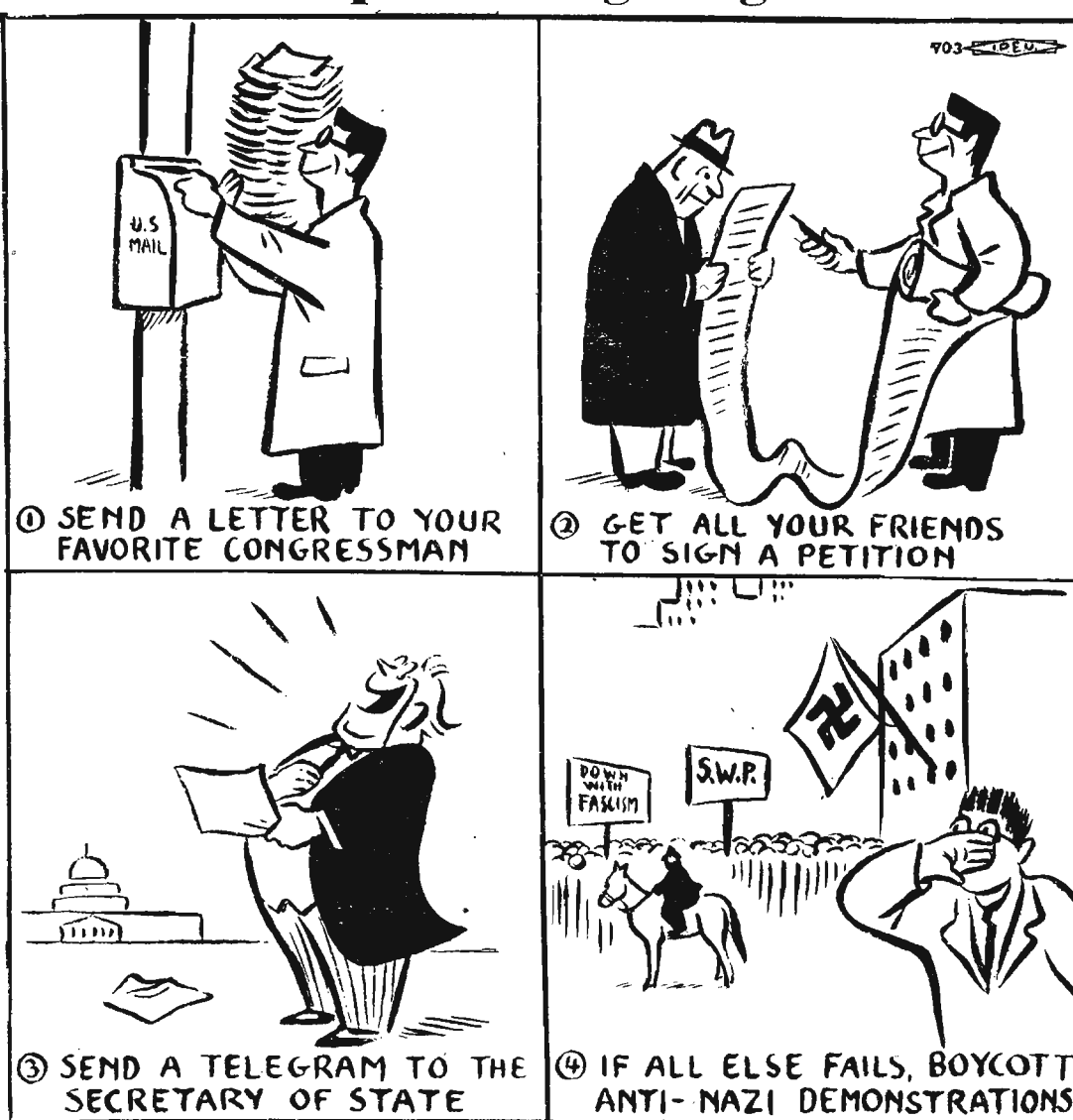
The Communist party's Popular Front policy—re-christened the "Democratic Front" here because of the fascioses of the Popular Front in France and Spain—involves the rejection of anti-Nazi struggles such as that of Feb. 20. Jerome states this plainly enough:

"For what would have been the result of an attempt to 'stop the meeting' after the progressive LaGuardia Administration had granted permission for it to be held? One could certainly have differed with the LaGuardia Administration for granting permission, not merely on the question of free speech, but on whether the interests of democracy could best be served by one course or another. But certainly the Communists could not undertake to forcibly prevent such a meeting once the City Administration had allowed it.

"In the given circumstances, such a course would have played directly into the hands of the Nazi conspirators themselves; it would have incited a direct collision not only with the Bund, but with the city administration and the police who were present to enforce the decision of the city administration. . . .

"And if it is said that there

C. P. Recipe For Fighting Fascism?



should have been strong picket lines around the Garden not to close down the meeting but only as a protest gesture. A simple realistic view of the facts make it obvious that such peaceful picketing would be an immediate target for the combined provocations of the Trotskyites and their companions in arms, the Bundists. The net result would be the same danger as before, feeding the Nazi objective of collisions between the Bund and the vanguard of the democratic forces." (Daily Worker, Mar. 3, p. 6)

WON'T ACT WHEN BOSSES DISAPPROVE

Every anti-fascist, we repeat, should study this statement of the Communist party, for it reveals that the Communist party is preparing to repeat here the debacles of Spain and France, is preparing to carry out to the end here the suicidal policy of the Social Dem-

ocracy in Germany. For here is what Jerome's article means:

1. No action could be taken by the Communist party against the Nazi meeting once the "progressive" LaGuardia Administration had granted permission for it to be held." (Jerome's reference to "forcibly" preventing the meeting is of course a dishonest subterfuge; the issue involved was that of a counter-demonstration, of mass picketing of the meeting.) The Communist party will undertake nothing of which its bourgeois allies disapprove: this is the meaning of Popular Frontism.

The bourgeois "progressives" in Spain were against the factory committees, against dividing the land among the peasantry, against giving freedom to Morocco, against rousing the proletariat to international solidarity, against the use of revolutionary methods in the anti-fascist struggle—and in the name of unity with these

"progressives" within the Popular Front, the Stalinists agreed to this policy which led to Franco's victories. The "anti-fascist" capitalists, loyal first of all to their property, were against dynamiting of munitions and other factories, preferring upon retreat to leave them intact to Franco—and the Stalinists agreed.

DO ANYTHING THE 'ANTI-FASCISTS' ASK

The "anti-fascist" capitalists in France wanted an end to the June, 1936 strikes, wanted an end to the struggles for independence in the colonies, wanted the workers to be docile and obedient, wanted an end to the forty-hour week—and the Stalinists agreed.

The "anti-fascist" LaGuardia administration demanded an end to the building maintenance strike and to the taxi strike—to mention no others—and the Stalinists told the workers they had to submit, because "you can't fight the

progressive LaGuardia administration." The "anti-fascist" city administration says it wants no demonstration against the Nazis—and the Stalinists agree.

Just this is the meaning of the "Democratic front": that in it there is no democracy whatsoever. In it the "progressive" capitalists, of the stripe of LaGuardia, have a veto power, no matter what the vast majority of the workers say. In spite of the appeals of the city administration, of the Jewish press, of the Stalinists, of the labor lieutenants of capitalism generally, the tremendous turnout of the workers on Feb. 20 is proof that, had the workers been consulted democratically, they would have overwhelmingly declared for the anti-Nazi demonstration. But at the heart of the "Democratic front" is the anti-democratic principle that, in the name of unity, all the millions of workers are outvoted or vetoed by the handful of "progressive" capitalists.

CAPITALISTS ARE LOYAL TO . . . CAPITALISM

2. The "progressive" capitalists are always opposed to militant methods of fighting against fascism. This is proven by their conduct in Italy, Germany, Spain, France.

Nor is this due in any way to personal cowardice. It is due to something much more fundamental, namely the loyalty of the capitalists to the capitalist system. And the capitalist system, whether in the form of monarchy, democracy, fascism or military dictatorship, rests primarily not on the free consent of the working class but on the ability of the capitalist class to keep the workers down. All sections of the capitalist class, no matter how democratic, are therefore hostile to the working class developing militant methods of winning working class demands.

That is why, for instance, such great heroes of the Communist party as LaGuardia, Roosevelt, Attorney General Murphy, etc., are irreconcilably opposed to sit-down strikes. So, too, they are opposed to mass struggle against fascism, because in mass struggle the workers learn to stand together without depending on any "progressive" friends; in counter-demonstrations like that of Feb. 20, the workers learn, not only how to fight fascists, but how to fight the capitalist class too. Precisely for this reason, the LaGuardias want no such demonstrations—and by the logic of the "Democratic front" their veto of such demonstrations is unquestioningly accepted by the Communist party leaders.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Some of the strangest and queerest creatures ever seen by mankind appear immediately after a rainstorm. They worm themselves out of some small hole in the ground and proceed to crawl around with a smug expression and a new overcoat. Generally they head for the nearest trade union or other workers' organization and attempt to attach themselves to it like leeches.

Most of us have had some experience with this variety of parasite but a few words of warning for the benefit of any who haven't will be worth while. These little insects can prove to be a severe pain in the side of any organization and it would be well to keep your eyes peeled before they infest your union.

We have all heard about the lawyers without clients, the doctors without patients, teachers without pupils and clothing salesmen without customers. Well, this particular insect might be called a bureaucrat without a bureau. And believe you me, there is nothing worse than a mealy-mouthed faker out to carve a career for himself in the labor movement or on one of the many civil service jobs connected with labor.

They're "Authorities" on Everything

Most of these leeches pose as authorities on all questions facing the trade unions, the working class and the world in general. Any one who disagrees with the "authority" is, of course and without question, a dope who cannot see beyond his nose. Anyone who expresses his difference with conviction and facts becomes, in the lingo of the self-appointed judges, a stooge for the party line, etc., etc. This brand of insect is always "impartial" and has no "ax" to grind—therefore he considers himself the mental superior to anyone who belongs to a party. The hours not spent in trying to get on the pay roll are consumed with burning research into all the world's problems. The answers, when found, will refute everything known to the human race. Until then one has to eat and pay rent, so why not pose as a "labor authority" and cash in on a "reputation"?

Most of these parasites are former members of some radical organization and are quick to point out the fact whenever it is necessary to prove their "liberalism." On the other hand, not being a member at present of any organization, makes them eligible for any little job that comes along. No need to worry about party discipline or having to differ with the labor skates. Coming or going, they can be depended

upon to play ball with the guy who signs the checks.

Attach Themselves to Government Jobs

Now that there are numerous civil service jobs which require a knowledge of the labor movement—labor relations boards, relief and old age pension offices, etc., the leeches make every effort to attach themselves to these governmental agencies. Day and night they exert every effort to take each and every civil service examination.

Once on the government pay-roll they can devote their time to proving that Marx made so many mistakes, that the revolution cannot possibly happen in the next twenty-five years, that through Roosevelt's reforms the workers will achieve everything they deserve and that anyone who advocates revolution is a poor misguided fool who cannot adjust himself to life.

In the meantime and until the job is secured, these insects spend their time denouncing all who participate actively in the struggle against war and starvation. They remain "impartial" and above the fight. Most of them are cheap cowards who cannot bear to face the working class and excuse themselves from activity by finding a difference with every immediate action.

Socialist Party As Breeding Ground

The source of many of these lice is the poor, dilapidated and defunct Socialist party. Bureaucrats who can no longer find a rank and file to pay their salaries and who realize that the ship is beyond rescue, are sneaking out in the night like rats. They head for the nearest union and apply for a job as educational director. If they are not hired there, they rush out for a copy of the "Chief" and read it with an avid eye and a sly smile.

Among the Social Democrats we find many such specimens who pose as great authorities on almost everything and lend an air of dignity and liberalism to sellout after sellout.

Workers everywhere should be on guard against these insects and treat them with flit. One dose of termite remover plus an explanation of the society which breeds parasites of many kinds should do the job. And until the social system is changed from its present form to Socialism, there must be no let-up in the fight against betrayers of workers' confidence. One day the workers will grab these parasites by the right ear and put them to work with a shovel.

FARMER LABOR COUNCIL MAKES GAINS IN MINN.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Farmer-Cooperative and Labor Council of Minnesota, in the few months of its existence, has more than lived up to advance hopes that the organization would further cooperation between the producers of city and countryside.

The labor movement in Minnesota has in recent years often demonstrated its sensitive grasp of new problems and the ability to create weapons to deal with these problems.

Council Program

The Council at present consists of 27 persons, all leaders in farmer, cooperative, and trade union circles throughout the state. The Minnesota State Federation of Labor, the central labor bodies of Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth, the Midland Coop Wholesale, the Farmers Union Central Exchange and its Livestock Commission, the Central Coop Wholesale, the Grange, the Northern States Coop League, etc., are represented.

The general purpose of the Council, as formulated at its meeting February 11th, is:

1. To develop and create understanding and mutual support between farmers, cooperatives, and labor unions;
2. To prevent any attempt to pit the farmer against the laborer, and the laborer against the farmer;
3. To seek the active support of labor unions in the development of the cooperative movement;
4. To maintain the Council as a sympathetic, conciliatory body readily available whenever misunderstandings or differences arise between these groups;

Society Notes

Heroically Making Ends Meet

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, England, March 4.—The Duke of Northumberland, 26-year-old bachelor who draws \$345,000 annually from coal royalties, is economizing—temporarily quitting his 200-room castle.

The largest single owner of coal properties in England, the Duke is moving to the 20-room Lesbury House near by. Heavy taxes and declining royalties dictated the move, he said.

Death duties on the estate inherited from his father are estimated at \$5,000,000, during the 12-year period following his death in 1930.

—New York Times, Mar. 5.

Parasites Battering on the Rich

Howard Waldron, 39, reached the end of his rope with his wife and five children in the Erie Railroad Terminal in Jersey City last night.

They were penniless and homeless. Two of the children were suffering from malnutrition. Their last food had been crackers and milk two days ago at Chicago.

Ineligible for relief at Duluth, they had been given tickets to Jersey City. When they arrived there was no place for them to go.

The Police Department announced that the family would be given relief and that it would see what could be done about getting Waldron a job.

—N. Y. World-Telegram, Mar. 3.

5. To assist in the development and promotion of a comprehensive educational program that will achieve these ends.

In pursuit of these aims, the Council has already sponsored several public meetings in rural communities, at which spokesmen for labor and the farm groups discussed the Council's program.

The meetings were successful, and resulted in the setting up of local volunteer committees which will carry on the work of the Council in the locality for the next period.

These local committees are composed of three local people, one each representing the farmer, the coops, and the unions.

Settles Disputes

In addition to this educational work, the Council offers its services as a conciliator whenever a misunderstanding or dispute arises within its field. Already, it has settled two disputes between

RESPECTABLE 'ANTI-FASCISTS' STAGE A VERY MISERABLE SHOW

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK, Mar. 4.—If the friends of capitalist democracy hope to win in the coming showdown fight against fascism in the United States, they will have to stage a lot better show than the one they put on last night at Carnegie Hall under the auspices of the Council Against Intolerance in America.

Advertised as "New York's answer to the Bund," the circus opened like the Bund meeting with the congregation singing the Star Spangled Banner—not so lustily or vociferously as the Bund congregation—and continued with gusty Fourth of July harangues on the "real" American tradition of democracy and free speech, a tradition which in their eyes includes above all protecting

Madrid Generals Make Peace Plea

(Continued from Page 1)

As soon as Mija's adherence was known in Paris, Martinez Barrio told the press: "He is the man who can come to terms with Franco to restore peace to Spain."

At the same time Barrio revealed that while Negrin was announcing last Friday that Barrio had accepted the presidency vacated by Azana, Negrin already had a communication from Barrio and other Loyalist leaders in Paris, declaring that Barrio would not accept the presidency, and demanding early conclusion of peace to prevent "further needless bloodshed."

How much "democracy" has been current in Loyalist Spain is indicated by the way the overturn was made. Newspapermen arriving for the usual communique at 9 a.m. saw nothing unusual, but were told to wait. At midnight they were invited to listen to the radio speeches announcing the new government.

the fascists and attacking the workers' democratic right to picket the fascists.

Call for Prayer

Where the fascists denounced war, denounced unemployment, and drew enthusiastic applause from their audience when they attacked the failure of the Roosevelt administration to solve the basic economic contradictions of the nation, the Carnegie speakers called for greater belief in God and a return to the religion of Washington. "There's a non-logical part of the brain through which God speaks," said one speaker. "What we need is less dependence on the intellect and more dependence on God."

Only one speaker, Fannie Hurst, mentioned the 12,000 unemployed to whom the fascists had appealed at their meeting. "These people have nothing to lose," she said. "They constitute the great source of danger to the American form of Democracy. Something must be done." Not one of the other speakers so much as agreed with her that something must be done.

Morris Changes Mind

Newbold Morris, who was acting Mayor of New York during the Madison Square Garden meeting, climaxed the burlesque with the following astounding declaration: "Last week I told the people of New York to shun the Bund meeting like a pestilence. Now I've changed my mind. If you're for freedom and democracy you're for it passionately. You'll fight for it."

No, the Carnegie Hall meeting of elderly American business men was NOT the answer of New York's workers to the Bund meeting. That answer was given on the picket lines around Madison Square Garden when 50,000 answered the call of the Socialist Workers Party and demonstrated on the only field that counts, the field of ACTION, that fascism cannot rear its head in this country without a fight to the finish.

UNITED STATES: IT NEED NOT HAPPEN HERE!

Speaker:
James Burnham
Auspices:
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
Fourth International

Sunday, Mar. 12--8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place and 15th St.
Admission 25¢ — Ticket for sale at the
LABOR BOOK SHOP, 28 East 12th St.

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

Workers' Menus

A recent government survey has revealed that more than half of the employed workers in the United States live on insufficient food diets.

This survey, which was taken in 43 industrial centers throughout the nation shows that the "American standard of living" for the average worker is a pretty low one. The average worker and his family eats foods that "stick-to-the-ribs" and stave off the feeling of hunger.

To make him feel full after eating, the worker stuffs his belly with potatoes, macaroni, and bread. This takes from 25 to 40 percent of his income.

Only 12 percent of the families studied have "good" diets, 38 percent have "fair" diets, and 50 percent eat an "insufficient" amount of food.

Negro workers and their families are worse off than the white workers. The survey shows that 60 percent of the Negroes eat an "insufficient" amount of food.

Where was it we read that "there are no classes in America"?

Two Attacks

29,000 workers on the transit lines of New York City are facing two menacing attacks on their livelihood.

One attack comes from a bill sponsored in the Senate and Assembly of New York by Senator Wicks, a notorious labor-hater, which would place all employees of municipally-owned transit lines under Civil Service provisions without guaranteeing them pension rights, seniority over new Civil Service applicants, or collective bargaining rights.

This is a direct undisguised attack aimed at the union workers on the B.M.T. and I.R.T. transit lines.

The other attack, more covered up, is the proposed unification of the B.M.T. and I.R.T. lines with the present city-owned line when purchase plans have been completed between the LaGuardia administration and these companies.

Although it is generally understood that unification will lead to mass lay-offs of workers who have been employed for years on these lines and who have no other means of earning a livelihood, absolutely no guarantees providing for these workers have been forthcoming from the LaGuardia administration.

The Wicks bill, if it is enacted, will reduce those left after LaGuardia lay-offs to the condition of servile, open-shop slaves.
What is particularly revolting about these underhanded attacks against 29,000 of New York's workers is the solicitude of the city administration over the security holders of the B.M.T. and the I.R.T. who have been bleeding the public for years and who have received in dividends many times over what they laid out originally for the securities.

Instead of expropriating these private holders of the city's utilities through condemning the lines—the city owns the lines anyway and merely leased them to the security holders—the staggering sum of \$315,000,000 has been turned over to guaranteeing them security and comfort for life.

Why does the LaGuardia administration pay out this enormous sum to the security holders at this particular time? Why doesn't it wait until the leases expire, when the holdings revert automatically to the city?

Dividend returns indicate the answer to these two questions. For the past few years earnings have steadily declined and the trend indicates that these securities would rapidly become a losing proposition for their holders.

An additional consideration is the very strong likelihood that unification of the lines will mean a ten-cent fare—under the fallacious argument that a ten-cent fare will be necessary in order to pay off the \$315,000,000 gift to the security holders.

The present levying of a ten-cent fare upon subways

running to the World Fair is nothing but a trial balloon in this direction.

Hundreds of millions of dollars to keep a few security holders fat, happy, and contented. A union-smashing, wage-lowering drive against the workers. A callous series of dismissals as fast as the administration can replace the present skilled workers with new applicants from Civil Service rolls, who, because of prior application for Civil Service jobs and for no other reason, will have seniority over all employees no matter how many years their service. That is the Wicks-LaGuardia unification plan!

To these two attacks against the subway workers there can be but one answer. Militant demonstrations against the vicious Wicks bill. Militant demonstrations demanding that there shall be no dismissals when unification is accomplished, with the work divided among all those now employed, but without reduction in pay.

Unification to provide increased benefits for the public, not unification for the benefit of a few rich security holders!

It is the belief of Michael J. Flascetti, former head of New York City's notorious Italian detective squad, that "most people have little use for policemen."

"And, for the public's information," he continued, "I want them to know we still give the third degree, and it's all that it's cracked up to be."

But Will They Ever Get Here?

Their Royal Majesties, the king and queen of the British Empire, are scheduled to visit our shores some time in June of this year.

But you'll forgive us for wondering whether they'll ever get here!

In the shiny rotogravure section of America's Sunday papers these two decadent representatives of Britain's declining imperial might look mighty secure. Their over-upholstered uniforms and dress, along with the swanky Coach-and-Four they drive about in, give the appearance of lasting forever.

We wouldn't be surprised, however, if Their Majesties found it unavoidably necessary to postpone their visit forever. The Irish are picking up the reins let drop by the traitor De Valera; the British West Indies are a seething cauldron; the Arabs are militantly demanding freedom in the Near East.

And India is set to give King George the biggest headache of his life. The working class and peasant masses of this great country are preparing to straighten out their bent and bowed backs by casting off the entire weight of England's slave masters.

So keep an eye to those crowns of yours, Elizabeth and George! How easily they can slip off and go tumbling down the hill after those of Czar Nicholas, the Kaiser and Alfonso!

Bigger And Better Takes

If Congress and President Roosevelt continue to lop appropriations for the unemployed and succeed in their campaign to jack up profits for the rich to newer and dizzier heights, it will take a planetarium and a mathematical genius to give even a faint conception of the astronomical proportions to which profits will rise over those now flowing into the coffers of the upper class.

Naturally the unemployed, the under-paid work slaves, and the young people facing a blind alley future will be expected to continue their cheering over this stellar display.

If you missed out on the juicy morsels celebrated during Dividends and Profits Week for the 1938 take, sharpen up your shears for this week's report. If you don't own stock of these particular companies in your family vault, then just imagine as you tighten your belt a notch for dinner what you could buy if you did have those dusty sheets silently earning millions for you through strenuous idleness—and praise God that the nasty workers don't wake up and take over these industries for their own benefit.

Remember, no celebrating over anything less than a million dollar take, and bless Harry Hopkins for his speech this week dedicating the Roosevelt administration to fighting for bigger and better takes for the wealthy capitalist.

Again we congratulate the happy stockholders of the companies listed below, who according to the publishable reports of their bookkeepers bled the point of production for not less than the following fat items for 1938:

Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company	\$ 3,930,460
Atlantic Refining Company	\$ 4,317,297
Armstrong Cork Company	\$ 1,150,796
Mesta Machine Company	\$ 2,909,957
Gillette Safety Razor Company	\$ 2,941,889
Arundel Corporation	\$ 1,007,783
Penick & Ford, Ltd., Inc.	\$ 1,139,921
Reed Roller Bit Company	\$ 1,832,112
Radio Corporation of America	\$ 7,412,072
New York Telephone Company	\$ 29,377,181
General Foods Corporation	\$ 13,377,075
Sun Oil Company	\$ 3,085,119
Mellville Shoe Corp.	\$ 1,484,061
Scott Paper Company	\$ 1,379,950
Eastern Utilities Associates and Subsidiaries	\$ 1,572,455
Wisconsin Electric Power Company	\$ 2,228,020
Bell System	\$ 155,543,144
American Tobacco	\$ 25,435,643
Homestake Mining Co.	\$ 6,940,848
Beech-Nut Packing Company	\$ 2,527,142
Abbott Laboratories	\$ 1,648,326
Electrolux Corporation	\$ 2,040,922
Greyhound Corporation	\$ 5,663,989
Lambert Company	\$ 1,277,798

Who said the unemployed were starving?

"Found on the west side of the Huey P. Long Bridge with his left arm nearly severed below the elbow, a Negro identified by state police as Martin Hays, 20, of Napoleonville, was taken to Charity hospital by ambulance last night when physicians amputated his arm. Although state police were not able to say how the Negro was injured, hospital authorities said Hays told them he had caught his arm in a pumping machine where he had been employed."—From The New Orleans Tribune, Jan. 28, 1939.

**Japanese Economy Strained
To Meet Growing Burdens**

Reports appearing recently both here and in the Far East indicate the terrific strain to which the fabric of Japanese economy is being progressively subjected as a result of the present ruthless war of aggression in China. The drain on the country's resources is nothing new, but it has now reached the stage where the entire structure of the country is so delicately poised that a resounding blow, from whatever quarter it might come, could very easily shake it to its foundations.

This, of course, is not the same as saying that a revolution can be expected momentarily in Japan. Recent history has given ample proof that bankrupt nations can continue to exist for seemingly indefinite periods without falling to pieces, even though they are waging a war, so long as they meet no determined, organized resistance within their own territory, and no serious reversal on the military field. Italy and Germany are striking examples.

Burdens On People Increasing
It does mean, however, that Japan's economy is so strained that each day the war continues brings with it an added piling up of internal difficulties, that constantly increased burdens are being foisted on the backs of the people, and that the basic factors capable of fomenting revolt are mounting so inexorably that a military defeat, even a partial military defeat, could readily snuff the supports that now prop up the government and the economic system of the country.

It also means that even without an overthrow, Japan has already lost a major portion of the commercial gains so assiduously courted in recent years.

According to a New York Times dispatch from Washington of Feb. 24, Japan's exports to this country declined 37 per cent in 1938 as compared with 1937, and her imports from this country decreased 30.5 per cent in the same period. This decrease is not confined to trade with the United States. Japan's exports to all countries, excluding the "yen-bloc" countries (Manchukuo and those sections of China under Japanese domination), declined by 34 per cent up to November 30 of last year, according to Domei, Japanese News Agency.

Exports to the "yen-bloc" countries increased 46.8 per cent, but these latter increases are largely spurious for from them Japan receives no foreign currency, besides which a large part of the total represents goods that have been "dumped" indiscriminately into these areas and for which the shippers may never receive payment.

It should also be noted that Japan's industries are feeling the deleterious effects of neglect, due to lack of adequate financing. Plants are wearing out, and the quality of products is declining.

Domestic Prices Skyrocketing
Another important index of the precariousness of Japan's economy is the skyrocketing of prices at home, a telling indication of the growing deprivation suffered by workers, peasants and small business men. A survey made by the Bank of Japan and quoted in the China Weekly Review of December 31 shows that the retail prices index in Tokyo, with 1933 represented as 100, stood at 211.9 on December 17, while the November wholesale price index (again with 1933 as 100) stood at 141. In terms of purchasing power of the masses—not taking into consideration the decline in the purchasing power of the yen—this means that consumers are now paying more than twice as much for articles of daily use as they were in 1933. The tremendous rise in retail prices also indicates the extent to which speculation is rife because of the shortage of consumer goods. Government price regulation has been able to slow down, but not check, the fantastic soaring of prices.

In the N.Y. Times report above quoted, one of the significant effects of government limitations is given as "the necessity for a large number of small and medium-sized industrialists to change the

nature of their enterprises altogether or to close down their plants." In other words, in addition to the extractions being levied on workers and peasants, the small business man, even the "middle-sized industrialist," is likewise feeling the squeeze. Many of them are being forced out of business. Others are facing the necessity of reorganizing their enterprises, a reorganization that can only be effected with considerable monetary losses to the industrialists involved, and loss of jobs for workers.

Currency Backing Constantly Decreasing
Inflation is a further sign of the strain on the country's economy. Japanese statesmen and financiers do not admit that inflation has taken place, but facts belie their pretensions. Domei, in a December 20 Tokyo dispatch, stated: "The note circulation in Japan has risen so high that the gold reserves of the Nipponese state bank are insufficient to provide the legal gold coverage prescribed in the present Bank of Japan law." Which is to say that the backing for Japan's currency is constantly shrinking toward the danger point.

There can be no doubt about the extremely shaky nature of Japan's economy, and the grueling effects this is having upon her people. But the end is not yet in sight. A whole series of new taxes are being put into effect: new commodity taxes on soap, tooth powder, tea and coffee; raised consumption taxes on sugar, sake and textiles; new "luxury" taxes; etc.

Japan's budget for the current year, just under Yen 3,700,000,000, is the largest budget in the history of the country. But this includes only a portion of estimated expenditures, for it does not take into consideration the special military budget, which has been announced to be about Yen 5,270,000,000, making a total outlay for the year of nearly Yen 10,000,000,000. This figure is equivalent to Japan's entire national debt at the commencement of the war in China.

**Thomas Jefferson's Strange
Return to Life**

**The Stalinists Do Violence To The Whole History Of
Early America In Order To Present Jefferson As One
Of The Patrons Of "Twentieth Century Americanism"**

(Concluded from last issue)

Stalinism has long ago abandoned that axiom of Marxism, "Tell the workers the truth." In their indecent lust to become "respectable," the Stalinist lickspittles and toadies have made a ridiculous cult of certain political figures from the history of the American bourgeoisie. They bandy about the names of Paine, Andrew Jackson, and others with a feverish devotion bordering on lunacy, going so far as to have Earl Browder declaim, "Our program for Socialism is organically linked up with, is a necessary outgrowth from the traditional American Democracy as founded by Thomas Jefferson—whose political descendants we are." This slippery Stalinist hedges and qualifies enough to admit that the economic basis of an agricultural nation of small land holders has completely disappeared, but that nevertheless, by being loyal to Jefferson's humanitarianism, "... we have thereby a complete amalgamation of Jefferson's teachings with those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. We have the full program of the Communist Party."

Misunderstands Industrial Revolution
This historical "lesson" thus dissolves itself into a meaningless and nonsensical generalization. Jefferson's many utterances on freedom, liberty, and so on, can be used and have been used by any demagogue to back up any program. Every capitalist politician makes similar remarks; what he does in practice with power when he has it is the important test. The stultifying effect this faked and murky "history" has upon the young students and intellectuals associated with or under the influence of the C.P. is disagreeably evident to all who know them. This is the famous "education" the Stalinists were going to bring to their "allies" of the Popular Front!

In an effort to bolster up their phony "ancestor," the Stalinists tell us that Jefferson's aspirations were wrecked by the Industrial Revolution, "which he could not foresee." This is absolutely false. The Industrial Revolution dates from the middle of the 18th Century, was producing its effect all around Jefferson all throughout his life, and was understood by many observers—Hamilton, for one. Had not Jefferson been blinded by his class interest as an agrarian, he would not have so completely misunderstood the importance of the machine and the new mode of production, for as a

man constantly in public life, traveler, observer of the French Revolution, President of the United States from 1800 to 1808, he was in the most favorable position to study these forces which were to shape the future.

Naive Agrarianist

Jefferson had a most naive outlook on the agrarian life. "Cultivators of the earth," he cried, "are the most valuable citizens," and "Those who labor in the earth, are the Chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue." A slaveholder, a large landholder, Jefferson could easily forget that farm life meant back-breaking labor from day to night for all but a few, and thought of it in terms of the leisure and culture which he could enjoy, browsing in the classics of Greek and Roman literature. It was not given to this Virginian gentleman to understand what Marx so bitterly called, "the idiocy of rural life."

The Marxist understands the cities as the focal points of industry and progress, from whose suffering working population have and will come revolutionary leadership for all the exploited. Jefferson bewailed, "When we get piled upon one another in large cities as in Europe, we shall become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there."

On European Events

In Jefferson's own day, the workers of Paris gathered on the Champs de Mars, to demand from the victorious bourgeoisie—in the name of those fine ideals the bourgeoisie claimed—full, manhood suffrage. They were ruthlessly dispersed by armed troops under Lafayette.

The unrest of workers in England and France, the birth struggles of this new class could mean nothing to Jefferson who believed, "The mobs of the great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body." The proportion of the working class of a country to its farmers, he described as the proportion "of its unbound to its healthy parts."

The unorganized, desperate revolts of the laborers seemed to him like anarchy, and senseless violence; "I consider the class of artificers (city workers of the period) as the panders of vice, and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned."

Jefferson died, still blind to the great historic forces gathering strength in the cities of industrial Europe. Only 22 years after his death, the whole continent was shaking with the Revolutions of 1848, and the young Karl Marx with eyes fixed to the future was writing for the workers he honored and loved, the "Communist Manifesto." Yet it is the name of Jefferson, idealist who never comprehended the historical role of the machine, and who, like any bourgeois, mistrusted and feared the workers—it is this name that the Stalinist, Browder, would write beside those of Marx and Engels.

No, Thomas Jefferson, a capable and eloquent leader in the revolt of the American bourgeoisie, remains just that and nothing more. He is not the ancestor of revolutionary Marxism—not even of degenerate Stalinism. If he has political descendants today, it is in the ranks of the Southern Agrarians, dilettante reactionaries who seek to crawl backward into history in fright before the mighty problems posed by the collapse of modern capitalism. Their program proves their legitimacy—as expressed by Herbert Agar, it sees our crisis as primarily a "moral" one—"a selfish and greedy people cannot be free." Let Mr. Browder return Jefferson to Agar, Allan Tate, etc., if he belongs to anyone, he belongs to them.

Expect Lies to Pass

Why does Stalinism seek to wrap itself in these musty but patriotic robes? Betraying the true interests of workers everywhere, it intends to deliver into the arms of American imperialism its befuddled and deceived followers and sympathizers. Sweating with the anxiety that they will not be recognized and accepted as allies by the powerful American capitalists, the C. P. abandons internationalism for patriotic slogans, and clothes itself in whatever Stalin and Browder think will please the new-found masters. Thomas Jefferson and his "democracy," his empty but eloquent catch-phrases, have been greedily seized, for Browder's contempt for his own following is such that he expects the most stupid lies to pass unnoticed.

Nothing, however, will save the Communist Party from the coming split in its own ranks, the results of the anger and awakening of its long suffering rank and file. In so far as American history becomes clear to them, the Stalinist nonsense about Jefferson will add its bit to the final crack-up.

**THEIR
GOVERNMENT**

By James Burnham

The Fansteel Metallurgical Company is located in North Chicago. During the latter part of 1936, the overwhelming majority of its workers joined the C.I.O., and asked the company for recognition. The management, however, had for years enjoyed the profitable blessings of an unorganized plant. They indignantly pointed out to the men that "outside" unions were un-American.

The opinion was a normal one. After all, under the blessed system of "free enterprise," should not a patriotic American boss be permitted to keep wages as low as he pleases, to pile on the speedup when competition gets keener, to fire any employee who sneezes at the wrong moment? "Outside" unions certainly play hell with the good old-fashioned ways of bosses.

The management told the C.I.O., nothing doing. And just to be on the safe side, the management did a little organizing on its own account. It hired a labor relations magician who pulled a cozy little company union out of his hat. It isolated one of the most militant unionists in a job that prevented him from being in contact with his fellow-workers. It fired a few others. It brought a stool-pigeon or two in from one of the best agencies. It undertook a well planned publicity campaign among its employees, their families and the community on the evils of outside unionism. But somehow the men kept asking for recognition. And the management each time kept refusing and then redoubling the campaign against the union.

Time to Stop the Run Around

So, on February 17, 1937, the workers decided that the run around had been going on long enough. They had been, God knows, reasonable enough. They were getting nowhere. They knew that the company's acts had been brazenly and openly illegal; and they knew that neither the company nor the police nor the courts gave a damn whether the acts were illegal or not. The time had come to protect the right to a job and a decent living by the only means left.

With complete quiet and discipline the workers sat down in two of the company's key buildings. For ten days they sat there, maintaining their discipline, keeping the buildings and machinery in perfect condition. The management "discharged" them; but the workers were guarding their jobs and they continued to sit.

Law and Order Yet to Work

But, lo and behold, after the long, long months of silence and reserve, the forces of law and order sprang suddenly to life. The rights of citizens were being invaded! Time for justice to come to the rescue!

Did law and order clap a summons on the management for their illegal fostering of a company union, their illegal employment of a labor spy, their illegal discriminations and discharges, their illegal refusal to bargain with the union? I need not tell you, dear reader: law and order did not.

Law and order, in the person of a dignified judge of a state court, bowed politely to the management and issued an injunction requiring the workers to vacate the premises of the company. A sheriff and his merry men came to the buildings bearing the injunction order. But the workers believed that their right to a job was superior to the injunction; and the sheriff, after an encounter which he was not willing to confine to words, retired in some confusion.

Justice in Action

Law and order were now very upset indeed. Justice came back to the buildings with a formidable enough array of thugs, cops, firemen, deputized gangsters to have besieged Pearl Harbor. A struggle, pictures of which look like high points in the assault on the Alcazar, took place. Fire ladders were raised so that tear gas bombs could be shot into all floors. Guns and clubs that would have stocked an arsenal went into action.

The workers defended themselves with courage and honor. But the forces and weapons against them were too much. They were routed, and placed under arrest.

Most were later fined and jailed—for violating the injunction.

The company then happily reformed its company union, as the Rare Metal Workers of America. Some of the sit-downers were graciously permitted to return to work. Many of them were not. Those who were not petitioned through the Labor Board to get their jobs back.

This was the Fansteel case. The facts, known to every worker in Fansteel, to every resident of North Chicago, recorded by the Labor Board, are uncontroverted. The Supreme Court did not question them.

"The sit-down," wrote Chief Justice Hughes in the Court's decision for the company, "was a high-handed proceeding without shadow of legal right. . . . The conduct on the part of the employees manifestly gave good cause for their discharge. . . . Manifestly, Justice Hughes, yes, manifestly.

**Labor Looks Through
The Press**

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

Carl Winter, newly appointed state secretary of the Minnesota Communist Party, speaking before the "Marxist Club" at the University of Minnesota, declares that the new pilot training courses being instituted by American universities will be of benefit in making the air force more democratic. He adds that the United States army should be cleansed of disloyal and reactionary elements, and points to Spain as a horrible example where the army joined the fascists in opposing the Loyalist government. It will be a great consolation for foreign and domestic workers to know that they and their wives and children are being bombed and murdered by democratic air men.

Says President Roosevelt at Key West: "Private business, and the utilities in particular, need have no fear over New Deal programs."

"Pope Pius had the objective of a Christian renaissance which would have placed the principles of Jesus Christ in Russia and in Asia," says Father Coughlin in a recent radio spiel. We are to presume that Italy, Germany and the "democracies" are plumb full of Christian principles!

One in every fourteen persons in the United States is allergic to certain foods and other substances, according to Dr. Theodore D. Beckwith, professor of bacteriology of the University of California at Los Angeles. And all of us are allergic to capitalism, only it doesn't affect us all the same way.

Persons who are not full-fledged citizens of the United States will be purged from W.P.A. relief rolls starting March 5, according to S.L. Stoltz, deputy state administrator of Minnesota. The bosses will not be so particular when they call upon the ex-W.P.A. workers to protect "our" investments overseas.