

# Twice Weekly Appeal Drive Gets Off to Flying Start

## Paper Will Wield Double Strength, Says Shachtman

By MAX SHACHTMAN  
It is not so much that we WANT a Twice Weekly SOCIALIST APPEAL.

Our problem is that we MUST issue our APPEAL at least twice as frequently as at present.

Every time we have been confronted with an important issue, we have found that weekly publication is insufficient. In the big New York hotel strike a few years ago, in the period of the rise to power of Hitler, and more recently in connection with the Munich events, we found ourselves compelled to make the exceptional sacrifice demanded by the publication of the APPEAL three times a week.

Each time we took this step, it was greeted with the most gratifying enthusiasm.

We have no doubt that our plan to issue the APPEAL REGULARLY two times a week will receive the same enthusiastic response.

Events no longer come slowly! They follow, one on the heels of the other, at terrific speed. Munich—Czechoslovakia—the storm of Jew-baiting and the refugees problem—the French general strike and the coming decisive struggle in that country. These are only a few of the world-shaking events that have fixed the attention of the masses in recent weeks alone. The weeks and months to come will not produce less of them but, if anything, more.

We simply MUST be in a position to react more often to these events . . . at least twice as often as we can now with a weekly APPEAL.

We must be in a position to give the news—not to be found anywhere else—in more up-to-date style.

We must be in a position to present our views and analyses twice as often as we can now.

Reaction everywhere is on a forced march.

It is up to us to increase our own speed of march.

No longer only once a week—but twice a week must we strike our blows.

On to the triumphant conclusion of our campaign for the Twice Weekly SOCIALIST APPEAL—the next big step towards our daily paper!

Redouble your efforts, redouble your sacrifices, so that we can redouble our APPEAL!

## Toledo Goes Over the Top In First Week of Campaign

We're off to a flying start!  
The Toledo Branch was first to go over the top, fulfilling its quota for a 100 percent showing in the first week. Marston Mills, Mass., rang the bell right after them. For these branches the quotas are only the starting points!

Total received in the first week of the drive is \$306.70, or 10 percent of our goal.

Judging by the letters we have been receiving, we will have no difficulty whatsoever going over the top. Here are the few extracts which space in this column permits. Next week we will have some more.

D. S. of Yellow Springs writes—I believe I can undertake to deliver my quota within the sixty days, though it will not come easily.

J. H. of New Hampshire says—Enclosed is \$2 first payment on my quota. I will send \$4 a month until my \$10 pledge is paid, plus a minimum of \$1 a month beginning January.

Lexington, Ky.—A weekly paper cannot keep pace with events as they are moving today. The twice weekly will give us a chance to strike when the iron is hot. I will have my quota completed by the middle of January. (We are sure you will!)

Local Boston Secretary — Boston accepts its quota. We will raise it. Enclosed find the first payment. (Boston takes its promises seriously, and the word of the Boston comrades is as good as cash.)

Fred V. of the Detroit Branch—Last night at the business meeting pledges were taken for the two-week Appeal. I was put in charge of collecting the pledges. We feel certain that we can make good. (George Clarke says this money is as good as in our bank. "Detroit never fails." George ought to know.)

Collier of Cleveland—Our branch is planning two projects for the Twice-a-week Appeal (And good projects they are, too! A showing of the film "Tsar to Lenin" and a Banquet. This, of course, is in addition to the pledges from the individual members of the branch. Is that correct, Cleveland?)

And Marjorie B., a very splendid sympathizer of ours writes—"Enclosed find \$5. This is my contribution toward the \$3,000 fund for expansion of the paper. I hope the campaign goes 'over the top' ahead of time and that in the near future the Socialist Appeal can be issued daily." (That's the spirit! WANTED: more sympathizers like Marjorie.)

## SCORE BOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Toledo, Ohio	20.00	2.00	10
Marston Mills, Mass.	5.00	5.00	100
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	2.00	40
Durham, N. H.	5.00	2.00	40
New York City	1,050.00	249.20	23
Yellow Springs, Ohio	5.00	1.00	20
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	7.00	14
Kansas	10.00	1.00	10
Boston	200.00	14.50	7
Minneapolis	500.00	0	0
Chicago	250.00	0	0
Cleveland	200.00	0	0
Los Angeles	200.00	0	0
St. Paul	100.00	0	0
Newark District	100.00	0	0
Akron, Ohio	75.00	0	0
St. Louis, Mo.	75.00	0	0
Philadelphia	50.00	0	0
San Francisco	50.00	0	0
Youngstown, Ohio	50.00	0	0
Allentown, Pa.	25.00	0	0
Austin, Minn.	25.00	0	0
Detroit	25.00	0	0
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	0	0
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	0	0
New Haven	20.00	0	0
Washington, D. C.	20.00	0	0
Oakland, Cal.	15.00	0	0
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	0	0
San Diego, Cal.	15.00	0	0
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	0	0
Denver, Colo.	10.00	0	0

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# Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

Open the Doors  
To Europe's  
Refugees!

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# FRENCH STRIKES GO ON

## AMERICAN FUND ASKS CHRISTMAS AID TO REFUGEES

### Committee Issues Special Appeal For Workers

A Christmas Fund appeal, to aid working class victims of fascism, was issued this week by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees.

Signed by Professor Sidney Hook as chairman, and James T. Farrell as treasurer, the appeal was sent out by the American Fund's Christmas Campaign Committee to various working class organizations and thousands of individual labor sympathizers.

For those unable to donate their own money, certificates were enclosed, totalling \$5 in face value, for sale to others, to assure the necessary funds to aid the anti-fascist refugees.

All funds are to be sent to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The text of the appeal reads as follows:

"Thousands upon thousands of refugees from Fascism are hungry, homeless and hopeless this Christmas.

"Although an ocean lies between, the American Fund bridges the miles between you and them. The American Fund has rescued

Turn to page three for the first installment of a new series of articles: "How Shall We Fight Anti-Semitism," by Felix Morrow.

numerous exiles and their families from Nazi terror and from the spectre of starvation, secured visas and legal counsel, and helped transport them to places of asylum.

Aids Worker-Victims  
"While the American Fund aids all anti-fascist refugees, it concentrates upon relief to the working class victims of Fascism. These are the most valiant fighters against fascism and the greatest sufferers from it. They are the poorest, the most needy, without influential or wealthy connections abroad.

"If the family next door were starving, evicted and robbed of their possessions, you would not hesitate to help them. REMEMBER THESE REFUGEES THIS CHRISTMAS! Contribute to the Christmas fund!

"The enclosed certificates total \$500. If you cannot afford to give the full amount, sell them to your friends and send us the proceeds. Your gift will give life, hope and a helping hand to the most persecuted people on earth."

N. Y. WORKERS DEMAND ASYLUM

NEW YORK—The Downtown and Lower East Side branches of the Socialist Workers Party held a meeting last Sunday night in support of the demand to open the doors to refugees, from Nazi Germany. John G. Wright spoke in English and Sylvia Bleaker in Yiddish to a gathering of about 70 workers at Stuyvesant Casino.

A resolution demanding that Roosevelt let down the bars was unanimously passed.

to apply to all Latin-American countries, labelled it as such and made it popular.

Under present conditions the "good neighbor" policy demands amplification. American imperialism sees grave possibilities of losing the Latin-American market as its own special preserve. And facing a real threat of being deprived of the Far East as a market and field for investment by the victorious march of the Japanese armies, it is determined to keep the western hemisphere for itself.

Agreed on Hemisphere Control  
Not that it is reconciled to the loss of China. Certain sections of the American capitalist class, particularly those of the middle west, see no great profits to be reaped by fighting the Japanese imperialists for the right to exploit China.

These mid-western capitalists advocate an exclusive concentration upon both American continents. Other capitalist groups are unwilling to surrender the Chinese market without a struggle. All sections of the capitalist class, however, agree that the western hemisphere belongs to them.

Faced with the situation where competing imperialist powers, especially Germany and Japan, are making serious inroads in the Latin-American market, American capitalism finds it necessary to obtain the active co-operation of the Latin-American countries. To be a good neighbor implies nothing more than a willingness to be friendly and to offer aid in case of need. It is more of a passive than an active attitude. What is required now, as far as American imperialism is concerned, is an active union of all Latin-American countries, under its tutelage, to defeat all possible competitors. To achieve that active union will be the goal of Secretary Hull and his fellow-delegates.

Obstacles To Overcome  
Certain difficulties must be overcome by U.S. imperialism. It has been pointed out that in the

last analysis American capitalism, in order to compete successfully, must be able to sell better goods at cheaper prices. All other methods of conquering the Latin-American market are subsidiary, at least for the present, when the idea of annexing Latin-America and keeping competitors out by force has not been given serious consideration. American capitalism feels confident of its ability to compete with any rival capitalist country.

The advantage which a totalitarian capitalist regime has over a democratic capitalist country is

## Militant Action Can Halt Daladier Menace In France

The threat of Fascism in France can and must be crushed by the united action of the French working class.

Daladier is now openly preparing to establish a totalitarian regime. He is using the army and navy to break strikes. He is filling jails with strikers and strike leaders. Behind mealy-mouthed promises of "conciliation" and "appeasement" he is preparing the regime of concentration camps and open mass repression.

Following the derailment of the general strike—thanks to the feebleness and treachery of the union leaders, of Jouhaux, of the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucrats—the French bosses have opened a deliberate, vicious drive against the workers through mass lockouts and dismissals and wholesale tearing up of contracts.

The French workers are ready and straining to fight this boss offensive with an offensive of their own. They showed that last Wednesday when 2,000,000 of them laid down tools despite the threats of the government and the hamstringing restrictions placed upon them by their own leaders.

They showed it again after the general strike by hitting back as best they could against the lockouts and dismissals and arrests.

Forced to fight isolated battles, the workers in metal plants, in mines, and in the ports, struck boldly once more and are today meeting the vicious advance of Fascist reaction by attempting to carry on the struggle with their own forces, their own means, their own weapons.

That struggle CAN be made national in scope. Under the banner of the direct anti-Fascist struggle millions can be brought to their feet again if they are given the revolutionary leadership that alone makes that struggle possible.

It is treachery to lie down and play dead, as Jouhaux and the Socialist Blum are now doing. It is worse than treachery to jump up and down claiming victories in the face of setbacks and threatened defeats, as the Stalinists are doing. These gentlemen lived together in the People's Front with Daladier for two years. They nursed him back to political strength and only eight months ago themselves voted to give him extraordinary

## GENERAL MOTORS LAUNCHES NEW ATTACK ON UAW

Uses 'Responsibility' Letter To Penalize Militants

DETROIT, Mich.—Since the famous letter of "responsibility" signed by the 24-man executive board of the United Automobile Workers giving General Motors authority to discipline workers for violation of contracts, every plant has had its "penalties"—a warning to other militants of what to expect if they offend the company.

The most infamous of these "penalties" were those handed out to members of the Fisher-Pontiac Bargaining Committee where seven members were penalized, four of them fired, for an "un-

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## Monopoly Inquiry Shows Capitalism at Standstill

Income Of Over Half Nation's Families Below \$1200 a Year; Industry Stagnates; Few Control Wealth

Opening its public hearings after six months of preparations, the Temporary National Economic Committee, known popularly as the "monopoly committee," made clear in the three days of "prologue" to the investigation proper what will be the sum and substance of its revelations: the ineradicable decay of capitalist economy, and the utter inability of the spokesmen for capitalism, whether government or business, to propose any solution whatever.

The committee, consisting of six members of Congress and six men from the executive departments, and headed by Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, was created through an appropriation of \$500,000 by the last session of Congress.

Wall St. Cooperates  
Though the impression was for some time cultivated that the committee would conduct a rip-

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## 2 ANTI-DALADIER PICKETS JAILED ON WEST COAST

Boss Press Wants "Stiff Jail Terms"

SAN FRANCISCO—Jack Cope, San Francisco organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, and John Newton Thurber, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, were arrested here November 30 for picketing the French Consulate in protest against Daladier's attack on French labor.

The arrest was witnessed by a large gathering of workers who responded to the call of both parties to show their solidarity with the working class of France.

Both arrested men have been released on bail. The Civil Liberties Union has volunteered to

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## FRENCH WORKERS STRIKE AGAINST MASS REPRISALS

Daladier Uses Navy To Break Havre Walkout

Broken into scattered detachments by the outright treachery and cowardice of the union bureaucrats and the Socialist and Stalinist leaders, French workers this week fought lockouts, wholesale dismissals, repudiation of contracts, and direct police repression following the derailed general strike of last Wednesday.

Premier Edouard Daladier—only yesterday the hero of the "People's Front"—issued solemn pronouncements about "conciliation" and at the same time called out the navy to break a strike of 5,000 seamen at Le Havre.

The day after the general strike hundreds of thousands of workers were locked out by the bosses who declared that existing collective contracts had been voided by the walkout. The government insisted only 70,000 were affected by this, but the General Confederation of Labor said that 1,500,000 workers were being victimized in this manner. The workers were told they would have to apply for their jobs all over again under new conditions. Militants were weeded out and the remaining progressive features of the old contracts were abolished in the re-hiring arrangements.

New Strikes Start  
In the public services thousands who struck in defiance of the government's requisition orders were discharged and menaced with penal sanctions. It was this action which started new strikes in Valenciennes in the North among the metal workers and coal miners, and seamen at St. Nazaire and Le Havre where the workers tied up the super-liner Normandie and were joined by the crews of other vessels in the port.

The trade union bureaucracy, represented by Leon Jouhaux, head of the labor confederation, and his executive committee, met on Monday and amid much loud blustering about a "counter-plan of recovery" began to beat a full retreat. "The C.G.T. announces," said a communique, "that it is ready to undertake any discussions capable of ending current conflicts." Jouhaux also announced he favored "revision" of the general strike tactic.

Blum on the Rump  
Leon Blum beat an even hastier retreat from his pitiable attempt to convoke what looked like a "rump session" of parliament in defiance of Daladier.

The general strike was barely over when he hastened to announce that he had intended to do nothing but have the deputies ask Daladier to convoke Parliament. The next day Daladier, ready and anxious to push home his advantage on the parliamentary field, did call Parliament for this Thursday and even the faint breeze that was there dropped out of Blum's feebly-rigged sails.

Meanwhile the Stalinists beat furiously and impotently at the empty air. They alone pronounced the general strike a "magnificent success" and even declared that it had "accomplished its purpose"—as the Daily Worker astoundingly announced here.

And what, if you please, was this purpose achieved by the dislocation and misleadership of the 2,000,000 workers who showed readiness to fight by answering the strike call? It "exposed" the "reactionary" character of Daladier. Nothing more, nothing less. Meanwhile Daladier is going on being "reactionary" without much regard for his ex-allies of the People's Front who placed him in the position he now occupies and paved the way for his drive against labor. He has been "exposed" as a defender of the capitalist order. So far nothing has been able to "expose" Jouhaux, Blum, or Thorez as defenders of the working class.

(Continued on page 4)

## Yankee Imperialism Plays for Big Stakes at Lima

to apply to all Latin-American countries, labelled it as such and made it popular. Under present conditions the "good neighbor" policy demands amplification. American imperialism sees grave possibilities of losing the Latin-American market as its own special preserve. And facing a real threat of being deprived of the Far East as a market and field for investment by the victorious march of the Japanese armies, it is determined to keep the western hemisphere for itself. Agreed on Hemisphere Control Not that it is reconciled to the loss of China. Certain sections of the American capitalist class, particularly those of the middle west, see no great profits to be reaped by fighting the Japanese imperialists for the right to exploit China. These mid-western capitalists advocate an exclusive concentration upon both American continents. Other capitalist groups are unwilling to surrender the Chinese market without a struggle. All sections of the capitalist class, however, agree that the western hemisphere belongs to them. Faced with the situation where competing imperialist powers, especially Germany and Japan, are making serious inroads in the Latin-American market, American capitalism finds it necessary to obtain the active co-operation of the Latin-American countries. To be a good neighbor implies nothing more than a willingness to be friendly and to offer aid in case of need. It is more of a passive than an active attitude. What is required now, as far as American imperialism is concerned, is an active union of all Latin-American countries, under its tutelage, to defeat all possible competitors. To achieve that active union will be the goal of Secretary Hull and his fellow-delegates. Obstacles To Overcome Certain difficulties must be overcome by U.S. imperialism. It has been pointed out that in the last analysis American capitalism, in order to compete successfully, must be able to sell better goods at cheaper prices. All other methods of conquering the Latin-American market are subsidiary, at least for the present, when the idea of annexing Latin-America and keeping competitors out by force has not been given serious consideration. American capitalism feels confident of its ability to compete with any rival capitalist country. The advantage which a totalitarian capitalist regime has over a democratic capitalist country is



# YPSL Convention Adopts Fighting Policy

## Decision Will Make League Mass Youth Organization

### 68 Delegates Represent Young Fourth Internationalists; Gould Elected National Secretary

(Special to Socialist Appeal)  
CHICAGO—Determined to build a militant mass movement of revolutionary youth in time to defeat the forces of fascism and boss war, the delegates to the Tenth National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League meeting here November 25-27, went on record for a complete rebuilding of their organization along the lines of a colorful, fighting movement.

The resolution on the "Role of the Y.P.S.L." which outlined the new course for the organization was adopted with only two dissenting votes. The seriousness with which the delegates regarded the new turn was indicated by the fact that the discussion of the resolution and various amendments consumed 14 hours of the convention's sessions.

**Spirited Mass Meeting**  
The opening of the official sessions was preceded by a well-attended and spirited mass meeting on the evening of Nov. 24th which was addressed by Max Shachtman and Martin Abern, delegates from the Socialist Workers Party, and Hal Draper, Nathan Gould, and Ernest Erber of the National

**Y.P.S.L. CONVENTION GREETES TROTSKY**  
The National Youth Convention sent the following telegram to Leon Trotsky:  
"The Fourth Internationalist Youth of America in convention assembled sends you its warmest fraternal greetings. Your ideas and unquenchable spirit guide and inspire us in our struggle to win the oppressed youth to our banner."

Committee of the Y.P.S.L. Irving Bern, head of the Chicago Arrangements Committee, acted as chairman. A uniformed color guard and a chorus served as symbols of the new enthusiasm with which the pre-convention discussion had infused the movement.

The first session was opened by Ernest Erber, National Chairman, on Thursday morning with 65 regular delegates in attendance, who had come by train, bus, hitch-hike, and freight car from points as widely separated as Los Angeles and Boston. In addition some 25 alternates and fraternal delegates and a score of out-of-town visitors attended. The session elected the standing committees of the convention and organized its work.

**Youth Transition Demands**  
The first major item of business was a report on a "Program of Demands for Youth," designed to serve as an extension of the Party's "Program of Transitional Demands" to the field of students, young workers, and jobless youth. The report, given by Irving Bern, was followed by a discussion that brought forth many new ideas on how to make the demands concrete and realistic to young people in factories, schools, and in the ranks of the jobless.

On Thursday evening the convention heard a report from Nathan Gould, delegate to the founding congress of the Youth Section of the Fourth International held last September in Switzerland. The report on the heroic struggles of the Fourth Internationalist youth in Europe and the founding of the new international at a congress forced to meet under illegal conditions in the midst of the September war-hysteria, inspired the conviction to pass a number of motions designed to strengthen the international movement and further the education of the American comrades in the spirit of international solidarity. These motions included the regular publication of the English edition of the Youth Bulletin, the raising of a \$100 fund for the French youth section, and the initiation of correspondence between local units of the American and foreign sections.

On Friday morning the convention heard Hal Draper report on the work of the organization for the past year. The report indicated that the last year was one of political consolidation following the break with the Norman Thomas youth at the previous convention. The report, however, showed that this period saw no absolute increase in membership, though some 325 members left the youth movement to join the party.

**New Organization Course**  
The report on the new course for the organization, given by Ernest Erber, was followed by a minority report by Gordon Haskell of California. The Haskell resolution denied the possibility of a rapid growth of the Y.P.S.L.

into a mass movement and set forth the perspective of continuing for a long period as a small propaganda group. The Haskell position received two votes.

Various amendments that sought to modify the majority resolution were all defeated. A long series of practical amendments that sought to add corrections and improvements to the resolution were referred to the incoming National Council for consideration.

The new constitution changed the name of the local group, heretofore called a "circle," to "unit." The name "National Council" supersedes the term "National Executive Committee" for the leading national body. The constitution contains a pledge of loyalty to the cause of the working class, and the banner of the Y.P.S.L. for new members.

**Commemorate Martyrs**  
The convention adopted a resolution of commemoration to Leon Sedoff, Rudolph Klement, and other young heroes of the Fourth International who have been killed by the Stalinist and Fascist foes of the movement. It also sent a wire of greeting to Leon Trotsky, adopted resolutions for the freedom of Tom Mooney, for the freedom of 16 jobless youth arrested in Brooklyn in the fight for relief, hailing the proposal to issue the Socialist Appeal twice a week, and officially adhering to the Youth Section of the Fourth International.

The newly elected National Council met immediately after the adjournment of the convention. It established the following officers to fill them: National Secretary, Nathan Gould; Organizational Secretary, Irving Bern; National Propaganda Director, Ernest Erber.

## WALGREEN MEN IN HOUSTON STRIKE

### Unions Come To Aid Of Sixteen Workers

(By a Special Correspondent)  
HOUSTON, Tex., Nov. 29.—The militant young workers who last week struck the warehouse industry in one of its most vital spots, the Walgreen Drug and Supply Warehouse, are determined to win a real victory. Only sixteen in number and entirely new to unionism, they are fast learning the value of progressive unionism and the need for workers' vigilance.

The warehouse is tied up 100 per cent, and effective secondary picketing is being conducted at all the key downtown stores of the notorious national drug chain, Chester.

The workers are members of the Warehousemen's Division, Local 367, of the truck drivers International. The strike has been endorsed by the Teamsters Joint Council and has the support of the big progressive locals of the C.I.O. in the city, such as maritime, oil and steel. Public sentiment is completely on the side of the strikers.

**Finks Stand "Guard"**  
The company, in a desperate effort to smash the effectiveness of the strike, has hired almost fifty ten-dollar-a-day finks who just stand around and look at the pickets and "guard" Walgreen's precious real estate. Squads of union cabs are parked near the key stores waiting for any finks who might dare to attack the strikers. The store managers, in some cases against their will, have been forced to put "follow-up" pickets out on the sidewalks, carrying great yellow signs (scab-painted, too) saying "We are satisfied." "No strike here," etc.

This has served as a boomerang to the company in that it has created more discussion and interest in the fight and because the union warehousemen sign up the soda clerks and the table girls who march behind them. Several soda clerks have struck in sympathy rather than carry out orders to so publicly condemn bona-fide union practices.

Tonight the National Maritime Union branch, a progressive local of the C.I.O., donated funds and promised complete support. Other C.I.O. locals such as steel and oil are expected to do likewise. Warehouse workers throughout the entire city are watching the outcome of this strike.

Subscribe to Socialist Appeal

## "WHY DON'T YOU GET SOME 'BOY FRIENDS'?"

### LaGuardia Relief Investigator Advises Girl Applying for Welfare

By PAUL KUJAC  
"Do you see this pretty dress I'm wearing?" said the Home Relief investigator, crossing her silk-stockinged legs. "You could have pretty dresses, too."

The young applicant for relief protested—how could she when she couldn't even get relief?—But our sympathetic social welfare worker had her answer ready. Leaning confidentially closer to the young girl, she whispered: "You're a pretty girl. Get a couple of boy friends—it's not hard—let them give you the things you need." In other words: Why degrade yourself by living on home relief?

This is the formula for success given to the unemployed by LaGuardia's blood-hounds who call themselves "social welfare investigators."

#### Family Evicted

This young girl is a member of the Rothman family, an unemployed family of five which includes an 84-year-old woman. They were thrown off relief by the Avenue D Home Relief Bureau, and evicted from their home. The landlord threw their furniture and all their belongings out in the snow. Why? The Home Relief Bureau wanted to know what happened to \$5,000 in compensation the family received seven years ago. The Home Relief Bureau would not accept the ample evidence furnished by the family in the form of doctors' statements to the effect that the money had been used to pay for much-needed medical attention.

Immediately upon hearing of the eviction of the Rothman family, the unemployed of the East Side, led by the militant members

of Locals 15 and 22 of the Unemployed and Project Workers' Union gave a fitting answer to this outrageous attack upon unemployed workers. A large delegation went to the Bureau demanding immediate aid for the Rothman family.

**Quick Action**  
Administrator Levine, self-proclaimed friend of labor, refused point blank. The workers' delegation began to press their demands and Levine called the cops. The delegation obtained a horse and wagon, picked up the belongings of the Rothman family, carted them to the Relief Bureau, and dumped them on the sidewalk before the amazed and disbelieving eyes of the relief officials and the cops.

The action took place so rapidly that, although there were half-a-dozen police in the bureau, and two patrols in front, they could not get their "wits" together before the furniture was dumped in their laps. The police rushed to do their duty by God and Country. One shouted: "Where's the driver of this wagon?"

"I'm the driver—what about it?" answered a young worker. "Who told you to bring the furniture here?"

"Well, you see, officer, it was this way... I was walkin' along minding my own business when a friend from the Unemployed and Project Workers' Union comes rushing up to me and tells me the Home Relief ain't tendin' to their business seein' as how the Rothmans was put out into the snow and the Relief won't do nothin' about it. I says to myself: 'Jake, man and boy you've been tryin'

to do things what's right, and it ain't right that poor people should be evicted in cold weather like this.' So I say to myself, 'I gotta see what can be done!'"

**Seeing Is Believing**  
"So I goes over to the Union and they says to me 'The Home Relief don't believe there is an eviction, what can we do to prove there is?' So I scratches the old bean and says, 'Well, maybe the Home Relief don't know there is an eviction because they is so far away—maybe if we bring the furniture up there we can prove there is an eviction.' You know, the old saying Officer—'Seeing is Believing.' That's all there is to it, so help me Officer."

The cop was speechless. Finally he said: "I guess if they told you to bring the furniture to the police station, you'd do it."

"Well," said the young militant, "if we had to prove to the cops that there is an eviction, we'd do it. You know, Officer, 'Seeing is Believing.'"

On the basis of this militant unemployment action, not only was the Rothman case opened for relief, but also all the emergency cases Locals 15 and 22 had pending in the Bureau. Administrator Levine was removed from the Bureau.

Once more there exists in New York City an unemployed movement whose fighting powers will improve the conditions of the workers.

The Unemployment and Project Workers' Union challenges the right of the Relief Administration to starve the unemployed. The U.P.W.U. rightfully lays claim to being the only organization the unemployed and W.P.A. workers should support.

## 'HUNGER FIGHTER' LASHES N. Y. C. RELIEF SET-UP

### Jamaica, L. I., Jobless Expose Do-Nothing Agency

New York—Out in Jamaica, Long Island, the unemployed workers are beginning to find themselves and give voice to their grievances. After years of affiliation with the Workers' Alliance, they were one of the first locals to break with the class-collaborationist policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy and form a real fighting, militant organization, the Unemployed and Relief Worker's League, affiliated with the Unemployed and Project Workers' Union.

Otto Popovitch, veteran fighter for unemployed workers in Queens county and Chairman of the League, has a small hand-printing press, and puts out a series of leaflets, issued in the form of a paper under the title: **The Hunger Fighter.** Here's an extract from a recent number:

"Let us yell Hip-Ho-Hooray for the fake politicians that were elected."

"They promised us a lot, but will give us nothing. Little Pot-Bellied LaGuardia is still in office. We pay him \$25,000 a year and he, in turn, gives us a lot of ballyhoo. Miss Harris, the Big Shot in the Home Relief Bureau is getting so fat on our misery and on her \$60.00 a week do-nothing-big-job, that we are looking forward, in the near future, to see her forcing herself through the door sideways or else the door jams will have to be ripped off, so she can pass through them."

"We the unemployed, when we come to the bureau to tell these fakers our troubles are pumped full of 'hot air.' Our wives come here and shed bitter tears. Eviction notices are disregarded. Bare-footed children are told to stay home from school. Toothless people are told to eat mush. Blind people are told to buy a Seeing Eye Dog. Ruptured people are sent on the W.P.A. to swing a pick and shovel. Good investigators are terrorized and rats are made out of them."

"Communist investigators write up funny stories about honest clients and write up pathetic stories for communist clients."

"These are the horrible stories in the H.R.B. We the unemployed people must recognize the fact that the only way we can clean house in the E.R.B. is by joining the 'Unemployed and Relief Workers League' and all together, with our strong will and powerful working class arms, we can swing the big broom of decency and sweep these rats from the E.R.B. and force them to give us jobs or Adequate Relief For Our Families."

"We meet every Wednesday night at 8 p.m. at 146-37 South St., right on the corner of Waltham St., Jamaica."

the bronze buzzard, symbol of the Association appeared in all of their shops? We ask you, Messrs. Kramberg, Rubin, Bary & Co., do you seriously pretend to come before the membership as fighters against racketeers—you who made a deal with Pincus-Epstein-Coulcher-Williams and their racketeering Metropolitan Association by which you were taken into Local 302 and given jobs, in return for supporting those rats in Trade Union clothing and defending them when they were exposed?"

The leader of the progressive ticket is Larry Phillips. He is supported by a complete slate of leading militants, including Harry Pinsky, Philip Nims, Juan Aviles, Charles Mitchell, James Gordon, and many others.

**Program of Progressives**  
The program of the United Progressive Group makes a clear analysis of the long series of crimes and betrayals of the present administration. This program demands an end to the terror carried on against the membership; for complete democracy in the union; for the strict enforcement of the union contract; a reduction in dues and the abolition of the Arbitration Board which is used at present to break down militant action and gives the bosses a death-grip on all job action.

The progressives point out in their paper that the present administration, if defeated in the elections, can only go back to the Communist Party headquarters for assignment to some other union-busting job. They are not workers in the trade and never have been. The slate of the progressives is made up only of food workers. The membership is demanding an end to the control of their union by "organizers" sent from Browder's headquarters.

## General Motors Attacks Auto Union

(Continued from page 1)  
authorized strike one year ago. The most popular Pontiac committee-man has since been returned to his job because the company feared another strike if he were not rehired. However, the U.A.W. international representative had signed an agreement with the company that this unionist can hold no office in the union for one year after he has returned to work.

**"Sweat Blood" for Boss**  
In his place on the bargaining committee is a company stooge who openly told the workers in the presence of the plant manager, who had threatened to fire employees for not meeting production schedules to "work until they sweat blood" to conform to company standards.

As a result of this union-company "cooperation," the union has been practically wiped out. Men tell of speed-up worse than when the union was first organized. This plant, still under the jurisdiction of an amalgamated local of all plants in Pontiac, has been promised a separate charter from the International. This the workers feel will free them from the heavy hand of the local bureaucrats.

In the Lansing Fisher Body plant the two leading committee-men and the chairman had been suspended from the union by the regional director. They were then removed from the committee without a hearing or trial. Soon after, union membership in the plant fell from 95 percent to less than one per cent.

Since production began to rise with the 1939 models the militancy of the workers has likewise risen. The corporation is again using the union "letter of responsibility" to discipline those who insist too strongly that they still have a union.

When men on certain operations do not meet standards set by the company they are threatened with firing, penalty lay-offs of a week or two, or transfers to another plant or department where they may be fired as incompetent or be laid off because of lack of seniority in the department to which they have been transferred.

**Discrimination at Fleetwood**  
The company's method of undermining the union was well demonstrated at the Fleetwood Fisher Body plant. For months the management had been complaining that the men in the cushion department were slowing up production. The bargaining committee made time studies of the men in that department. They also compared the production standards with a comparable group of men doing similar work in Flint. Flint builds Buick bodies and Fleetwood Cadillac bodies.

## FOOD WORKERS FIGHT RACKETEERS

### Progressives Enter Fall Slate Against C.P. Clique

New York—The coming elections in Local 308 of the Foodworkers Union will mark the climax of a long and bitter struggle against gangsterism and Stalinist mismanagement. The membership is rallying in large numbers around the United Progressive Group and its program to smash the combined forces of Stalinism and gangsterism once and for all.

In the Spotlight, organ of the progressives, a long series of questions are directed to the union administration asking the bureaucrats to explain the connections between the racketeers and the union officials. The charges are substantiated with names, dates and places.

#### Siam Slander Campaign

On the other hand, charges of the administration against the progressives are refuted and the facts challenged: "Do you refer to your comrade Harry Leibin, who in addition to framing up and beating witnesses in his territory, has now been found to be making 'side money' by installing cigarette machines in the shops under his jurisdiction?"

"Do you refer to your comrade Arthur Bary, who acted as the 'Secretary' of the 'Defense Committee' for the indicted racketeers?" (This committee spent \$20,000 of Union funds in defense of the racketeers, according to the charge of the progressives.)

The Spotlight further charges that the administration of the local engaged in sheer adventurism and seriously endangered the union by calling a premature strike in the Horn & Hardart Chain in the hope of getting the support of the Bosses' Association who expected to thus force the Automat restaurants into the Association. This strike failed miserably and set back union organization for a long period.

**Racketeers' Friends**  
Another question directed at the Stalinists and their henchman by the progressives gives a clear insight to the working of the C.P. line of class collaboration. "Do you refer to your comrade Jay Rubin, who was mainly responsible for the building of the Metropolitan Racketeering Association, who declared: 'That if we build the Association, we will smash the "United" and by smashing the "United" we will smash injunctions.' And was it an accident that the day after the settlement of the Sherman strike,

## APPEAL ARMY

### FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN AND REGULAR APPEAL FINANCES:

The news from Comrade Rose Karsner, in charge of the \$8,500 campaign for the twice-weekly paper, is that everything has started off with a resounding bang. This is fine news and may make it possible for the Appeal to begin its more frequent publication ahead of schedule.

But we must warn against any tendency on the part of branches to forget about or sort of ignore current Appeal bills. There is no conflict or contradiction between a branch raising its Fund quota and paying its debts to the paper. On the contrary, by supporting us financially right now the branches make it that much easier for the twice-weekly to be successfully stabilized. The drive for the new Appeal and support of the paper today go hand in hand. It is particularly the job of local Appeal agents to see to it that the bills sent to them two weeks ago are taken care of immediately.

### HAS YOUR BRANCH STARTED A SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN?

New York City has been conducting a highly successful subscription campaign. An average of about 20 subs has been turned in each week.

New Haven, Conn., is in the midst of an intensive campaign for renewed subscriptions and new subscribers. Comrades 1,

charge of both these drives assure us that subs are easy to get, especially when the subscriber-to-be is told that he'll get twice as many papers for the same price as formerly.

Branches should get going on local sub-campaigns and let us know the results.

Following is the list of subscriptions received this past week. Notice that Minneapolis has again returned to the challenge of New York City's supremacy:

NEW YORK CITY ..... 19  
Minneapolis ..... 11  
Massachusetts ..... 2  
New York State ..... 2  
South Dakota ..... 2  
Pennsylvania ..... 2  
Ohio ..... 1  
Newark, N. J. .... 1  
Connecticut ..... 1  
Chicago ..... 1  
California ..... 1  
Indiana ..... 1

Total ..... 45

Small bundle order increases have come in from our agents in Houston, Texas, and Oakland, California. Incidentally, Elsie Meyers, the agent for East Oakland, is one of California's most ambitious and up-and-coming lit. specialists.

### REMINDERS:

- Organize your local subscription campaign: 104 issues for \$2.00.
- Take care of your monthly Appeal bill.

## SCORE BOARD

(Continued from Page 1)

East Chicago, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Gardner, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Joplin, Mo.	10.00	0	0
Kansas City, Mo.	10.00	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Louisville, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Olivia, Minn.	10.00	0	0
Plentywood, Mont.	10.00	0	0
Reading, Pa.	10.00	0	0
Sacramento, Cal.	10.00	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	0	0
South Bend, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Worcester, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	0	0
Fitchburg, Mass.	5.00	0	0
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Fresno, Cal.	5.00	0	0
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0
Thermopolis, Wyo.	5.00	0	0
Windsor, Conn.	5.00	0	0

## SHARECROPPERS FACE EVICTIONS, WHITFIELD WARNS

### (Special to Socialist Appeal)

ST. LOUIS—O. H. Whitfield, Negro organizer and second Vice-President of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, spoke November 29 at a highly successful meeting sponsored by the Marxist School of the St. Louis Socialist Workers Party. The chairman of the meeting was Martin Lechner, St. Louis labor organizer who has done much work in behalf of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Whitfield came to St. Louis with two other representatives of the S.T.F.U., a Negro, President of one of the S.T.F.U. Locals in southeast Missouri, and a white man active in the organization there.

Brother Whitfield told a moving story of his 35 years as a sharecropper, and described vividly the misery and degradation that the mass of the sharecroppers and agricultural workers of the South endure—misery that becomes more acute as the system of hiring and firing by the plantation owners becomes general. Most of the sharecroppers do not have time to establish their homes before they are forced by the planters to move on. A wage of 75c a day for cotton picking is the average, with a 14-hour day. The sharecropper seldom makes anything out of his own crop; \$100 in the clear at the end of a year is considered exceptional, and about the best that can be done.

Whitfield was active in organizing the recent cotton-pickers' strike in southeast Missouri. He described how work under semi-legal conditions had brought 35,000 workers into the S.T.F.U., throughout the South, since 1932. Lynch mobs, and every device of the all-powerful plantation owners, had not been able to break down the unity of the white and black workers. An attempt by

Stalinists, during the discussion period, to pin the speaker down to an unqualified endorsement of the Roosevelt administration and all its acts, was countered by the speaker and the Chairman with a description of how the plantation owners, unhindered by the Department of Agriculture, get all the crop reduction payments for themselves and prevent the sharecroppers from benefiting in any way; and how complaints from sharecroppers to the Department of Agriculture in Washington are almost invariably returned to the county relief committees, dominated by the Democratic plantation owners, with the result that the complaining sharecroppers are evicted without delay.

Whitfield described how the rural W.P.A. authorities work hand-in-glove with the planters, by making it obligatory for the workers to accept cotton-picking jobs offered to them by the planters, regardless of the slightly more favorable condition of employment on W.P.A. The W.P.A. authorities drive the planters out to the W.P.A. jobs and tell them to pick out the workers they want.

Mass evictions face the sharecroppers in southeast Missouri on January 1. Whitfield and the other representatives of the S.T.F.U. are attempting to arouse public protest against these evictions and create public demand for the Federal purchase of land on which to settle the sharecroppers. The millions spent on rural W.P.A. could be more profitably devoted to the purchase of arable land now producing nothing but weeds, of which there are 100,000 acres in southeast Missouri. Such Federal settlements for sharecroppers have already been established on a very small scale, and have proved highly successful.

Prolonged applause greeted Whitfield's statement of the aims of the S.T.F.U.: "Land for the landless; clothes for the naked; food for the hungry; freedom for the wage-slave!"

**PIONEER Does It Again With a New Year's Eve Party to Remember!**  
**Gala Dance and Floor Show**  
Featuring An All-Star Cast  
Princess Maravaia doing the African Makumba Kawaika in several native Hawaiian dances  
Mary Frieman recapturing the high spots of Pioneer's Last Party plus  
Swing Music • Drinks • Food Bar  
at IRVING PLAZA, 15th St. & Irving Place  
**BUY YOUR TICKETS NOW!**



# HOUSTON C.I.O. ASKS ASYLUM FOR GERMAN REFUGEE

## Also Solidarizes With French Works

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

HOUSTON, Texas, Dec. 2—Houston labor today again proved that it is not only in the forefront of all Southern labor but that it ranks among the first of American trade unions in progressive action. In a splendid demonstration of international solidarity, the Harris County C.I.O. Council unanimously adopted resolutions at its meeting here today calling upon the President and Congress to open the doors of the United States to all refugees, and declaring support of the fight of the French workers and pledging every assistance possible.

The resolutions were presented by steel worker delegates and supported by representatives from the oil workers, longshoremen, clothing workers, seamen and marine engineers.

The resolutions follow:

### Resolution on Nazi Persecutions of Minorities

Whereas, the persecutions and the barbarous oppression of the racial and political minorities in Germany and other European countries has aroused the sympathy of almost the entire nation, and

Whereas, liberal and progressive organizations in the U.S. have voiced these sentiments, especially the Congress for Industrial Organization at the Pittsburgh convention, against Nazism and political persecution, and

Whereas, the workers of Houston heartily endorse these expressions and actions but feel it necessary to do much more than this on behalf of our brutalized and oppressed brothers and sisters of Germany and other foreign lands,

Now therefore be it resolved, by the Harris County Industrial Union Council that we call upon the President of the United States, the U.S. Congress and on the Bureau of Immigration to open the doors of this country to these people and thus make known and reaffirm the fact that our traditions of Liberty, Justice and religious and political asylum are available to these suffering unfortunate.

Copies of this resolution to be sent at once to Pres. Roosevelt, the Texas Congressmen and Senators, to the U.S. Immigration authorities and to the national offices of the C.I.O. as well as to the labor and daily press.

### Resolution of Support to the French Workers

Whereas, the valiant men and women of the French working classes are waging a determined struggle in defense of their living standards and for their civil rights, and

Whereas, the efforts of the 200 families of that country are fundamentally the same as the efforts of the 80 American Families to smash labor and to bring us all under the vicious heel of fascist oppression and a worsened poverty, and

Whereas, the concern of the workers and the poor farmers of other lands is the concern of the workers of Texas—an injury to one is an injury to all,

Now therefore be it resolved, that the Harris County Industrial Union Council make known its protest against the strike-breaking puppet premier and the efforts he and his class are making to destroy the labor movement in France, and

Be it further resolved, that the delegates to this C.I.O. Council declare our firm solidarity with the French workers in their heroic fight and pledge our every effort to assist them in any way possible, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to the leaders of the C.G.T. and to leaders of the C.I.O. and to the labor and daily press.

### LEHIGH UNEMPLOYED SPEAK OUT

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—The Lehigh County Unemployed League of Pennsylvania last week adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, the mass persecution in Europe and the Nazi terror against the Jews demand immediate and concrete action to aid all victims,

"Therefore, we, the Lehigh County Unemployed Leagues of Pennsylvania call upon the President and Congress of the United States to restore the right of asylum and to permit the entry of the persecuted and oppressed into this country by the immediate lifting of all restrictions and quota limitations."

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# HOW SHALL WE FIGHT ANTI-SEMITISM?

By FELIX MORROW

"It may be that the only thing left for us to do is to die with as much dignity and nobility as we can muster. Sometimes I think we shall end up like those Jewish communities in Poland in the Sixteenth Century, for whom there was no other way out, except to meet death steadfastly, with the words of Kiddush Hashem on their lips."

The speaker was a Jewish business man in a mid-Western commercial city. We had been discussing the virulent anti-Semitism that has been growing beneath the surface in cities like Seattle, Des Moines, Portland, Minneapolis—the typical American city outside the mass production centers. We agreed on the extent of this anti-Semitic growth. But why it was growing, why it was closer to the surface than ever before, what to do about it—on these fundamental questions my host and I were poles apart.

As my host leaned back in his easy chair, in his more than comfortable private home, his posture of gentle resignation recalled to me an incident some years ago in a Pennsylvania town. The Coal & Iron cossacks were smashing a coal strike. I had come to a liberal businessman for help in organizing aid for the miners. In our conversation my host identified himself with the oppressed strikers; but the proposals I brought from the strike committee, he rejected: visionary, impractical, etc., etc. What then? I asked. Cheerfully philosophical, he replied: "Maybe the only thing left for us is to go down underneath the reaction. The spirit of intolerance may prove too much for us."

The posture of neither businessman could really be taken seriously. Their expression of defeatism was merely their genteel way of refusing to go on the firing line. The fact was that, whatever happened to the strike, the Pennsylvania liberal would go on living, not quite as before—he was known as a friend of the miners, and smashing of the strike would cause timid associates to loosen their ties with him, might lose him some business—but still live comfortably. My Jewish host was expressing in very elegant language the simple fact that his life was far-removed from the workers and lower middle-class who made up the majority of the Jewish community and that his separation from them unconsciously led him to hope that somehow, some way, he would share only partially any fate that might befall them.

Fortunately, the Pennsylvania miners did not share my host's philosophical pessimism, and fought their way through to victory, thereby preserving one of the fortresses from which the labor movement was to advance with such giant strides in 1933. Unfortunately, however, my Jewish host's pessimism approximated the general mood of the Jewish masses.

### DEFEATISM PARALYZES JEWRY

Yes, a dangerous mood of defeatism is current in American Jewry. That defeatism must be burned out at its roots, for it is paralyzing any serious and effective participation of Jewry in the fight against anti-Semitism. But to replace that defeatism by a courageous outlook requires, first, that the roots of that defeatism be understood.

Jewish workers, intellectuals, most professionals and businessmen cannot afford the luxury of upper-class philosophical pessimism. For if we fail to find a way out, on our backs will fall the whips of the Fascist thugs who, even today, are throughout America preparing for a totalitarian regime.

Certainly one basic factor creating the sense of impotence which pervades American Jewry is the fact that, unlike all other

national minorities, the Jews have no national soil under their feet anywhere. The Irish are a majority in Ireland, the Croats in Croatia, etc., but the Jews nowhere. In Palestine the 400,000 Jews are a beleaguered garrison, surrounded by some 50 million Arab-speaking Moslems of the Near East. What follows? No large section of Jewry has the conviction, intellectual or emotional, that Jewry can prevail against its enemies. A terrible fact!

Contrast the history of Jewish resistance to anti-Semitism with the history of the resistance of almost any other national minority against its oppressors, and the difference stands out in bold relief. Think of the almost numberless revolts of the Irish against Britain, a history studded with "the martyrs"—the Irish terrorists who gave vent, in this desperate and futile way, to the Irish aspirations for freedom. Think, too, of the veneration in which the Irish held "the martyrs." Woe to the Philistine who expressed disapproval of their deeds.

But among the Jews, far more persecuted than most other minorities, such martyrs have been almost non-existent. Who can recall the predecessor of Hershel Grynszpan? And how Jews speak out to defend his deed? It remained for the liberals and the labor movement to organize his defense. The argument that it is better for the Jews to remain in the background in the defense is an argument which would never occur to the Irish, Croatian, Macedonian societies which, whenever the need arises, spring to the defense of their Grynszpans. That argument is simply another expression of the defeatism which pervades Jewry.

How to overcome the sense of isolation which underlies this defeatism? This, in essence, has been the problem of Jewry in the modern world.

Two main solutions have been proposed by Jewish leadership during the last century. The first solution pursued was *assimilationism* and, when that showed its limits, there arose the proposed solution of *Zionism*.

### THE ROAD OF ASSIMILATIONISM

In the fully-developed form in which it flourished in the Nineteenth Century, the doctrine of assimilationism is no longer fashionable. Hitler has put a rude end to it! Nevertheless, it still exists, and its present half-hidden forms are actually far more repulsive than its earlier explicit form.

The fact is that assimilationism, in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, played a progressive role. The era of democracy opened up by the French Revolution found the Jews a semi-caste, pursuing the occupations to which they had been limited by medieval society and looking upon themselves as a race-nation destined to remain separated from the general community life. Capitalism, youthful, progressive, with a world to conquer, in its upward course provided hospitable room for all talents to develop; the first, progressive period of the development of the bourgeois state therefore resulted in a process of liberalism toward the Jews. For a time and in those countries in which capitalism early freed itself of feudal ties and created a modern bourgeois state, the Jew was afforded the opportunity to become, to a considerable extent, a political equal, to live where he pleased and pursue any occupation he choose. The assimilationist movement sought to utilize these new opportunities to the fullest extent.

To do so required that the Jews divest themselves of any peculiar status as Jews. Reform Judaism, born in Germany, was

the best-organized expression of this movement: "We are Germans in everything, in hopes, beliefs, language and outlook; we are merely of the Judaic religion as some Germans are Catholics, others Lutheran, etc." Such was the outlook, throughout most of the Nineteenth Century, of Western European Jewry and with it of great influxes into America from Eastern Europe. To the assimilationist leaders of the generation of 1848, the process opened up for Jewish integration into modern capitalist state-society seemed a process which would continue ever upward.

But even in those halcyon years they could not exorcise from their pleasant homes the spectre of Jewish persecution, which raged unabated in Eastern Europe, where capitalist development took place—in Russia and the Balkans, in most of the Austro-Hungarian empire—not in the democratic forms of earlier countries, but tied up with the most reactionary elements of the past. Jewish persecution in Eastern Europe was revealing, already in the Nineteenth Century, that the mere development of capitalism was not going to guarantee a continuous liberation of governmental treatment of Jewry. And in the rest of the capitalist world, too, assimilationism soon demonstrated its extreme limits. The very birthplace of assimilationism, Germany, became toward the close of the Nineteenth Century, the birthplace of modern anti-Semitism. The process of liberalization did not continue forward indefinitely. For, scarcely grown to manhood, capitalism began to decay, and with it decayed the democracy which capitalism had created in its youth.

### THE DECAY OF ASSIMILATIONISM

With the first signs of decay within capitalism, the assimilationist movement began to lose its progressive character. It finally ossified into the repulsive Philistinism of the contemporary Reform Temple. No discriminating and thoughtful Jew, growing up after the generation of '48 had opened the doors to the general community and modern culture, could look upon the further fruits of assimilationism as a way of life.

What were the latter fruits of assimilationism, once it had broken down the doors of the ghetto? An assertive and noisy patriotism, a Philistine conformism to the ruling ideas and customs—that is to say, to the ideas and customs laid down by the ruling class in Western Europe and America—and the utterly vulgar and pseudo-Protestant religion, if one could call it a religion, of Reform Judaism.

To say, "we are Germans (or Americans, etc.) in everything" in 1848, in the lusty manhood of capitalism, meant to be for progress, for democracy, for freedom of culture. To say, "we are Germans (or Americans, etc.) in everything" in 1914 and thereafter meant to be for the imperialist war, to make jingoistic speeches and oppose radicalism, to join the Elks and Masons and the Rotary Club—in short, to become loyal vassals of the ruling powers.

Assimilationism revealed itself as *assimilation to the bourgeois state*. Body and soul, the assimilationists, with the Jewish bankers and industrialists at their head, had delivered themselves up to capitalist reaction.

This ugly spectacle of assimilationism is not the less repellent because, in the face of the indubitable growth of anti-Semitism, assimilationism is little defended as a rounded doctrine. No longer an ideal, assimilationism is all the more a practice. It has deep roots in the Jewish bourgeoisie's desire (and interest) to conform to the rules laid down by the bourgeoisie as a whole, and the wealthy Jews drag along in their wake a large part of the Jewish population.

# Socialist Party Prepares To Liquidate Into A.L.P.

The Socialist Party in New York State will take a referendum vote on December 16-18 on a proposal submitted by the State Committee which means virtual liquidation of that party as a political organization.

The effect of this proposal, which was reported to a membership meeting on November 15 by Norman Thomas, would be the sending of the S. P. membership in a body into the American Labor Party, while a paper organization retaining the name of the Socialist Party would remain on the outside for educational purposes. The actual motion is purposely worded more ambiguously, but its meaning is plain from the discussion now going on in the ranks of the S. P.

**Party Disintegrating**  
At the membership meeting Thomas based his case, as did the speakers who followed him, on the deplorable state of the party. Discussing the S. P. debacle in the elections, Thomas complained that the S. P. vote has been going over to the A.L.P. and warned that they could not go on as they were, "with our ideas embalmed," running campaign after campaign and getting nowhere. There has also been a sharp organizational decline in the recent period. Upstate the organization has well-nigh disappeared, to the point where the projected State Convention has been given up by "combining" it with the City Convention. The three Jewish branches in the city have dwindled to one; branches are not meeting, and speakers at the membership meeting complained that members are dropping out in large numbers. The motion was presented to the membership meeting in a background of defeatism and despair.

**Terms of the Deal**  
The formal statement of the State Committee in support of its plan speaks throughout in terms of "the entry of the party into the A.L.P.," not merely of members. And by the conditions of this "entry," the S. P. will be permitted to run no independent Socialist candidates, even or rather especially in cases where the A.L.P. endorses capitalist politicians. It is an open secret that this is part of the price demanded by the A.L.P. for its deal with the

Thomas group.

A second element of the deal with the A.L.P. was indicated by Thomas at the membership meeting when he stated that there was no intention of forming a Socialist "caucus" inside the A.L.P. upon entry—that is, of the S. P. exercising control over the political actions of its members. Other details of the sale of the S. P. to the A.L.P. bureaucrats are not known, since no full report on these secret negotiations has ever been made to the membership.

Thomas himself has on more than one occasion hinted at the possibility that the S. P. would transform itself into a "Socialist Educational League" inside the A.L.P. There is also a precedent in this regard: when the deep-dyed right-wingers of the Old Guard split from the Socialist Party and formed their "People's Party" in 1936, they were forced to change their organization to "Social Democratic Federation" as a condition for their entry into the A.L.P.

The "Clarity group" in the S.P., incorrigible centrists and vacillators, are, of course, supporting the State Committee's motion, "from a different point of view," as its leader, Herbert Zam, stated at the membership meeting.

**Youth Oppose Deal**  
But the city convention of the Socialist youth, meeting at about the same time, passed a resolution condemning the new proposal by an overwhelming vote.

The whole affair is being rushed through with only the barest observance of the formalities. The date for voting was set at only one month after the decision to hold the referendum was taken, and the membership received the formulated motion and accompanying statements only last Wednesday (December 7). Between this date and the termination of the vote are only nine or ten days; there are no discussion bulletins.

Another question agitating the S. P. recently has been the case of Sam Baron, official party representative to Spain last year, who recently testified before the red-baiting Dies Committee on Stalinist activities in Spain. Baron's violation of elementary class principles in collaborating

### PICKETING THE NAZIS



Socialist Workers Party members and sympathizers picketing in recent united front demonstration at New York Nazi consulate to protest anti-Semitic pogroms.

with the congressional labor-haters resulted in his expulsion by the City Committee by a vote of 31-14. Peculiarly enough, almost all of the 14 were Claritys, while the right wing in general supported his expulsion! The reasons for this line-up are illuminating.

Baron accused the entire party leadership of suppressing his articles exposing the criminal activities of the Stalinists in Spain, the murder of P.O.U.M.-ists, etc. In one case, he pointed out to the City Committee, an article for the Socialist Call was already set up in type when the National Action Committee of the Party ordered it suppressed. The reason for this attitude, he said, was that the leadership had laid down the policy of soft-peddling all criticism of the Spanish government and of the Spanish Stalinists.

Baron said that the state of mind in which he took his story to the Dies Committee was one of desperation because the S. P. leadership had prevented him from making public through the

party the facts he had gathered in Spain as the party's representative.

The right-wingers yelled for Baron's expulsion, therefore, basically because he violated the cowardly line of the S. P. leaders. His "Clarity" defenders opposed his expulsion on the ground that this would be too harsh treatment in view of the leniency that had been shown to David Lasser and Joe Lash, two Stalinist stooges formerly in the right wing of the S. P. There were only a few delegates who knew enough to condemn the rotten principles of both the expellers and the expelled.

### MARXIST SCHOOL

116 University Pl., N. Y. C.

**CALENDAR OF WEEKLY EVENTS**

Monday, Dec. 12th at 7 P.M.

B. J. WIDICK—"The Trade Unions and Politics."

Monday, Dec. 12th at 8:45 P.M.

JACK WEBER—"The Internal Situation in the Soviet Union."

Tuesday, Dec. 13th at 7 P.M.

J. G. WRIGHT—"Fundamentals of Marxism."

Tuesday, Dec. 13th at 8:45 P.M.

JAMES BURNHAM—"The Transition Program of the Fourth International and the Slogan for the Labor Party."

Admission—twenty-five cents per lecture

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# C. L. R. James Addresses Big Meeting in New York

NEW YORK, N. Y., Nov. 30.—A capacity crowd at Irving Plaza heard C. L. R. James, noted British author, describe the death agonies of the British Empire. Scores of New York Negroes turned out to listen to one of the outstanding lecturers of their race, in his first public appearance in the United States.

For almost an hour and a half James turned the spotlight on the hypocrisy of the British "democrats," exposing the inhuman oppression of millions of brown, black and yellow colonial in the far-flung Empire. This oppression, James analyzed, had given rise to a seething ferment among the natives under British domination, who were awaiting only a critical moment to finish with British rule forever.

This ever-present fear has de-

termined British foreign policy in the recent period and was the fundamental explanation, James stated, for the capitulations to Mussolini, Japan and Hitler. The unity of the revolutionary movement in Great Britain with the discontented colonial in the empire would soon crash the entire edifice of cruelty and exploitation to the ground, James concluded.

The largest part of the audience remained for almost two hours after the lecture plying James with literally dozens of questions. The high point of the discussion period was a speech by a leading representative of Indian people in this country. His speech, discussing conditions in India and objectives of the Indian nationalist movement, signified complete agreement with the remarks made by James on India and the British Empire.

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# INQUIRY SHOWS SYSTEM HALTED

(Continued from page 1)

With this established, the Wall Street community promised full aid, and sent their specialist, Dr. Willard L. Thorp of Dun & Bradstreet, to function as a research economist for the committee.

In his preliminary statement, Chairman O'Mahoney again insisted that the committee would follow "no personal, partisan or factional program": in other words, that its object was only to try to help business to find a way to increase profits, and not in the least to investigate the fundamental diseases of the profit system itself. Nevertheless, in spite of this purpose, Senator O'Mahoney cannot prevent the facts from speaking for themselves.

### Economy in Decay

The three first days were given over to the testimony of three witnesses: Dr. Isador Lubin, Federal Commissioner of Labor Statistics; Leon Henderson, executive secretary of the committee; and Dr. Thorp. The mass of statistics and charts presented by each of the three united in painting a single picture: that of an economy which, after advancing fitfully and jerkily up to the year 1929, has since that date collapsed into a state of decay from which there is no chance of arousing it.

"No observer can overlook it," said witness Henderson, "nor believe other than that as things now stand our growth has stopped."

Dr. Lubin discussed the problem of "national income," a term which changes its meaning with each speaker, but which apparently refers most of the time to the total price value of the national output of goods and services. He showed that, taking 1929 as a norm (during which year there was still a completely inadequate standard of living for a good half of the population), there had been during the past nine years a total drop of \$133 billions in national income, which figure would rise to \$225 billions if calculated on the price levels of each year involved instead of the 1929 price level.

This colossal sum, translated into human terms, represents the misery, hunger and starvation by which the people of the country are paying for the continuance of capitalism.

### Incomes Under \$1250

Dr. Lubin showed that 54 per cent of the families of the country are receiving total family incomes, from all sources, of less than \$1,250, and that only 13 per cent receive more than \$2,500. He also related the low incomes to the inability to buy even those foods necessary to health.

Dr. Thorp, though anxious as direct spokesman for Wall Street to obscure the problem of control of U.S. economy, and to this end denying that many monopolies exist in this country in the sense of a single company monopolizing an entire field, had, however, to make clear how a small group of giant corporations, in a t e g a t e d through trade agreements, dominate nearly every line of production. A single company controls the entire output of aluminum; three companies, 86 per cent of automobiles; three companies, 90 per cent of the can industry; four companies, 78 per cent of copper; three companies, 60.5 per cent of steel; two companies, 47 per cent of beef products; etc. All of these companies, though Dr. Thorp omitted mention of the fact, are of course themselves controlled through the great banking houses.

### The Big Employers

One-tenth of one per cent of the nation's corporations, according to Dr. Thorp's figures, employ 12.3 per cent of the workers; at the other end of the scale, 76 per cent of employers—the "little business men" having from one to nine workers—employ a total of only 11 per cent.

Dr. Thorp's charts also indicated profoundly important shifts in the relative weight of different fields in the total of "national income." Agriculture, which in 1919-21 accounted for 14.3 per cent, in 1934-37 was reduced to 9.2 per cent. The only major rise was in the percentage allotted to "government," which was 8 per cent in 1919-21, and by 1935-37 had risen to 15.2 per cent. This revealing figure is sufficient by itself to lay bare the immense absurdity of all remnants of *laissez faire* conceptions and at the same time to express the complete inability of the "virtile," "vigorous" . . . "private industry" to carry on.

Each of the three witnesses ended up with a "theory" to explain the collapse and provide a remedy. It would really be kinder to pass over the theories in silence. Dr. Lubin felt that the 84 per cent of the low income families were not getting enough money; that is, his theory was a re-statement of the fact. He said that if each of these families received even \$2.25 more a day, industry would again boom—apparently forgetting that under the profit system that \$2.25 would merely be added to the price of goods and services, leaving things exactly where they are.



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**Anti-Semite No. 1**

Father Coughlin, his appetite only whetted by the perfunctory disapproval expressed by part of the liberal daily press of his previous anti-Semitic blast, returned to Jew-baiting in his national broadcast last Sunday.

Coughlin singled out Leon Trotsky for a vicious blast, to carry further the theme that Jews were responsible for the Russian Revolution.

Taunting Rabbi Leo Franklin of Detroit, who had made public during the previous week a statement by Henry Ford expressing sympathy with the refugees, Coughlin quoted Harry Bennett, Ford spokesman, who later corroborated this to the press, as saying that the Ford statement had been written by the Rabbi, and that Ford had declared, in answer to the Rabbi's plea for jobs for refugees, that Jews would not work in factories.

Coughlin's skilful use of Ford's still rabid, if now more hidden anti-Semitism, demonstrated the futility of rabbis and other bourgeois Jews currying the will of the big capitalists who will be the beneficiaries of anti-Semitic fascism.

That, in the midst of all the expressions of sympathy for the refugees issuing from government and big business circles, a shrewd demagogue like Coughlin does not hesitate to take up the cudgels for Hitler, is a real index to the exact value of the vaporous cloud of crocodile tears. The very circles which now cluck their sympathy, Coughlin knows, will not hesitate to employ the fascist gangs which Coughlin is inspiring, and the fanatical priest, avid to recoup his fading notoriety, seized the opportunity to come forward as the chief spokesman for American fascism.

The structure of the Catholic Church makes it certain that Father Coughlin could not speak so brazenly without considerable support in the Catholic hierarchy. His speeches are submitted for approval to his bishop, who, in turn, is responsible to Archbishop Mooney.

**The Pot Boils Over**

The brew mixed at Munich two months ago is already boiling over.  
 The great game of the diplomatic double-

cross is being played in all quarters of the European continent, but the dice are loaded. Win or lose, the outcome means war.

Wary of England's parleys with Hitler, France has paid its court in turn to the newly-established dominant power in Europe. This week it signed what was optimistically called a "no-war declaration" with the Reich.

By this France hopes to turn the edge of the Hitlerite sword away from itself and win a new chance to pull out of its permanent crisis by crushing the French workers and establishing a Fascist regime the better to prepare itself for war.

Simultaneously Italy began an open and loudly aggressive campaign of blackmail against beleaguered France, demanding—still in "unofficial" demonstrations—the cession of Tunisia, Corsica, of French Nice and Savoy, and a new deal at the Suez Canal.

Thus the Rome-Berlin combination continues its advances by alternating on the soft and loud chords and discords. Italy sang the sweet song of "peace" while Hitler advanced into Czechoslovakia. Now Hitler takes over the pipes of Pan while Mussolini beats his chest for territory of his own. Holding their ears in the midst of all this screeching cacophony, England and France try to parry as many blows as they can and hope for the best.

These complications reflect only in part the result of any deliberate policy. They reflect more truly the conflicting cross-purposes of a group of imperialist powers, each trying primarily to protect or extend its interests at the expense of the others.

In this situation all talk of "appeasement" and "peace" is just so much poppycock. It is no longer a question of war or peace, but of the lineups for war and the most propitious moment for launching it. Oswald Pirow, the South African Defense Minister, returned from a tour of European capitals and predicted war in the spring. He reflected the increasing feeling of every man for himself in the tangled corridors of European imperialist diplomacy.

Like almost everything else that happens in Europe these days, however, the Franco-German understanding, no matter how tenuous, temporary, or insecure, is nevertheless a new diplomatic blow at the Soviet Union and a new nail driven into the barrier of isolation placed around it.

Moscow could derive little comfort from the fact that Poland, rebuffed in its attempt to secure a common frontier with Hungary and a little fearful of the overwhelming shadow of Hitler, made a diplomatic move that was supposed to mean Polish-Soviet "friendship" but we know what this friendship has been worth before and what it will be worth tomorrow. At best Poland is a weak reed as Joe Stalin's only "friend" in Europe!

And finally—it is worth noting that the Franco-German "peace" declaration was announced at the height of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Germany. Humanitarianism has no place in the politics of imperialist war.

**The Smoke Screen**



**Dictators Welcome "Democrats" at Lima**

By DONALD BERGNER  
 Secretary of State Cordell Hull and his cohorts arrive at Lima this week for the Pan-American Conference waving the flag of "united democracy." So do the delegations from the Brazilian dictator-land of Getulio Vargas, the Peruvian barracks of Oscar Benavides, the Nicaraguan dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, and the delegates of the dozen other reactionary dictatorships in Latin America.

Never has it been so amply proved as now that "democracy" is nothing but an empty phrase in the loose mouths of cheap politicians.

Franco's Aides  
 Hull, John L. Lewis' daughter Kathryn, the A.F. of L.'s Dan Tracey, the G.O.P.'s Alf Landon, will make the conference walls ring with their stirring denunciations of the anti-democratic totalitarian states in Europe and Asia.

They will not refer, however, to the fact that every country in Latin America except Mexico and Costa Rica has been actively or passively engaged in helping Franco win in Spain. But woe to him who should dare denounce the dictators on this side of the ocean! They shall quickly be taught that the holy water of Wall Street's billions makes "democratic" heroes of the most ferocious dictators!

Just how democratic are these "democracies"? What kind of countries are they? Who runs them? Why is the U.S. government so interested in them?  
 To most people in this country the various Latin American countries make up a composite picture of gauchos, guitars, funny-looking hats, many-colored shawls and hot tamales. But behind the romance and color and spice stands a population almost as large as that of the U.S., a population whose great majority lives under conditions as bad as or worse than those of the most oppressed section of this country, the sharecroppers.

Take Chile for example. The average wage of the Chilean roto or peon is between five and ten cents per day plus a little bread and beans. Are the factory workers much better off? Figures are scarce in the gangster-like domains of these Latin Fuehrers, and the few figures that are available show why. In Brazil, for instance, the average factory wage is less than \$3 a week.

As for civil liberties—perish the thought! Outside of Mexico and tiny Costa Rica and to a limited degree in two or three other countries, Latin America is one mass of bloody dictatorships. From Guatemala to Tierra del Fuego, from Rio de Janeiro to Lima, 85,000,000 human beings walk under the daily shadow of the lash, the bayonet, and the bullet.

Even Carleton Beals—now an ardent supporter of the U.S. government that stands sponsor for the terroristic dictatorships of

Latin America—is forced to say in his recent book that the Good Neighbor policy is "a policy of friendship for Latin American dictatorships but not for the Latin American peoples."  
 And why shouldn't the U.S. government be friendly to the dictators? These dictators, in return for the favors meted out to them and their native capitalist-landowner masters, very assiduously defend the six and a half billion dollars of U.S. capital invested or loaned to Latin America. No wonder Wall Street is disturbed by Nazi propaganda!

And no wonder that the Wall Street organ, the N. Y. Times, breaks out into a rash when Latin American delegates hint at a possible demand for "assurances" of U.S. non-intervention in case their countries take over some of the industries now directly controlled by Wall Street. That in many cases this demand is really only the demand of an agent for more commission does not lessen the annoyance and fear of further developments in the hearts of Roosevelt and his Wall Street colleagues.

Same In 1933  
 The U.S. delegation is undoubtedly trying to keep the proposal out altogether, or, if that is impossible, to soften it and make a dead letter out of it. The same thing happened at the last Pan-American Conference in Montevideo in 1933. The Cuban delegation sent by anti-imperialist Ramon Grau San Martin (his government didn't last long—Roosevelt saw to that) proposed a similar resolution against armed intervention. Hull and Saavedra Lamas of Argentina and Cohen of Chile tried to keep it off the floor. When that failed, they supported it, with their tongues 'way out in their cheeks of course, and then stuck it away in a dusty cubby-hole.

The United States government means at all costs to preserve and expand its control, economic and military, of the Western Hemisphere. Six and a half billion dollars, oil, silver, gold, copper, and especially the nitrates of Chile, prime necessity for war munitions; these are the things that Roosevelt, Hull and Co. defend on behalf of Wall Street.

(This is the second of a series on the countries south of the Rio Grande. The first, on Peru, appeared last week. Comrade Bergner will contribute next week an analysis of Chile.)

**Yankee Imperialism Plays For Big Stakes at Lima**

(Continued from page 1)

considerable, U.S. capitalism has to overcome the disadvantage of lack of centralization and the existence of a working class that is still free to struggle for higher wages and better conditions. Should its wealth and superior industrial machine fail to bring victory to American imperialism in its economic war with the poverty-stricken totalitarian regimes, then more forceful measures will be taken both in the form of an attempt to reduce the living standards of the American workers and of keeping its rivals out of Latin-America.

Knowing that they are being courted on all sides, the Latin-American capitalists are holding out for a high price. They demand not only good and cheap commodities but also entertainment and flattery. The capitalists of this country have decided to be very careful in their salesmanship methods and fortunately for them the pastor-like Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, suits their purposes in all respects. The most sanctimonious platitudes are ready to roll off his tongue at every opportunity.

Path Is Not Smooth  
 The path is not altogether smooth. The stern attitude of the Roosevelt government in attempting to protect the oil properties of the American capitalists in Mexico will require explanation and Secretary Hull will not find the task an easy one. The claim that the United States is interested in guarding the democracies of the western hemisphere will sound a little hollow in view of the dictatorial character of the vast majority of the Latin-American nations. But all these are regarded as minor problems. In the great task of entrenching American imperialism in the Latin-American nations, black can be easily made to appear white, especially by such a religiously devout gentleman as the Secretary of State.

edly trying to keep the proposal out altogether, or, if that is impossible, to soften it and make a dead letter out of it. The same thing happened at the last Pan-American Conference in Montevideo in 1933. The Cuban delegation sent by anti-imperialist Ramon Grau San Martin (his government didn't last long—Roosevelt saw to that) proposed a similar resolution against armed intervention. Hull and Saavedra Lamas of Argentina and Cohen of Chile tried to keep it off the floor. When that failed, they supported it, with their tongues 'way out in their cheeks of course, and then stuck it away in a dusty cubby-hole.

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**France at the Crossroads**

What Price People's Front Today?

Leon Blum shadow-boxes with history with his "Shadow Parliament." Daladier applies drastic penalties to the French workers. The Communist Party hails the defeat of the general strike as a victory. Which way for the French working class? People's Frontism has collapsed. Reaction is in the saddle. French Workers must choose.

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 "Build the press of Socialism!  
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**FLASH! FLASH! Literary Tea's Agog Over New Blessed Event**

That bright lad Salter Sinchell of Fourteenth Street, who has been snooping lately around the back alleys of New York's political cafeteria society, came back to the office last week with as weird a report as any we've seen for many a moon. At first we thought he was pulling our collective leg; but when he backed his news with the sacred oath of the Snoopers' and Gossips' Guild, we knew we had to believe him.

On the top of the memorandum he handed in to the re-write man, we read: "FLASH!!! . . . What two well-known anti-Stalinist writers, who have always been in opposite camps, are now all hearts-and-flowers? And how long will we have to wait for the happy ideological blend to blessed event?"

**HOOKING THE LYONS**  
 "Come across, now," we said. "No anonymous libel. Name the names, or we'll turn you over to a lawyer."

"Why, Eugene Lyons and Sidney Hook, of course," Sinchell replied.

"That can't be," we argued at once. "Eugene Lyons is a social-patriot, a leading publicist for the Social-Democratic Federation, which supports the war and Roosevelt and collective security and the Popular Front. Sidney Hook takes a revolutionary socialist position, and is against the war and Roosevelt and collective security and the Popular Front. . . . But wait a minute. Naturally, this must be some specific united front for some definite action or other?"

"That's what you think," Sinchell answered, with just the suggestion of a sneer. "All right, then, what is this blessed event you mentioned?"

**IT'S A NEW LEAGUE**  
 "Why, haven't you heard yet? The name is already picked—the 'League against Totalitarianism'—the draft of a call is ready (a polished product of the combined Hook and Lyons style), preliminary gatherings have been held, and members are being approached."

"Well, well," we meditated. "The 'League against Totalitarianism.' We've been doing a little work against totalitarianism ourselves. Curious that we weren't consulted or invited."

This time the sneer was more than a suggestion. "You invited! Why, you're sprung from Leninism, and don't you know that Leninism is the source of totalitarianism—both of the Stalinist variety, as the New Leader will tell you any week you look at it, and of the fascist variety, as Max Eastman told you last week in Liberty? Why should you have been invited? The only political tendency that belonged was naturally that stalwart and consistent defender of freedom, the Social-Democratic Federation. Later on, if you are polite, maybe a few of you will be taken in on sufferance, after everything is all arranged."

"Hmmm," we replied. "Who is going to belong to this League?"

**EVERYBODY'S DOING IT**  
 "Why, it's against totalitarianism in the realms of the arts, science, philosophy and literature, whether it comes from Germany, or Italy, or Russia, or Japan, or even from the democratic countries. So everybody against it in all those places is eligible; you know, all these writers who are disgusted with Stalinism and are feeling unhappy. . . ."

"Oh, you mean those writers who are appearing in the New Leader?"

"Well, I wouldn't have put it in quite that way. But yes, those

. . . and of course, lots more—Thomas Mann and Hendrick Wilhem Van Loon and all the other leaders in the fight against totalitarianism. . . ."

"It's a league against totalitarianism, you say. You forgot to mention what it is for?"  
 "Oh, according to the draft call it has a splendid positive program. It is for . . . why, it's for freedom and decency and honesty and human dignity and. . . ."

**A SLIGHT DETAIL**  
 "It certainly ought to have a big membership, then. Just about everyone should be able to qualify. And just how is it going to fight for freedom and decency? This is a point that has always interested us."

"Well," Sinchell answered more slowly. "The call wasn't so detailed about that." He brightened: "After all, you can't expect a blueprint. It is going to protest whenever freedom is violated; have meetings and press releases and all that sort of thing."

"And the call of course points out the source of totalitarianism in capitalist-imperialism, and how you have to fight for socialism, against imperialism and its war and especially against our own imperialist government if you want to stop totalitarianism. . . ."

Sinchell was horrified. "Always the sectarian," he snorted. "You just want to cut off all forces to begin with. If you began to say things like that, how would you get Louis Adamic and the New Leader and Van Loon and John Chamberlain and Charles Yale Harrison and Common Sense and for that matter Eugene Lyons to join? And if they didn't join, then where would your broad front for freedom be?"

**A BIT OF A DILEMMA**  
 "Oh," we commented. "And what will the League do when union workers follow the Youngstown example, and break up fascist meetings, drive fascists out of town, perhaps even bust up the magazine and speeches of fascist writers and artists?"

"Naturally the League will protest such a violation of freedom. Isn't a dictatorship of the left just as destructive of freedom as a dictatorship of the right? Don't you know you can't stop violence with violence because violence only breeds violence? Don't you realize that if you limit the freedom of fascists then that is only the first step in the necessary chain which leads to limiting the freedom of your working-class opponents and then of the party factions and then ends up in the personal dictatorship of your Stalin?"

The trouble with you Bolsheviks is, as always, your complete lack of morality."

**NEW PEOPLE IN A FRONT**  
 "As we remember," we remarked in a half-aside, "many of these names you mention in connection with this proposed League are those of persons who used to write and speak against Popular Frontism and against the idea that fascism can be stopped by reforming capitalism?"

"Let's not bring that up. The old Popular Front was a Stalinist Popular Front. These people are all firm anti-Stalinists. Surely you can see the difference."

We were sinking into a brown study. "What did you say the name of this League was?" we asked again. "Did you say 'League against communism and fascism'?" As you describe it, we seem to have heard of the scheme before. . . . But no doubt our memories deceive us. . . ."

**Letters to the Editor**

To The Editor:  
 The Socialist Appeal did a magnificent job during the recent war crisis, but there is one bone which I must pick with it. Its October 10 issue stated editorially, Apropos of the Lovestoneites: "During the crisis, their paper too failed to appear. And when it did—a faltering voice, a party afraid of its own shadow. . . . I have looked up the files of the Workers Age and find that it appeared regularly every week throughout September and October. Nor did its voice seem so faltering to me, even compared to the Appeal. Both papers gave the war crisis front page prominence on October 1, for example. It is worth comparing their major formulations. The Workers Age said: "The war which threatens us today will . . . not be a war of liberation on the part of the 'democratic' imperialist states." "Czechoslovakian national capitalism has oppressed workers in Czechoslovakia, whatever their nationality. . . . How can it be trusted to fight for liberty?" "Only a revolutionary workers government will be capable of waging, if necessary, a really anti-fascist war for the liberation of the peoples."

The Socialist Appeal said:  
 "Not democracy but the rivalries over spoils and tribute is at stake between Hitler and the 'democratic nations.'"

"The interest of the Czech government is to uphold the property and the profits of the Czech capitalists and bankers, to enable them to continue their twenty-year exploitation of all the peoples of Czechoslovakia." "But their is only one way to fight Hitler and Hitlerism: by breaking away altogether from your own bourgeoisie. . . . by launching your own firm and independent struggle under your own leaders."

Both papers also called for the defense of the Soviet Union. It is true that the Age's formulations were academic and dry as compared to the ardent and moving tones of the Appeal, and it is true that the Appeal exploited the

crisis more boldly and effectively. But the basic programs of both papers seem to me too similar for the Appeal to be justified in contemptuously dismissing the Lovestoneites as "another small group which makes big claims for its anti-war position." And, of course, there is no excuse for stating that the Age failed to appear when it actually did appear. I dwell at such length on this point because it seems to me a good example of a tendency on the part of Marxist groups to blackguard each other with more enthusiasm than sense of responsibility. Let us have polemics, by all means, but let us also have fair play.

DWIGHT MACDONALD

**Our Reply**

(On the factual point raised in comrade Macdonald's communication, we cannot but agree. The Lovestone paper did not fail to appear, and the statement in our editorial of October 10 was therefore erroneous, based on a report we received but failed to check up. Hence, a public rectification is called for and we duly record it.)  
 (On the political point, we find no reason for amending our judgment of the Lovestoneite anti-war position. Far from being "too similar"—as they seem to be to comrade Macdonald—we believe that the "basic programs of both papers," the Appeal and the Workers Age, are irreconcilable. The struggle against imperialist war is possible only on the basis of a revolutionary struggle against capitalism and for the class independence of the proletariat. It is therefore only a combination of export-radicalism, phrasemongering and duplicity when Lovestone speaks of a "revolutionary workers government"—for far-off Czechoslovakia!—and at the same time follows a People's Front or "Democratic" Front course in the United States, with all that it implies in the realities of the anti-war struggle.

(It is precisely the revolutionary Marxist who refuses to separate the "struggle against war" and the "struggle against capital-

ism" into two different compartments, for all experience shows that the separation leads inexorably to social-patriotism. Lovestone's support of the LaGuardia People's Front in the last New York Mayorality election; of the Lehman-Wagner-Rose-Browder Front in the last New York state election; and of the outright Roosevelt-Democratic candidates in Michigan, California and Massachusetts—show, as we have repeatedly emphasized, how Lovestone's policy in practice voids all claims to a revolutionary position on the war question.

(Remaining doubts may be removed by an examination of the program of the Lovestone-Thomson-Libby-Lapp-Fish edition of the People's Front and League for Peace, namely, the "Keep America Out of War Committee." (To us it is self-evident that no one can pursue a policy of class collaboration and petty bourgeois pacifism and yet lay claim to a proletarian anti-war position, much less to one "similar" to ours. Whoever tries to do both these things is perpetrating a fraud, which deserves no less vigorous exposure and condemnation than the fraud of the Stalinists, who also know how to use a revolutionary phrase or two on holiday occasions. If criticism is due the Socialist Appeal it would be in place to apply it to its failure to deal more systematically and adequately with the shoddy opportunistic realities behind Lovestone's pretentious lip-service to principles he has long ago abandoned.—The Editor.)

**2 PICKETS JAILED**  
 (Continued from page 1)

provide a lawyer and the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees is participating in the defense.

That the local capitalists are not pleased with this expression of independent working class sentiment was indicated by the editorial reaction of the San Francisco Chronicle when it declared: "The time has come to stop treating such incidents as pranks. A few stiff jail sentences will make the police job easier."