

**All War Funds To the Unemployed!**

# 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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# 'LET US IN OR WE PERISH!'

## The Main Enemy In Latin America

AN EDITORIAL

Who is the main enemy of the peoples of the Latin American nations?

The answer to this question is not to be found in the flowery rhetoric now issuing from the rostrum at the Lima Conference, nor in the elegant broadcasts through which the Conference was built up, nor in the shameless dispatches and editorials of the *Daily Worker*.

The answer is to be discovered in the hard, cold, sober statistics of investment and trade, and in the harsh facts of the political histories of the twenty Latin American countries.

And there is not the slightest doubt about the true answer: the main enemy of the peoples of the Latin American nations is the United States Government, its Yankee Imperialism.

It is Yankee Imperialism, guided by the gloved fists of "good neighbors" Roosevelt and Hull, that occupies the dominant position in Latin American trade. United States commerce with Latin America is more than twice the amount of its nearest competitor.

In spite of the difficulties in estimation caused by the fiscal chaos of the past decade, the figures prove that the United States capital investment in Latin America now totals far above that of any other power.

In the deep, stifling mines of Peru and Mexico, on the oil fields of Venezuela and Colombia, in the jungles of Central America, on the sugar plantations of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the starved and miserable people of Latin America sweat their life-blood away for the great Wall Street corporations: for the United Fruit Company, Cerro da Pasco, Anaconda Copper, Standard Fruit, American Sugar Refining, Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Texas Company.

After suitable bribes to the puppet officials of the local governments, governments made and unmade at will by these same corporations and the U. S. State Department—aided when necessary by the Marines and the Navy—the dishonored profits find their way back into the coffers of America's Sixty Families.

Yankee Imperialism, which has only since the War moved into first place among the brigands, is not of course without rivals for so juicy a prize. The two important contenders are: British imperialism and German imperialism; the other powers, including the much talked about Italy and Japan, are altogether minor factors.

In the total of capital investment, Britain is close behind the United States, and dominates several of the nations, especially the important Argentina. In volume of trade Great Britain and Germany have been running neck and neck during the past few years, with Germany now slightly ahead—the trade of both together totalling less than that of the United States alone.

Control of the Latin American market is absolutely essential to United States economy. Deprived of this outlet, the U. S. capitalist economy would collapse overnight. U. S. capitalist economy can continue in operation only on the backs of the Latin American peoples.

To keep control of this market, essential to its existence. U. S. imperialism is prepared to employ any means: diplomacy, graft, the creation and destruction of local governments, armed intervention, intensive propaganda, and, finally, war against any and all imperialist rivals.

This is the real background of the Lima Conference.

All the talk about "democracy," "the American system," "peace," is so much bellywash. What Yankee Imperialism cares about Democracy and peace is shown by the record: by the ravaging of Puerto Rico, the armed robbery of Panama from Colombia, the U. S. troops scouring Mexico for Villa and the Navy bombing Vera Cruz, the bloody Cuban governments of Machado and Batista directed by the U. S. ambassador, the marines pillaging Nicaragua in their campaign to exterminate Sandino.

What the native imperialist stewards, jockeying for the highest bids among the great powers, care about democracy and peace is shown with a grim enough irony by the fact that among the entire twenty nations, there are only two that approximate a democratic government and three others with a pitiful minimum of democratic rights; the remainder are bloody terrorizing dictatorships.

Yankee Imperialism, the main enemy of the Latin American peoples, is the same enemy that faces the workers of the United States in their struggle for a decent life. The Latin American peoples are the chief allies of the workers of the United States in the common struggle. The fate of the workers here is inseparably bound up with the struggle of the Latin American peoples for freedom, against the imperialist yoke.

We must expose relentlessly, day in and day out, the monstrous hypocrisy whereby Roosevelt and Hull, with the aid of their liberal and reformist and Stalinist allies, strive through such projects as the Lima Conference to enlist the Latin American peoples as pawns of Yankee Imperialism in its world contest with its imperialist challengers.

We must join forces with the Latin American peoples on the basis of the sole progressive perspective, the sole effective program: the struggle against the world imperialist system as a whole, and above all the struggle against United States imperialism, the main and direct enemy of the masses of the two Americas.

## The "Democratic Front" In Latin America



The Pan-American Conference met at Lima last week in the richly decorated Peruvian Chamber of Deputies which "had not been used since that day in 1936 when President Benavides dissolved both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, ending parliamentary government in Peru." (New York Herald Tribune, Dec. 10.) And it was President Benavides who welcomed the delegates at their opening session and in his speech "emphasized the tradition of 'American international democracy' and the 'moral solidarity' of the New World." Across most of Latin America—the blackened and shaded portions shown in the map above—millions are ground under heel by brutal dictatorships while in an unused parliament building their rulers meet under the hollow slogan of "international democracy"! These are the realities behind the phrases at Lima!

## Jobless Occupy Relief Bureaus; Demand Food for Children

### WPA SLASHED--FDR XMAS GIFT

By BILL MORGAN  
More than 55,000 working class children in New York City will celebrate Christmas week by going without their only square meals—the lunches served by WPA workers. This branch of the WPA is being discontinued. More than 1,500 workers on the Federal Arts Project are to be fired by January first. (Merry Xmas! from F.D.R.)

In New Jersey, workers are being fired because they are "too old to work" and told to apply for old age pensions. These "old timers" point out that the pensions are about one-third the present WPA wage. Furthermore, it takes nearly eight weeks before the application is accepted for a pension and then takes another nine or ten weeks before any action is taken. In the meantime these workers may be evicted or have their credit stopped in the grocery stores. Several such cases already exist. Even the Governor of New Jersey is upset about it and has written a frantic but futile letter to the smiling F.D.R. begging for some assistance in order that the state may escape the responsibility for these old workers.

**The Buck Is Passed**  
In New York City that famous "friend of labor"—Mayor La Guardia—kicks the whole question. (Continued on Page 2)

NEW YORK.—Two hundred working-class families, tired of the continual delay and red tape of the Home Relief Bureaus, have taken possession of two relief offices and are determined to remain on a sitdown strike until the necessary food and clothing for their children is provided.

The children are on strike with their parents, and all attempts by the Children's Protective Society and two hundred policemen under Captain Lobdell to evict them have been repulsed. Barricades built in the Bureaus and defense squads of workers on the outside have prevented the cops from moving a single worker from the bureaus.

"We are going to remain here until Christmas unless the proper shoes and coats are provided for our children. The sight of naked children would be a shocking picture for Santa Claus, wouldn't it?" declared Otto Popovitch, President of the Jamaica Unemployed League.

The relief officials have turned off the heat in the bureaus, locked the fire exits and wash rooms, and have refused to allow food to be sent into the strikers. A picket line has been thrown around both bureaus—in Jamaica, Long Island and on West 16th Street in New York City.

The parents have decided to turn their children over to the children's aid societies while they remain on strike, so that the children will get food. It costs the city \$1.50 a week to provide home relief for a child, but it costs the Society \$6.50 per week to keep the child in a shelter run by the city.

A recent reduction of fifty cents on the coal allowance for each unemployed family is an indication of the policy to be pursued by the LaGuardia administration. In homes dependent upon coal for heat this will mean further misery for the jobless.

## Burnham Sees Long Step Forward in Twice-Weekly

By JAMES BURNHAM  
If we were a publishing house, we would discuss the question of a twice-weekly paper merely as a business venture. We would argue about whether it would make more or less money, whether there is a sufficient market, whether advertising would increase, and the like.

We are not a publishing house, but a political party. This means that we approach every publishing venture, and every other enterprise as well, in terms of political aims and needs. This is a fact of primary importance, one sometimes overlooked even by ourselves. We must take care never to regard our publications as simply commercial or literary or cultural institutions.

## FRANCE IS MAIN AXIS OF COMING EVENTS ABROAD

### Uneasy Interlude Precedes Open Struggle

Events in Europe during the next few months will depend largely upon what happens in France.

Even the capitalist press understands now that France is headed for a change in regime. It recognizes that Daladier is paving the way for the abandonment of the so-called democratic institutions and is speculating only on the time and method of the change.

### Uneasy Interlude

The immediate situation in France is that of an uneasy interlude. In the Chamber of Deputies last week Daladier won a slim majority based exclusively upon the center and right. In a situation of crisis such as continues to exist in France, this tight parliamentary balance simply reflects the approach of momentous events outside of parliament.

That Daladier, the French General Staff, and the Fascist gangs are preparing for this change we know quite well. Whether the workers will be prepared on their part to meet this menace to their organized existence is the crucial question now. The whining of the Socialist, Stalinist, and trade union bureaucrats will not avail but will only make it easier for Daladier, or whoever succeeds him, to put the Fascist program over.

The formation of workers' committees of action and the creation of workers' defense guards and the broadest agitation on the direct issue of struggle for power, for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government—this is the path urged by the revolutionists of the Workers' International Party (Fourth International). And along this path alone lies the hope of defeating the Fascist offensive.

Meanwhile on the international scene Hitler is taking full advantage of the internal instability of France—whom he now considers neutralized by its weakness and by his strength. The drive to the east continues. The Nazis turned in one of their 99 percent votes in Memel—now held by Lithuania—and the familiar agitation for return to the Reich is now in full swing there.

A Fascist state in France will entirely transform the situation—but so will a Soviet France, the first in terms of a new imperialist slaughter, the second in terms of renewed hopes for snatching the masses of Europe from the maw of the Fascist barbarians. That is the political axis that concerns us all the most clearly and the most urgently.

## 300,000 Refugees Demand Entry Here; Storm Consulates

### Victims of Nazi Persecution Plead in Berlin, Vienna, and Naples for Asylum in U. S.

Three hundred thousand Germans have registered at American consulates in Germany in Paris, Prague, Naples and other European cities. Three hundred thousand victims of Nazi persecution, pleading for asylum in America.

Those who, having managed to get out of Germany, thought they had found peace in Czechoslovakia and France, now find most of the remnants of Czechoslovakia completely Nazified, and the Daladier government conducting a veritable reign of terror against "foreigners," i.e. refugees.

Italy has ordered all foreign-born Jews to emigrate within three months; more than 3,000 Jewish refugees, most of them having fled from Austria after its annexation by Germany, are besieging the American consulate in Naples. Of 4,200 refugees applying there for visas, only 420 have received them.

Out of the depth of their despair, the refugees cry to us for help.

## BANKERS TURN OMAHA INTO A HARLAN COUNTY

### Drivers' Strike Continues Despite Boss Terror

OMAHA—"The Harlan county of the trucking industry"—that is what union men all over the country are calling Omaha.

Just as the coal operators selected the most reactionary spot they could find as the weak link in the national miners' organization, so the trucking operators have selected Omaha in the hope of cracking the teamsters here and then using disorganized Omaha as the pretext for not observing the contract elsewhere.

Now in its fourteenth week, the Nebraska teamsters' strike is not a local issue, but the test of the strength of the Teamsters International in enforcing the 11-state contract, establishing a closed shop and uniform wage of 75 cents an hour for all over-the-road drivers in the North Central Area, which was signed by employers' representatives in Chicago in October.

### Anything Goes in Omaha

Anything goes in Omaha. The bosses are aided by the anti-picketing law of Nebraska, but supplement this with brazen lawlessness. Checks sent by the Teamsters International cannot be cashed at local banks. The Omaha National Bank even refused to cash a cashier's check from the Kansas City National Bank!

Landlords, furniture and clothing proprietors who sell on credit, auto companies, etc., have been called into meetings by the bankers and industrialists and ordered to demand immediate payment for all goods from strikers. Hundreds of strikers have, as a result, come to the union pleading for assistance to prevent the loss of their few possessions.

When the International and neighboring locals came to the aid of the strikers, the banks refused to cash the checks. But with the aid of Local 41 of Kansas City, the cash was secured and the strikers aided in time.

### Deny Strikers Relief

Magaret, local welfare head and brother-in-law of the ringleader of the truck operators, has refused all relief to strikers on their families, disregarding the ruling of the county attorney that the families are entitled to relief.

On any pretext the police carry out mass arrests; one pretext was the shooting of a union man!

Scabs and strikebreakers go about openly armed.

Back-to-work movements, inciting farmers against the strike—every conceivable device has been used. (Continued on Page 2)

## TOLEDO CIO ASKS OPEN DOOR FOR JEWISH REFUGEES

### Drivers' Cooperation Stops Work; Bosses Sign Up

(Special to Socialist Appeal)  
TOLEDO, Ohio, Dec. 8.—Over 100 delegates representing 35 local C.I.O. unions at the Toledo Industrial Union Council tonight unanimously adopted a resolution calling on President Roosevelt and the State Department "to immediately offer asylum in the United States by lifting all restrictions and quota limitations to the refugee victims of Fascism."

The resolution came before the Council through the medium of Local 29, United Office and Professional Workers, WPA Division where it was passed unanimously two weeks previously. Ted Selander, delegate from the U.O. P.W.A. local, spoke briefly for the resolution, following which it was passed. The Stalinists failed to open their mouths on this question.

Whereas, the oppression and dispossession of the entire Jewish population of Germany, comprising over half a million men, women and children, has shocked the whole civilized world; Whereas, this terrible reversion to the Dark Ages and barbarism (Continued on Page 3)

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

# Speed Up the Twice-Weekly Appeal Drive

Fifty more days to go! Let's swing into action! Let's wipe out the zeros! Don't hoard your collections. Send them in regularly so they reach us by Monday of each week for inclusion in the current Score Board.

**FRIENDS, SYMPATHIZERS, READERS of the Socialist Appeal are not excluded from this campaign.** A prize of an autographed copy of C.L.R. James' book "The Black Jacobins" will be given to the highest contributor. And to the branch making the best showing by January 15, considering locality, membership, etc., a beautiful red banner of the Fourth International measuring about four by six feet.

Keep an eye on the St. Paul branch, if you have your eye on the banner, because Jules Geller writes: "We are sending in the enclosed \$10 as our first leg in our Twice-a-week Appeal Fund quota. What is the exact size of the Red Banner being given as a prize? We want to make room for it in our headquarters." The branches are falling into step as some of the following excerpts from letters testify.

*From the deep South* (for obvious reasons, the city cannot be mentioned) the secretary-organizer writes: "You will be glad to know that our unit has voted to expand special efforts to raise the assigned quota before January 1. You may yet have to send a red banner to the branch south of the Mason & Dixon line, though we realize that we don't and can't expect to rate with Minneapolis, California or New York City, but we will do our very best."

*The quiet-working, result-getting Chester K. Johnson of Minneapolis*, writes: "We want to see the barometer shoot up to the top as quickly as possible. . . . The Minneapolis Branch together with the St. Paul comrades is going ahead with arrangements for a big New Year's Jamboree, the proceeds of which are earmarked for the Appeal. We are confident that we will be able to meet our quota within the sixty-day period and perhaps exceed it." (That is encouraging news indeed, because if you know Chester, you know he makes no empty promises.)

*Kansas:* Comrade Whiteside writes: "Even lone dollars don't show up often around this wigwam, so I'm sending along the enclosed while I've got it. Kansas will go "over the top" on its quota before the deadline, or we'll bust something trying." (And comrade Smith, also of Kansas, backs up this promise.)

*Punta Gorda, Fla., Comrade S.:* "I received the Appeal Campaign Bulletin. I am heartily agreed and enthusiastic about the twice-a-week. I accept my quota but regret that I cannot send it all in immediately. I have been unemployed and sick for several months. However, \$2 for first payment is enclosed."

*Ruth Querio of Allentown, Pa.:* "Now in re our quota for the twice-a-week Appeal. Johnny Brucker is in charge of affairs, and a better guy couldn't be found anywhere. He has made up 12 sheets of paper representing the 12 hours of the clock, each sheet containing the 60 minutes. These minutes are being sold at so much-per. When the minutes are all sold, a clock will be wound and sealed in a box. Then an affair of some kind will be given when the clock stops. The box will be opened at this affair, and the person who has the minute nearest the second the clock stopped at, wins a table lamp."

## BANKERS TURN OMAHA INTO A HARLAN COUNTY

(Continued from page 1)

The "great liberal," Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, has viewed this regime in his own backyard, and no attempt to get him to speak out has pried his big mouth open.

Fortunately for the strikers, they are backed by the full power of the Teamsters International and the militant truckdrivers' movement of the Northwest.

A five-man committee, with Farrell Dobbs of Minneapolis as its secretary, represents the Teamsters International on the spot, with extraordinary powers. The same committee is cleaning up remaining spots in the area where negotiations have not yet been concluded, and the Nebraska bosses are ever more isolated in their desperate fight.

Teamsters' strategists are confident of the victorious conclusion of the Omaha strike and are already thinking of the task of expanding the 11-state agreement into a national uniform agreement for all highway drivers.

## N. Y. CHECKERS WIN STRIKE

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**—The strong solidarity of the truck drivers, who walked out in sympathy with 1500 platform men and checkers employed at the terminals and caused a virtual stoppage of all trucking to and from the city this week, resulted in a union victory.

The strike was called last Thursday by the Motor Bus and Terminal Checkers, Platform and Office Workers, Local 21510, A.F. of L. after union officials had repeatedly failed to reach an agreement with the bosses Highway Transport Association.

With shipping completely tied up, the bosses were forced to sign a contract providing a \$5.50 daily minimum instead of the \$4.40 a day rate they had previously received. The agreement also provided that the pay rate was to again increase to \$6.50 a day minimum after 10 and one-half months.

Although no strike of truck drivers was called, members of locals 807 and 816 of the Teamsters Union refused to cross picket lines into the terminals, thus demonstrating their sympathy with the strikers.

Mayor La Guardia, in his attempt to break the solidarity of the drivers with the striking terminal men, read the "riot act" to the truckmen with the hope that he could frighten them back to work. "There is no truck strike and there should be none," the Mayor said. "The trucks are not involved."

## 500 Protest WPA Cuts in St. Paul

**ST. PAUL, Minn., Dec. 10**—500 W.P.A. and relief workers protested Roosevelt's W.P.A. lay-offs and demanded that every worker be given a job at decent wages, at a mass meeting held here at the State Capitol, under the sponsorship of the Workers Benefit Association.

Not content with a mere protest against W.P.A. lay-offs, the workers passed a resolution in support of the Mahoney Bill which has as its aim the setting up of state owned industries and the putting to work of all able-bodied workers in every kind of necessary industry.

Voicing their condemnation of Roosevelt's huge armaments campaign, the mass meeting of Workers Benefit Association members and interested trade unionists demanded that war funds be turned over to the unemployed so that every man, woman and child can be guaranteed a living.

The meeting also passed a resolution demanding the raising of relief standards all along the line. Speakers at the meeting included William Mahoney, originator of the State Industries Bill, Oscar Votaw, of the Machinists Union, A.F.L., Charlotte Ross, Educational Director of the Workers Benefit Association, and Oscar Kohler, Youth Secretary of the Federal Workers Section 544.

The Workers Benefit Association, closely allied to the St. Paul trade union movement, was formed originally over a year ago by progressive workers who were forced out of the Socialist controlled Workers Alliance. It has been growing rapidly in recent months.

## To All Readers of Socialist Appeal!

Before long, the SOCIALIST APPEAL will appear as a twice-weekly paper. The editors of the paper hope that this change will increase the effectiveness of the paper not only in frequency of appearance but in new stream-lined agitation and propaganda. We have dozens of plans to accomplish this end—popular features, columns, timely labor reporting, etc., etc.—which will be put into effect as soon as the twice-weekly gets under way. We are positive that the readers of the APPEAL, through their activities in the unions and the class struggle, can give us innumerable valuable suggestions and criticisms. But these ideas are no good if you keep them to yourself or just tell them to your friends. They ought to be in the hands of the APPEAL editors—and before the twice-weekly begins. We urge you to send any suggestions and criticisms (as stiff as you like) to the APPEAL office.

## Idlers Wine and Dine Eden As Profiteers Hold Parley

Concluding its sessions with the dull and empty platitudes of Anthony Eden, unofficial publicity agent in this country for the Anglo-American alliance, the National Association of Manufacturers last week completed its annual Congress of American Industry. It is hard to judge whether the gathering was more notable for the infinitely low level of mind and intelligence revealed by the speeches of these "leaders of the nation," or for the callous viciousness with which, as always, they subordinated the burning needs of the people of the country to their own yelping search for higher profits.

Flushed with the reactionary gains in the November election, and confident that Congress and the Administration are now completely under their thumb, these boss gangsters of U. S. finance-capital felt that this year they could afford to be more conciliatory in the language they used about the New Deal and the place and duties of Government. Like fathers speaking to wayward children, they merely reminded Roosevelt and the new Congress that they wanted the Wagner Act amended in such a manner that it could not possibly inconvenience a single employer, the tax load on industry sharply reduced, Federal unemployment relief drastically curtailed, and in general the Government to keep its nose out of their affairs unless its help were specifically asked for.

O'Mahoney's Pledge  
An interesting feature of the meeting was the address of Senator O'Mahoney, Chairman of the "monopoly committee." Anyone having any lingering doubts that the monopoly committee might be seriously planning an investigation into the nature of U. S. business or any genuine effort to correct abuses, was set to rights by the worthy Senator. He pledged himself and his committee one hundred percent to the interest of the National Association of Manufacturers, promised solemnly to be a good boy during the entire investigation, and dedicated his political life to upholding the "glorious system of free enterprise."

While they guzzled their five dollar a plate Waldorf-Astoria dinners and swilled the highballs bought and paid for out of the sweat and blood of the 5,000,000 workers in the factories they control. They listened to orator after orator—not only their own members, but their hired prostitutes like Dean William F. Russell of Teachers College, Columbia, and their numerous preachers and politicians—mouthing bloated phrases about "ethics," "freedom," "initiative," and explaining to the public how fortunate are the people of this country to be governed and led by such a holy, God-fearing and enlightened group of cut-throats as the National Association of Manufacturers.

Anthony Eden's speech, with its veiled but unmistakable call for a new imperialist war to save the tottering British Empire under the Roosevelt-Chamberlain slogan of Democracy, brought the proceedings to an appropriate close.

**Interest in Mahoney Bill Spreads**  
**ST. PAUL, Minn.**—The Trades and Labor assembly here, after several preliminary discussions on several preliminary discussions on the Mahoney States' Industries Bill, has approved a plan to conduct a series of open discussions on the bill, in order to have a thorough educational campaign around the bill's main points, and to acquaint the entire labor movement with its objectives.

Tre Trades and Labor committee, in charge of the arrangements for the discussion, has announced that the first open meeting will be held December 17, and twice monthly meetings will be held thereafter, for a period of several weeks.

Labor leaders and others will be invited to speak on the Bill, and all who attend the meetings will be given an opportunity to state their opinion. Full publicity is being given the educational campaign by the Trades and Labor Assembly.

**CANNON WILL LECTURE ON TRANSITION PROGRAM**  
James P. Cannon will give a lecture on the Transition Program of the Fourth International next Tuesday, December 20, at 8:45 P.M., at the Marxist School, 116 University Place, N. Y. C. The topic under discussion will be "Reshaping the Party for its New Tasks." Admission will be 25 cents.

## PIONEER Does It Again With a New Year's Eve Party To Remember!

**Gala Dance and Floor Show**  
*Featuring An All-Star Cast*  
SPIVY in her inimitable rendition of intimate songs  
HARLEM'S fast stepping trio—Hunt, Savage & Gibson  
Princess Maravaia doing the African Kumumba  
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  
Tickets \$1.00 Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12th St., N.Y.C.

## WPA SLASHED -- FDR XMAS GIFT FOR JOBLESS

(Continued from page 1)

tion of layoffs and relief reductions into the lap of another "friend of the people"—Governor Lehman, who, in turn, kicks it right back to his pal the Mayor.

The city officials are all very sorry about the poor unemployed. The state officials are also very, very upset about the unemployed. The liberal newspapers howl with pain. Even the Stalinists are touched. But not one of these fakers dares point to the source of the order to cut relief rolls and fire WPA workers.

### No Time to Criticize!

President ("I hate war") Roosevelt must not be bothered with the problem of 15,000,000 unemployed workers while he is spending \$420,000,000 on battleships! The "good-neighbor" policy in South America depends upon an increased army and more battleships!

Who dares criticize at a time like this? The Democrats? But Roosevelt is a Democrat. The Republicans? They have always been in favor of doing away with WPA and relief and they have always been for a big navy.

The Communist Party? They are yelling louder than all the others for a big army and navy. They sabotage the fight against the layoffs. They refuse to do more than write a post card, as usual, to some stooge Congressman. (Many workers are getting writers' cramp as a result of these never-ending post-card campaigns, but little else.)

### Fingerprinting New Scheme

In order to further the firings and reductions of relief, the WPA officials have brought forward a new idea—fingerprinting all the unemployed and WPA workers! This latest order, the C.I.O. News of December 12 points out, is extremely dangerous. Fingerprinting workers means a blacklist of all militant union members. The trade unions and all unemployed organizations should immediately take up the fight against this new Roosevelt policy.

The C.I.O. has begun a campaign to prevent layoffs and stop discrimination against union men by WPA officials. In New York City the Unemployed and Project Workers Union is fighting tooth and nail to increase the allowances for coal, clothing and food for the unemployed and to prevent layoffs of WPA workers.

## Progressives Gain In Cafeteria Union

**NEW YORK.**—Progressive strength in the food workers union here showed a gratifying increase over the previous elections. The Stalinist administration in coalition with old-line office-holders rode into office again in the polling just completed in Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302.

Larry Phillips, Progressive candidate for Secretary-Treasurer, polled 1,258 votes as against his opponent who was re-elected with 3,301 votes. The Progressive vote represented an increase of 500 over the previous elections. The increased administration vote came from the newly organized chain cafeterias.

The workers in these cafeterias—where no minimum wages were established—had virtually no contact with the union because of a deliberate policy on the part of the administration to prevent the holding of membership meetings. Thus while the opposition was prevented from bringing administration mismanagement before these workers, the officials called "private" meetings to instruct these workers in fighting—not the bosses!—but the Progressives.

Another factor in the victory of the Stalinists was their ability to wield economic pressure against the workers. This included framing workers out of their jobs, usually with the assistance of the Bosses' Association, in clique control over the Labor Chief's office and discriminatory distribution of work to the union's unemployed members.

A minor victory was scored by the Progressives in the exclusion of Harry Lieben, Stalinist thug and Business Agent, from the "rank and file" (administration) slate. Lieben's exploits in framing and slugging workers in his territory have been mentioned in previous issues of the Appeal.

**ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND**

## APPEAL ARMY

### HANDLING THE SEMI-WEEKLY APPEAL:

We print below the excellent article by Ruth Querio of Allentown describing how she and the other comrades of her branch intend to solve the distribution problems raised by the twice-a-week Appeal.

The most important thing to be noticed is that Ruth intends to see to it that the members of her branch—one and all alike—shall become more active than ever before in distributing the voice of revolutionary socialism. Likewise, Ruth has hit the nail right on the head when she emphasizes the necessity of regularity. Concentration upon a good spot; regular appearance at this spot—that's the secret for successful selling of the Appeal.

We urge all literature agents, members of literature committees, etc., to carefully read and put into practice the wisdom of Ruth's article. In the near future we will print articles by Abe Miller of New York and Karl Shier of Chicago. Meanwhile, comments and brief articles along similar lines are welcomed by the Appeal staff.

### CONCENTRATE ON SUBSCRIPTIONS:

We are happy to report that our subscription drive (both national and local) has been showing splendid results. A report has just been drawn up for last month (November) showing that more subs—both new and renewals—were obtained during that month than at any other time since the Appeal began publication. An average of 46 per week was maintained during the month of November! We have almost reached our present goal of 50 per week!

Everything indicates that we should be able to go beyond an average of 50 during the month of December. All you have to do is to look at this week's list to see that.

Another thing to be proud of: The percentage of renewals is higher than ever before. This indicates that subscribers have

come to feel that the Appeal is an important and necessary part of their everyday life and problems. It is a real step forward on the road towards making the Appeal the voice of the American working class. Subscriptions build, finance and maintain the paper. On with local subscription campaigns!

### MONTHLY STATEMENTS MAILED THIS WEEK:

Monthly bundle-order statements are now being drawn up and will be mailed this week. We must report that some branches throughout the country have been falling somewhat behind. It is no longer necessary for us to emphasize the necessity for prompt attention to these bills. Support of the Appeal now makes the semi-weekly paper that much closer to realization.

Here is the list of subscriptions obtained during the week. Once again we hit the same all-time high obtained a few weeks ago. Special mention must be made of the Bronx branch in New York City which turned in 14 new subscriptions in one batch. Good work, comrades!

NEW YORK CITY	27
Minnesota	4
Chicago	4
Cleveland	3
Massachusetts	3
Michigan	3
St. Louis	2
New York State	2
Portland, Ore.	2
Indiana	1
Pennsylvania	1
California	1
New Jersey	1
Rhode Island	1
Seattle, Wash.	1
Montana	1
Total	80

In addition, two bundle order increases came in:

(1) Karl Shier of Chicago has added 100 copies per week to Chicago's order. This makes a total of 250 per week and places Chicago in second place as far as distribution of Appeals is concerned.  
(2) Youngstown, Ohio, has increased its order to 30 per week.

## Ruth Querio Gives Points On Pushing Appeal Sales

By RUTH QUERIO  
Allentown's Ace Literature Agent

**ALLEN TOWN, Pa.**—The coming of the twice-weekly is just about the best news one could possibly receive, and a day for the grandest kind of celebration!

You ask how we in Allentown intend to get out the best newspaper that's printed? Um, that's easy—it sells itself, providing each comrade puts his shoulder to the task. The thing to do is to make each and every comrade, none excluded, automatically responsible for at least two copies. We in Allentown are very lucky to have two very responsible comrades, only 72 and 78 years old—Mother Kimmel, 72, who sells at least 5 Appeals every week, often more, and Comrade Wickman, 78, who sells the paper with me. Also John Brucker who has what it takes.

The most important thing to do is to watch the local papers for union meetings, mass meetings and all kinds of meetings where workers gather. Then two or more comrades cover the meeting with Appeals, and like the little newswoman on the corner, CALL out the headline or the item nearest the mind of the worker attending the meeting.

### Regularity Imperative

Of course, the mill gates are very important. That is regular, routine work. Comrade Wickman and I cover Bethlehem Steel every Thursday. We also cover two Spanish clubs and one Portuguese Club in Bethlehem on Thursdays. Do you notice the specified day? That is very important. Workers become used to you coming there on just such a day and just such a time. Now with the coming twice-weekly we are laying the ground work by telling the workers that the paper is soon coming out twice a week and at a lower price (\$c).

We also have a route that two sons of a comrade cover weekly for regular customers. Then there is the important matter of getting out into the streets—especially the main street—where workers walk—regularly.

If you notice, regularity is the keynote. I have regular places, regular times to go to them and we are getting regular customers. As soon as better weather conditions permit we will be covering more mills; there will be street corner meetings again; really concentrated STREET SELLING and then we will challenge anyone our

### size to try and beat us!

The only difference that the twice-weekly will make is that instead of doing these regular things once a week, we will do them twice a week, and believe me, I expect that within a month's time after the lower-priced paper comes out, we will have to increase the bundle. As summer gets under way, the bundle orders will go up and up and UP!

The whole thing just rests on getting out regularly to certain places. This business of selling the Appeal doesn't worry me in the least—in fact I'm all pepped up, particularly in regard to the lower price. I really do expect to double my sales in no time at all when the price comes down. It takes time to build up the sales but it is really worth while. It forms a sort of friendly spirit with the workers. They read the paper and come back for more. They tell their friends about the Appeal and others buy.

There are plenty of places around here that are ripe for the picking; places where you can see the workers are looking for something they thought they had in the C. P. and where they will soon learn that it really is in the Socialist Workers Party.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**WANTED:** Girl to share apartment. Greenwich Village. All conveniences. Call WA 5-0399. Evenings. Daily & Saturday & Sunday A.M.

**WANTED:** Will buy second-hand sheet music for piano. Classical music wanted (sonatas, concertos, mazurkas, études, fugues, etc.). Write to W. Wynne, c/o the Socialist Appeal—116 University Place—New York City.

**WORKERS Educational Forum** presents: LISTON M. OAK on December 23, 1938. C. L. R. JAMES on January 6, 1939. 277 S. 11th St., Phila., Pa., Friday night, 8:30.

**"STORY OF A CHEAT,"** the Sasha Guitry Film of the Year can be seen at any time—cut-rate prices. See L. Reynolds at National Office for tickets. Downtown Branch.

**WANTED:** Krasnaya Letopis, No. 1 (10), 1924; Proletarskaya Revoliutsia, No. 8 (43), 1925. These volumes are indispensable for research now being carried on. If you have them in your possession, or any information where they may be obtained, please get in touch at once, with S. Stanley, c/o Socialist Appeal.

## SCORE BOARD

The total this week is \$463.20. Speed up, comrades. We have only a short time to go.

Send money in WEEKLY. Wipe out the zeros. Shoot up the barometer.

What's the matter with Newark, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Ohio and other points East? And California—don't keep us waiting much longer.

Quota	Paid	Percent	
Toledo, Ohio	\$ 20.00	100	
Marston Mills, Mass.	5.00	100	
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	40	
Durham, N. H.	5.00	40	
Boston	200.00	31	
New York City	1,050.00	29	
Astoria	\$ 5.00		
Williamsburg	30.00		
Bronx	33.00		
Downtown	36.00		
Lower East Side	36.50		
Needle Trades	33.00		
Upper West Side	13.25		
Balance through District office			
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	14.00	28
Yellow Springs, Ohio	5.00	1.00	20
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	3.00	12
Kansas	10.00	1.00	10
St. Paul, Minn.	100.00	10.00	10
South Bend, Ind.	10.00	1.00	10
Chicago	250.00	20.00	8
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Cleveland	200.00	0	0
Los Angeles	200.00	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
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
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
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

Refugee Campaign—Tasks for All

- 1. Circulate for signatures the petitions, calling on Congress to open the doors of America to the refugees. Any number of petitions can be obtained upon request from the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
2. Provide aid for the refugees by selling American Fund stamps. Every dollar counts! Arrange affairs, house-parties, etc., for the benefit of the refugees.
3. Introduce into your trade union, fraternal organization, club, etc., the model resolution (published in the December 3rd APPEAL) calling on Congress to open the doors. Send news of any action to the SOCIALIST APPEAL.
4. Arrange meetings on the subject of how to help the refugees and fight anti-Semitism. Expose Stalinist sabotage of the refugee campaign.

300,000 Refugees Seek Entry Here; Storm Consulates

(Continued from page 1)

ers Union Local 544 of Minneapolis, the Teachers Union of New York, Local 10 of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Harris County (Houston), Texas, C.I.O. Council, the Headquarters Branch of the West Coast Marine Firemen, the Lehigh County Unemployed League, and the Essex County Workers Alliance.

Dewey, La Follette Join

In addition to action by unions, fraternal and other organizations, a nationwide campaign has been launched for securing signatures to a petition directed to Congress. Among those who have recently accepted membership on the National Campaign Committee of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees are John Dewey, Miss Suzanne LaFollette, Sidney Hook, Meyer Schapiro and Vincent R. Dunne. Already thousands of signatures have been received at the offices of the American Fund, secured in union halls, schools and universities, door-to-door canvassing, and at street corner and mass meetings from coast to coast.

Finances for immediate succor of working class refugees are being raised by sale of 10, 25 and 50 cent stamps issued by the American Fund in a Christmas Campaign.

Mass Meetings Scheduled

Plans for mass meetings on the refugee issue from coast to coast are getting under way. First reports included:

Chicago: Two outdoor mass meetings, attended by several hundred, on the University of Chicago campus.

New Haven: A mass meeting at Fraternal Hall in New Haven on Monday night, under the auspices of the local branch of the American Fund, with Dwight MacDonald, editor of Partisan Review, Frank Trainor, C.I.O. steel organizer, and Jacob Bedford, New Haven attorney, as speakers.

Toledo: C.I.O. Industrial Union Council, composed of 35 unions, call on Roosevelt and the State Department to lift all restrictions and quota limitations to enable refugees to come in. The resolution was introduced by the delegates from Local 29, United Office and Professional Workers of America, which had previously adopted it.

Boston: A membership meeting of the C.I.O. United Office and Professional Workers Union this week unanimously passed a resolution for abrogation of all restrictions on refugee immigration, after a Stalinist attempt to table the motion was defeated.

Plentywood, Montana: Federal Labor Union No. 21760 directed a resolution to Montana congressmen, declaring the "steps so far taken by political representatives are nothing more than pious protestations," and "that we demand of our representatives in Congress that they remove all immigration restrictions and open the doors of this country to the victims of Hitler's atrocities."

Cleveland: A mass meeting on December 9th at the Workmen's Center, auspices of Local Cleveland of the Socialist Workers Party, around the slogan: "Enough Pious Tears! Admit the Refugees!"

Bronx, N. Y.: Parents Association of Public School 25, meeting last week, telegraphed Roosevelt, calling "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."

Hitler Demands Ransom

This preliminary trickle of activity must grow into a torrent if the refugees are to be saved. On Tuesday afternoon, the capitalist press gave eight column banners to a story, "Hitler Modifies Drive Against Jews," but upon examination it merely turns out to be a further move by Hitler to force American Jews to pay ransom for German Jewry. So long as the doors of America remain shut to the refugees, little can be done

for them. Opening the doors of America to the refugees remains the key to saving the refugees.

As militant labor and other proponents of aiding the refugees prepare for the fight to secure Congressional action, the various capitalist groups prepare to keep the refugees in Hitler's prison-house.

Reactionary Legion Stand

Using the Dies Committee as a sounding-board, Stephen F. Chadwick, National Commander of the Legion, declared to that House committee:

"Much as we, as Americans, sympathize with persecuted minorities in other nations, it is the considered thought of the American Legion that proposals to make this country an asylum for any or all political and religious refugees throughout the world are inimical to the welfare of the United States."

The American Legion, which adopted a vicious anti-labor program at its last convention, is being a little more blunt than other capitalist agencies. They will all, however, fight against any Congressional action to admit the refugees. Only the labor movement, if aroused in time by the militant vanguard, will back the fight to admit the refugees. Action is needed!

In every union hall, in every other organization friendly to labor and the democratic right of asylum! A torrent of telegrams and resolutions from organizations taking action must pour in on the Congressmen and Senators between now and the opening of the session. Every meeting held on the refugee issue should send its demands to the congressional representatives of that locality. Add to the mounting pile of petitions which will be presented to Congress when it convenes. Action is what counts now!

TOLEDO CIO ASKS OPEN DOOR FOR JEWISH REFUGEES

(Continued from page 1)

is threatened to all dissenting elements in Hitler's Naziland, including former trade unionists, political opponents of Hitler, Catholics and Protestants refusing to accept the Fascist state religion;

Whereas, wherever decency, democratic practices and humanitarian feelings still remain alive in the world, civilized people cry out against these abominations and call for all possible aid and asylum for these hounded and starving refugees of Fascism;

Whereas, the United States of America has ever been the traditional place of haven for the oppressed and tyrannized of the earth and numbers among its population over a majority of citizens whose forebears came to this country since the Civil War;

Whereas, this is the wealthiest nation on earth, whose boast is that we are the true preservers of democracy and humanitarian ideals;

Therefore be it resolved, that the Toledo Industrial Union Council goes on record calling upon the President of the United States of America and the State Department to immediately offer asylum in the United States by lifting of all restrictions and quota limitations to the refugee victims of Fascism and to use all possible influence upon the British, Russian and French Governments to open up their vast territories as haven for these oppressed peoples, and to initiate a public drive to raise funds to aid the homeless and starving Fascist victims.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—29 workers of the West Mfg. Corp. a dress factory here, signed a petition calling upon the federal government to open the doors of the United States to refugee victims of Nazi terror.

How Shall We Fight Anti-Semitism--By Felix Morrow

BLIND ALLEYS FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE

II

THE END OF THE ASSIMILATIONIST ROAD

The meaning of assimilation, of identification with the bourgeois state, is clear. If bourgeois German Jewry were not bestially persecuted by Hitler, it would have to join him. However reluctantly and squeamishly, in his bestial persecution of the German labor movement. Until yesterday anti-Semitism was not part of the fascist apparatus of Italy; and until yesterday Jewish diplomats, generals, financiers and industrialists, were members of the Fascist party of Italy; a Jewish general led one of Mussolini's armies against Loyalist Spain! In British South Africa, Jews are part of the white community which exploits the black natives and in innumerable humiliating ways maintains a system of racial superiority. As a matter of fact, one need go no further than the American South to see the same phenomenon of Jews Jim-crowding Negroes.

Quite apart from anti-Semitism, therefore, the Jew must take his place: either with the persecutors or join with the persecuted in the struggle for liberation. There is no third category in modern capitalist society, whether fascist or democratic! Such is the structure of rotting capitalist society.

THE ROAD OF ZIONISM

Theodore Herzl, founder of Zionism, typifies the leadership of that movement: disappointed assimilationists seeking their own (bourgeois) nation at a time when the productive forces of the world are strangling within the confining national boundaries.

But we, as revolutionary socialists, precisely because we are internationalists, stand for the unconditional freedom of every people. If only a small segment of Jewry, if only a million Jews, desired a Jewish Homeland, they would have the right to establish it. But under what conditions and by what methods can a Jewish Homeland be established? We declare categorically that it is only possible in a Socialist world.

For the Jews are not only dispersed and have no national state; the same is, in essence, true of the Irish, for every Irish nationalist knows that the government of "Eire" is a puppet of British imperialism. But the inhabitants of Ireland are Irish, while the inhabitants of Palestine are predominantly Arabs.

Under what conditions, then, can one envisage a Jewish Palestine? Obviously only two: (1) By agreement with the Arabs, who inhabit not only Palestine but the Near East; or (2) by driving the Arabs out of Palestine with fire and sword. There is no third real alternative. An ostensible third alternative, the proposal that Jews enter Palestine in such numbers that they will constitute the majority in the country, is merely a variation of either (1) or (2) for it means Jewish domination of Palestine.

The actual course followed by the Zionists has been a futile attempt to avoid these plain alternatives. The leaders of the Histadruth (Federation of Trade Unions) understood quite well in the early post-war years that to reach an agreement with the Arabs meant to unite the Arab peasants and workers with the Jewish agricultural and industrial workers against their oppressors, the Jewish and Arab bourgeoisie and landlords and the British overlords, the "mandate power." But the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund were dominated by the Jewish capitalists, especially the American-Jewish capitalists—incidentally, dominated by the non-Zionist Jewish capitalists and financiers, who looked upon Palestine as merely one form of Jewish charity. The Histadruth adopted regulations providing for Arab-Jewish labor unions; but it remained a platonic gesture, for the Zionist leadership feared to antagonize those who held the purse strings. They

feared, too, a collision with the mandate power, Great Britain, which of course would have understood that Arab-Jewish labor unions would be a revolutionary force endangering imperialist hegemony in the Near East. They took the road of opportunism: class-collaboration with their own capitalists and with Britain.

While the Irish nationalists denounce collaboration with Britain as treason to Irish freedom, Ben-Gurion, head of the Histadruth, denounces opposition to collaboration with Britain as treason to Zionism. The result? Britain has been enabled to pit Jew and Arab against each other. The British have been helped in this by Zionists of every hue, including the "Socialists." It is enough to recall the shameful slogan, "Conquer Jewish Work," i.e., get the jobs for the Jews, which has thrown the Arab workers and peasants into the arms of their bourgeois-feudal leaders who, for their own reasons, are irreconcilably opposed to Jewish expansion in Palestine. The Jewish Fascists, Jabotinsky's Revisionists, are at least realistic when they draw the conclusion that the way to establish a Jewish state is to demonstrate their usefulness and indispensability to British imperialism and thereby secure a free hand to drive the Arabs out by armed force. Without British bayonets, the Jews today would be driven out of Palestine by the Arabs. Jewish colonization in Palestine continues only thanks to British imperialism.

THE PRICE WE PAY FOR ZIONISM

This is understood, and resented, by the other nations oppressed by British might. When Mahatma Gandhi, after solidarizing himself with the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution, goes on to speak bitterly of the Jews being imposed on the Arabs, he is undoubtedly expressing the feelings of the Hindu people. Leaders of the black peoples oppressed by Britain have expressed themselves similarly. When these people, the natural allies of the Jews—and who moreover understand their common cause with the Jews—speak out against Zionism in Palestine, every Jew should take heed.

And to what end do the Zionists thus endanger the friendship of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa for the Jews? Is it not clear that no matter how servile the Zionist movement will be to Britain it will not receive in return the right of unrestricted immigration into Palestine? That is excluded in advance. British imperialism weighs in the balance: 400,000 Jews in Palestine, backed by some part of the 16 million Jews of the world—against 50 million Arab-speaking Moslems backed by the whole Moslem world! Lest the Arabs seek freedom from Britain, the British ruling class diverts them from that path by preoccupying the Arabs with the Jewish problem. The Jew thus serves Britain as scapegoat in the Near East, as he serves Hitler and Mussolini and the Polish and Rumanian gangster-rulers as scapegoat in Europe. But in return for the collaboration of the most powerful Arab landlords and capitalists, Britain keeps a sharp rein on the influx of Jews into Palestine and never, under British imperialism, will the Jews be freed from that rein. In return for this mess of pottage, shall world Jewry lose the friendship and potential alliance with the peoples of Asia and Africa, the colonial peoples everywhere, the oppressed of the earth? No, it is too high a price to pay when the only result is perpetual civil-war in Palestine in which a small segment of Jewry faces the Arab masses.

In any event, it is abundantly clear, the salvation of most of the sixteen million Jews of the world cannot be sought in Palestine. Not even the Zionists contend that Palestine under the British Empire can absorb more than a small part of Jewry. We must look elsewhere than in Zionism for the solution.

Yezhov Following Yagoda To G.P.U. Resting Place

Nikolai I. Yezhov, the blood-stained head of Stalin's G.P.U., has been liquidated by his boss. More exactly, the first big step in his liquidation has been taken. He has been removed from his post at the head of the Secret Police and allowed for the time being to retain the minor position of Commissar of Water Transport.

In accordance with the system developed in the endless series of Stalinist purges, the removal is equivalent to pronouncing the death sentence upon Yezhov—the same death sentence which he himself pronounced against thousands of Stalin's real and alleged, actual and potential adversaries.

The Daily Worker of November 10 tries to explain away the news as merely a trivial commonplace of no particular significance.

Just a Simple Fact "In declining health because the Trotskyist spies attempted to poison him, Yezhov found it necessary to give up one of his two posts, the other being People's Commissar of Water Transport which he still retains. Simple fact, isn't it? And hardly subject to distortion! But look what the press did to it!"

A simple fact indeed for Stalinist Russia! The "voluntary resignation" of Yezhov hasn't fooled a single newspaper anywhere in the world—not even the Daily Worker, which doesn't write according to its beliefs but merely according to the orders of the day which it receives from the Kremlin.

Even little children are beginning to understand—grownups have understood it for years—that "voluntary resignation" is one of the principal methods by which Stalin begins to wipe out his collaborators. Literally scores of prominent Soviet officials have begun their toboggan slide down to the murder-cells of the G.P.U. by "resigning" an eminent position and being allowed to keep a secondary post for a little while, or else by being demoted to a minor post—halfway-house to imprisonment or execution. It is a dead certainty that the same fate awaits Yezhov the man to have around. That is

why he must be disposed of. Stalin plans to cure his "declining health" with a G.P.U. bullet at the base of the brain.

Two Years of "Glory"

For the past two years, the Stalinist press has been filled with dithyrambic praises for Yezhov. He was the Buckler and the Shield; our Shining and Glorious Yezhov; the High Protector of the Republic; the flaming Scourge of the Enemies of the People; the Incorruptible Bolshevik; the Heroic Marshal of the Heroic Red Army. Tomorrow, the same press will drag him in the mud of nauseating invective which is the normal mode of speech of the Stalinist school.

Yezhov's successor, Lavrenti Beria, is not to be envied, for he too will inevitably follow the same road that was trod before him. Beria's qualifications for the position that was once occupied by the truly incorruptible and noble revolutionist Dzerzhinsky, are very simple. Unscrupulous to the utmost, cynical product of a cynical regime, unquestioningly servile in his flattery to the Borgia who employs him, he has risen to prominence not in the service of the revolution but rather by climbing a veritable mountain of corpses.

Beria's Apprenticeship

Beria distinguished himself first by cleaning out of the Georgian Communist party all the old Bolsheviks that still remained in the ranks after Stalin came to undisputed power.

In recent times, he has been the director of the campaign to exterminate all these old revolutionists physically, without benefit even of those semi-public trials which were vouchsafed Zinoviev and Pyatakof. Budu Mdivani, Okudjava and hundreds of others, founders and builders of the Georgian revolutionary movement, were murdered by the firing squad in numbers and with a refined cruelty such as Czar Nicholas the Bloody never reached. Beria is a fitting successor to Yezhov, as the latter was a fitting successor to Yagoda.

CANNON, JAMES SPEAK ON FRANCE

NEW YORK—Before a capacity audience in Irving Plaza last Friday night, C. L. R. James, noted British writer, and James P. Cannon, Nat'l Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke on the recent events in France and gave a brilliant analysis of the political conflicts underlying them.

James outlined the ebb and flow of the struggle between the militant workers of France and the Fascist reaction since the days of the street fighting of February, 1934. Clearly, unanswerably he showed that at all times the militancy of the workers has been ready to break out into open conflict against the bosses. It has been held in check only through the traitorous policies of the Popular Front, through the class-collaboration methods of the trade-union leadership and the open social-patriotic line of the French Communist Party.

He pointed out that the last general strike was forced on the "leaders" by the rank and file just as had been the magnificent sit-down strikes of June, 1936 and the Clichy demonstration of 2,000,000 workers that same summer.

This time, only even more strongly than before, the action was resisted by the trade-union leadership and sabotaged by the Communist Party, which was as anxious as Daladier not to "endanger the defense of France" by a slowing down of production in the factories.

Solidarity for France

"It is the privilege and the duty of every class-conscious worker, of every anti-fascist to give all possible support to the fighting French workers," Cannon declared following James. "The battle against Fascism is taking place today in France. In America, as everywhere else, the fate of the working class is bound up inseparably with the course of the struggle now being begun in France. We must rally to the side of our valiant comrades abroad around the slogan 'Workers' Committees of Action in Every Factory, Town and Industry—On to the Workers' and Peasants' Government! A workers' victory in France is the best safeguard against Fascism in America!'"

Why Does Stalin Keep Jews Out of Soviet Union?

"Stalin On Anti-Semitism"

Such is the title over the editorial column in the Daily Worker of December 12. At last Stalin speaks out—but it turns out that, instead of a statement by Stalin on the present onslaught against German Jewry, there is palmed off on us a statement by Stalin made on January 12, 1931!

It would be screamingly ludicrous, if it were not so unutterably tragic, that the leader of the Soviet Union has to be quoted on this burning question by reference to a statement nearly eight years old. Why does Stalin not provide his world-wide press with a statement made directly with reference to the present situation? Why not a word about today's persecution of Jewry in Germany, and particularly why no word offering asylum to the refugees?

Stalin remains silent as the tomb. To cover up his silence, V. J. Jerome and Harry Gannes have sought to provide alibis in the Daily Worker. Jerome's lame explanations have already been dealt with, in the Socialist Appeal of December 3. Gannes' apology deserves separate comment.

Gannes' Version

In his column in the Daily Worker of November 18th, Gannes offered a series of explanations that are in reality effective accusations against the Soviet bureaucracy. According to Gannes, the fault for the failure of the Soviet Union to speak out lies primarily with the British Tories. Why and how? Because they were responsible for not inviting the Soviet Union to the Evian conference last summer and will prevent an invitation to future conferences dealing with the problem of the refugees, thus "barring the U.S.S.R. from making its enormous contribution to the consideration of the refugee question."

And What Then?

Exactly how, however, the mere inclusion of the Soviet Union in any conference would be able to solve the problem is not made clear by the apologist for the Soviet bureaucrats. Can it be that Stalin has a plan which he is ready to spring at a conference? Why wait for an invitation to a conference? The world press will certainly print any plan offered by Stalin through Litvinov. And if that plan includes an offer of the Soviet Union to assume responsibility for a proportionate share of the refugees, why is it necessary to have it presented only at a conference? Will Gannes rise to explain?

How simple it would be to show up the hypocrisy of the capitalist world by presenting a feasible plan and actually offering to assume responsibility for carrying it out!

Alibi Ike

Valiantly Gannes proceeds to explain why the Soviet Union is unable to act alone and why it must therefore wait for an invitation to a conference. Reason number one: To have the Soviet Union "isolatedly attempt to grant asylum to the Jewish victims of Nazi barbarism" would be to prove Hitler's contention that the Jewish people are Communists. To save the Jews from such a horrible accusation the Soviet leaders are willing to let them suffer the tortures of hell in Nazi Germany. Incidentally, that reason could also apply to the capitalist democracies since in the eyes of Hitler these also are controlled by Jews.

Since when must leaders of the working class fail to do that which is correct and necessary because the enemy will make accusations? Or must the Jews be saved from becoming Communists in order to prove that Hitler is a liar?

Gannes continues. The Soviet Union is not in a position by itself "successfully to undertake so gigantic a problem as that of the

Jewish refugees." Assuming that to find refuge for 500,000 Jews would be impossible for the Soviet Union in spite of its enormous territory and resources, what is there to prevent its leaders from offering asylum to part of that number, say a hundred thousand or even fifty thousand? What is there to prevent the Soviet leaders from stating that they will assume responsibility commensurate with their ability to offer asylum?

What would stir the imagination of the Jewish people, of the workers throughout the world, and liberal opinion, more than a simple honest statement that the Soviet Union is ready to assume its share of the burden?

The Jews Too

Not only are the British Tories to blame, Gannes continues, but the Jews also must assume part of the blame because "no leading Jewish organization has requested of the U.S.S.R. that the growing number of Jewish refugees be permitted to emigrate to the Land of Socialism." We humbly remind Mr. Gannes that if his other reasons have any validity, the fact that a Jewish organization did or did not ask permission is immaterial. Because even if it did ask, it would have to be refused. Simple workers, by the way, would hardly think that the Land of Socialism should insist upon a formal request in order to save thousands of lives.

As a final reason, Gannes suggests that the "present refugees are middle class Jews who seek asylum preferably in countries where they can continue their accustomed ways of life. Would they be ready to accept Socialism and participate in its building?"

Naturally, in offering asylum to middle class elements the Soviet Union would be justified in protecting its economic and political system. It could make it a condition that the refugees come and do whatever work is available to help build a new society. A proletarian state of 175 million people can have no fear of a few hundred thousand middle class elements.

A Hinted Truth

In presenting his final reason Gannes, without knowing it, suggests a picture of the true situation. No Jewish organization asks for asylum in the Soviet Union because in actuality it would mean taking thousands of people out of one hell to dump them into another hell. It would mean that all the independent, thinking elements would be sent to Stalin's jails and concentration camps. The jailors are not anxious to invite and the prospective prisoners are not anxious to enter the "Land of Socialism."

Stalin's failure to offer asylum to the German refugees is another blow that he has struck at the Soviet Union and at the idea of socialism. A workers' state that is not degenerated, that would have a leadership of revolutionary Marxists anxious to serve the interests of socialism and humanity, would have seized this opportunity to proclaim to the world its readiness to offer asylum, within its limitations, to the political and racial subjects of persecution. A degenerated workers' state under the leadership of a corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy is fearful, among other things, lest the admission of "foreigners" would increase the elements hostile to it.

Was it not found necessary by Stalin to jail and kill innumerable Hungarian, German, Finnish, Italian communists who escaped from their own tyrants only to find themselves under a tyranny just as bad if not worse than the one from which they escaped?

Not until the Stalinist bureaucracy is removed will the Soviet Union become a haven of refuge for those who are oppressed and persecuted for their racial origin or their political activities.

Blackwell Coming To Trial, State Dep't Is Informed

Word has just been received from the State Department in Washington that Russell Negrete Blackwell, American anti-fascist militant, jailed in Loyalist Spain, will be brought to trial soon.

Previous reports from the American Charge d'Affaires in Spain have indicated that the Minister of State was disposed to favor the immediate release of Blackwell without trial. According to the State Department, it now appears that "such action has met with the opposition of the judicial authorities."

The State Department's communication asserts that Minister of Justice Pena informed them that when the sentence is known, consideration will be given to the possibility of releasing Blackwell in care of the American consular representatives. This statement appears to assume a conviction before trial.

The exact charges on which he will be brought to trial are not yet known. The State Depart-

ment had been previously informed that Blackwell was being held as "a dangerous revolutionary." However, the C.N.T. (Spanish anarchist union federation), wrote its American representative they were informed by the Military Investigation Service in Spain that Blackwell was formerly secretary to Leon Trotsky and an American spy. The Stalinist press has, at various times, accused him of being a Franco, German, and Italian espionage agent.

The fact that Blackwell's name was mentioned in the recent trial of P.O.U.M. leaders which resulted in convictions of eleven and fifteen years indicates the seriousness of his case. The Russell Negrete Blackwell Defense Committee, which has been working to secure his release, is planning a series of actions to guarantee him a fair trial and mobilize working class support in his behalf.

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Make the List Grow

After years of nauseating chatter about the great mission of the "people" in the fight for "decency" and "liberty," events surrounding the persecution of Jews in Germany drive home the point that the working class is the only class in modern society capable of leading any progressive movement.

While frock-coated millionaires, big-shot rabbis and priests are making the welkin ring with cheap protest against Hitler and just as cheap sympathy for the Jews, the only real program of assistance for the refugees comes from the labor movement. The campaign for "opening the doors" of the U.S. to the victims of Nazi persecution has already been taken up by a considerable number of unions.

Local 544 of Minneapolis, the Harris County, Texas, C.I.O. Council, Local 10 I.L.G.W.U., Local 5 American Federation of Teachers, the Headquarters Branch of the M.F.O.W.&U. (Marine Firemen), a Federal Labor Union in Montana and an Office Workers Local in Boston have passed resolutions favoring the dropping of immigration restrictions to refugees.

While this list indicates the real sentiment of the American workers towards the refugees, it would be folly to say that it has more than skimmed the surface of the American labor movement.

Where are the names of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. which have passed such defiant resolutions against Hitler—and whose leaders, Lewis and Green lose no occasion to make high-sounding speeches of "deep concern" for refugees? Where is the name of the United Automobile Workers, which was in the forefront of the unions in the fight against war—and whose leader Homer Martin takes great pride in championing progressive causes?

Where is the name of the needle trades unions, whose leaders never fail to appear on public platforms to shed bitter tears about the misfortune of the Jews?

Where is the name of Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. or the Knitgoods workers local, both led by Lovestonites whose political organization has publicly declared for the opening of the doors to the U.S.?

Where are the Stalinist-led unions, the Furriers, the Foodworkers, the National Maritime Union, etc., whose leaders make a profession

of violent anti-Hitlerite speeches—most of which is jingo pro-war agitation?

The workers in these and other unions should demand an accounting from their leaders. The labor movement least of all can tolerate the "sympathy" racket. It must act—and act at once—for admitting the refugees into the United States. United and concerted action of the labor movement can force Congress to "open the doors" at its coming sessions.

On the Make

Anthony Eden is no fair-haired boy. He's an ambitious politician on the make.

He has come to this country to build himself up as the potential British spokesman for an Anglo-American combination when war comes.

He's no Galahad of democracy, as the Daily Worker and a lot of other old ladies and liberals like to believe. He had his hand deep in the gore of the Non-Intervention committee and only those with short memories have forgotten his smelly role in the business of ending the sanctions against Italy over the Ethiopian affair.

Eden represents the safety valve of the opposition to Chamberlain's "appeasement" policy in Britain. When Chamberlain steps out he will step in—he hopes—and carry on, by gad, not for democracy but to preserve the waning glory of the Empire.

Refuge and Social Democracy

The powerful parties of the Second International in the Scandinavian countries play a leading role in the cabinets of all three countries. Premiers, ministers of state and foreign affairs, etc. etc.—these portfolios are held by the Social Democrats. We, of course, have no illusions about the real power: that remains in the hands of the capitalist class, in whose service the Social Democrats function as a liberal front. But the Social Democrats justify their role as one of actually securing, through their governmental functions, real gains for the working class.

Taking them at their word, then, why do they not open the doors of these countries to the refugees from the Hitler terror? Why do they not, at the least, try to do this? Their refusal to do so brands them as not even honest democrats, let alone Socialists.

Equally contemptible is the studied silence of their blood-brothers in this country, whether of the stripe of the Social Democratic Federation or the "Socialist Party" of Norman Thomas. These gentlemen wax indignant at the Stalinist regime for not opening the doors of the Soviet Union. But on the equally swinish conduct of the Scandinavian Social Democrats—on this they are silent.

The Socialist Call, Norman Thomas' organ, in its December 10 issue prints a denunciation of Stalin's failure to act on behalf of the refugees—reprinted from the Swedish Social-Demokraten! But why don't Norman Thomas' comrades in Sweden, Norway, Denmark open their doors to the refugees—on this not a word.

And these people set themselves up as critics of Bolshevik morality!

Trotsky Writes On Europe in Dec. N. I.

The December number of The New Internationalist is out and is featured by Leon Trotsky's article entitled "A Fresh Lesson." In this article Trotsky reviews the situation in Europe after Munich; the character of the coming world imperialist war; the position of the democracies and the dictatorships and the role played by the working class parties.

The "Editor's Comments" concern themselves particularly with the results of the recent elections in November.

A comprehensive analysis on the importance and meaning of Socialized Medicine is contributed

by William Harvey, pseudonym of a well known doctor.

Albert Goldman discusses the views of the Menshevik leader Mortov in reviewing the latter's brochure on the state and the socialist revolution. Dwight Macdonald again writes a column called "Reading from Left to Right." The "section of the Archives of the Revolution contains a contribution of Karl Marx, "A Worker's Inquiry." Book reviews and other important articles complete a highly valuable and outstanding issue of the magazine. Copies are still available at the price of 20c per copy. The subscription rate is \$2 per year.

Address: The New Internationalist, 116 University Place, New York City.

Outlines Available

Five educational outlines on current issues, put out by the New York party, are available for sale at the special price of ten cents for all five. Only a limited number are available.

The outlines deal with: "The Right of Asylum," an historical sketch; "Open the Doors," on the Hitler pogrom and the reactions of the various governments, including the Soviet Union; summary of the speech in New York by C. L. R. James on "The Twilight of the British Empire"; and two bulletins on the French general strike and the situation in France.

Order through the National Educational Department of the S.W.P., 116 University Place, New York City.

Collective Security- for the Capitalists



Carlo

REMEMBER THESE FACTS!

- Who put the strike-breaking Daladier government into power? The Socialist and Communist parties, by unanimous vote in the French Chamber of Deputies on April 10, 1938!
Who voted last summer to grant the strike-breaking Daladier government "extraordinary financial powers," i.e. the power to rule by decree without parliament? The Socialist and Communist parties, by unanimous vote in the French Chamber of Deputies on April 13, 1938!
Who called upon the French working class to support the "People's Front" government of Daladier on the grounds that it would save democracy? The Socialist and Communist parties!
Who voted the money for the military budget of the Daladier government, for the army whose "People's Front" rifles were used to crush the general strike? The Socialist and Communist parties!
Facts speak louder than promises. Remember these facts!

U.S. Establishes Control Over Chile After Long Battle With Great Britain

By DONALD BERGNER

United States financial and commercial interests have finally emerged victorious from the long, drawn-out struggle for the control of Chile, the world's chief source of that prime necessity of war, nitrates. German traders and British capitalists have been waging a strong fight for control of the Chilean markets.

Prior to the World War British commercial interests predominated, but in 1914 Germany got out in front and stayed there until the beginning of this year. U. S. share of Chilean foreign trade was only one-half that of Great Britain in 1913. The U. S. forged ahead of her during the War, but then the struggle for second place shifted back and forth until last year. Last year the U. S. passed Britain with a cloud of dust and in February of this year managed to pass Germany as well. The comparative figures for sales to Chile for that month: U.S. \$4,400,000 and Germany, \$4,250,000.

U. S. Investments Dominant In the investment field, that is in the basic control of Chilean banking and industry, Germany

has never even had a chance. Britain had almost complete control prior to the War. In 1912, for example, the U. S. had only \$12,000,000 invested in Chile. In 1931 Britain had a half billion dollars while Wall Street's boys had reached 74,000,000 dollars worth, of which almost a half billion were invested in industrial interests.

What is so valuable in Chile? Besides the war necessity, nitrates—owned by a partnership of the Chilean government and the American Guggenheim interests—Chile is the world's second largest producer of copper. The copper industry is also largely under the control of U. S. interests as is the production of electric power.

Seven Cents a Day

The aristocratic land-owners, allying themselves with whichever imperialist power happens to be dominant at the moment, have continued serenely along their money-grabbing path of feudal oppression of the Chilean peasantry. Four-fifths of all the arable land of Chile is owned by only 3,000 people. The millions of rotos, condemned to an average wage of about seven cents a day plus a little bread and beans, live under a system of veritable medieval serfdom.

It is these big land-owners who have formed the native backbone of every reactionary move in Chilean politics. They backed the Alessandri government during the middle 1920's after Alessandri had dropped his earlier liberalism. Then they supported the bloody anti-labor dictatorship of Ibanez from 1927 to 1931 although Ibanez, the agent of Yankee imperialism, liquidated many British interests and some over-ardent supporters of Britain. They backed the new Alessandri government that took over following the short period of "chaos" after Ibanez was forced to flee.

Strikes Overthrow Dictator

This second Alessandri government put an end to a short period of comparative freedom brought on by strikes, revolts and threats of more throughout the country. Students and workers came out into the streets against Ibanez, as they did two years later against Alessandri when the sailors led the revolt. In the latter revolts, a semi-socialist government led by Carlos Davila and the popular labor leader and Socialist Martinegrove held power for a short time. But it didn't last long. Soon Alessandri and his British and land-owning friends were back in the saddle, to sit tightly on it until this year's elec-

tions put in Pedro Aguirre Cerda, friend of Washington and Wall Street.

In the hotly-contested election this October, the charge was made by many, especially the Communists, that Aguirre's opponent, Senor Gustavo Ross Santa Maria was—because of his opposition to the "people's front" and to U. S. control of Chile—an agent of the Fascist powers. Nothing could be further from the truth. At that time it was stated in the Socialist Appeal that Ross is the agent of "democratic" Britain. This becomes clear when one notices that the "radio program" featured on the front page of Ross' paper, El Diario Ilustrado, is limited to one station: the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Wall Street Man

"People's front" Aguirre made it publicly clear immediately after his election that he was no poor second even to Ross in authoritarian ideas. "Left wing governments," says this millionaire landowner-capitalist, "need two assets: discretion on the part of the rulers and discipline on the part of the masses." He also made it quite clear that he was pro-U.S. No "Mexicanization"—expropriation of Wall Street interests—for this country.

The charge has been made by everyone but the Stalinists that Aguirre was supported by a strange "Front," one so "popular" that it included the Fascists. The original Stalinist answer to this was that this support was given by individual Nazis who broke with their leadership.

The Chilean press carried the following interesting item on October 18: "Aguirre Visits Ibanez (the jailed ex-dictator and co-leader of the Nazis—D. B.). Thanks him for the withdrawal of his candidacy and the support he offers. . . ."

The Stalinist Brass Check

The Stalinists however said that it was only Ibanez and not Gonzalez von Marees, the other Nazi co-leader, who supported Aguirre. But the fact that the half-German Gonzalez also supported Aguirre is further proved by the violent attacks on Gonzalez appearing very prominently on the pages of El Diario Ilustrado. The Stalinists offer one final attempt at a squirm-out. Their leading Latin-American pen-prostitute, Mr. Ricardo Martinez, whines at the hue and cry against the strange "Front." Why should it be so surprising, says he, to see the Nazi demagogues trying to cover up their bankruptcy by supporting the People's

'Communists' Become Open Backers of Arms Program

Coming out brazenly for Roosevelt's Big-Navy-Army building program in preparation for imperialist war, Earl Browder, Fuehrer of the Communist Party, last week established a new landmark in Stalinist degeneration. It is important to recognize the exact nature of the "advance" the Stalinists have now made over their previous subordination to the war-makers.

The latest Stalinist line was issued in the form of a "report" by Browder to a "plenary session of the National Committee" which, needless to say, adopted it unanimously. In the days when the Communist Party enjoyed internal democracy, the policy of the party was fixed, after a report and discussion, by resolutions, the majority resolution becoming the program of the party. Now, of course, there are never any minority resolutions, and the program appears in the form of a pronouncement by the Fuehrer, the endorsing resolution of the National Committee merely consisting of hailing the pronouncement.

Repeats France

Masked and shamefaced jingoism, half-explicit avowals of loyalty to the capitalist state, indirect support of militarism, are now being replaced by open jingoism, unequivocal devotion to the capitalist state, and direct support of armaments.

What is now unfolding in the Stalinist camp and its sphere of influence is a repetition, word for word and step by step, of the fatal course down which the Stalinists and the Social Democrats dragged the French workers. Browder is merely repeating Thorez, his French counterpart. He merely changes the name of Daladier to Roosevelt and Jouhaux to Lewis. Stalinist votes for the French military budget and military loans to semi-fascist Poland, are to be aped by Stalinist votes for Roosevelt's military budget and military loans to semi-fascist Brazil, etc. No one can accuse Fuehrer Browder of originality!

Sacrificing Workers' Needs

As Thorez openly subordinated all considerations of social gains for the French working class to the sole real interest of the Stalinists, the military alliance of the French bourgeoisie with Stalin, so Browder asks but one boon of American imperialism: military alliance with Stalin. Browder is, if anything, more crude than Thorez was. He says:

"Today, as never before, the fate of the world depends upon the role that will be played by these two greatest powers in the world (America and Soviet Russia) . . ."

"It is necessary to find a program of collaboration which can effectively unite these two greatest world powers. . . ."

"The issue of a positive peace policy for America more and more becomes dominant and all alignments upon domestic is-

ues readjust themselves to the larger line-up." (Daily Worker, December 10, 1938.)

In plain English: "Rulers of America, find a place in your imperialist plans for a line-up involving Stalin, and in return we shall do our best to subordinate every need of the workers to your military needs."

Browder Joins General Staff

The new line drops all pretense of not supporting the Army and Navy general staff armament proposals. Actually, the Stalinists were for the Big Navy Bill, when it was introduced at the last session of Congress; the Stalinist lobbyists were extremely active in pushing the bill; but publicly the Stalinists "merely" attacked the opponents of the bill as isolationists. This was typical of the previous technique. Now there is no longer any masking of the full line. Browder says:

"Prior to the Munich pact, we declared that a correct peace policy . . . could quickly halt and remove the menace of fascist aggression without the necessity of a big armaments program for our country. . . ."

"This argument on armament that was valid before Munich loses its force afterward . . . only American arms can preserve the Americas from conquest by the Rome-Berlin-Tokio alliance." (D. W., Dec. 7.)

A Mess of Pottage

In return for Stalinist support for armaments, Browder wants a military alliance for Stalin. He says:

"The question is not are we for armaments, yes or no; it is the more complicated question, 'Armaments, for what?' If it is for the defense of the liberty and independence of our own and other peoples, yes, emphatically yes! But the people must learn to make its 'Yes' a power for securing guarantees that the armaments will be for that purpose and for no other." (D. W., Dec. 7.)

Promise and Reality

In other words, Browder proposes an exact repetition of the Franco-Soviet pact and Daladier's promises, the Stalinists not only voted military budgets but broke up and terrorized workers' meetings called to opposed military expansion. After the Stalinists had served their purpose, they were thrust aside, the Franco-Soviet pact was thrown on the scrap heap and Daladier's troops, heavily armed with the new weapons provided by Stalinist votes, broke the strikes of the workers. If he deems it necessary, Roosevelt will use the Stalinists in this country in the same way and for the same purpose.

This, then, is the significance of the latest Stalinist line. All the circumlocutions and masked formulations are dropped. Henceforth Browder openly wears Uncle Sam's uniform—not a private, but the chevrons, boots and Sam Browne belt of a recruiting officer.

QUESTION BOX

(Conducted by the National Educational Department)

Question: How can the United States afford to "open the doors" to the thousands of German Jewish refugees, when there are already millions of unemployed workers in this country?—B. G., New York.

Answer: This is the argument that Hitler uses: "There is no room for the Jews in Germany!" Similarly, this objection says: "There is no room for the Jews in the United States!" Hitler says the Jews are taking away the jobs of good German workers; the "democratic" capitalists here say that the refugees will take away the jobs of good American workers.

Moreover, if the Jews have to be sent to Madagascar or Guiana because unemployment leaves no room for them elsewhere, is it not logical for the "democratic" statesmen to propose that the home unemployment problem be solved likewise? After all, it would be better than to let them starve! In the earlier days of this country, the right of asylum for refugees was recognized in practice. Then the U. S. was comparatively poor. Today, when it is the wealthiest nation in the world, it cannot "afford" to admit the Jews! Why is it that the wealthier a capitalist country becomes, the less it can afford to admit persecuted people?

The answer to Roosevelt and Chamberlain is the same as the answer to Hitler. In Germany, it is not the Jews who have taken away the workers' jobs—it is German capitalism, it is Hitler himself. The same thing is true here: it is the bosses who take away the jobs from the workers!

In this country there is work and wealth enough not only for the millions of unemployed but also for the comparatively small number of refugees who would be admitted. The Socialist Workers Party has the program which will aid both the victims of the Nazi terror and the victims of unemployment. We demand a 10 billion dollar federal public works program; a 5 billion dollar federal housing program; a wage scale which rises with the cost of living; reduction of working hours at the same weekly wage rate to give the right to a job to every worker; open the idle factories and let the workers operate them at union wages, under workers' control; make the rich pay for the ravages of their crisis!

To oppose opening the doors to the refugees is to endorse the policy of Hitler!

Front when even their Trotskyite colleagues did the same? The only trouble with this is one minor detail: the analogy doesn't work. This is fabricated out of the whole cloth—and Martinez knows it. The Chilean Trotskyites, the Revolutionary Workers Party, did not support Aguirre—or Ross. They published article after article in their paper Alianza Obrera, and leaflet after leaflet attacking both capitalist candidates and calling on the workers to support only the withdrawn Socialist candidate Grove

and all independent Socialist candidates as a protest against capitalist politics and those labor leaders who were playing them.

(This is third of a series of articles on the situation in Latin-America. Next week there will be an analysis of Argentina, leading opponent of the U. S. delegation at the Pan-American Conference.)

Read Socialist Appeal

Stalinists Try To 'Smear' Grynszpan

The case of Herschel Grynszpan has aroused the deepest sentiments of sympathy and solidarity among the widest variety of people. Even representatives and spokesmen of the conservative wing of capitalist democracy came forward spontaneously in behalf of the young Jewish emigre who sought in feverish desperation to protest dramatically before the bar of world opinion against the savage torments to which Hitlerism subjected his family and his people.

Public figures so far to the right, politically, as Dorothy Thompson, have expressed themselves categorically against the Nazis' demand that Grynszpan be guillotined for shooting Vom Rath. We are revolutionary Marxists, and by virtue of our whole tradition, our doctrine, our daily behavior, we have nothing in common with the theory and practice of any kind of individual action, much less individual terrorism. At bottom, however justified it may be "morally," it has always been either a substitute for or a brake upon the action of the masses which, properly organized, is the ONLY effective method of struggle against reaction. Yet, although our movement has always persistently and patiently combated individual terrorism, it is proud of the fact that at all times and in all lands it has never hesitated, when confronted with a choice between the misguided foe of tyranny and the despot who fell before his bullet or bomb, to take the side of the former.

We cherish the memory of William Tell and not of Gessler the tyrant. Not a shadow of infamy is attached in our minds to the epic traditions of the Russian terrorists who gave their lives in the struggle against the bloody Czars and Grand Dukes and their murderous police prefects. One would have to be devoid of the last iota of hatred for oppression and despotism, to think or write otherwise. That is why it is so utterly revolting to see how the Stalinists in France have conducted themselves with reference to the Grynszpan case. At a time when even conservative writers put all emphasis on pointing out that the Hitlerites were only reaping the fruit of their vicious anti-Semitic campaign, and that the real responsibility for the crime rested on the shoulders of the Fascist bureaucracy, the Stalinist press leaped in to throw the mud of suspicion on the young Jewish martyr. On November 9, 1938, the Paris Stalinist daily, l'Humanite, wrote as follows:

"The police know as surely as we do that young Grynszpan was in constant relation with the Trotskyist circles, which swarm with agents of the Gestapo. Is it so improbable that one or more of these wretches said: 'Your family is being persecuted; its possessions are being stolen. That can't be tolerated. Avenge yourself, avenge yourself!' We firmly believe that there lies the truth."

The next day, l'Humanite continued the comments dictated by its pathological hatred for the "Trotskyists," referring to ". . . what shady role might have been played by an agent of the Gestapo introduced into the Trotskyist circles of Paris which Grynszpan frequented."

It goes without saying that the "police know" NOTHING about Grynszpan's "constant relation" with "Trotskyist circles"; that the Stalinists know NOTHING about such relations, for the good and simple and sufficient reason that Herschel Grynszpan never had any relations with our movement—in France or elsewhere, no more than Trotsky ever had relations with the Gestapo. The whole story is simply a lie woven out of cloth bearing the familiar trade mark of the G.P.U. The only thing that "the police know as surely as we do" is that the Stalinists are loathsome liars, whose desperate fear and hatred of our movement drive them to a cynical game of ducks and drakes with the freedom and even the life of a young lad whose despairing act elicited the spontaneous sympathy of virtually the entire civilized world.

The labor movement has never been a paradise. To one extent or another it has always been compelled to suffer in its ranks the presence of abominable elements and their abominations, both alien to its principles and its ideals. Hence everything sober and clean in the labor movement has never neglected the ever-necessary task of weeding out of its garden all poisonous and deformed growths. But it is hard to recall, in the long and colorful history of this movement, anything at once so base, so unscrupulous, so vile, so offensive to every feeling of simple decency and sanitation, as that inexhaustible source of rotteness we know as Stalinism.

Its reaction to the case of Herschel Grynszpan is but one of countless instances.