# Drive Is Launched For Twice-Weekly Appeal

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!

VOL. II-No. 52

Saturday, December 3, 1938

5¢ per copy

# FASCISM MENACES FRANCE

# Demand That U.S. Congress Open the Doors to Refugees Workers Ready to Fight;

Cannon Urges Party To PETITION DRIVE Speed Appeal Campaign ON; PARTY CALLS WHO OPPOSES THE

Success of Drive Will Assure Appearance FOR SIGNATURES of Twice-Weekly by February 1 — Or Sooner

other organization of comparable

size would dream of undertaking

made. An adequate editorial staff

There can be no doubt that the

3000

2700

By JAMES P. CANNON National Secretary, S.W.P. On February 1, 1939 and not such a task. But Trotskyites by

later-possibly sooner-the Socialist Appeal will begin publica- of a situation and then look for tion as a Twice-Weekly on the the possibilities to meet them. road to the Daily.

I make this assertion with confidence because two-thirds or to prepare the prompt issuance of three-fourths of the measures the Twice-Weekly Appeal has alnecessary for this important step | ready been done. Mechanical and forward have already been taken. technical arrangements have been The practical feasibility of the step has been fully established after the most thorough-going political competence—has been asquestion from all sides. We have to the branches of the party. the facilities and the people to Their task is to provide the \$3,000 produce and distribute a twice-a- fund required to launch the twiceweek paper, and on the basis of weekly and guarantee its regular our present organization-leaving appearance over the first period aside the optimistic calculations on growth and expansion which party branches will do their duty. are universal in our ranks-we In responses to a preliminary

have the resources to maintain it. questionaire they have already But our National Committee, in registered their enthusiastic suparriving at its momentous deci- port of the twice-a-week Appeal. sion, was motivated above all by For the most part, they have asthe fact that a weekly paper no sumed their own quotas and longer adequately serves our po- promised to meet them within litical tasks and aims. We need sixty days. On that basis we arand must have right now a means rive at the confident assertion to speak twice every week, to hit with which I commenced this artwice as often and twice as hard. ticle: On February 1, 1938 and

The practical feasibility of the Socialist Appeal will begin pubtwice-weekly has been established lication as a Twice-Weekly on for us on this basis. Of course, no the road to the Daily.

SCORE BOARD

Local Ouotas

were set by the National

Committee to be raised

within sixty days. The locals

which make the best show-

ing by January 15th, con-

Fiaxton, N. D.
Fresno, Cal.
Hartford, Conn.
Marston Mills, Mass.
Portland, Oregon
Thermopolis, Wyoming
Yellow Springs, Ohio
Windsor, Conn.

The following quotas

To Be Distributed To All Union Locals

A nation-wide campaign, petihabit proceed from the necessities tioning Congress to repeal all laws restricting freedom of immigration, was inaugurated last Everything that needs to be week by the American Fund for done by the National Committee Political Prisoners and Refugees.

The petition, pointing out that today only a chosen few are permitted to enter the United States, calls for Congressional abrogation of all laws abridging the -second to none in literary and right of immigration, including numerical quotas, racial, politiand realistic consideration of the sembled. The last word is now up cal and financial restrictions, in order to permit the victims of Nazi persecution to enter this

Petitions Available

Already distributed in the thou ands to workers and fraternal organizations throughout the country, copies of the petition are available to any organization or individual by writing or calling at the national offices of the American Fund, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The petition campaign is en dorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, and its branches everywhere are mobilizing to secure signatures at union halls, work-That is the decisive consideration. not later - possibly sooner—the ers' meetings and by door-to-door solicitation.

Writers, Professors Sign Among the first signatures secured were those of prominent writers and university teachers in New York. These include Ferdinand Lundberg, author of "America's Sixty Families," James T. Farrell, author of the Studs Lonigan books, James Rorty, Max Eastman, Professors Sidney Hook and James Burnham of New York University, Bernhard J. Stern and Ernest Nagel of Columbia, Scott Buchanan, B. J. McGill, and

Congressional action at the forthcoming session in January is required because under the present immigration laws the German, Austrian and Czech quotas are filled for several years in advance. Greater Germany's quota of 27,000 to be admitted annually into the United States is ridiculously small, and must be replaced by unrestricted immigration if the refugees are to be aided.

Houston Peterson.

Text of the American Fund pe tition follows in full: Petition to the Congress of the United States:

OPEN ALL DOORS

TO THE REFUGEES!

The United States, itself populated by immigrants, once gave welcome, shelter, and citizenship to refugees from every land. In recent years increasing restrictions have been imposed upon the right of immigration. Today only a chosen few are allowed to enter the United States through a narrow gateway guarded by numerical quotas, racial, political, and financial qualifications.

Never have there been so many victims of reactionary persecution. Not even under the Czars have the Jews been so scourged as today under the Nazi terror. Never has the need of these refugees been greater. Never have the barriers been raised higher against them.

It is imperative that the government of the United States open its doors to these suffering people as an example of genuine fraternity toward them and to the rest of the world.

Therefore, we, the undersigned, citizens and residents of the United States, do hereby call upon the Congress of the United States to repeal all laws abridging the (Continued on page 2)

In order to provide a scapegoat to turn aside wrath from their own heads, and in an effort to patch up a few holes in their tottering economy, the Nazi monsters have launched their drive for the economic, social and physical annihilation of a cultural and religious minority of 700,000 persons.

The immediate problem is to save these people, the helpless victims of the Nazi persecution.

The one honest, direct and workable answer that Americans can give is: to open the doors of the United States and admit the refugees into this country. Indignation and lamentation will not aid the refugees. Passing the buck to some other nation or all other nations will not save them. The thing, and the one thing, that we can do is to demand that they be let in bere.

BIG SHOTS SILENT ON OPEN DOOR

It is notoriously obvious that, so far, very few of the big shots, including the big shot leaders of the Jewish organizations, have come out with public support for the demand to open the doors of the United States to the refugees. Speeches are cheap, but the cost of action is higher.

When these people find "difficulties" in and "objections" to the plan of opening the doors of the United States, we say: this proves that their indignation is a fake; and, in the case of the lewish leaders, we say: this is a contemptible and hypocritical cowardice whereby they hope to curry favor with the rulers of America by not "inconveniencing" them with a demand that would force the United States actually to do something instead of preaching morality to the rest of the world.

However, there are two difficulties in the proposal for asylum in the United States which, inflated by the big shots, are also causing worries and doubts in the minds of the rank and file of American workers, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. These are: (1) Would not the admission of the refugees take away jobs from those of us already here, and increase unemployment? (2) Would not the admission of the refugees have the effect of increasing anti-Semitism in this country?

WHAT THE PROBLEMS ARE

We want to face these difficulties frankly.

In the first place, we do not pretend that admitting the refugees will permanently solve the entire Jewish question. The Jewish question is not going to be solved under capitalist-imperialism; on the contrary, it is going to get steadily worse; and it is about time, after the experiences of the past twenty years, that the Jews themselves woke up to that fact and turned their energies in the only direction that has any real hope for them; to the struggle against imperialism and for world socialism.

Admitting the refugees is not the permanent answer to the Jewish question as a whole. But it is the answer and the only answer to the immediate concrete crisis, to the present persecutions in Germany. Recognizing that the workers will never achieve real security under capitalism is no argument against the struggle now to raise wages at least above the starvation point.

Secondly, we naturally recognize that the admission of all of the refugees who want to enter would not be all easy sailing. No great task can be done without effort and trouble.

HOW ABOUT JOBS?

Specifically with reference to the objection that admission of the refugees means loss of jobs:

1. This is the reverse of the argument that killing off all the unemployed would get rid of unemployment. But the truth is that unemployment is a functional disease of capitalism, caused not by the lack of any need for work to be done but by the requirements of capitalist profit. Getting rid of the unemployed would not eliminate but aggravate the problem of unemployment for the remainder, as was proved by Ireland in the last century. Similarly, the admission of the refugees would in itself have no important effect on the general problem of unemployment. In point of fact, through the introduction of a new body of consumers its indirect effect might well be an increase of general

2. However, the objection loses all weight when we merely reflect that there are now in the United States about 12,000,000 or more unemployed. The problem of unemployment is not going to be solved one way or another by the addition or subtraction of half a million persons—three times that many are laid off in a single month, when the production curve drops. There are plenty of resources, factories and potential jobs in this country for twice and three times the present number of inhabitants. The real answer to the objection on the grounds of employment is for all of the unemployed, joining with all of the refugees and all of the employed workers as well, to demand that the resources

(Continued on Page 4)

# Strike of Two Million Shows Leaders Fear Showdown

Refusal to Meet Challenge of Power Enables Daladier To Score Bloodless Victory for Cause of Advancing Fascist Reaction

# WORKERS' POWER IS ONLY ROAD

Handicapped by a half-hearted and treacherous leadership, 2,000,000 French workers last Wednesday demonstrated their readiness to fight the advancing menace of Fascism.

Under the direct threat of powerful repressive forces mobilized by Bonaparte Daladier, the general strike, tardily called and ham-strung by the leaders who tried to keep it from developing into a struggle for power, was limited in its effectiveness.

Daladier deliberately set out to crush the resistance of the workers to his program of misery and starvation. Because the trade union bureaucrats, the Socialist and Stalinist leaders refused to meet the issue of political power, Daladier was permitted to score a bloodless victory for the advancing cause of Fascist reaction.

Daladier openly challenged the workers precisely on the issue of political power. The workers were prevented from taking up that challenge. Daladier made it openly a question of "the social regime"—i.e., the capitalist order. The workers were restricted to making it an issue of the 40-hour week.

That is why Daladier was able to break the backbone of the strike in the railways and all the utilities and to force a retreat by the 3,000,000 organized workers who ignored or were unable to obey the strike call. Daladier has thereby brought immeasurably closer the victory of Fascism in France and shortened the time in which the workers, their ranks and organizations still intact, can prepare to meet the threat and

The 100,000 workers who occupied factories and mines spontaneously last

### veek showed that they were ready to take up Daladier's chal-Issues Drawn In France lenge. Since Fascist Riot In '34 these strikes, and the creation of Committees of action through-

People's Front Weakens Workers in Antiaggressive struggle to overthrow Daladier and establish a Work-Fascist Fight and Prepares Road ers' and Farmers' Government-For Daladier this was and is the program of

By HAROLD ROBERTS Military-fascist dictatorship or choice that lies before the French | ters between the classes, basing working class at this critical

This is the choice that has been on the order of the day through four years of deepening economic crisis and repeated convulsions.

French capitalism has been in permanent state of acute crisis many. since 1933. Already rotting in decline when the full impact of the world crisis finally hit it, French capitalism has been able to offer even less resistance to the ravages of the crisis than Britain and the United States.

National production has declined disastrously. The French peasant has been squeezed until he has all but suffocated. The Only a few weeks after the Feb. arms race accelerated with the approach of a new war has swollen the needs of the state to the point where they now absorb nearly half the greatly-reduced strongholds of the Austrian national income.

Discarding "Luxuries" Ever since 1934 it has been made clear that the French ruling class was preparing to free itself from the restraints of parliamentary institutions and the unions of the workers-luxuries t could no longer afford.

Beginning in 1933 it organized and armed its bands of Fascist thugs-the largest of them was Col. de la Rocque's Croix de Feu this stirring within the masses out into the streets for the first hidebound bureaucracy of the alded the end of bourgeois defright, the then-premier Daladier struggle against the workers-Gaston Doumergue.

The Doumergue government

action, the only program of acwas the first of a series of Bonation capable of answering the partist regimes—so-called because the workers' power—this is the they present themselves as arbi- Fascist threat, themselves not on the parliamentary machinery but upon the military-police apparatus of the State. Such were the governments of Bruening, von Schleicher, and Von Papen, which paved the way for Hitlerism in Ger-

Workers' Reaction

spectacular rise and growth of the armed Fascist gangs, aided and almost openly armed and abetted by the General Staff of the army, followed closely upon the staggering lesson given to the workers by the defeat of their fellow-workers at the hands of Hitler in Germany. 6th riots, in Austria, the same bitter lesson was repeated when the cannon of Dollfuss battered in the last hastily-defended

Within the French working class a powerful groundswell soon made itself felt. The workers pressed forward, anxious for the struggle and acutely aware that failure to challenge the Fascist threat meant the regime of the club and gun, of castor oil and the concentration camp.

In the French Socialist Party -and on Feb. 6, 1934 it sent them had the effect of swinging the armed demonstration which her- party to the Left. Simultaneously the French Communist Party was mocracy in France. Shaken with beginning its own swing to the Right. From 1929 to 1933 the the same who now leads the French Communists had been shouting wildly for conquest of surrendered the reins of govern- the streets, for the workers' ment and gave way to the extra- power. When that period of comparliamentary government of parative stability was rudely ended, by the crisis, by the vic-

(Continued on page 3)

this road. For the past two years in the People's Front they had succeeded in ham-stringing the workers' struggle and preparing them for the axe that Daladier now hopes to wield.

Daladier could count on his erst-while fellow-heroes of the People's Front. The workers could not.

Immediate generalization of

out the country, launching of an

But Daladier could count on

the Jouhaux, the Blums, the Tho-

rez, and the Duclos not to take

Jouhaux and Co. succeeded in oreaking the spontaneous sitdowns and called for a demonstrative general strike of 24 hours five days away. This was the time needed to dissipate the aroused anger of the masses and the time needed by Daladier to make his display of force.

Daladier Aggressive Daladier, supremely confident in the mis-leadership of the workers, proceeded aggressively

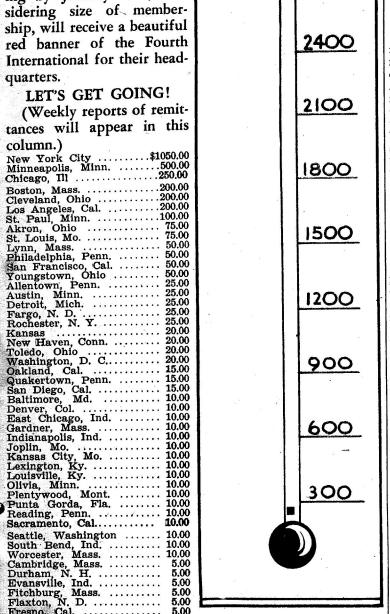
and even provocatively to make the issue a test of power. He militarized the public services. He requisitioned all utilities. He called out the army and the Mobile Guards. He issued decrees granting himself unlimited

virtual war footing. He openly proclaimed that the social regime—the rule of the

power. He placed the country on

capitalists—was at stake, But the bureaucrats of the Confederation of Labor, with the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucrats trailing behind them, piteously denied that they had any political aims. They dinned it into the heads of the workers

(Continued on Page 3)



Watch the mercury rise from week to week!

# UNION GUARDS Members Meet On STORM SILVER SHIRT MEETINGS

# Fascists Thrashed in Youngstown and Chicago

How shall we deal with the union-busting, anti-semitic fascist bands when they come into the open, here, in the United States?

That question is being asked with increasing anxiety and increasing frequency throughout the labor movement. The answer was forthcoming this week from Youngstown and Chicago.

With "Offense is the Best Defense" their motto, a company of union defense guards from Youngstown, Ohio stormed a meeting of Silver Shirts in Sharon -15 miles away-put a speedy end to the gathering and routed the fascist hoodlums.

The Silver Shirt meeting was scheduled for the Moose Hall with Roy Zachary, National Commander as the speaker. At 8 p.m., Moose lodge officers, previously uninformed as to the auspices of the meeting, cancelled the permit for the hall when they discovered who the sponsors were.

### Union Guards Arrive

The meeting was transferred to the Carpenters Union Hall at the suggestion of a fascist who had wormed his way into the local. But just as the meeting opened, 10 carloads of union guards arrived from Youngstown, dashed up the stairs and stormed the meeting.

As the doors and windows were being battered down, several squads of cops rushed in to protect the Silver Shirts. The union guards circled the building and prepared to storm it from the rear. At this point, two officials of the Carpenters Union arrived the automobile workers. Upon and ordered the Silver Shirts out of the building.

Quaking, the Silver Shirts quickly stole out of the building and were escorted to their cars bile workers against the miserable by the cops as the union pickets annual wages which they now rehurled their hatred at the local ceive-wages which condemn them

## Cancel Newcastle Meeting

"Union members in this area," writes one of the union guards to the Northwest Organizer, Minneapolis teamsters' paper, "are determined that the Silver Shirts shall hold no meetings. The effectiveness of our quick action in the Sharon case is shown by the fact that the Silver Shirts called off a scheduled meeting in Newcastle, Pa., the following night. Definite steps are being taken to organize union defense squads after the pattern of the Minneapolis unions for the protection of the union movement against any attacks from the employers' stooge vigilante organization, the Silver Shirts. Our motto is 'Offense is the best defense!'"

# Chicago Fascists Drubbed

Meanwhile from Chicago comes the dispatch that a meeting of Silver Shirts addressed by the same rattlesnake, Roy Zachary, was smashed by a group of 100 ani-nazis, sending Zachary and some of his cohorts to the hospital for head treatment.

The Silver Shirts came through with whole hides only because several squads of police arrived and came to their defense. Several anti-fascists were held by the police after being "identified" by the Silver Shirts. None of the Silver Shirts were arrested.

The news item does not make gressive fight for a \$2,500 annual clear the nature of this anti-fas- wage and a thirty-two hour week, cist organization except to quote the police that about 1,000 young of the unemployed automobile men had organized as "vigilantes" (!) to oppose the Silver them to keep themselves and their Shirts and the German Bund in families in decency, comfort and the Chicago area.

# A Necessary Warning

The Chicago action did a ser vice for the labor movement in its struggle against fascism, as did the alert measures of the Youngstown union guards. But it is important to warn that the Chicago organization, unless intimately connected with the trade unions run the risk of being exploited by open shop employers to break strikes and smash workers' political meetings. Such connections are vital for the integrity of antifascist action.

Chicago and Youngstown point the way. Only in this way can the fascist virus be extirpated. Labor can rely only on itself in this necessary work. The courts and the cops and the law give protection to the fascists and give them breeding places in which to

While Norman Thomas wrings his hands "deploring" such direct action, as he did over the Town-Hall-of-the Air last Sunday night, the workers are beginning to build their defense guards.

Full speed ahead!

# YPSL Convention

A general membership meeting of the Young Peoples Socialist League of New York to hear a report on its Tenth National Convention will be held Saturday, Dec. 3 at 2 p.m. at 916 Ninth Ave. (Near 59th St.) Party members are invited. Admission by red card only.

# SLOAN WOULD TIE G. M. WORKERS TO COMPANY LOANS

# Plan Designed to Smash Union's Militancy

With much fanfare and publicity, General Motors announced recently the launching of two plans to stabilize employment among its more than 200,000 wage

Through its chairman, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., the corporation announced that all employes of fiveyears or more service will be guaranteed throughout 1939 at least 60 per cent of their standard weekly earnings. All employees of more than two-years service will be guaranteed at least 40 per cent of their weekly standard earnings for a period of seventy-two hours during the lay-off periods. The employees will return these loans to the corporation when they return to work, by having all wages above 60 per cent or 40 per cent, respectively, of their weekly standard wages deducted from their pay envelopes and returned to the corporation.

Scheme to Dampen Struggle From the bare recitation of the facts of the plan it becomes obvious that the scheme is so niggardly and inadequate that it solves none of the economic problems of more careful analysis, however, it becomes apparent that the plan is actually a deliberate scheme to head off the fight of the automoto a life of poverty, insecurity and

ill health. The plan is nothing more or less than the nefarious schemes of the old coal barons and steel kings who enslaved their wage earners by constantly keeping them in debt to the corporation or the company stores, thus reducing them virtually to the level of the old feudal serfs. Thus General Motors would keep its workers in constant debt to itself; with every employee under constant obligation to the corporation and in a state of constant fear.

This is the meaning and the only meaning of the new loan fighting qualities of the aggressive automobile workers.

Root of the Problem

Spurious lending schemes will not solve the problems of the overworked and under-paid automobile workers. Their troubles and insecurity arise from the fact that they receive miserably low annual incomes while the Wall Street profiteers pocket untold millions of dollars of the industry. And no matter how that miserably low income is divided or subdivided, it still remains as low and as inadequate as ever before.

The automobile workers must reject unqualifiedly this spurious scheme of G.M. and launch, through their union, in reply to the pirates of Wall Street, an agwhich will guarantee work for all workers at wages that will allow health.

# BOSTON READERS

ATTENTION! A dinner in honor of Dr. Antoinette F. Konikow will be given at Byron Hall, 6 Byron Street, Boston, at 6:30 p. m. on Saturday,

December 10. The dinner marks the completion of Comrade Konikow's halfcentury of work in the revolu- lary, and how its fighting arm, tionary movement. A program of the Women's Emergency Brigade music and songs has been ar- -numbering some 400-rendered ranged. A six course homecooked turkey dinner will be "For some strange reason, even served.

Reservations can be made by at times," she stated, and went writing immediately to Mary on to show that the reason the Capella, Suite 24, 6 Ivy Street, cops quailed before women was Boston, Mass.

BOUND VOLUMES OF SOCIALIST APPEAL—1937 -Now Available-

● Price \$1.00 ● (including mailing cost)

Have a neatly bound volume of your Appeal!

Ready for immediate delivery.

# SLANTS ON THE NEWS IN THE UNIONS

ondary consideration.

chosen for the post.

LEG-WORK . . .

out, or staying out.

INFORMATION

WON'T PAY FOR PIE

C.I.O. leaders in New Jersey

do to the next state convention

from New York, was made exec-

utive secretary of the state C.I.O.

council after the first convention

was over and despite a promise

that an "impartial non-political

New Jersey unionist" would be

Already the action has anta-

gonized large sections of the

C.I.O. movement in New Jersey

who went along with the con-

vention only because they felt it

would be possible to exclude the

Stalinists. The rank and file isn't

very interested in paying hard-

earned money to support another

Stalinist pie-card artist whose

chief work will consist in tear-

ing down the militancy of the

unions and slandering all opposi-

The marked trend within the

ists automatically control them

state convention. Since the C.I.O.

constitution does not make par-

voting against the Lewis-Stalinist

bloc with their feet, i.e., walking

A worker writes in that he

wants information on the truck-

building plants. Facts on wages.

hours and working conditions. We

would appreciate hearing from

Have you noticed the sharp

rank and file of the C.I.O. since

cently as a result of the little

workers are a good case in point.

areas give the same indication.

is impossible to build a democ-

The Only Revolutionary Party

joining the Socialist Workers

Party, both speakers vigorously

"Only in the S.W.P. have we

found the revolutionary pro-

gram, tactics, and the comrades

to put them into effect, that we

sought in vain in other parties

of the working class. Only one

group, the Fourth Internation-

alists, have the program that

will stop the ever-nearing en-

croachment of Fascism-a pro-

gram which will solve the

greatest problems facing the

world: the abolition of war, un-

employment and poverty. And

this program is the Socialist

Join the Circulating Library!

15¢ a week

Lowest in the City

ALL LATEST BOOKS

Recent Additions:

Man's Hope - Andre Malraux

Black Jacobins - C.L.R. James

Labor Book Shop

28 E. 12th St., New York

program."

In discussing their recent break

racy, let alone Socialism."

their experiences to the largest with the Socialist Party and their

Kermit Johnson declared that denounced the bankrupt program

the auto union was here to stay; of the Socialist Party, which

that it was a great force for good | finds Norman Thomas and Co. at-

in the labor movement, given a tempting a rapprochement with

militant leadership which would the utterly class-collaborationist

refuse to knuckle down to Stal- Social Democratic Federation:

BACK TO NORMAL

By B. J. WIDICK Labor Secretary, S.W.P.

PINS AND NEEDLES

The session of the Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, where it was voted not to participate in the founding convention of the C.I.O., brought into the open a serious difference of opinion in the top leadership of that union, It is a well-known fact that Isadore Nagler heads the pro-A. F. of L. group within the board. David Dubinsky, International President, favors a more cautious policy. Unfortunately, there is no strong pro-C.I.O. group in the board. Charles Zimmerman, Lovestoneite follower, ventured only to make a cautious "statement" to the resolution passed against participating in the C.I.O. convention. Of course in line with the Lovestoneite policy of playing around with union bureaucracies and depending on them, Zimmerman has not and will not play any independent

Nagler and company carried the day. They make no bones about their A.F. of L. sympathies. In remarkable contrast to the policies and program of the I.L. G.W.U. leadership are the sentiments and sympathies of the rank and file, according to a private survey conducted by C.I.O. leaders, which were reported to John L. Lewis. It is claimed that the overwhelming bulk of the members are pro-C.I.O. and want to be part of that movement.

One of the highest C.I.O. leaders in New York went so far as to predict a split in the I.L.G.W.U. if the A.F. of L.-minded group won and took the union back into the William Green organiza-

It is a tragedy that the I.L.G. W.U. is slowly but surely moving ticipation compulsory, the nonin the direction of the A.F. of L Stalinists are more and more It means a blow at industrial unionism symbolized in the C.I.O. and it strengthens the hand of the A.F. of L. "diehard" clique.

## C. P.-OISON FOR *MILIT ANT*

The Akron Beacon-Journal carries the news item that Charles Collins, president of General Local, United Rubber Workers of the field on this matter. America, was defeated in re-election by Ray Sullivan, a prominent young unionist. Behind this defeat lies an interesting story. Collins was an up-and-coming mili- increase in militancy among the tant leader until the soft-words of Jim Keller, Stalinist party or- they returned to their jobs reganizer, seduced him. Collins became a stooge, and this quickly upswing in business? The auto antagonized the large body of members of the union which is Reports from a couple of steel the fourth largest U.R.W.A. local in Akron. Sullivan was and still remains an independent militant. BREAD OR BULLETS? He has devoted much time to constructive union-building. Colscheme concocted by the Wall politics in the C.I.O. council to the main problems posed by the asked for "legislation which will price-fixing. break the independence and the give enough attention to his own ruined by his association with the Stalinists.

TOBIN'S PROMPTER

It is generally understood in for progressive unionists.

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 27.-Ker-

mit and Genora Johnson, leading

figures in the famous auto work-

ers' strike of last year, recounted

forum audience at the Socialist

inists and their Charlie McCar-

thys on the one hand, and to men

like Henry Ford on the other. In

the Flint local of the U.A.W.

alone, the union numbers in the

tens of thousands now, compared

with less than 200 members be-

Tells of Emergency Brigade

Genora Johnson told of the for

mation of the Women's Auxil

valiant service during the strike.

cops hate to shoot down women

due to the latter's superior cour-

"Union men must utilize the

courage of their women in their

strike struggles," she continued,

and quoted Lenin: "Without

drawing women into social ser-

vice, into the (workers') mili-

tia, into political life, without

tearing the women away from

the stupefying domestic and

kitchen atmosphere it is impos-

sible to secure real freedom, it

age and determination.

fore the sitdowns.

Workers Party Hall this year.

# Vincent Ferrero

meeting to protest the deportation of Vincent Ferrero, antifascist, to one of Mussolini's labor circles that the strong "Devil's Island's," will be held stand of Dan Tobin, president of here on Friday, Dec. 2, 8 p. m. at the teamsters' international, for the Stuyvesant Casino, 140 Second labor unity against the reaction-

ary position of the A.F. of L. The meeting is being sponsored "die-hard" clique was mainly inby a defense committee representfluenced by President Roosevelt ing scores of labor unions, fraterwith whom Tobin is on very nal and political organizations. It friendly terms. Pressure from his own ranks, it is said, was a secrero's arrest in April, 1934.

untary departure." The joker in and persecuted of the world. will have a little explaining to this generous offer became clear when it was found that no govbecause L. Goldsmith, a Stalinist ernment was willing to extend asylum to Ferrero, thereby making inevitable his deportation to an Italian concentration camp.

cation, "Man."

fascist Italy. The campaign is political oppression." bound up with the protection and for refugees in the United States. It deserves the support of every progressive worker in this coun-

## C.I.O. of large and militant unions staying away from state C.I.O. councils because Stalin-POLICY through paper unions was again noted in the Connecticut C.I.O.

# Want Legislation to **Protect Poor** Farmers

big farmers and starvation for small fellows, the Farmers Union, November 27: neeting in national convention at changes in the national farm prohe American farmer a reality."

While asking continuance of a separate entity, the Union condemned "unbearable bureaucratic control" and the system of loans and bonuses, the benefits of which to the press. go largely "to the bigger farmers, as too many of the benefits under ing and build a home on the

**Ignores Debt Cancellation** Armaments vs. WPA? Bread John Vesecky of Salina, Kansas, something equally disastrous, or bullets? These are some of machine by starving return for the products of their said Harry L. Brown, Assistant the unemployed through relief farm to pay all of the costs of Secretary of Agriculture, "for, St.; 12th St. and University Pl., cuts. This is an issue around producing them, all overhead, and things being what they are, the N.E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich which great support can be ob- leave enough besides to enable vote on the marketing quotas on Ave. tained in unemployed and union the farmer and his family to live Dec. 10 will be interpreted by organizations. Here is a real job on a fair standard of living, to many persons as a vote on the educate the children and to lay entire AAA program." Large Audience Hears the Johnsons at Mpls. Forum

# Protest Deporting of PETITION DRIVE NEW YORK, N. Y.—A mass ON; PARTY CALLS **SIGNATURES**

# To Be Distributed To All Union Locals

(Continued from page 1) was formed at the time of Fer- right of immigration, including numerical quotas, racial, political, The Department of Labor, and financial restrictions. Restore through its "liberal" Secretary full freedom of immigration, so Frances Perkins has agreed to that this country may again begrant Ferrero the "right of vol- come a haven for the oppressed

# Teachers Demand Raising of Quotas

NEW YORK, N. Y.—A packed membership meeting of Local 5, Ferrero has been a resident of American Federation of Teachers the United States for 33 years held here last week with more and his only "crime" in these than 2,000 persons present unanidecades was to rent out part of mously adopted a resolution callhis business establishment in ing upon the President and Con-California to an anarchist publi- gress to raise the immigration quotas to German, Czech and Aus-The meeting Friday night is trian refugees "in order to facilipart of a campaign to prevent tate their entry into the U.S. and Ferrero's deportation — set by thus continue the American tradi-Madame Perkins for December 6 tion of the right of asylum for to death or imprisonment in victims of racial, religious and

extension of the right of asylum | I.L.G.W. LOCAL FOR REFUGEES NEW YORK, N. Y., Nov. 28-Local 10, International Ladies Garment Workers, last night adopted a resolution at its meeting here for lifting of all immigration quotas to permit refugees to enter the United States. The resolution was passed unanimous-AGAINST by by a membership of almost 1,000. Copies were sent to the President and Congress.

## YOUTH BRANCH FOR OPEN DOORS

Joining the growing movement for opening the doors of the United States to refugees from fascist terror, Branch 37Y, Young Circle League of America (youth section of the Workmen's Circle) Condemning juicy profits for adopted the following resolution at its membership meeting or

"We the members of Branch Madison, Wis., urged sweeping 37Y of the Young Circle League of America, urge the immediate gram to make "parity income for lifting of all quota limitations in order to facilitate the entrance into the United States of the he soil-conservation program as thousands of victims of Nazi terror in Germany."

Copies of this resolution were sent to President Roosevelt and

Already in revolt against the present farm bills do," and which quota system of marketing which "further take away from the provides severe penalties for the small family-sized farmers their selling of "surplus" crops, the ability to make a reasonable liv- small farmer threatens to put the administration on the defensive by rejecting its quotas in the coming referenda. In that event, Re-elected national president, however, the administration plans

"It might mean price-fixing,"

aside enough to keep him and his Small farmers must reject both wife in their old age." Vesecky marketing quotas and price-fixwas silent, however, on the deling. They must demand cancellamand that the debts and mort- tion of debts and government gages of the small farmer be can- subsidies for marketing coopera-

# Model Resolution on Refugees

To facilitate introduction of resolutions into meetings of organizations placing them on record for opening the doors of America to refugees, we publish the following model reso-

We urge all interested in the refugee problem to introduce this resolution into the organizations to which they belong and to immediately notify the Socialist Appeal of any action taken by unions or other organizations on this resolution:

# RESOLUTION

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

Therefore, we, the -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.

CERTAINLY NOT WANT TO MISS THIS ONE!

SPIVY — Intimate Songs MUSIC by OZZIE CASWELL & ORCHESTRA

\$1.50 at the door PIONEER PUBLISHERS New York City

# APPEAL ARMY TWICE-A-WEEK DRIVE ON

The Campaign for the semiweekly APPEAL is already in full blast. Comrade Rose Karsner is in charge of the drive for the \$3,000 campaign fund. She will furnish branches with regular weekly reports about the progress of the drive in general and the results achieved by each branch in particular. In addition, the barometer and score-board showing the results will be published each week. All eyes on the barometer! Let's watch the results of some good

### LITERATURE AGENTS TO HAVE THEIR SAY

socialist competition! Don't for-

get that the moment the col-

umn hits the \$3,000 figure the

twice-a-week APPEAL will be-

Last week we urged all com rades responsible for handling of the Appeal to begin thinking of the new distribution problems they will face when the twice-aweek paper begins. We now wan to urge literature agents to put down their plans on paper and send them in to us for publication. Ruth Querio of Allentown -our ace saleslady-has already promised to do so and her article will appear shortly. Also Abe Miller of New York City. It is very important for all literature agents to benefit by the advise of others.

In addition, early in January we will publish a bulletin similar to our first Appeal Army bulletin and containing detailed suggestions for solving distribution and other problems. P.S. By the way, Ruth, let's

have that article soon. Litera ture agents are anxiously awaiting it. . . .

### ON SUBSCRIPTIONS We are counting upon receiv-

ing many hundreds of new-subs once the semi-weekly publication has begun. But all comrades can point out to potential subscribers that they will benefit just as much if they subscribe now. NO CHANGE WHATEVER-either in foreign or American subscription rates will be made! In other words, exactly twice as many papers will be received at the former price. For \$2.00 a subscriber will get 104 APPEALS per year; for \$1.00 he will receive 52 copies. A cost of less than 2 cents each! We want to emphasize that this is a real bargain and should be kept in mind by

everyone going out to get subs Not only is the APPEAL a swell labor and revolutionary paper, but it's a bargain, too!

ON FINANCES We regret to report that branches have been slow in paying up on their monthly accounts as per statements now in their hands. By keeping the present Appeal going at a strong and healthy pace a large part of the semi-weekly Appeal problem can oe taken care of. Literature agents and branch executives are equested to consider immediatethe matter of paying up on heir monthly accounts. To quote from the resolution adopted at our recent Plenum:

"Particularly now, with the party steering toward a twicea-week publication of the AP-PEAL, with its consequent doubled expense of production, the party must insist on a strict and responsible payment for bundle orders."

The following subscriptions were

eceived last week: NEW YORK CITY..... 20 Minneapolis ...... 6 California ..... Massachusetts ..... 3 Michigan ...... Chicago ...... 1 Missouri ..... 1 New Jersey ..... 1 Total ..... 37

We'll be sending around to litagents a new list of expired subscribers within a few days. . . .

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

SAN FRANCISCO

GALA CELEBRATION! Founding of the 4th International and showing of the historic film "TSAR TO LENIN" December 10, 1938, 8 P. M. promptly at Albion Hall, 141 Albion St., between 16th & 17th St., nr. Valencia. 35c by ticket, 50c at door. Tickets can be secured at Mac-Donalds Bookshop or at 542 Valencia, Rm. 11, SAN FRAN-

## PHILADELPHIA, PA.

ORKERS EDUCATION Forum presents B. J. WIDICK speaking on THE C.I.O. CONVEN-TION, Friday Evening, 8:30 at 277 S. 11th St., PHILADEL-PHIA, Pa.

Esser's Newsstand

BOSTON, MASS.

Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at

Harvard Square

LYNN. Mass

S.W.P., 54 Central Sq., Rm. 12

Sam's Corner, Olympia Square

ROXBURY, MASS.

Friendly Variety, Warren St.

(Grove Hall)

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana

Lyric News Shop

115 N. Illinois Street

MINNEAPOLIS

Labor Book Store, 919 Marquette

Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin;

Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet.

410 Washington Blvd.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Foster Book Company CLAYTON, MO.

The Book Nook, 24A Meramac

CLEVELAND, Ohio

Rubin's Drug Store

1072 E. 105th Street

Meriam Building, Room 214

5716 Euclid Avenue

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio

Nick's, Wick St. and Commerce

SAN FRANCISCO

MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 6th St.

Fillmore Bookstore

Sutter & Fillmore Sts.

Golden Gate News Agency,

21 4th St.

Fitzgeralds News Agency, 57 3rd St.

Sportland Smoke Shop,

3399 Mission St.

Store 20, 3057 16th St.

Pacific Sts.

Ferry Building,

Stand at Key System entrance Kobliks Stationery,

1004 Fillmore

Room 2, 542 Valencia St.

Ray's Smoke Shop, 1203 Sutter

Mason Grocery, Mason &

# SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands QUAKERTOWN, Penna.

NEW YORK CITY MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Fourth Ave., S.E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S.W.; at Third Ave., N.W; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N.W.; at Sixth Ave., N.E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th

Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave. S.W; at Sixth Ave., S.E.; at Sixth Ave., S.W.; at Seventh Ave., S.W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St. 23rd St. & 4th Ave., S.W. & N.W. Essex and Delancy Sts; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts; Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nich olas Ave; 110th St. and Columbus

BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th St; Jerome Ave. and 167th St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave Jerome and Burnside Aves; 160th St. and Prospect Ave: Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 3897 Sedgwick Ave.

BROOKLYN: Havemeyer and S. 4th Sts., Tompkins and Myrtle Aves.; Strauss St., near Pitkin Ave.; Sutter Ave., near Van Sin-

deren Ave. LONG ISLAND: 23rd St. & 45th Ave.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza N.; Crescent St. and Bridge Plaza S.; 27th St. and Bridge Pla-

ROCHESTER, N. Y. 433 N. Clinton St. 257 N. Clinton St. Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts. Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St. S.E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts. S.W. Cor. Main & South Ave. NEWARK, N. J. Reitman's, cor. Broad & William Littman's, cor. Hawthorne Ave. & Reeves Pl.

PATERSON, N. J. A. Guabello's Stationery Store 317 Straight St NEW HAVEN, Conn. Nodelman's Newsstand, Church St., bet. Chapel & Center

CHICAGO S.W.P., 160 N. Wells, Rm. 308 Cor. 57th & Blackstone Cor. 12th & Kedzie P. O. News, 37 W. Monroe Ceshinsky Bookshop ALLENTOWN, PA. R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St. Otto Yost, 383 Hamilton St.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. 1806 North Franklin St. Cor. 11th and Market Sts. (N.W.) 40th St. & Girard Ave.

8th St. & Arch St.

LOS ANGELES 233 S. Broadway, Room 312 1541 N. Echo Park Ave. Smith News, 5th & Main Sts. Modern Book Shop, 509 W. 5th St. Shoe Shine Shop, 2307 Brooklyn Candy Store, 2231 Brooklyn Ave. Candy Store, 2141 Brooklyn Ave. SAN DIEGO, Calif.

Sweet Shop, 2526 Brooklyn Ave. AKRON, Ohio News Exchange, 51 S. Main St., Cigar Store, next cor. Bartges & OAKLAND, California 7th and Washington

Universal News Co., 242 B'way

12th, bet. B'way & Washington Andrew Williams Market Broadway, near 19th DETROIT, Mich. Socialist Appeal Club, 3513 Woodward Ave., Room 5 Cor. 13th and Market Sts. (N.W.)

# PIONEER'S New Year's Eve Party GALA DANCE AND FLOOR SHOW IF YOU ENJOYED OUR LAST PARTY, YOU WILL

Special Features

KAWAIKA — In several Hawaiian Dances Frincess MARAVALA - Voodoo Black Magic?? MARY FRIEMAN — Star of Pioneer's last Party in several old favorites PLUS HUNT, SAVAGE and GIBSON—Harlem's fast stepping trio

100 Fifth Avenue

Come To

Tickets \$1.00 in advance

# Workers' Power or Fascism Is the Issue In France

# 2,000,000 STRIKE TO STOP FASCISM

(Continued from page 1)

that this was NOT a political strike, but a mere protest against the abrogation of the 40-hour week, that perfect order, calm, and discipline and NOT the open struggle for power, was the slogan of the day.

### Blum's Gesture

Blum and his fellow-Socialists, clinging desperately to the disappearing skirt-hem of parliamentary legality, feebly called for a "rump" session of parliament to "repudiate" Daladier's "illegality." But this futile gesture aroused no echo. The issue of power lay no longer in the empty halls of a disregarded Parliament but out in the streets, in the factories, mines, and shops.

The prime issue was the power itself-the glaring choice between the onward march toward Fascist dictatorship or the establishment of the workers' power. But Blum & Co. bleated about "illegality" and Jouhaux and friends tried to make the whole problem one of the working hours.

Confused and disheartened, the workers called off their spontaneous sit-down strikes. The provocative measures of Daladier found them—as Daladier confidently expected-completely disarmed. They were confronted with a tremendous display of force and threats of mass repression and wholesale dismissals and their own leaders grasped from their hands the political and material means of combating this open advance of Fascist reaction.

Response Uneven

The result was complete confusion when the day of the general strike demonstration dawned. Daladier's strong-arm measures achieved their purpose. All public utilities continued to function. All trains ran. Communications were scarcely affected. Government services performed as usual. In the mines and factories there was an uneven response to the strike call, ranging from 10 to 90 percent.

Most significant of all was the fact that precisely in those factories where the spontaneous sitdowns occurred a week ago, the strike was only partially effective on Wednesday. It was claimed that the strikers in the metallurgical plants in the Paris region did not exceed 25 percent of the total personnel. In every field comparative handfuls of workers half-heartedly obeyed the strike call. In the circumstances there were few real attempts made to stop wheels from turning.

In the ports longshoremen struck but, as in Marseilles, ships reportedly left on schedule-and the seamen have always been among the most advanced and most radical of all the French workers! In 1936 they covered the harbor of Marseille with hundreds of red flags, flying from the masthead of immobilized vessels! **Daladier Jubilant** 

Daladier and his minions were jubilant. They believe they will be able to proceed to complete the subjugation of the workers without a general battle. Most significant of all, the morning of the general strike, the Paris stock exchange showed a forward spurt and in financial and business circles there was supreme confidence in the outcome of the day's events. In other words they knew not fail them!

It was precisely on this that the ruling class of France has been counting. Having successfully used the People's Front to demoralize the workers, they are deliberately provoking the struggle under conditions favorable to themselves and unfavorable to the workers. That their drive toward Fascism will now continue at an even more rapid pace no one can now doubt and against this drive there is still time to mobilize the undefeated forces of the French working

creasing taxes in every category tickets, subway fares, coffee, tobacco, wine, sugar, postal rates, foodstuffs-Daladier made it clear that he was preparing for a showdown with the workers.

In his speech at the Radical Socialist party congress at Marseille a few weeks ago, the erstwhile hero of the People's Front openly and cynically challenged the workers, declaring they would have to bow to the needs of national defense. The decrees revealed what this meant by providing for prosecution as treason any agitation by the workers against the increase of the work-

ing week.

Strikes Begin

From the depths of the French working class, dispersed and betrayed a thousand times by the People's Front since the great strike of June, 1936, came new rumblings of protest. On the surface this was expressed in the feeble opposition to the decree laws by the Socialist and Communist bureaucracies but a few days later, as in 1936, the workers began to take the issue into their own hands. Workers in the Renault and

Bloch automobile and aviation plants in the suburbs of Paris occupied their shops. Coal miners at Anzin and metal and armaments workers at Denain and Valenciennes in the North followed suit. In a few days the number of strikers rocketed to 100,000. At the General Confederation of Labor congress at Nantes the

previous week the opposition of the workers had been shunted off into verbal expressions of protest and plans for demonstrations on Saturday, Nov. 26. But the pressure from below became so strong that Leon Jouhaux and his fellow-bureaucrats were forced to contemplate a further step and they finally announced on Nov. 25 a general strike for 24 hours on Nov. 30, actually allowing a space of five days for the government to engage freely in its preparations to beat the workers down and to break up the strikes already beginning to spread through the vital heavy industries.

### Wastes No Time

Daladier wasted no time in taking advantage of this opportunity. Giving every indication that he intended to split up the workers and knock them off in sections, the ex-People's Front Premier moved into action on a virtual war-time basis. In a few days he invoked all the special authoritarian powers granted him in the recent war crisis, directed this time against the workers.

Mobile Guards and police broke into the Renault plants and others occupied factories and after pitched battles with the unarmed workers succeeded in clearing them. Nearly 400 strikers were arrested. The next day the Renault of power that a general strike so peasant artisans of France—the company locked out its 30,000 workers as a means of weeding out "undesirable agitators."

The government threatened all foreign workers-there are many Poles and Belgians among the miners in the North-with expulnot abandon the strikes.

military courts were set up to cialist Party to help the crystal-crats, forced leftward by the into actual challenges of the summarily with recalcitrant strikers. Employes of the state were threatened with dismissal and punitive action if they strike.

# Rumors of Dissolution

Meanwhile Daladier made sure that rumors began to spread that Government. the dissolution of the Socialist and Communist parties would be among his next measures.

What did the Socialist and Stalinist leaders do? Paris correspondents have in incidental paragraphs shown them "in action."

Blum Goes Begging ier Daladier was preparing to not to the needs and interests of and main to reconstruct the cardissolve the Communist Party the French workers but to the tel, adding themselves to it, and threw the Communists and So- dictates of the Kremlin. Stalin, to rehabilitate the Radical Socialists into a state of alarm," re- whose rejection of the united cialist Party in the eyes of the ported the New York Times on front had helped Hitler to power masses. Nov. 26. "Leon Blum went rush- in Germany and who subsequentthat their raithful lackeys, Jou- ing from one Radical Socialist ly was rebuffed in his efforts to tion of the workers' united front haux, Blum, Thorez & Co. would like the control of the workers' united front leader to another—Edouard Herriot, president of the Chamber of Hitler. tered refusal everywhere. . . ."

workers are again taking the bit Chamber, Jacques Duclos, Stalinahead of their frightened union | "the expulsion of workers by bureaucrats. The government is force from the factories when it obviously taking provocative steps could have been done by agreeworkers' organizations. And Leon was still offering the good ser-Blum rushes around to his former vices of his party as a strikethe decree laws abrogating the bourgeois associates in the Peo- breaker and wept only because five-day 40-hour week and inwith them to lay off, to persuade | Guards! most costly to the workers—busboys!

Duclos Follows Suit heroes of the Stalinist Party? The Stalinists, paralyzed by the outcome of their People's Front treachery, demoralized by the substitution of the Munich pact for the Franco-Soviet alliance, are ued his urgent pleading. Even the waiting desperately for some sign New York Times correspondent from Moscow of a new line. detected the note of "frenzy" and Meanwhile their efforts are di- fear in the article in Le Populaire take power! Form councils of acchecking the French orientation ring up this social battle." toward an understanding with But while the misleaders of the defeats.

The Clenched Fist In France



# Issue of Power Faced In France Since 1934 Riots and Great Strike of 1936

(Continued from page 1)

tory of Hitler, and by the rise ward France. The Franco-Soviet the working class parties with of the Fascists as demonstrated pact was in the making. The the bourgeois betrayers, with the on Feb. 6, 1934, they retreated in Soviet Union entered the League same agents, Daladier & Co. who fright from their play-acting rev- of Nations. The Kremlin bureau- had so ignominiously capitulated olutionism. In other words they cracy became the chief prop of to the Fascists in 1934. shouted for revolution when the the status quo in Europe and its workers were not ready and hireling Communist parties were to reach out for it.

United Front Created The will of the workers to revolution. struggle against the Fascist hour general strike on Feb. 12, tion to the left toward the work-1934, as a demonstration of pro- ers, and to the right, toward the test. The workers, who had been | Fascists. By a bold revolutionpartial demands that could no showed the petty bourgeoisie a the streets in millions in a tremendous display of their readi- production for the shopkeepers, ness to struggle for the conquest small merchants, peasants, and clearly implies.

about the positive result of a won the masses to the banner of united front between the Socialist | the revolution. and Communist Parties. This united front, however, remained sion from the country if they did gram of action to the workers. the most reactionary brake on lization of

Program Proposed

ship actually offered to the Com-

Deputies among them-demand- Together with the Socialist and Thorez, & Co., are shouting about ing that they immediately with- C.G.T. bureaucrats the Stalinists the "illegality" of the government draw their support from the bleated about the "illegality" of and urging "calm, order, and dis-Premier and protesting that, of Daladier's measures. As though cipline" on the workers, Daladier course, the Socialists had no quar- illegality amounted to a damn is determinedly remaining "obrel with the Radicals. He encoun- now that the issue of power was stinate" and driving ahead for

being clearly drawn! Speaking in the "social battle." What a shameful picture! The the finance commission of the between their teeth, racing far ist spokesman, protested against Daladier represented in the Peopreparatory to smashing the ment." In other words, Duclos intolerable insistence of the work-

Duclos too, like Blum, made the rounds of the Radical Socialist leaders. He had an interview with And where meanwhile were the Herriot, but the President of the Chamber, we are informed, preserved "impartial and judicial objectiveness."

Blum Bleats On

On Nov. 26 Leon Blum contin-

make a new deal with the and the creation in July, 1935, of Fuehrer, had begun to turn to- the People's Front, the unity of

-a new way out in socialized working class parties could have This same pressure brought atomized the Fascist threat and

Declined, With Thanks

But the Communist Party, rapshevik-Leninists (Fourth Interna- of this. Leon Blum, Paul Faure, the State in explosions at Brest unceasingly for the creation of to find that the Communists had workers' defense militia against no intention of taking the Januthe Bonapartist governments, their relief, the Communist Party the Fascist threat was to be revolutionary situation."

The Socialists, who had always The pressure from below be-allied with the Radicals, had tion. came so strong that in January, been forced from below to break 1935, the Socialist Party leader- with their own right-wing section that represented that traditional munist Party a proposal to wage policy of alliance, known as the a joint struggle on the basis of cartel. Instead of helping this the conquest of power. But the process along, the Communist "Last night's rumor that Prem- | Communist Party was attuned | Party bureaucrats worked might The result was the emascula-

workers, Jouhaux, Blum, Duclos.

The masters of France, the big bosses of finance capital whom ple's Front and for whom he is now carrying out his present program, want to be done with the ers that they too have rights. workers sufficiently dispersed by the experience of the People's Front to make a trial of strength as a preparation for locking the Fascism. For this Daladier is pav-

ing the way. Against this the workers can make only one answer: Not a 24hour general strike but a national general strike under the slogan: 'For a workers' and peasants' government!"

Force the Socialist and Com-

Ultra-Patriots With the signature of the abandoned the revolution precise- ordered to act accordingly. In Franco-Soviet pact in May, 1935, ly when the workers began dimly France especially, the bourgeoisie and Stalin's declaration that he had to be reassured. It had to be | "understood and approved" the freed from fear of any workers' French program of national defense, the Communist, or more The French masses, as various properly, the Stalinist party, was threat was so imperative, that elections showed, were turning swiftly converted into an ultrathe union bureaucrats were away from the Radical Socialists, patriotic party which abandoned forced to act. As during this the traditional party of the the anti-militarist struggle, the week, they sought to canalize the French petty bourgeoisie. The fight against the two-year term fury of the workers into peace- petty bourgeoisie was clearly un- of military service, and did ful channels and called for a 24- dergoing a process of polariza- everything in its power to head off the militancy of the workers While they temporized and looked to the Bonapartist gov-

indifferent to the struggle for ary policy and a program that ernments of Laval, Sarraut & Co. to disarm the Fascist gangs, they longer be met, poured out into way out of the economic impasse prevented the workers from organizing themselves for the direct armed struggle which the Fascists threatened to unleash The gangs of De La Rocque were kept in leash meanwhile by French finance capital while the People's Front was given its chance to behead and disorient the workers' struggle. In the summer of 1935 the real

on paper and offered no pro- idly becoming transformed into temper of the workers was shown repeatedly when they Throughout 1934 the French Bol- the working class, wanted none clashed with the armed forces of placed under military law and tional) who had entered the So- and the other Socialist bureau- and Toulon. Strikes grew swiftly its left wing agitated workers' pressure, were delighted state power. These clashes retaking shape within the body of the Fascist bands, for the revo- ary program for conquest of French capitalist society and the lutionary general strike against power very seriously. Much to path the workers had to take if and for a Workers' and Peasants' demurred, saying "there is no beaten down. But the whole propaganda of the People's Front was pointed in the opposite direc-

### In June, 1936 The workers were told that the

election of the People's Front was the thing. This was the epoch when the main slogan was "Daladier to power!" The elections of May, 1936, astounded even the bureaucrats. The great leftward surge of the masses was expressed at the ballot boxes in an overwhelming victory for the Left parties, with the petty bourgeois Radicals picking up the plums saved for them by the People's Front combination. Contrary to all expectations, the Socialists, not the Radicals, became the largest party in the chamber. The Communist Party, still regarded by the mass of workers as the party of the revolution, had its representation jumped from 10 to 72. Leon Blum was reluctantly compelled to take the helm instead of Daladier.

But meanwhile the workers, flushed with a sense of victory swept out of the field of parlia mentary dalliance into the field of open struggle. At the end of They consider the forces of the May, 1936, sitdown strikes began in the automobile, steel, and aviation plants around Paris. No union bureaucrats ordered the strikes. They just began, It was people into the strait-jacket of spontaneous combustion, ignited out of the materials of the revolutionary situation itself.

# Mass Sitdown

While the union bureaucrats, cialist and Communist Party munist Parties and the C.G.T. to might and main to get out in for its life just across its own vance of its totalitarian rivals, must now place itself in the front rected toward seeking allies any- in which Blum urged Daladier's tion in all factories, communes, movement, the strikes spread Front initiated the cruel farce of for the respite it offered, aban- ing and there join with all other where, anyhow, including the ex- friends to persuade him to resign and towns. These are the slogans from one end of the land to the the "Non-intervention Committee" doned the Franco-Soviet pact as revolutionary militants in creattreme Rightist de Kerillis, willing "by urging him not to be ob- of struggle today that can beat other. It was a mass sitdown and the Stalinists went right useless, and now seeks the way ing a new leadership for the to join in derailing Daladier and stinate and accusing him of stir- back the advancing wave of Fas- All French industry was para- along with it, while verbally pro- of revitalizing its own sapped critical days ahead, for the issue cism. Any other road leads to new lyzed. Over factories, forges, rail- testing their solidarity with the strength to meet the tests that is Fascism or a workers' France.

# **Roosevelt Speeds Drive** To Mobilize Hemisphere

# Wall Street Dictator Rules "M-Day, that dreaded 'zero hour' when secret mobilization orders Peru, Seat of Conference the chief con nowadays."

President Roosevelt's Pan- and Benes. American Conference will open its purpose the defense of "democ-

of this great "democratic" gatherand non-Jews, the Peruvian masses knew the weight of imperialism's murderous fist.

In 1930, three years before Hitler burned the Reichstag, thousands of Peruvians were slaughtered following the suppression of the famous Trujillo revolt against the provocative dictatorial actions of the government. But this revolt, and the many others that preceded and followed it. were not directed solely against the dictator in Lima. Puppets for Wall Street

The various Peruvian Strong Men of the past decades have all been little more than puppets for the Fat Men in Wall Street and their tight-lipped Coolidges or grinning Roosevelts in Washington. United States' control over Peru's destiny is not a platonic matter. Fully 70 per cent of Peru's petroleum industry is controlled by U.S. interests, chiefly through the Standard Oil Company's subsidiary, the International Petroleum Company. Peru's other leading industry, the production of copper, is also largely controlled by Americans through the U.S.-owned Cerro de Pasco Copper Corp. and the American Smelting and Refining Co. The Cerro de Pasco Co. alone has \$90,-000,000 invested in Peru's copper mines.

# U. S. Investments

doubled during the World War est rival in the field of Latin-American investments, was busy of the Old World. By 1918, therefore, the U.S. was able to invest \$85,000,000. Washington Runs President

other phases of Peruvian life. For example, on February 2, 1938 the A.P.R.A., with the exception of United States Navy announced those who were out of the counthe appointment of a number of try, charging them with planning American navy officers to help a revolt, presumably against the President Benavides run his navy. Washington runs Benavides' foreign office too. When Roosevelt workers and peasants of North sent his famous last-minute ap- and South America are asked to peals this September, Peru quick- support with their lives!

and even insurance company of | militancy was scattered on the fices, the red flag was run up. winds of parliamentary illusions. The revolution was on the order The People's Front government of the day. The Fascists and savagely shot down and impristheir capitalist masters were in oned opponents of French imfull retreat.

But the People's Front hastened to their rescue. Blum and his friends hastily drafted sweeping social legislation for collective contracts, the 5-day, 40-hour week, paid vacations, which were rushed through a badly frightened parliament. Most of the bills were adopted unanimously even the extreme Right recognizing that only Blum & Co. could now save the capitalist order. With these bright promises, by

cajoling and wheedling, temporizing, and persuading, Blum, Cachin, Thorez & Co. succeeded in terminating the strikes and saving French capitalism.

### Strikebreaker-In-Chief During the next two years the

People's Front played out its role to the end as strikebreaker-in- had to be made to pay for it. chief on behalf of French finance | Blum was replaced by Chautemps, capital. All its brightly-painted and Chautemps in his turn by reforms turned out to be phoneys. It claimed to "democratize" the People's Front premier, who Bank of France and even provided the spectacle of Jouhaux, the trade union leader, as a member of the board of directors!

headed by Jouhaux, and the So- masters of the Bank of France leave the road open for a new gle, of armed resistance to Fasand the Bank of England by tak- offensive. Daladier was commis- cism, of the general strike for leaders, Blum, Faure, Cachin, ing the leading role in strangling sioned to launch it. French capi- power, of the workers' and peas-Thorez, and the others, worked the Spanish revolution fighting tal, faced by the aggressive ad- ants' government. That party front in order to head off the borders! Blum of the People's snatched at the Munich accord ranks of the struggle now unfoldway stations, department stores, Spanish workers. The workers' are yet to come. For this it could There is no third road.

By DONALD BERGNER | ly obliged with messages to Hitler

Since the people of Peru fee next week in Lima, Peru. Accord- the effects of Wall Street domina ing to the President's smiling tion a little more strongly than statements the conference has as those of the U.S. they have reacted with a little more vigor. As racy" by the "united Americas." a result the Wall Street govern-To the people of Peru, the seat | ment in Lima cannot afford the "democratic" luxuries of the Wall ing, this is one of the bitterest Street government in Washington. jokes in years. For Peru ranks The A.P.R.A. (American Popular with Brazil and Cuba as one of Revolutionary Association) - Pethe three most bloody, dictator- ruvian nationalist mass moveridden, un-democratic nations on ment-and the L.T.R. (League of this side of the ocean. Long be- Revolutionary Workers)-revolufor Adolf Hitler began his bloody tionary socialists-and even the pogroms, beating and killing Stalinists, despite all their shoutthousands of defenseless Jews ing of loyalty to U.S. imperialism, are all illegal.

### Nationalists Hlegal

The A.P.R.A. was dissolved in 1930 on the eve of elections by the then-President Leguia. The dissolution was attended by severe cruelty which finally provoked the unsuccessful Trujillo uprising. For unit. years after, the Apristas, and their leader Hava de la Torre made the rounds of banishment hounding, and prison. Many thousands were brutally murdered and the movement was seriously weakened.

Leguia's successor, Oscar Benavides, made the democratic gesture of permitting the A.P.R.A. to emerge into legality. But the gesture was short-lived. As the 1936 elections approached, it became evident that A.P.R.A., if permitted to run, would poll a tremendous vote. It was again dissolved.

# Elected Without Running Benavides was so unpopular

that he was afraid to run again, so he ran one of his stooges named Prado as the "candidate of the National Front." Then, running as a Social-Democrat, Dr. Luis Eguiguren entered the race with full A.P.R.A. support and to everybody's surprise including his own won a majority of the votes. But the great "democrat" Benavides, who will next week wecome his fellow "democrats" to Lima, U.S. investments in Peru, only gave a prompt even if undemo-\$35,000,000 in 1913, more than cratic answer to the election results. He annulled the election, while England, America's great- had his puppet Assembly declare him reelected (he hadn't even been a candidate), dissolved Consaving and expanding her control gress and ruled by decree laws! But no one was surprised by this, at least no one in Peru, for in the preceding July at a demonstration in Arequipa over 100 wo- 180 high-ranking officers of the It is only natural that, control- men and children were beaten Army and Navy met to discuss ling the economic life of the and arrested by Benavides' police. the Roosevelt industrial mobilizacountry, the U.S. should control To follow up his coup, Benavides tion program. For this program a arrested the entire leadership o

Such is the democracy that the

perialism in the French colonies and in every other way carried out the orders of its bourgeois

"democratic" institutions.

masters. The workers were told that the People's Front had ended the fronts and this means the sucthreat of Fascism because it passed laws dissolving the Fas- the bosses. cist gangs. But the Croix de Feu simply changed its name to the no longer use the People's Front, French Social Party and contin- for the workers now have to be ued its preparations under the not merely fooled but beaten into protection and patronage of the submission. This is the meaning General Staff, left intact, of course, by the Blum regime.

Blum's government lasted a year, just long enough in the opinion of the finance capital masters of France, to make it possible for a new capitalist offensive to begin-for the crisis was pressing in and the workers vitality of the French workers Daladier and it was Daladier, as kicked the People's Front down stairs and embarked openly on the road to Fascism.

Considering that the workers Meanwhile it served the real were sufficiently demoralized to period with the program of strug-

herald the beginning of war, is the chief concern of Washington

With these blunt words Hanson Baldwin, noted expert on military affairs, summed up in last Sunday's New York Times the present aim and activities of the Roosevelt administration.

Echoed in the press in a hundred different ways, this lesson is being driven home-Roosevelt is preparing the country for war. Every aspect of governmental activity is being subordinated to this central task.

### Aims At Lima

The "national unity" delegation to the Lima Pan-American conference, including Alf Landon and John L. Lewis' daughter, has left for the conference where Yankee imperialism hopes to give concrete form to the new Roosevelt doctrine of "inter-continental defense"-i.e., the mobilization of the whole western hemisphere under the aegis of United States finance capital in a coordinated military, naval, and economic

Meanwhile Roosevelt is wasting no time in pushing ahead with his plans along a many-sided front.

Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles announced on Nov. 28 that the number of U.S. naval, military, and air attaches in Latin American countries would be

A few days earlier the State Department announced that a naval, military, and air mission would proceed to Colombia to help reorganize the armed forces of that country and enthusiastic compliments were exchanged by the Senate of that country and President Roosevelt.

### Batista Enlisted

Col. Fulgencio Batista, assassin of the Cuban workers, returned to Havana from a wining-anddining tour in the United States and said his admiration for Roosevelt was "unbounded." This meant, in plainer words, that Batista had been satisfactorily lined up for the program of "inter-continental solidarity." We may be sure that naval and air bases will spring up on the south coast of Cuba. In partial return, Batista was able to announce that the reciprocity treaty between the two countries would be modified in favor of certain Cuban products.

In Washington this Thursday been completed and 10,000 plants earmarked for re-gearing into the American imperialist war ma-

Calling of this conference followed shortly after the publication of Secretary of War Woodring's report which significantly emphasized the need for industrial mobilization to back up specifically military and naval

### Emphasis on Industry The emphasis upon this aspect

of the war preparations is not accidental. The imperialist masters realize now more clearly than ever before that wars are really fought and won on the home cessful regimentation of labor in accordance with the war needs of

of the Daladier decrees as the first open step toward an outright dictatorship. But perhaps these gentry have

miscalculated. The strikes of the past week, breaking once more without so much as a "by-yourleave" nod in the direction of the union bureaucrats, show that the has not been sapped, that the will and ability to struggle is still there despite the debilitating effect of four years of betrayal by Daladier, Blum, Thorez & Co.

The party of the Fourth International in France, the P.O.I. (Workers' Internationalist Party), has identified itself through this

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Saturday, December 3, 1938

Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place. New York, N. Y. Telephone: National Office: Algonquin 4-8547 Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal. Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937, at the post office at New York, New York under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN

GEORGE CLARKE HAROLD ROBERTS Asociate Editors S. STANLEY, Business Manager

# Stalin and Nazi Persecutions

The foul rottenness of Stalinism has been able on many, even most, occasions to cover itself with a cloak of hypocrisy and pseudo-revolutionary piety. Only occasionally does there arise some imperious issue that snatches the cloak aside and shows the world the full and unspeakable decay that lies beneath.

Never since its beginning fifteen years ago has the meaning of Stalinism been more pitilessly and shamefully revealed than today by its attitude in the face of the Nazi persecutions of the German Jews.

The Soviet Union was founded by the revolutionary workers and peasants as the first great act in the emancipation of all mankind. They built it to be the home and fatherland and hope for the future of the wretched and oppressed of the entire world.

Today Stalin has turned it into a charnelhouse and prison, barred and bolted at every gate and window.

There are 700,000, a mere 700,000 Jews in Nazi Germany. The Soviet borders bound onesixth of the land-surface of the earth, the population on the average more thinly scattered than in any other great power, with countless and unmeasured potential resources of every

If what the hired apologists of the Kremlin say about the Soviet Union is true, is even onetenth true, what conceivable barrier stands in the way of offering refuge to the German Jews within the Soviet Union? How can it possibly be explained that not a single one of the German Jews is admitted, not a single word spoken by Stalin?

This Stalin, the Stalin whose gates are double-locked against the anguished outcry of the persecuted German Jews-this is the true Stalin. This is what he has done to the Soviet

It would be hypocrisy and demagogy to raise, at this stage, the demand that the Soviet Union be opened to the refugees. The Jews need something more than a change of air from Nazi prisons and torture chambers and concentration camps—we know what has happened to the best of the refugees formerly admitted. And we know that Stalin can admit no one who might bring tidings from outside, any more than he can permit anyone to escape.

But we demand of all members of the Communist Party and of all those who perch so complacently among the branches of its peripheral organizations:

Answer this question!

Tell us, and tell yourselves: Why do not the German Jews find their infinitely needed refuge within the Soviet Union?

# Mr. Backer's Backers

The late B. Charney Vladeck as minority leader of the New York City Council was at best a good reformer, a "clean government" advocate. Nevertheless through long association with the labor movement, he was probably as representative of the prevailing mood of the American Labor Party as any of its trade union leaders might have been. In a distorted way, he was labor's man on the City Council.

When Vladeck died, a controversy arose in top circles of the A.L.P. regarding his successor. The rank and file of the party was completely shut out of the deliberations. But Mayor La-Guardia turned on the steam to have a "liberal" not a labor man appointed in his place. And sad to say, the opinion of this one man-who incidentally only yesterday was a member of the Republican Party—carried more influence in choosing Vladeck's successor than the combined opinions of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists.

Mr. George Backer is the choice of the A.L.P. State Executive Committee to fill the vacancy. Who is this Backer?

Son-in-law of the late millionaire Mortimer

President of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (employer of labor)—

Real estate mogul (landlord)—

So this man, an exploiter of labor and a landlord and a patron of the over-rich ultrarich, is supposed to represent labor in the City Council? Something like appointing a wolf to guard the interests of the sheep.

The record of this A.L.P. leadership smells less like perfume every day. First, the dirty deal with the Republicans and Democrats. Now the

appointment of this millionaire Backer-of everything but labor.

Isn't it time that the rank and file of the A.L.P. took matters in their own hands?

# Ludlow's Victory

Mr. Louis Ludlow, father of the Ludlow war referendum, won re-election as Congressman from Indiana, hands down. His Democratic fellow-campaigners went down to defeat in the Indiana Congressional contest.

Ludlow campaigned on one issue: the referendum. He staked his position in Congress on the anti-war sentiment of the Indiana voters-

That should give a pretty good indication of where the American people stand on war. They are dead-set against it. It also reveals how little Roosevelt represents the American people in his mammoth army-navy building program and his plans for continental and world conquest. But if Mr. Ludlow echoes the powerful anti-

war feeling extant in this country, he also discloses the cunning ruses that are being used to trick the American workers and farmers out of their anti-war position and make them flagwavers and cannon-fodder when the bugles

Says Ludlow: "If I am re-elected I will vote every dollar needed for the defense of our country, but I will not vote to put our boys up against the bayonets, poison gas and the aerial bombs in any foreign war in which we have no direct interest."

"The defense of our country?" Whose country? The pecan pickers' of Texas who make a few miserable dollars a week? The strikers' massacred in Chicago's infamous Memorial Day? The Negroes lynched in the South? Or J. P. Morgan's moneybags and gold-inlaid bathtubs? Whose country shall we defend, Mr. Lud-

And where do the boundaries of this country end? In Chile, Brazil, South America as your much amended referendum now states? In the Philippines which Mr. Roosevelt also insists is a boundary of the U.S.?

The people who elected Ludlow don't want any war, here, Bolivia, China or anywhere else. And they don't trust Roosevelt or Congress with this fateful decision.

Let's have a referendum that expresses this sentiment — a referendum as much against Roosevelt, Ludlow and their demagogue whoops as it is against war.

# A Damning Confession

The Spanish Government's persecution of the P.O.U.M. has had serious repercussions within the C.N.T. (anarchist) unions and the F.A.I. (Anarchist Iberian Federation) which leads the C.N.T. Protests in the ranks against the C.N.T.'s participation in a bourgeois coalition have until now been revealed only by oblique and obscure references in the Spanish Anarch-

Now, however, the protests have received a frank formulation, and it is particularly significant that it comes from D. A. Santillan, the best known theoretician of the F.A.I. Although continuing the Anarchist refusal to distinguish between a bourgeois state and a workers' state, Santillan provides a characterization of Anarchist policy in Spain which is sufficient answer to all American anarchists' attempts to apologize for the C.N.T. Writing in "Timon," F.A.I. theoretical organ, Santillan says:

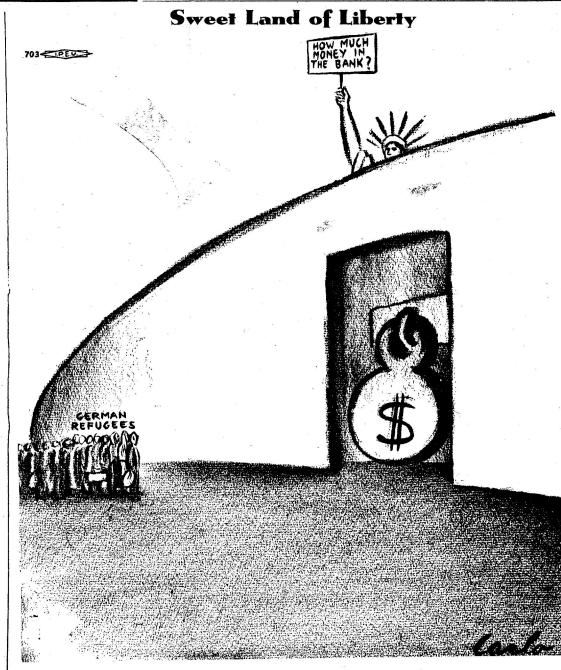
"One cannot serve two masters at the same time. If we are with the people we cannot be with the State which is its enemy. Today we are with the State, which is equivalent to being against the people. For the first time in the history of Anarchism we are more attracted by the interests of the government than by those of the people. The masses, who have a healthy instinct and an intuition for the truth, are beginning to understand. They begin to feel discouraged and hopeless when they see that we, who have always offered our lives to defend their cause, have forgotten them for a paltry dish of governmental lentils.

"Dear comrades, all of you undoubtedly have heard the oft repeated phrase, one which now you can no longer doubt: 'When they get to the top thty're all alike!'

"We are exactly like those who have preceded us in the high government posts. The people throw this in our face, and they are right. In order to keep these posts which can only produce decrees, new taxes, new burdens, we must necessarily fight against the interests of the masses. And if tomorrow, the people, tired of suffering, were to come out into the streets as they have done so often before, when we were on their side in their midst, we would have to massacre them. If we do not want to find ourselves in this magnificent predicament we must use all our resources to oblige the people to support in silent humiliation, hunger, injustices

"How much longer, comrades? Can the sacrifice of our revolutionary personality lead to anything else than killing in the people all the confidence they have placed in us? They would be more than justified. When we're in the government we're all alike! That is why we insist and demand that some decision be taken. Either we are with the people or we are with the State. We have reached the conclusion that if we side with the State and therefore against the people, we commit an irreparable treachery against the revolution. That is self-evident. But we are also traitors to the war because we deprive it of the active support of the people which, if we know how to use it and all its infinite resources, is the only invincible force.

"For the future of the revolution and the ultimate fate of the war, comrades, there is, perhaps, still time. Always with the people!"



# **Negroes Underline Hypocrisy** of U.S. Indignation Over Jews

in the crime of oppressing the here at home." Negroes in America.

Many Negro papers carried cartoons in which Uncle Sam looks Uncle Sam a lynching is taking

And Black America? "We as a minority group," de-'sympathize wholeheartedly with horrors and heartaches suffered under the heel of the oppressor." Commenting on Hearst's announced "campaign for an Amerdering whether Mr. Hearst-now past history, and by reading the biography of Mr. Hearst."

George S. Schuyler, writing in the Pittsburgh Courier, sardonically points out that the only time Roosevelt has ever condemned a lynching was when two white nen were lynched in San Jose,

# Roosevelt Challenged

'Again and again his attention has been called to heartless Negrophobic treatment of Negroes seeking relief, to the ruthless discrimination against black skilled workers by the P.W.A., and to French governments: he jim-crowism rampant throughout the entire Crackerized government set-up and in no case was Roosevelt sufficiently shocked to say a mumbling

The discussion in the Negro press is powerful in its exposure of the hypocrisy of American government and big business, but fails to distinguish between the employing class, which fosters race hatred, and the white workers and poor farmers who are themselves actually victims of this race hatred even when they succumb to it, because thereby they are deprived of the needed alliance between white and black toilers. Controlled by the capitalist elements in the Negro community, the Negro press attacks. not capitalist America, but "white America."

Nevertheless, even in this distorted form, the voice of the oppressed Negroes rings out against his pious oppressors. The Pittsburgh Courier justly points out:

# Our Own Pogroms

"White America pretends to be shocked by the crazy Nazi 'racial pollution' laws, but is not shocked by its own 'racial pollution' laws in almost two-thirds of its States, and its color complex everywhere which makes interracial association unsafe. "Just the other day in Smyrna,

Georgia, Negroes were hounded out of town by a bloodthirsty mob and their miserable schoolhouse burned to the ground, and neither the President nor any of the big wigs were shocked by this

out the country last week effec- will have more faith in the sin- fore Hitler was born; British tively exposed the hypocrisy of cerity of white America's con- marines continue to bayonet those who, while joining in ex-cern about brutality and robbery West Indian laborers whenever pressions of horror at Hitler's abroad, when it sees and endures they dare demand an economic crimes, are themselves involved less brutality and robbery right square deal from the Secretary of

# Isolationist Reaction

Much of the Negro comment suffers from an isolationist attiacross the globe in indignation at tude. Typical of some of the the Nazi criminals while beside Negro commentators is this from the New York Age: "When our own house is in order, then and only then can we ask, advise or tell someone else to put his own clares the Chicago Defender, in order. Until such time the United States government should the Jewish race. We know the stay out of other nation's officers." The reactionary implications of this attitude flow from a failure to recognize that the salvation of all oppressed peoples ican crusade that will bring liber- throughout the world lies in an what follows, what should the for "concerted action"—war, of ty and justice to all races," the international alliance of the op-Defender says: "But we are won- pressed against their oppressors. it? All the oppressed have a sin-That the United States governwith tear-stained cheeks — in- ment is hypocritical is of course minorities, Negro, Jew, the opcludes black America in his mag- true; but from this follows, not pressed races of Asia, the colonial nanimous program. We have reaturning our backs on Europe, but peoples of both hemispheres, son to doubt it if we judge from unity of the oppressed everywhere against "their" governments. This is the necessary, the logical conclusion to be drawn perialist exploiters of humanity. from a survey of the American scene and the rest of the world. ist can hardly improve on that heel of his enemies, as will the provided by the Negro newspapers. Our quotations from the Negro press, so far, have dealt with America. Here is another comment, from the Norfolk, Virginia, Journal and Guide, showing the role of the British and

The Other "Democracies" "While officials and distinguished citizens of Great Britain. France and the United States besiege Berlin and Rome with righteous protests against the persecution of Jews, the odor from the soiled linen in their own backyards smells to high

"With a ruthlessness undisclosed by the news dispatches because of strict censorship, Great Britain is massacring Jews and Arabs . . .; a policy of complete subjugation, repulsive to civilized people, is being applied to natives in South Africa, Rhodesia, Nigeria and Kenya Colony. British soldiers and trained native troops and police were shooting down proscribed natives of British In-

State for the Colonies.

"France, with a bloody chivalry reminiscent of the days of the Conquistadors, annihilated the Moroccans by trickery and deception, and exiled their brilliant leader, Abd-El-Krim on a barren island in the Indian Ocean; and behind her outward expressions of professed equality within the Republic for all Frenchmen, white and black, lies an imperiar policy which crushes aspirations in her African colonies."

What's To Be Done? Yes, the description of events oppressed Negro people do about gle enemy: capitalism. Racial class of every country in an international alliance against the im-The eloquence of the Negro As to actual description of lack of a program. Alone, the

press does not make up for their events, the revolutionary Social- Negro will go down under the Jew. Without allies neither can survive. Who can those allies be? Can they be the white bosses of America who wield the lash over the Negroes? Obviously not. No amount of good-will agencies, trying to tie the Negroes to the "better people"-better bossesamong the whites, like the Urban League, etc., none of these will solve the Negro's problems.

There is only one other real alternative, and that is to unite with the working class and with the oppressed of every land and clime, against their world-wide oppressors. That is the program f the Socialist Revolution.

# YPSL Convention Report Next Week

Next week's Socialist Appeal will contain a complete and detailed report of the 10th National Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League which has just completed its sessions in Chicago.

# ONCE AGAIN WHITHER FRANCE?

by LEON TROTSKY

Trotsky's analysis of the strike situation two years ago is finding swift confirmation in the stubborn struggle which the French workers are waging against the Daladier gov-

Only 35 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 100 Fifth Avenue

# Asylum in the U.S.S.R.? Daily Worker Writhes Over A Knotty Problem

Since November 10th the po- | realize that there are those groms have been raging in Germany. In the ensuing weeks of world-wide protest, practically every country not bound up with Germany has felt impelled to make some gesture at finding a refuge for the victims. Upon analysis, these gestures turn out to be worthless, but they do nevertheless, open the way for a serious campaign to open the doors of these countries to the refugees. Every government not allied with Germany has done so every government but Stalin's!

Why does not the Soviet Union open its doors to the refugees? Stalin does not answer that question. The silence of the tomb surrounds the Kremlin

But as the weeks pass, and more and more sincere workers, hitherto unquestioning followers of Stalinism, now raise this question, Stalin's henchmen outside of the U.S.S.R. are hard-put to answer this embarrassing question. So, finally, on November 28th, the Daily Worker publishes a lengthy "answer" by V. J. Jerome, entitled "The U.S.S.R. and the Issue of Refugees." Jerome's Solution Is War!

Upon reading that article, however, one finds not an answer, but an evasion of the question The main sections of Jerome's article are devoted to a whining alibi that the Soviet Union was not invited to the Evian Conference and is not being invited to a reported Five-Power meeting on the refugee question—and the bold things the Stalinist plenipotentiaries would say at this conerence if they were invited.

These bold things, in sum vould be a repetition of the Stalinist line for a democratic war against fascism. In Jerome's words: "international concerted action to halt, repel, and end the aggressions of the fascist powers and thus prevent further persecutions and Diktats for mass evacuations. There is no other

These last words were italicized by Jerome himself. By which is meant: the "mere" problem of finding immediate refuge does not interest the Stalinists.

After column upon column of this stuff, however, Jerome is still constrained to indicate some answer to the question: Why does not Stalin open the doors to the German refugees? Bewildered and embarrassed minor functionaries are giving all kinds of answers to insistent questioners They must be given some "line.' cannot be improved upon. But And so, amidst the repeated cries course-against the fascists. Jerome gingerly drops the line, consisting of two points:

1. "The Soviet Union has at all haven to refugees from all the five continents." 2. "But the operation of this

policy has to be understood in relation both to the international situation in the present period, and to the fundamental program of completing the construction of the classless Socialist society." . . . "One must also-

Jewish refugees who, though fleeing from fascist terror, are, in their class status and outlook, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, and, consequently, may not wish or may not be able to adjust themselves to a Socialist economy and culture. And, of course, everybody realizes that, particularly in the present period, with the second imperialist world war already raging, the greatest vigilance must be observed against the penetration of carefully planted spies and other fascist agents." Alibis for Chamberlain, F.D.R.

It is difficult to comment calmly on this swinish "line." To justify Stalin's refusal to offer refuge to the victims of Fascist persecution, the contemptible Stalinist hirelings trump up a series of excuses which can be picked up and used by the American and British capitalists to justify excluding the refugees from the rest of the world. Think of it! Jerome dares to refuse entry into the U.S.S.R. to victims of fascism because among them may be planted fascist agents! On the same ground, Roosevelt can close the door against even those refugees who could come in under the present quota.

As for the oh-so-radical argument that the Jews are "bourgeois or petty-bourgeois," the honest Communist worker should ask himself: Why cannot one-sixth of the earth, populated by 160 million people, 20 years after the Russian Revolution, "completing the construction of the classless Socialist society"-why cannot this gigantic society easily assimilate a few hundred thousand Jews? If after 20 years, a Socialist State cannot assimilate a few hundred thousand non-proletarian elements—and we are talking about penniless Jews fleeing from fascism!—that would mean that half of humanity has nothing to hope for from Socialism.

But Jerome's alibi is the merest subterfuge. Accepting it on its face value, the question still remains: Why does not Stalin open the doors to the hundreds of thousands of refugees from fascism who are workers, farmers and skilled technicians?

# Alliance With Hitler

The Jerome alibi is a gross fraud. He dares not and cannot tell the real truth. For, while the Stalinist parties abroad still go on the old line of urging the democracies to make war on the fascist powers, Stalin is already preparing the new line: rapprochement with Hitler, if Hitler vill only agree.

That is the explanation for Stalin's silence on the question of opening the doors of the Soviet Union to the refugees. Hitler does not approve of anyone opening the doors to the Jews, and

Stalin woos Hitler. Members of the Communist Party! You cannot believe our explanation, cannot accept it? Then ask your leaders for a more plausible explanation than that of V. J. Jerome and the Daily Worker:

Why does Stalin not open wide the doors of the U.S.S.R. to the refugees from fascism?

# WHO OPPOSES THE OPEN DOOR?

(Continued from page 1)

and factories be used as they should be used: to provide a job and a decent living for everyone.

As to the objection that admitting the refugees will increase anti-Semitism in this country: The truth is that fighting for and carrying through the

demand to admit the refugees is today the most effective blow that could be struck against anti-Semitism. The theory that anti-Semitism is called into being by the "aggressiveness" of the Jews in pressing their demands and putting themselves forward is certainly refuted by history as thoroughly as any theory could be refuted. The Jews have indeed been as timid, fearful and passive as any living organisms could well be. And the tactic of timidity did not hinder anti-Semitism one tiny fraction in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, or in any other country.

Anti-Semitism arises out of the needs of decaying capitalism, not from the attitude of the Jews. There is no doubt that it is making headway in this country. There is no doubt that in some quarters it becomes more open in the face of the demand to admit the refugees.

But it will not retire if the Jews try to hide in the sand. It will, as reaction always does, grow stronger at the weakness of its opponents. Anti-Semitism has to be smashed; it will not be conciliated into disappearing.

And the most crushing kick that can be given to Anti-Semitism today, as it raises its ugly head on the American horizon, is to drive firmly ahead with the demand that the refugees be

In this way, reaction, which lurks behind anti-Semitism, will be prevented from consolidating; and the ranks of the genuinely progressive forces within the country, steeled by a firm and unambiguous battle, will be better prepared for the broader struggles that lie ahead.