

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

375

5¢ per copy

FASCISM MENACES FRANCE

Demand That U.S. Congress Open the Doors to Refugees

Cannon Urges Party To Speed Appeal Campaign

Success of Drive Will Assure Appearance
of Twice-Weekly by February 1

—Or Sooner

By JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, S.W.P.

On February 1, 1939 and not
later—possibly sooner—the So-
cialist Appeal will begin publica-
tion as a Twice-Weekly on the
road to the Daily.

I make this assertion with confi-
dence because two-thirds or
three-fourths of the measures
necessary for this important step
forward have already been taken.
The practical feasibility of the
step has been fully established
after the most thorough-going
and realistic consideration of the
question from all sides. We have
the facilities and the people to
produce and distribute a twice-a-
week paper, and on the basis of
our present organization—leaving
aside the optimistic calculations
on growth and expansion which
are universal in our ranks—we
have the resources to maintain it.

But our National Committee, in
arriving at its momentous deci-
sion, was motivated above all by
the fact that a weekly paper no
longer adequately serves our po-
litical tasks and aims. We need
and must have right now a means
to speak twice every week, to hit
twice as often and twice as hard.
That is the decisive consideration.

The practical feasibility of the
twice-weekly has been established
for us on this basis. Of course, no

other organization of comparable
size would dream of undertaking
such a task. But Trotskyites by
habit proceed from the necessities
of a situation and then look for
the possibilities to meet them.

Everything that needs to be
done by the National Committee
to prepare the prompt issuance of
the Twice-Weekly Appeal has al-
ready been done. Mechanical and
technical arrangements have been
made. An adequate editorial staff
—second to none in literary and
political competence—has been as-
sembled. The last word is now up
to the branches of the party.
Their task is to provide the \$3,000
fund required to launch the twice-
weekly and guarantee its regular
appearance over the first period.

There can be no doubt that the
party branches will do their duty.
In response to a preliminary
questionnaire they have already
registered their enthusiastic sup-
port of the twice-a-week Appeal.

For the most part, they have as-
sumed their own quotas and
promised to meet them within
sixty days. On that basis we ar-
rive at the confident assertion
with which I commenced this ar-
ticle: On February 1, 1938 and not
later—possibly sooner—the So-
cialist Appeal will begin publica-
tion as a Twice-Weekly on the
road to the Daily.

SCORE BOARD

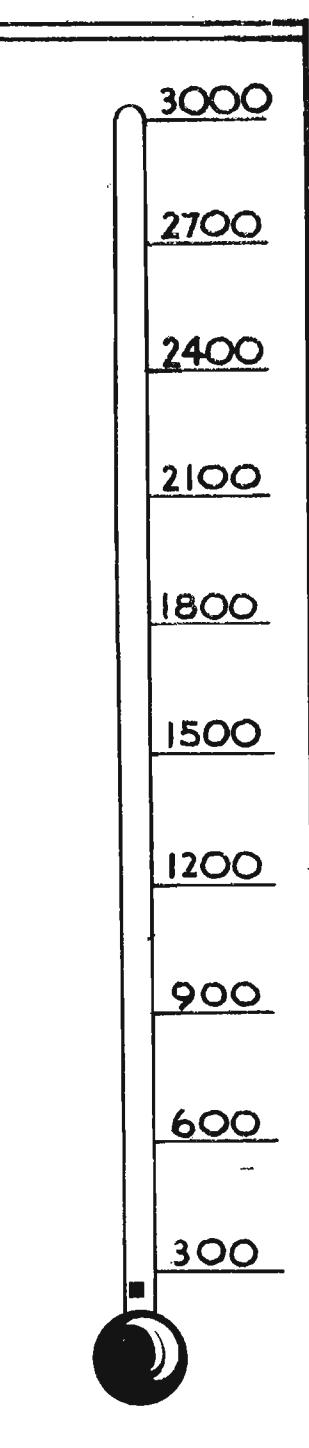
Local Quotas

The following quotas
were set by the National
Committee to be raised
within sixty days. The locals
which make the best show-
ing by January 15th, con-
sidering size of member-
ship, will receive a beautiful
red banner of the Fourth
International for their head-
quarters.

LET'S GET GOING!

(Weekly reports of remit-
tances will appear in this
column.)

New York City \$1050.00
Minneapolis, Minn. 500.00
Chicago, Ill. 250.00
Boston, Mass. 200.00
Cleveland, Ohio 200.00
Los Angeles, Cal. 200.00
St. Paul, Minn. 100.00
Akron, Ohio 75.00
St. Louis, Mo. 75.00
Lynn, Mass. 50.00
Philadelphia, Penn. 50.00
San Francisco, Cal. 50.00
Youngstown, Ohio 50.00
Pittsburgh, Penn. 25.00
Austin, Minn. 25.00
Detroit, Mich. 25.00
Fargo, N. D. 25.00
Rochester, N. Y. 25.00
Kansas 20.00
New Haven, Conn. 20.00
Toledo, Ohio 20.00
Washington, D. C. 15.00
Oakland, Cal. 15.00
Pittsburgh, Penn. 15.00
San Diego, Cal. 15.00
Baltimore, Md. 10.00
Denver, Col. 10.00
East Chicago, Ind. 10.00
Gardner, Mass. 10.00
Indianapolis, Ind. 10.00
Joplin, Mo. 10.00
Kansas City, Mo. 10.00
Lexington, Ky. 10.00
Lexington, Ky. 10.00
Olivia, Minn. 10.00
Plentywood, Mont. 10.00
Punta Gorda, Fla. 10.00
Reading, Penn. 10.00
Sacramento, Cal. 10.00
Seattle, Washington 10.00
South Bend, Ind. 10.00
Worcester, Mass. 10.00
Cambridge, Mass. 5.00
Durham, N. H. 5.00
Evansville, Ind. 5.00
Fitchburg, Mass. 5.00
Flaxton, N. D. 5.00
Hartford, Conn. 5.00
Marion Mills, Mass. 5.00
Portland, Oregon 5.00
Thermopolis, Wyoming 5.00
Yellow Springs, Ohio 5.00
Windsor, Conn. 5.00



Watch the mercury
rise from week to
week!

(Continued on page 2)

WHO OPPOSES THE OPEN DOOR?

PETITION DRIVE ON; PARTY CALLS FOR SIGNATURES

To Be Distributed
To All Union
Locals

A nation-wide campaign, peti-
tioning Congress to repeal all
laws restricting freedom of im-
migration, was inaugurated last
week by the American Fund for
Political Prisoners and Refugees.

The petition, pointing out that

today only a chosen few are per-
mitted to enter the United States,
including the big shot leaders of the
Jewish 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 endor-
sed by the Socialist Workers Party,
and its branches every-
where are mobilizing to secure

signatures at union halls, work-
ers' meetings and by door-to-door

petitioning.

Writers, Professors Sign

Among the first signatures se-
cured 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, Profes-
sors Sidney Hook and James
Burnham of New York University,
Bernhard J. Stern and Ernest
Nagel of Columbia, Scott
Buchanan, B. J. McGill, and
Houston Peterson.

Congressional action at the
forthcoming session in January is
required because under the pres-
ent 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.

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 popu-
lated 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 nar-
row gateway guarded by numer-
ical quotas, racial, political, and
financial restrictions.

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

It is imperative that the gov-
ernment 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

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 here.

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
Jewish 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-imperial-
ism; 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 wake 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 persecu-
tion 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 re-
quirements of capitalist profit. Getting rid of the unemployed
would not eliminate but aggravate the problem of unemploy-
ment 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 unemploy-
ment. In point of fact, through the introduction of a new body of
consumers its indirect effect might well be an increase of general
employment.

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 sub-
traction 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

Strike of Two Million Shows Workers Ready to Fight; 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 pro-
gram 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 rail-
ways 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 immeas-
urably 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
crush it.

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

week showed that they were ready to take up Daladier's challenge.

Immediate generalization of
these strikes, and the creation of
Committees of action throughout
the country, launching of an
aggressive struggle to overthrow
Daladier and establish a Workers'
and Farmers' Government—
this was and is the program of
action, the only program of action
capable of answering the
Fascist threat.

But Daladier could count on the
Jouhaux, the Blums, the Thorez
and the Duclos not to take 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
 erstwhile fellow-heroes of the
 People's Front. The workers
 could not.

Jouhaux and Co. succeeded in
breaking the spontaneous sit-
downs and called for a demon-
strative 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 ser-
vices. He requisitioned all utili-
ties. He called out the army and
the Mobile Guards. He issued de-
crees granting himself unlimited
power. He placed the country on
a virtual war footing.

He openly proclaimed that
the social regime—the rule of the
capitalists—was at stake.

But the bureaucrats of the
Confederation of Labor, with the
Socialist and Stalinist bureau-
crats trailing behind them, pite-
ously denied that they had any
political aims. They dinned it
into the heads of the workers

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued on Page 3)

UNION GUARDS 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 officials, 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 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 by the cops as the union pickets hurled their hatred at the local Hitlerites.

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 attack 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 anti-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 clear the nature of this anti-fascist organization except to quote the police that about 1,000 young men had organized as "vigilantes" (!) to oppose the Silver Shirts and the German Bund in the Chicago area.

A Necessary Warning

The Chicago action did a service 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 anti-fascist 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 spawn.

While Norman Thomas wrings his hands "deplored" 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!

Members Meet On 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 50th 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 earners.

Through its chairman, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., the corporation announced that all employees of five years or more service will be guaranteed throughout 1939 at least 60 per cent of their standard weekly earnings. All employees of more than two-year 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.

The marked trend within the C.I.O. of large and militant unions staying away from state C.I.O. councils because Stalinists automatically control them through paper unions was again noted in the Connecticut C.I.O. state convention. Since the C.I.O. constitution does not make participation compulsory, the non-Stalinists are more and more voting against the Lewis-Stalinist bloc with their feet, i.e., walking out or staying out.

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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 "trump" 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 sit-downs 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 Marseilles with hundreds of red flags, flying from the mastshead 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 that their faithful lackeys, Jouhaux, Blum, Thorez & Co. would 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 class.

With the issuance on Nov. 12 of the decree laws abrogating the five-day 40-hour week and increasing taxes in every category most costly to the workers—bus-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 Marseilles 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 decree revealed what this meant by providing for prosecution as treason any agitation by the workers against the increase of the working week.

Blum, Jouhaux, Blum, Duclos, Thorez & Co., are shouting about the "illegality" of the government and urging "calm, order, and discipline" on the workers. Daladier is determinedly remaining "obstinate" and driving ahead for the "social battle."

The masters of France, the big bosses of finance capital whom Daladier represented in the People's Front and for whom he is now carrying out his present program, want to be done with the intolerable insistence of the workers that they too have rights. They consider the forces of the workers sufficiently dispersed by the experience of the People's Front to make a trial of strength as a preparation for locking the people into the strait-jacket of Fascism. For this Daladier is paving the way.

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

Force the Socialist and Communist Parties and the C.G.T. to take power! Form councils of action in all factories, communes, and towns. These are the slogans of struggle today that can beat back the advancing wave of Fascism. Any other road leads to new defeats.

But while the misleaders of the

workers, Jouhaux, Blum, Duclos, Thorez & Co., are shouting about the "illegality" of the government and urging "calm, order, and discipline" on the workers, Daladier is determinedly remaining "obstinate" and driving ahead for the "social battle."

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Stalin and Nazi Persecutions

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

Never since its beginning fifteen years ago
has the meaning of Stalinism been more pitiful-
ly 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 revolu-
tionary 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 charnel-
house 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 one-
sixth of the land-surface of the earth, the popula-
tion on the average more thinly scattered
than in any other great power, with countless
and unmeasured potential resources of every
variety.

If what the hired apologists of the Kremlin
say about the Soviet Union is true, is even one-
tenth 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 Ger-
man 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
Union.

It would be hypocrisy and demagogic 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 Com-
munist 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 ref-
uge 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
Schiff—

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 ultra-
rich, 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 fel-
low-campaigners went down to defeat in the
Indiana Congressional contest.

Ludlow campaigned on one issue: the refer-
endum. He staked his position in Congress on the
anti-war sentiment of the Indiana voters—and
that's all.

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 dis-
closes the cunning ruses that are being used to
trick the American workers and farmers out of
their anti-war position and make them flag-
wavers and cannon-fodder when the bugles
blow.

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 bath-
tubs? Whose country shall we defend, Mr. Lud-
low?

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 Anarchist
press.

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.'s 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."

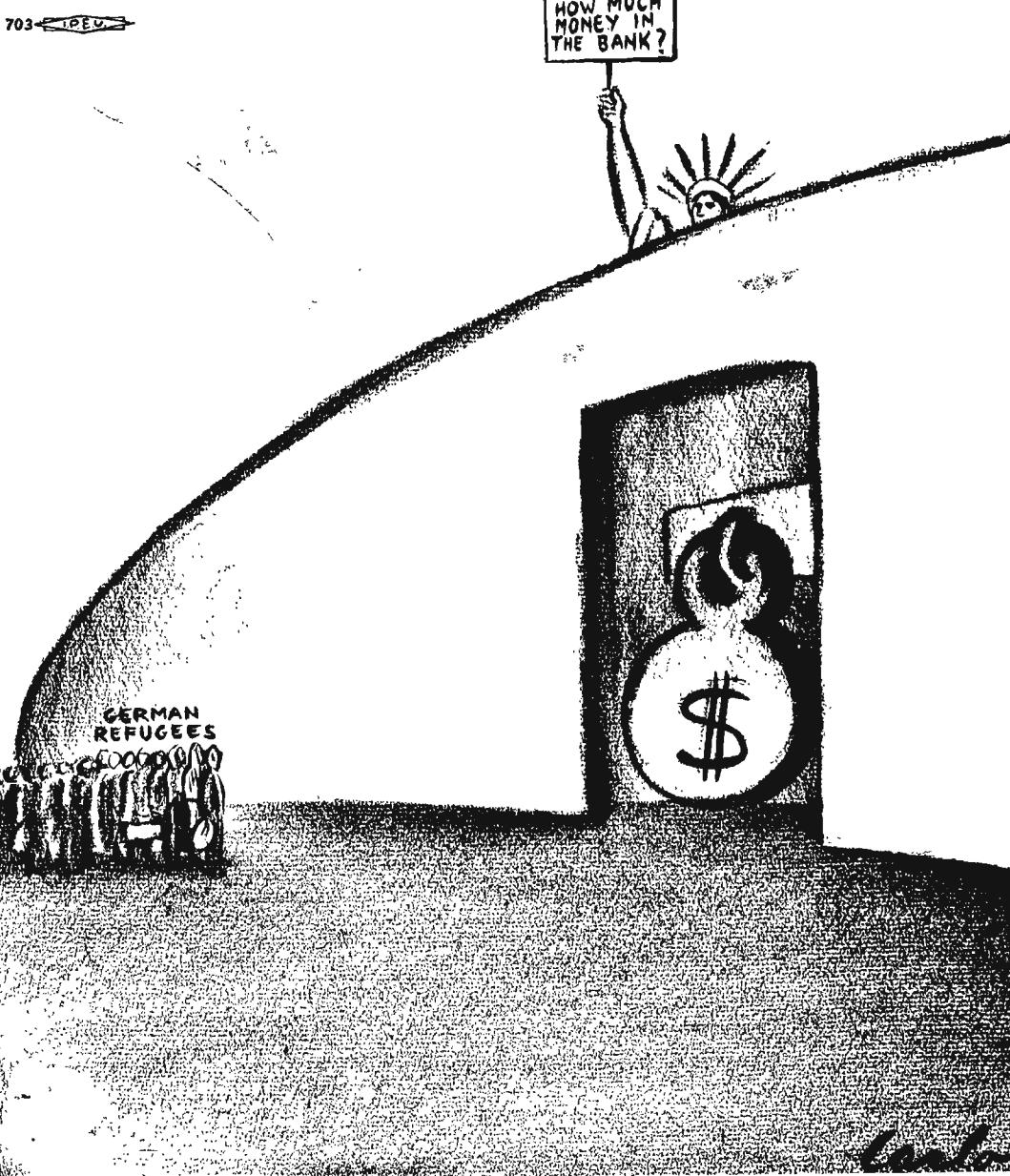
"Dear comrades, all of you undoubtedly have
heard the oft repeated phrase, one which now
you can no longer doubt: 'When they get to
the top they're all alike!'

"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
and outrages."

"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!"

Sweet Land of Liberty

Negroes Underline Hypocrisy
of U.S. Indignation Over Jews

Negro press comment throughout the country last week effectively exposed the hypocrisy of those who, while joining in expressions of horror at Hitler's crimes, are themselves involved in the crime of oppressing the Negroes in America.

Many Negro papers carried cartoons in which Uncle Sam looks across the globe in indignation at the Nazi criminals while beside Uncle Sam a lynching is taking place.

And Black America? "We as a minority group," declares the *Chicago Defender*, "sympathize wholeheartedly with the Jewish race. We know the horrors and heartaches suffered under the heel of the oppressor."

Commenting on Hearst's announced "campaign for an American crusade that will bring liberty and justice to all races," the *Defender* says: "But we are wondering whether Mr. Hearst—now with tear-stained cheeks—includes black America in his magnanimous program. We have reason to doubt it if we judge from 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 men were lynched in San Jose, California.

Roosevelt Challenged "Again and again his attention has been called to heartless Negroophobie treatment of Negroes seeking relief, to the ruthless discrimination against black skilled workers by the P.W.A., and to the Jim Crow rampant throughout the entire Crackertized government set-up and in no case was Roosevelt sufficiently shocked to say a mumbling word."

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 capitalistic 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

**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 government.

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Asylum in the U.S.S.R.?

Daily Worker Writhe Over
A Knotty Problem

Since November 10th the pogroms 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 conference if they were invited.

These bold things, in sum, would 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 evictions. There is no other way."

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." And so, amidst the repeated cries for "concerted action"—war, of course—against the fascists, Jerome gingerly drops the line, consisting of two points:

The "Line"

1. "The Soviet Union has at all times offered its territory as a 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

Ally 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 will 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 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 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 admitted.

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.