



# YPSL Convention Adopts Fighting Policy

## Decision Will Make League Mass Youth Organization

68 Delegates Represent Young Fourth Internationalists; Gould Elected National Secretary

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

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

### Spirited Mass Meeting

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

### Y.P.S.L. CONVENTION GREETED TROTsky

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

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

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

**Youth Transition Demands**

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

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

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

**New Organization Course**

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

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

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

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

### Commemorate Martyrs

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

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

## WALGREEN MEN IN HOUSTON STRIKE

### Unions Come To Aid Of Sixteen Workers

(By a Special Correspondent)

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

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

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

### Finks Stand "Guard"

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

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

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

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## ADVICE TO THE NEEDY "WHY DON'T YOU GET SOME 'BOY FRIENDS'?"

### LaGuardia Relief Investigator Advises Girl Applying for Welfare

By PAUL KUJAC

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

The young applicant for relief protested—how could she when she couldn't even get relief?

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

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

### Family Evicted

This young girl is a member of the Rothman family, an unemployed family of five which includes an 84-year-old woman.

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

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

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

### Quick Action

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

### The action took place so rapidly

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

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

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

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

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

By PAUL KUJAC

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

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

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

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

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

"We the unemployed, when we come to the bureau to tell these fakers our troubles are pumped full of 'not air.' Our wives come here and shed bitter tears. Eviction notices are disregarded. Bare-footed children are told to stay home from school. Toothless people are told to eat mush. Blind people are told to buy a Seeing Eye Dog. Ruptured people are sent on the W.P.A. to swing a pick and shovel. Good investigators are terrorized and rats are made out of them."

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Racketeers' Friends**

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

the bosses' headquarters

the bosses' headquarters

the bosses' headquarters

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

### Also Solidarizes With French Workers

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

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

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

The resolutions follow:

#### Resolution on Nazi Persecutions of Minorities

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

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

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

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

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

#### Resolution of Support to the French Workers

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

Whereas, the efforts of the 200 families of that country are fundamentally the same as the efforts of the 60 American families to smash labor and to bring us all under the vicious heel of fascist oppression and a worsened poverty, and

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

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

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

#### LEHIGH UNEMPLOYED SPEAK OUT

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

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

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

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# HOW SHALL WE FIGHT ANTI-SEMITISM?

By FELIX MORROW

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

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

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

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

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

**DEFEATISM PARALYZES JEWRY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Party Disintegrating**

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

**Terms of the Deal**

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### THE ROAD OF ASSIMILATIONISM

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

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

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

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

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

**Youth Oppose Deal**

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

The whole affair is being rushed through with only the barest observance of the formalities. The date for voting was set at only one month after the decision to hold the referendum was taken,

and the membership received the formulated motion and accompanying statements only last Wednesday (December 7). Between this date and the termination of the vote are only nine or ten days; there are no discussion bulletins.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**THE DECAY OF ASSIMILATIONISM**

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

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## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## Anti-Semite No. 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

## The Pot Boils Over

The brew mixed at Munich two months ago is already boiling over.

The great game of the diplomatic double-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

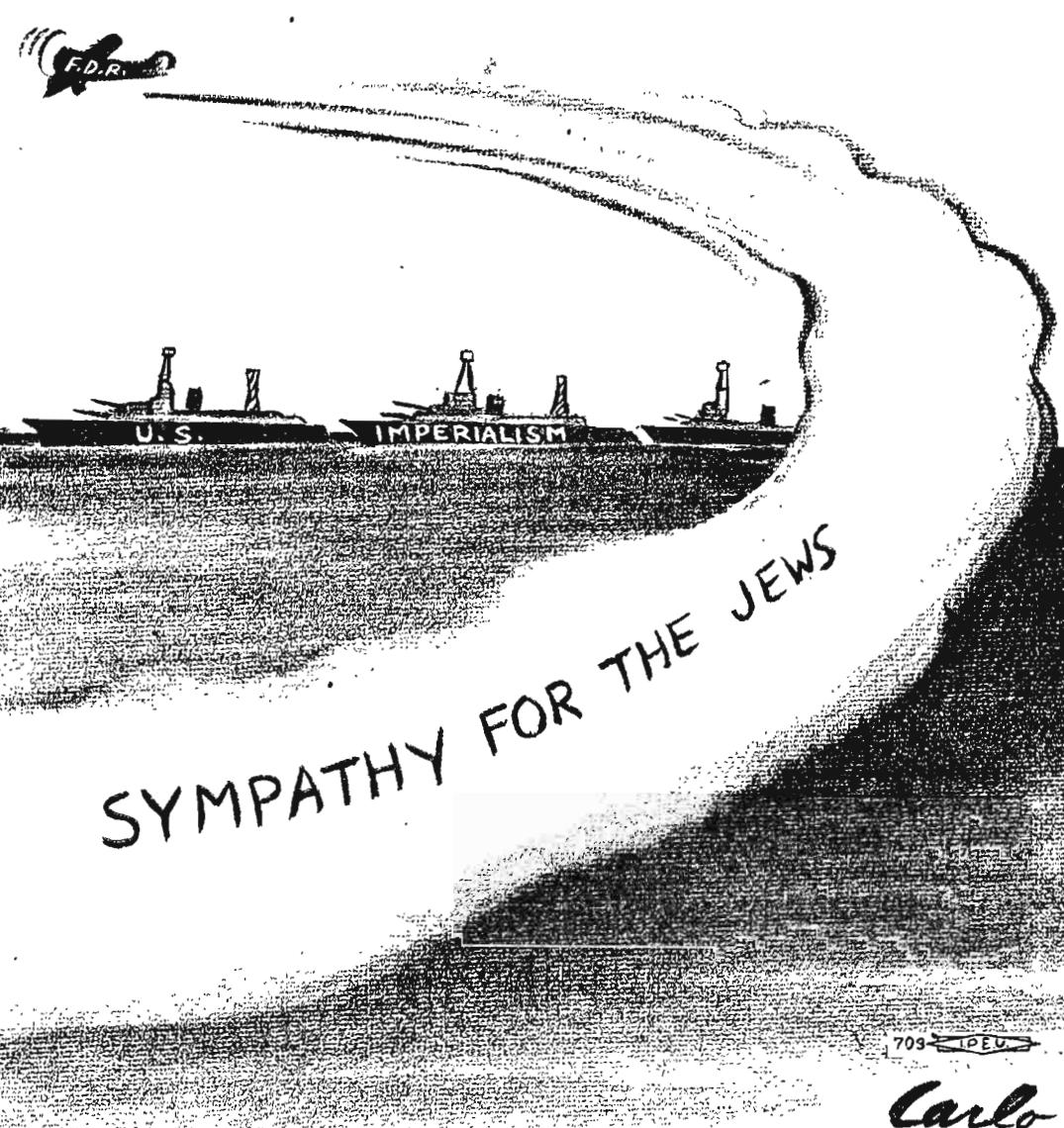
Like almost everything else that happens in Europe these days, however, the Franco-German understanding, no matter how tenuous, temporary, or insecure, is nevertheless a new diplomatic blow at the Soviet Union and a new nail driven into the barrier of isolation placed around it.

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

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

Latin America—is forced to say in his recent book that the Good Neighbor policy is "a policy of friendship for Latin American dictatorships but not for the Latin American peoples."

## The Smoke Screen



## Letters to the Editor

To The Editor:

The Socialist Appeal did a magnificent job during the recent war crisis, but there is one bone which I must pick with it. Its October 10 issue stated editorially, apropos of the Lovestoneites: "During the crisis, their paper too failed to appear. And when it did—a faltering voice, a party afraid of its own shadow..." I have looked up the files of the Workers Age and find that it appeared regularly every week throughout September and October. Nor did its voice seem so faltering to me, even compared to the Appeal. Both papers gave the war crisis front page prominence on October 1, for example. It is worth comparing their major formulations. The Workers Age said:

"The war which threatens us today will... not be a war of liberation on the part of the 'democratic' imperialist states."

"Czechoslovakian national capitalism has oppressed workers in Czechoslovakia, whatever their nationality... How can it be trusted to fight for liberty?"

"Only a revolutionary workers government will be capable of waging, if necessary, a really anti-fascist war for the liberation of the peoples."

The Socialist Appeal said:

"Not democracy but the rivalries over spoils and tribute is at stake between Hitler and the 'democratic' nations."

"The interest of the Czech government is to uphold the property and the profits of the Czech capitalists and bankers, to enable them to continue their twenty-year exploitation of all the peoples of Czechoslovakia."

"But there is only one way to fight Hitler and Hitlerism: by breaking away altogether from your own bourgeoisie... by launching your own firm and independent struggle under your own leaders."

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

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

## Our Reply

On the factual point raised in comrade Macdonald's communication, we cannot but agree. The Lovestone paper did not fail to appear, and the statement in our editorial of October 10 was therefore erroneous, based on a report we received but failed to check up. Hence, a public rectification is called for and we duly record it.

On the political point, we find no reason for amending our judgment of the Lovestoneites anti-war position. Far from being "too sibylline"—as they seem to be to comrade Macdonald—we believe that the "basic programs of both papers," the Appeal and the Workers Age, are irreconcilable.

The struggle against imperialist war is possible only on the basis of a revolutionary struggle against capitalism and for the class independence of the proletariat. It is therefore only a combination of export-radicalism, phrasemongering and duplicity when Lovestone speaks of a "revolutionary workers government"—for far-off Czechoslovakia!—and at the same time follows a People's Front or "Democratic" Front course in the United States, with all that it implies in the realities of the anti-war struggle.

It is precisely the revolutionary Marxist who refuses to separate the "struggle against war"

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

That the local capitalists are not pleased with this expression of independent working class sentiment was indicated by the editorial reaction of the San Francisco Chronicle when it declared:

"The time has come to stop treating such incidents as pranks. A few stiff jail sentences will make the police job easier."

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

the defense.

Workers and other sympathizers are being urged to appear in court and by their presence make it more difficult to penalize workers for attempting to exercise their elementary rights of free speech.

The convention pledges the full and sacrificing efforts of every Y.P.S.L. member to establish the semi-weekly Socialist Appeal, and for the multiplication of its distribution. It awaits the next step: a daily Socialist Appeal!

"Build the press of Socialism!"

"Forward to the semi-weekly Socialist Appeal on the road to the daily!"

The Tenth National Convention of the Y.P.S.L. hails with enthusiasm the decision of the party to publish the Socialist Appeal twice a week. The Socialist Appeal is for the Y.P.S.L. as indispensable for the winning of American youth to militant socialist action, as it is generally indispensable in the mobilizing of the American masses around the transitional demands and for the socialist revolution.

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FLASH! FLASH!  
Literary Tea's Agog Over  
New Blessed Event

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

"It's a league against totalitarianism, you say. You forgot to mention what it is for."

"Oh, according to the draft call it has a splendid positive program. It is for... why, it's for freedom and decency and honesty and human dignity and..."

## A SLIGHT DETAIL

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

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

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

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

"That's what you think," Sinchell answered, with just the suggestion of sneer.

We disregarded the sneer. "All right, then, what is this blessed event you mentioned?"

## IT'S A NEW LEAGUE

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

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

This time the sneer was more than a suggestion. "You invited! Why, you sprang from Leninism, and don't you know that the tongue's 'way out in their cheeks of course, and then stuck it out in dusty cubby-hole." The United States government means at all costs to preserve and expand its control, economic and military, of the Western Hemisphere. Six and a half billion dollars, oil, silver, gold, copper, and especially the nitrates of Chile, prime necessity for war munitions; these are the things that Roosevelt, Hull and Co. defend on behalf of Wall Street.

The United States government is

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

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

## EVERYBODY'S DOING IT

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

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

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

deceive us..."

## France at the Crossroads

## What Price People's Front Today?

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

THEIR CHOICE AFFECTS THE WORLD WORKING CLASS.  
WHICH ROAD WILL THEY TAKE?

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