

Branches: Mobilize for the Twice-Weekly Campaign!

STORY ON PAGE TWO

All War
Funds To the
Unemployed!

Socialist Appeal

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

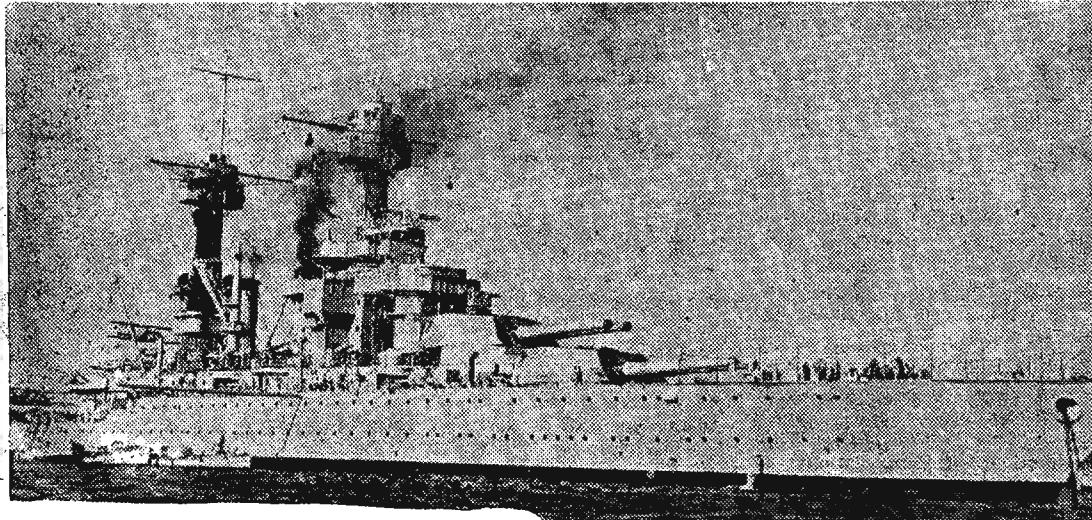
VOL. II—No. 55

Saturday, December 24, 1938

375

5¢ per copy

BREAD! NOT BATTLESHIPS!



Is It To Buy These—

Labor Can Force Congressional Action To Admit Refugees Here

SCORE BOARD

The total this week is \$619.95 for the twice-weekly Appeal. Toledo Branch still heads the list, with Detroit a close second. This week's mail was heavy with letters of enthusiasm, plans and some cash, but not enough to send the barometer shooting up. How about those points with zeros next to them? What are you doing to wipe them out? Let us hear from you.

Readers, sympathizers and friends of the Socialist Appeal sent in a total of \$10 during the past week. We hope for a more active participation in our drive from this group.

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Toledo, Ohio	\$ 20.00	\$ 20.00	100
Marston Mills, Mass.	5.00	5.00	100
Detroit	25.00	15.00	60
Oakland, Calif.	15.00	5.50	55
Fresno, Calif.	5.00	2.50	50
Newark, N. J.	100.00	41.25	41
Durham, N. H.	5.00	2.00	40
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	2.00	40
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	5.50	38
New York City	1,050.00	387.50	35
Boston, Mass.	200.00	62.75	31
San Francisco	50.00	15.00	30
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	14.00	28
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	5.50	22
Yellow Springs	5.00	1.00	20
Chicago	250.00	50.00	20
St. Paul	100.00	15.00	15
South Bend	10.00	1.50	15
Kansas	10.00	1.00	10
St. Louis, Mo.	75.00	6.00	8
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Cleveland	200.00	0	0
Los Angeles	200.00	0	0
Akron, Ohio	75.00	0	0
Youngstown, Ohio	50.00	0	0
Allentown, Pa.	25.00	0	0
Austin, Minn.	25.00	0	0
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	0	0
New Haven	20.00	0	0
Washington, D. C.	20.00	0	0
San Diego, Cal.	15.00	0	0
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	0	0
East Chicago, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Gardner, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Joplin, Mo.	10.00	0	0
Kansas City, Mo.	10.00	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Louisville, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Olivia, Minn.	10.00	0	0
Plentywood, Mont.	10.00	0	0
Reading, Pa.	10.00	0	0
Sacramento, Cal.	10.00	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	0	0
Worcester, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	0	0
Fitchburg, Mass.	5.00	0	0
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0
Thermopolis, Wyo.	5.00	0	0

SPEED UP REFUGEE CAMPAIGN!

1. Introduce into your trade union, fraternal or other organization the model resolution (published in the December 3 APPEAL) calling on the forthcoming session of Congress to open the doors of America to the refugees. Send news of all actions taken to the SOCIALIST APPEAL.

2. Circulate for signatures the petitions for asylum. Petitions may be obtained from the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

3. Provide aid for working class refugees by selling American Fund stamps. Every dollar counts! Arrange affairs, house-parties, etc., for the benefit of the refugees.

4. Arrange meetings on the subject of how to help the refugees and fight anti-Semitism. Expose Stalinist sabotage of asylum for the refugees in America and Soviet Russia.

Decision on Asylum Really Rests With Unions

ACTION IMPERATIVE

Will Congress, convening in January, take any steps to aid the victims of Nazi persecution?

The answer to this question lies, not in the halls of Congress, but in the hands of the labor movement. If the labor movement permits it, Congress will piously express its horror against pogroms and utilize indignation against Hitler to justify the gigantic armament program scheduled for adoption by a united front of Roosevelt and the Republicans.

If, however, the labor movement speaks out for real aid to

the victims, then Congress can be made to open the doors to the refugees.

Many unions and other labor and fraternal organizations have adopted resolutions for rescinding all quota and financial restrictions on immigration and have forwarded these demands to their local congressmen and senators—a list of these actions was published in last week's Appeal—but more widespread action is needed if Congress is to be impressed to act.

The Propaganda Committee of (Continued on Page 3)

U.S. FIGHTS FOR WALL ST. RIGHTS AT LIMA PARLEY

Quashes Proposals Aimed At U.S. Investors

Scoring its first and probably only important victory at the Eighth Pan-American Conference now being held in Lima, Peru, the United States delegation smashed the movement at the conference for a strong resolution against intervention into Latin American countries on behalf of foreign investors. The sub-committee in charge of this question voted Saturday to table the question for another five years.

Several Latin American countries would like to have gotten a ruling through the conference denying diplomatic protection of foreign investors and supporting the famous "Calvo Doctrine." This doctrine holds that countries must recognize as valid contracts which stipulate that foreign investors waive all privileges of diplomatic protection of their in-

(Continued on Page 3)

A Program for the Unemployed

With national elections out of the way for another two years, the New Deal has begun its head-on drive against the unemployed.

During the months following the November Election, 125,000 were cut from the WPA rolls in the face of the fact that in this same period employment in industry decreased substantially. Far more drastic cuts, publicly announced, were temporarily withdrawn only because of the resistance or threat of resistance from the unemployed workers.

More stringent "means tests" are serving as a device to throw workers off the rolls into the cold and hunger of the winter season. Plans are already completed for Congress to strip all types of relief appropriations to the bone.

The unemployed of this country now confront the most terrible prospect of their history: not merely insecurity, but literal starvation, cold, disease, death.

Only bold, sharp, uncompromising struggle can change this prospect.

The unemployed must understand first of all that they enter this period of struggle with no general organization of their own which can serve as an effective instrument in their fight. The Workers Alliance of America, which pretends to speak for the unemployed, is wholly useless.

To begin with, the W.A.A. has a negligible membership in comparison with the more than 13,000,000 unemployed. It is only a hollow shell, utilized by the Stalinists as their puppet spokesman.

But the Workers Alliance has degenerated above all because of its policy, a policy diametrically opposed to the interests of the unemployed. As controlled by its Stalinist directors, the W.A.A. is not a union of and for the unemployed but a political adjunct of the Roosevelt regime.

A union in industry whose policy was to praise and support the program of the boss would be known by every worker as no genuine trade union but a company union.

The boss for the unemployed is the Federal Government. An unemployed organization, therefore, which spends its time supporting and praising the Federal Government and its leaders is not a genuine union of the unemployed, but a company union. This is the status of the W.A.A.

To meet the problems ahead, therefore, the unemployed must break with the remnants of the W.A.A. and build new, fighting organizations which can really serve them and not the bosses and the bosses' government.

Wherever possible these new organizations must be made an integral part of the trade union movement, as has occurred in Minneapolis through the initiative of the Teamsters, in Detroit through the U.A.W., and is now proposed in Cleveland by the U.A.W.

But organizations without an adequate program will be useless. A program to get anywhere now must break with all timidity and polite requests for a dollar or two more a week. It must pose a set of demands which can rally the masses of the unemployed and answer their most burning needs. A very minimum for the immediate present must include:

1. Recognition that the boss of the unemployed is the government and that the unemployed can win their demands only by wresting them out of the government.

2. Primary dependence for results on mass action, on sit-ins, strikes, demonstrations, instead of on parliamentary maneuvers which when divorced from mass action yield nothing but soft soap.

3. Immediate expansion of the WPA to take care of every otherwise unemployed worker at trade union wages.

4. The immediate enactment of a \$20,000,000 Public Works Program, featuring especially low-rental housing.

5. In order to increase at once the number of jobs available in industry proper: joining with the trade unions to demand the immediate institution of a maximum 30-hour week throughout industry, at no reduction in weekly pay. Both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. are on record for the 30-hour week. The United Automobile Workers Union is making a fine beginning at putting the demand into action through its call for a 32-hour week in auto; but the U.A.W. plan is in danger of slipping back to a mere "spread the work" scheme unless the fight for reduced hours is always coupled with the refusal to accept any reduction in weekly pay. The aim of the workers, employed and unemployed alike, must not be to spread poverty among themselves but to make the bosses pay the costs of giving decent jobs to everyone.

6. A \$30 minimum weekly wage under all circumstances throughout industry, public works, and relief work.

7. If the bosses whine that giving decent jobs at decent pay will bankrupt them, then: Let the factories be opened up with the aid of government funds and operated under workers' control.

8. And to meet a substantial part of the initial costs, let all the gigantic funds now pouring into the war machine that is being designed to safeguard the bosses' profits on a world scale, at the expense of the peoples of the world, be turned over to the unemployed.

W.P.A. JOBS FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED AT TRADE UNION WAGES!

A TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM!

THE THIRTY-HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN WEEKLY PAY!

A THIRTY-DOLLAR WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE! OPEN ALL IDLE FACTORIES! OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!

Open the Doors To Europe's Refugees!



—That We Must Starve?

Unions Organize Jobless For Showdown with New Deal

Charter W.P.A. Workers: Major Task Before C.I.O.

Industry Pick-Up Does Not Relieve Unemployment; Labor Action Alone Will Open Factories

Cleveland UAW Is Setting Up Union WPA Auxiliary

TO FIGHT WPA CUTS

CLEVELAND, O.—Paralleling the developments in Toledo, Detroit and other industrial centers, the C.I.O. members on W.P.A. a good portion of the 73,000 W.P.A. workers in this unemployment-ridden city, have established the C.I.O.-W.P.A. Workers Industrial Union.

Hampered for months by the sabotaging actions of the reactionary Stalinists, who infest the Cleveland Industrial Council and many of the Auto Workers locals, a hard-hitting group of progressive and militant auto unionists have finally established an industrial union for the W.P.A. workers around a real program for stopping the W.P.A. lay-offs, expanding the public works program, for supplementary relief, and for higher W.P.A. wages.

Where formerly the W.P.A. worker said, "When I get back into private industry . . .," today, the workers in mass production industries, that the organized labor movement and the employed workers in general, face in chronic mass unemployment the most devastating menace to their interests.

Despite all the tremendous gains of the past few years, particularly in the field of industrial unionism, constantly recurring economic declines heaping up new and more extensive strata of unemployed have cut wide swathes in the union ranks and held the terror of insecurity over every employed worker. The knowledge that there are thousands of jobless men, desperate for any opportunity to earn a livelihood waiting just outside the plant gates, cannot help but breed an extreme caution in the average worker. It is a desire to hold on to his miserable portion without complaint rather than risk the loss of all in a fight for more decent wages and working conditions.

A pick-up in production no longer means a proportionate rise in employment. Rationalization of industry has proceeded at a pace sufficient in the past three years to permit a 25 to 35 percent expansion of production from the low norms of last March, without any material increase in employment. Those (Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 2)

BY LEON TROTSKY

The Decisive Hour In France

(Fourth International Press Release)

Each day, whether we wish it or not, we convince ourselves anew that the earth continues to revolve upon its axis. Likewise, the laws of the class struggle act independently of the fact that we recognize them or not. They continue to operate despite the politics of the Popular Front. The class struggle makes the Popular Front its instrument. After the experience of Czechoslovakia it is now the turn of France: the most hidebound and the most backward have a new occasion to teach themselves.

The Popular Front is a coalition of parties. Every coalition, that is, every durable political alliance, has by necessity as its program of action the program of the more moderate of the coalesced parties. The French Popular Front has signified, since its debut, that the Socialists and Communists placed their political activity under the control of the Radicals. The French Radicals represent the left flank of the imperialist bourgeoisie. On the banner of the Radical party are inscribed "patriotism" and "democracy." Patriotism signifies defense of the colonial empire of France; "democracy" signifies nothing real, but serves solely to enchain the petty bourgeois classes to the chariot of imperialism. It is precisely because the Radicals plunder imperialism with verbal democracy that more than any other party they are constrained to lie and to betray the masses.

In 1936, Socialists, Communists, and Anarcho-syndicalists aided the Radical party in slowing down, and in crumbling the powerful revolutionary movement. Big capital has succeeded during the last two years and a half in recovering a little from its flight. The Popular Front, having fulfilled its role as brake, now represents nothing more for the bourgeoisie than a useless (Continued on Page 3)

Unions Organize Jobless for Showdown With New Deal

Our Press, Organizer and Educator; Twice Weekly!

By MARTIN ABERN

The Twice-a-week APPEAL will soon be here—a fact, and not just a hope and ambition. The requirements of the day make this a certainty. Tremendous events are unrolling before all our eyes. The revolutionary press is essential to reflect these stirring and decisive developments, affecting all lives; but more important, to help to direct them in the interests of the working class and exploited peoples everywhere.

A truism, but fundamental: the revolutionary press is the major educator and organizer of the labor and revolutionary movement. Trade union and political organization of the working masses needs enormously to be speeded up. The revolutionary Party, the Socialist Workers Party, needs to be geared to meet the needs of the hour on the labor and political fronts, in the United States and internationally.

The APPEAL is a decisive instrument in this work. The members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party are rallying and will rally still more strongly to our press and its needs. **THE TWICE-A-WEEK APPEAL IS NOW A NECESSITY. BECAUSE IT MUST, IT WILL BE! HAIL THE TWICE-A-WEEK APPEAL!** On the road to a DAILY APPEAL!

Branch Competition Keen For Twice-Weekly Prizes

Competition for the Fourth International Banner, to be given as a prize to the three branches making the best showing in this drive, is stiffening.

We now have four Twice-a-week Appeal Agents determined to win the prize. They are Jules Geller of St. Paul, Fred Valle of Detroit, Glen Trimble of San Francisco and Abe Miller of New York. This competition has evoked a good deal of subjectivity in the National Campaign Committee for the twice-a-week fund.

Rose Karsner seems to be rooting for St. Paul while Mary Green, assisted by George Clarke of the editorial staff, is all for Detroit. S. Stanley is putting his bet on far-away San Francisco and Jack Wasserman is partial to New York. We say, may they all win.

This week's mail was heavy with enthusiasm, promises, plans for raising the local quotas and some cash—but not enough to send the barometer shooting up as we would like to see it. Let's step on it!

From Our Branches

John Kinsley of Perkasie, Pa. "I wish to advise that comrade Howard Stump has been elected twice-a-week Appeal agent. Quotas have been assigned to our members and plans are being made to collect them, hold small affairs, etc. I feel certain we shall go over the top with our quota in a short time."

John Niemeyer of Rochester: Our local is making plans for raising money for the \$3,000 fund. We will not have it before January, but you can count on at least \$25—that much is guaranteed."

Herbert Martin, East Chicago, Ind.: "This is only the beginning of our efforts. You can be assured much more money is going to be received from our branch. We are out to surpass our quota! The national slogan should be: 'Beat the \$3,000 quota'."

Allentown, Pa.: "Johnny Brucker, in charge of the local drive seems too modest to boost his own plans, but members of the branch write that with Johnny in charge, we can expect the best possible results, because he is a most dynamic and conscientious worker for the party."

Glen Trimble, San Francisco: "I took over the responsibility of the quota for our branch on the twice-a-week Appeal drive and will work in co-operation with Eloise Booth. I enclose first installment. More will follow pronto. What information I have from the other California locals indicate that they will all make their quotas."

P. T., Worcester, Mass.: "We accept our quota and will send in part of it next week. It is a little high for us, but we will manage it."

Karl Shier, Chicago: "Enclosed find \$30. I hope that another remittance this week-end will bring us up to 35%. From all indications we will reach our goal (100 percent Karl!) by January 1st. We are not planning any city-wide affair, but the branches are. The South Side Branch, for instance is having a gala concert on January 7th, with our comrade Irving Kaplan as the featured pianist. The North Side and the West Side branches are also planning affairs for the twice-a-week fund."

Fred Valle, Detroit: "I hope to be sending another remittance very soon. Wrap up that Fourth International Banner and send it to the above address without further preliminaries."

Murphy, Los Angeles: "We are doing all right in raising money for the twice weekly. Though I am not on the committee I function with it at times and know that money will be coming to you soon."

Abe Miller, New York: "Two organizations it would seem are working here to win the banner. Not only are the members of Local New York plugging to reach their quota but members of the Communist Party are doing their bit. This week we received a donation of \$15 from a group of C.P. members."

2nd Annual New Year's Eve Dance
Given by S.W.P. OF CHICAGO
Music by HI-STEPPER — "Swingiest Band in Town"
Saturday Evening, December 31, 1938

at the
LABOR LYCEUM — OGDEN and KADZIE

Tickets 75¢

LOS ANGELES FIRST ANNUAL APPEAL BALL NEW YEAR'S EVE
FAVORS • REFRESHMENTS • FLOOR SHOW
Dancing 'Til Dawn Costumes Optional
Advance subscription 50¢ Auspices: S. W. P.
For Reservations: Tel. MU 7936
Address: 5364 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, near La Brea

CLEVELAND UAW LAUNCHES WPA UNION SET-UP

(Continued from Page 1)
tremendously potential size and power.

A plan for an intensive organization drive will be underway shortly, in which every agency of propaganda will be used, the public press, hand-bills, radio, sound-cards, etc.

Every preparation is being pushed for a show-down fight with the W.P.A. administration against the mass lay-offs which have started and will undoubtedly be in full swing by January.

Indicating the awareness of the workers to the imperialist war policies of the Roosevelt regime, among the slogans employed by the Cleveland organization is "Bread not Bullets."

The organization is putting in-sistent pressure upon the national officers of the C.I.O. for the granting of an industrial union charter, and are supporting the establishment of similar bodies throughout the nation.

LOCAL 544 TO FIGHT WPA CUTS

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS. — The WPA and relief workers' organization of this city, Federal Workers Section of Local 544, backed by the rest of the organized labor movement here, has launched a determined drive against government attempts to cut the WPA quota.

Despite newspaper propaganda about increased employment, heavy Christmas buying, etc., the present relief load is heavier than it has been for many months. Telegrams from Washington, seen by Federal Workers Section officials, have ordered that the Minnesota quota of 69,000 WPA jobs be cut to 64,000 during December. Although the local WPA authorities assert that lay-offs to cut the quota have not yet started, the fact is that hundreds of Minneapolis workers have received "403's"—dismissal slips. Men efficiently handling jobs for three years have been dismissed on the pretext of inefficiency.

Fifteen hundred members of the Federal Workers Section, at a membership meeting December 9, endorsed a program proposed by the Executive Board. A monster mass meeting at the Auditorium held jointly with the trade unions; demands upon the national WPA to institute the thirty-hour week at union wages; an immediate local housing construction program to build homes for WPA and relief workers, and establishment of local housing authorities; and a five to ten year public works and housing construction program, are among the points in the program.

Announcements

DETROIT, Mich.

CLASS in the "History of the International Labor Movement" begins Dec. 23, 8 p. m. at Socialist Appeal Headquarters, 3513 Woodward, Room 5. Bert Cochran, instructor.

SOCIAL on Saturday evening, Jan. 6. Promising finest entertainment ever given in Detroit labor circles. Featuring short play on class war prisoners, burlesque, song and dance numbers, etc. At Socialist Appeal Club, 3513 Woodward, Room 5.

NEW YORK
MEDICAL FRACTION discussion on the 3-cents-a-day Hospitalization Plan on Monday, Dec. 26, 8 p. m. At 5 Washington Sq. Cocktails and sandwiches will be served. Admission free. Proceeds to the French Fund.

HOW SHALL WE FIGHT Anti-Semitism? Speaks F. M. Mowat. At Manhattan Opera House, 34th and 8th Ave., Wednesday, Jan. 4, 6:30 p. m. Admission 10 cents. Auspices: Needle Trade Branch, S.W.P.

Combination
The Black Jacobins—by C. L. R. James.....\$3.75
A History of Negro Revolts—by C. L. R. James .25
Both for \$3.00

Special
Bonaparte—by Eugene Tarle. The standard Marxist work on Napoleon and his times. 400 pages. Regular price, \$4.00. Our price, \$1.25. Additional 3¢ per book for postage.

LABOR BOOK SHOP
28 EAST 12TH STREET
New York City
(Open 10 A.M. to 8 P.M. from Monday to Saturday)

THERE ARE NO JOBS!

Factory Wheels Turn But Unemployed Do Not Return to their Former Jobs

By DAVID COWLES

Claiming that economic recovery is making private industry more capable of solving the unemployment problem, Roosevelt and Hopkins have already begun layoffs on W.P.A. in a move that may turn into an attack upon the whole practice of work relief.

That the claim of recovery is only a smokescreen for making the unemployed bear the brunt of the huge armaments program became clear the moment we face the unemployment problem squarely.

If private industry is to solve the problem of unemployment, it would have to give a job to every person who is able and willing to work. Can it?

Population Grows, Jobs Decline

Every year, depression or no depression, the population of the United States increases. In 1930 it was 122,775,000. In each year after that it increased about one million. As a result, today there are about 131,000,000 persons in the market or to the many millions in the farm areas.

Even during the period of prosperity following 1929, industry declined as a field of employment and offered less jobs. In that year, 30.8 per cent of all jobs were supplied by industry. Ten years later, the percentage had fallen to 28.9, due to displacement of workers by mechanization, by speed-up systems, and by operating plants at full capacity in order to lay up goods for orders and then to shut up the plants completely. New industries have not sprung up to make up for the low wages of those who are working in the family—all these have combined to make the present number of persons who are either working or looking for work equal to about 53,000,000.

Among this number are millions of persons in agricultural areas who are virtually praying for work at a living wage. In the South, three-and-a-half to seven million workers must migrate to the old Cotton South region, where they now live in conditions that date back to the Civil War and where the chaos in the world cotton market drives them down

it.

Less Jobs Since 1929

This story of falling jobs in private industry was especially true in the years following 1929. It was true in transportation, which employed 3,200,000 in 1929 and diminished with over 20 per cent of the jobs by 1936; in construction, which employed 1,600,000 in 1929 and gave out almost half that number of jobs in 1936; in trade, which gave out 6,550,000 jobs in 1929 and 10 per cent less in 1936; and in agriculture, which gave employment to 2 per cent more persons but which was and is so unprofitable that 50 per cent of the farmers cannot support either workers or the owners.

On one side private industry is not giving jobs to all the unemployed. On the other side, Roosevelt and his man Hopkins are cutting down government work relief. On both sides, they are exerting pressure against the lives and living standards of the unemployed, degrading and starving them.

The answer of the unemployed should be a militant fight against lay-offs and for a vast increase in W.P.A. jobs to give jobs to all jobless at trade union wages. The answer of the workers should be a fight for the thirty hour week without any cut in wages. The answer of both workers and unemployed should be a united struggle not only for these immediate demands, but also for the overthrow of the whole rotten system that cannot even give a job and a decent living.

STRIKE THREAT WINS GAINS ON DETROIT WPA

(Continued from Page 1)

who worked two days a week work four now, and production is more than doubled. The totally unemployed must look to relief or government relief jobs as a permanent source of mere subsistence.

Production Up—More WPA!

A striking illustration of this fact was given several weeks ago, by the District WPA Director, William B. Schmehl, in Toledo, Ohio, in a conference with the representatives of the C.I.O.-WPA Joint Action Committee. He stated that if production in Toledo industry were to rise to the peak of the 1937 boom, a minimum of 8,000 more WPA jobs would still be required now over the 7,000 actually provided previously during the production peak.

Included in the hundreds of thousands, rising production will fail to call back to private employment is a high percentage of young, militant union members, particularly in the C.I.O., who possess insufficient seniority. They had a taste of wages in unionized plants back in '36 and '37. They do not relish, as a permanent livelihood, WPA with its \$10-\$14 per week wages.

But despite the almost 100 percent political support given by organized labor in the past to the New Deal, that agency is proceeding with its now time-hallowed practice of withdrawing unemployed benefits, rather than expanding them and raising the standards.

Up to the present, the organized labor movement has failed to recognize the true character of present unemployment. The jobless worker who looked to his union for help, received little more than the encouragement of unjustified pay cuts and discrimination against union men. The next day 2,000 W.P.A. workers picketed the G.A.R. building, which houses the Administration, and followed it by a sit-down. The action was ended when Max Barton, W.P.A. director for Detroit and Wayne County, assured Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W. that negotiations demanded by project workers would begin immediately.

Wins Concessions

After a sixteen hour session, the union committee succeeded in forcing various concessions from the W.P.A. administrations which covered the following points:

1. The five shop stewards fired for union activity to be reinstated; 2. Project supervisors no longer to have power to fire stewards; 3. two supervisors fired for union activity to be reinstated; 4. an investigation of anti-union practices on W.P.A. to be launched.

However, the principle grievance in dispute was merely met by a statement that the W.P.A. administration favors modification of the stoppage of intake ordered by Washington, according to which men returning from Unemployment Compensation are not reassigned to W.P.A. projects.

To date the issue, on which the strike vote was taken, remains solved only by a telegram to Harry Hopkins and it is unlikely that any further steps will be taken unless backed by strong militant action on the part of the union,

APPEAL ARMY

READERS:

I have been reading the Socialist Appeal constantly and completely. I must say I appreciate its outspoken straightforward presentation. In times such as these pussyfooting is inexcusable and I find the Appeal a very stimulating organ of information and opinion." —P. T. Albany, New York.

BRANCHES GET DOWN TO BUSINESS:

From Cleveland, Ohio: "Our branch is starting an extensive plan to gain a large sale of APPEAL before factories and in proletarian neighborhoods. In order to advertise the APPEAL we intend to give complimentary copies at each place for one week, enclosing announcements to the effect that the APPEAL will be on sale at the same place each week following. This plan to sell the APPEAL will be centered around automobile body and parts factories."

And Cleveland is following up its plan with action, too. They have ordered 300 extra copies of this week's issue as a start. Ruth Quorio's advise on selling at factory gates is having results!

Capitalism Impotent

This impotence has been admitted by more than one capitalist economist. Among them has been J. G. Frederick, an outstanding Wall street financial writer who writes "The problem of unemployment is beyond industry; it is—and will remain—a social, governmental problem."

On one side private industry is not giving jobs to all the unemployed. On the other side, Roosevelt and his man Hopkins are cutting down government work relief. On both sides, they are exerting pressure against the lives and living standards of the unemployed, degrading and starving them.

Chicago, Illinois: Here too there seems to have been a healthy revival in Appeal activity led by Karl Shier. More papers than ever before are being sold and distributed. Serious attention is given to the problem of a large debt accumulated by the Chicago local and plans are under way for its liquidation in the near future.

Karl, incidentally, has thought up a brilliant plan for getting renewed subscriptions at the New Year's Eve affair being run by his local. With a complete list of expired subs in one hand, a pencil and sub-blanks in the other, Karl will button-hole all ex-subscribers who turn up—and if we know Karl, champion individual sub-letter of America, he'll get them too!

REMINDERS FOR X-MAS AND NEW YEARS.

1. Each literature-agent now has the regular monthly statement in his hands. Action is the thing needed on this!

2. Subs are easy to get. Remember, 104 issues for \$2.00!

P.S. ORDER NOW! REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR FOR 1939!

Charter WPA Workers: Major Task Before C.I.O.

min. cooled their heels in the anti-rooms of the WPA headquarters in Washington, the legislators offices, or the back-gates of the White House, rushing eagerly into print to expand each perfunctory official hand-shake or smile into another major victory for the unemployed. Such concessions are cheap, and the politicians bestowed them lavishly.

The specter of 10 to 14 millions of permanently unemployed hangs over organized labor. Hundreds of thousands of union men are jobless. The trade union leaders cannot and dare not permit these workers to continue either disorganized or divorced from the organized employed worker. Such a policy means only a gigantic breeding ground for the doctrines of the Father Coughlin, the Gerald K. Smiths, and all their fascist ilk, who spread the gospel that the unions only want the money of the workers, that the unions by their "excessive demands" are creating unemployment, etc.

The only answer organized labor can give to such demagogic, is a national program of organization of the unemployed and WPA workers.

More is needed than words resolutions or the intercessions of individual labor leaders. Just as the auto workers themselves, in open battle with the industrialists, won concessions, so the WPA workers and jobless are themselves the key to the solution of their problems.

The pressure from the ranks of the WPA workers in particular have forced the C.I.O. in cities like Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit to set up unions for the WPA workers. In this, they have begun to follow the splendid example of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and the General Drivers Union which has followed this practice for four years and won outstanding benefits for

On the CONVEYOR

PEAK PRODUCTION

DETROIT, Mich. Dec. 18.—Ward's Automobile Weekly Survey revealed that production of automobiles was boosted last week to a new high for the past sixteen months. Output rose to 102,705 passenger cars and trucks as against 82,025 units in the corresponding period of last year.

Although the automobile industry has now probably reached its key production schedules for the 1939 season, over 7,000 automobile workers remain unemployed in the Flint General Motors plants and thousands of others continue to walk the streets in Lansing, Pontiac and Detroit.

FLINT FIGHTS FOR JOBS

Keenly aware of the fact that unless the set-up is changed, they will never again go back to work, two thousand unemployed Flint Chevrolet workers raised the demand for the establishment of a 32-hour week in the G.M. plants. The Chevrolet division, spurred on by militant auto unionists, promptly resolved to take all necessary steps for the establishment of the 32-hour week and elected a special committee to confer with the International President, Homer Martin and to solicit the support of the International for their campaign. The Flint Buick division promptly followed suit and on Monday, Dec. 12th, the joint committees met with Homer Martin to receive authorization to proceed with the campaign

FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 32-HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY.

MARTIN AS "STATESMAN"

President Homer Martin, completely bewildered by the complicated problems which the decaying capitalist system imposes upon the automobile union, answered these constructive proposals to solve one of the major union tasks with one of his typical broadsides against "unauthorized strikes" and bluntly told the committee that he would sanction no stoppage. Martin is only interested in convincing G.M. of the Union's respectability and harmlessness. No wonder G.M. thinks Martin is a great "labor statesman." They would say the same for any labor leader who pursues the cowardly, week-kneed policy towards the employers that he does.

CLIQUE WRANGLE ON BUT WORKERS FED UP

The International Executive Board continues to act as if neither General Motors nor the auto workers existed. All the board seems to be interested in is its own petty squabbles and clique fights for posts. Martin, it is reported, is attempting to exile his opposition by sending Mortimer to the east coast and Frankenstein to the west coast. Upon learning of this, Mortimer and Frankenstein proceed to run down to Washington (all on union money, no doubt), to complain to the super-arbitrators, Hillman and Murray. And so the merry battle goes on while the G.M. contract negotiations are still pending and organizational work remains at a complete standstill.

The most progressive sections of the auto union are already losing all faith with both Homer Martin and his bureaucratic clique as well as the Stalinist leadership of Mortimer and his friends. They are realizing that they have got to build a new progressive group and leadership based upon a program of aggressive labor action and organizational work.

THE REAL SCORE BOARD

Some of the auto workers are learning even faster than that. Their own experience is beginning to convince them that the whole capitalist system, which brings unemployment, insecurity and poverty to the masses of workers, is rotten. Indicative of the tenseness of feeling and the groping for an answer to solve their conditions is the heated discussion which occurred among many of them in several of the Flint G.M. plants concerning a recent statement of Leon Trotsky (reprinted in the Flint Journal) that capitalism has exhausted itself and the prediction that the United States will have a "terrible revolution."

**ASK FOR THE APPEAL
AT YOUR NEWSSTAND**

BY LEON TROTSKY

THE DECISIVE HOUR IN FRANCE DRAWS NEAR

(Continued from Page 1)

hindrance. French imperialism has also changed its international orientation. The alliance with the U.S.S.R. was recognized as of little value and of great risk—the accord with Germany, necessary. The Radicals received from finance capital this order: break with your allies, the Socialists and the Communists. As always, they carried out the order without hesitation.

The absence of opposition among the Radicals at the time of the change in course demonstrated once more that this party is imperialist in essence and "democratic" in words only. The Radical government, rejecting all the lessons of the Comintern on the "united front of the democracies," reconciled itself with fascist Germany and, in passing, took back naturally all the "social laws" which had been the by-product of the workers' movement in 1936. All this was accomplished in accordance with the strict laws of the class struggle, and that is why this could be predicted, and was in fact predicted.

But the Socialists and the Communists, petty bourgeois blind men, found themselves caught unawares and covered their confusion with a hollow declamation: What? They, patriots and democrats, who helped reestablish order, curbed the labor movement, rendered inestimable service to the "republic," that is, the imperialist bourgeoisie, are now booted out the door without ceremony! In fact, if they have been booted outside, it is precisely for having rendered to the bourgeoisie all the services enumerated above. Gratitude has never yet been a factor in the class struggle.

JOUHAUX GUARANTEES BETRAYAL

The discontent of the betrayed masses is immense. Jouhaux, Blum, and Thorez are constrained to do something in order not to lose their credit definitively. In response to the spontaneous movement of the workers, Jouhaux proclaims a "general strike," a protest of "crossed arms." Legal, peaceful, completely inoffensive protest! For twenty-four hours only, he explains with a deferential smile in the direction of the bourgeoisie. Order will not be disturbed, the workers will conserve a "dignified" calm, not a hair will tumble from the head of the ruling class. He gives a guarantee, he, Jouhaux. "Don't you know me, Messrs. Bankers, Industrialists, and Generals? Have you forgotten that I saved you at the time of the war of 1914-1918?" Blum and Thorez second from their side the general secretary of the C.G.T.: "Only a peaceful protest, a little protest, sympathetic, patriotic!"

Meanwhile, Daladier militarizes the important categories of workers and prepares the troops. In the face of a proletariat with crossed arms, the bourgeoisie, recovering from its panic thanks to the Popular Front, prepares not at all to cross its arms; it intends to utilize the demagogic engendered by the Popular Front in the workers' ranks in order to carry out a decisive blow. Under these conditions the strike could not end except by defeat.

WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE?

The French workers have recently passed through a tumultuous strike wave including the occupation of the factories. The subsequent stage for them could not be anything but a genuine revolutionary general strike which poses on the order of the day the conquest of power. No one indicates nor is able to indicate to the masses any other way out of the internal crisis, any other means of struggle against growing fascism and the war which draws near. Every French worker who reflects understands that the day following a theatrical strike of twenty-four hours with "arms crossed" the situation will not be better, but worse. Nevertheless the important categories of workers risk paying for it cruelly—by loss of pay, by fines, by punishment in prison. In the name of what? Order will in no case be disturbed, swears Jouhaux. Everything will remain in place: property, democracy, colonies, and with them misery, high cost of living, reaction and the danger of war. The masses are capable of enduring great sacrifices, but they wish to have before them a great political perspective. They must know clearly what is the goal, what are the methods, who is the friend, who is the enemy. Yet the leaders of the workers' organizations have done everything in order to mislead and disorient the proletariat.

Yesterday the Radical party was still glorified as the most important element of the Popular Front, as the representative of progress, of democracy, of peace, etc. The confidence of the

workers in the Radicals was not, certainly, very great. But they tolerated the Radicals to the extent to which they grant confidence to the Socialist and Communist parties and the trade union organizations. The rupture in the top circles (with the Radicals) came about as always in such cases unexpectedly. The masses were kept in ignorance until the last moment. Worse yet, the masses were given information designed to permit the bourgeoisie to take the workers unawares. And still the workers made ready to enter into struggle. Entangled in their own nets, the "leaders" called the masses—don't laugh!—to a "general strike." Against whom? Against the "friends" of yesterday. In the name of what? No one knows. Opportunism is always accompanied by the contortions of adventurism.

BUREAUCRATS PREPARE DEFEAT

The general strike is, by its very essence, a revolutionary means of struggle. In a general strike the proletariat assembles itself as a class against its class enemy. The use of the general strike is absolutely incompatible with the politics of the Popular Front which signifies alliance with the bourgeoisie, that is to say, the subversion of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. The miserable bureaucrats of the Socialist and Communist parties as well as of the trade unions consider the proletariat as a simple auxiliary instrument in their combinations behind the scenes with the bourgeoisie. They propose that the workers pay for a simple demonstration with sacrifices which cannot have any meaning in the workers' eyes unless it is a question of a decisive struggle. As if the masses of millions of workers could make turns to the right and to the left at will, according to parliamentary combinations!

At bottom, Jouhaux, Blum and Thorez have done everything possible in order to assure the defeat of the strike: they themselves fear the struggle not less than the bourgeoisie; at the same time they are forced to create an alibi for themselves in the eyes of the proletariat. That is the habitual war strategem of reformists: to prepare the defeat of action by the masses and then accuse the masses of the defeat or, no better, praise themselves with a non-existent success. Can one be astonished that this opportunism, supplemented with homeopathic doses of adventurism, brings nothing else to the workers but defeat and humiliation?

HAS THE REVOLUTION BEGUN?

On June 9, 1936, we wrote: "The French revolution has begun." It must seem that events have refuted this diagnosis. The question is in reality more complicated. That the objective situation in France has been and still is revolutionary, there cannot be the least doubt. The crisis in the international situation of French imperialism; linked with it, the internal crisis of French capitalism; the financial crisis of the state; the political crisis of democracy; the extreme confusion of the bourgeoisie; the manifest absence of escape through the old traditional channels.

Nevertheless, as Lenin already indicated in 1915: "It is not from every revolutionary situation that revolution surges but only from a situation such that, to the objective change—that is, the capacity of the revolutionary class to carry out revolutionary mass actions sufficiently powerful to crush . . . the old government, which never, not even in the period of crisis, 'fails' if one does not 'make' it fail." Recent history has furnished a series of tragic confirmations of the fact that it is not from every revolutionary situation that revolution surges, but that a revolutionary situation becomes counter-revolutionary if the subjective factor, that is, revolutionary offensive of the revolutionary class, does not come in time to aid the objective factor.

POPULAR FRONT STEMS REVOLUTIONARY TIDE

The vast torrent of strikes in 1936 demonstrated that the French proletariat was ready for revolutionary struggle and that it had already entered on the road of struggle. In this sense we had the full right to write that "the revolution has begun."

But "it is not from

every revolutionary situation that revolution surges," neither is every beginning revolution assured a subsequent uninterrupted development.

The beginning of a revolution, which hurl the young generation into the arena, is always colored with illusions, with naive hopes and with credulity. The revolution needs usually a harsh blow from the side of reaction in order to take a more decisive step forward.

If the French bourgeoisie had responded to

country and insisted that the jury be composed of business men. In presenting his case to the jury, the D.A. kept insisting that it was not a question of evidence, but that the people on trial were "Reds." One of his statements was, "These young people are led by outside agitators and must be taught a lesson. Lubin would have gotten relief anyway." It must be noted that Lubin, after six months of trying, still cannot get the relief bureau to hear his case.

The judge seemed altogether bored with the trial, but the District Attorney would argue with his interest every once in a while with a real red-baiting speech. Then the judge would adjust his mechanical ear, move his chair closer to the stand, and pay more attention to the proceedings.

Pay-triot Judge

When the jury finally brought in the verdict of guilty, the judge finally had an opportunity to show what a pay-triot he was. He said, "These crackpots must be taught a lesson. If I were Mayor of this city there wouldn't be any Workers Alliance. Next time they will stay out of Brooklyn where the police are not as

hard as the police of Manhattan and the Bronx."

Nor could the judge resist taking a few cracks at their race because the boys happened to be Jewish. "You people are a disgrace to the Jews. Now with the Jews being suppressed all over the European continent, they should learn to keep quiet and stay out of trouble."

The case of the 16 who were arrested at the same time on charges of disorderly conduct will come up for a hearing on January 22.

Only Business Men

The trial of Lubin, Herman and Torlone took place last week. Before the trial started the three were virtually convicted. In picking the jury, the District Attorney felt duty-bound to uphold the "honor" of the state and the

workers in the Radicals was not, certainly, very great. But they tolerated the Radicals to the extent to which they grant confidence to the Socialist and Communist parties and the trade union organizations. The rupture in the top circles (with the Radicals) came about as always in such cases unexpectedly. The masses were kept in ignorance until the last moment. Worse yet, the masses were given information designed to permit the bourgeoisie to take the workers unawares. And still the workers made ready to enter into struggle. Entangled in their own nets, the "leaders" called the masses—don't laugh!—to a "general strike." Against whom? Against the "friends" of yesterday. In the name of what? No one knows. Opportunism is always accompanied by the contortions of adventurism.

THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE SIT-DOWN STRIKES, WITH POLICE AND MILITARY MEASURES—AND THIS

WILL INEVITABLY HAVE BEEN DONE IF IT HAD NOT

HAD IN ITS SERVICE BLUM, JOUHAUX, THOREZ AND CO.—THE MOVEMENT AT AN ACCELERATED TEMPO

WOULD HAVE REACHED A MORE Elevated LEVEL; THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER WOULD HAVE POSED ITSELF IN

DUBITABLY AS THE ORDER OF THE DAY. BUT THE

BOURGEOISIE, UTILIZING THE SERVICES OF THE POPULAR

FRONT, RESPONDED BY AN APPARENT RETREAT AND

BY TEMPORARY CONCESSIONS; TO THE OFFENSIVE OF

THE STRIKERS THEY OPPOSED THE MINISTRY OF BLUM

WHICH APPEARED TO THE WORKERS AS THEIR OWN,

OR ALMOST THEIR OWN, GOVERNMENT. THE C.G.T. MANIFESTLY COMMENCES

TO LOSE FOOTING IN THE EVENTS. ON NOVEMBER 25

THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATES CALLED A "NON-

POLITICAL" PEACEFUL STRIKE FOR NOVEMBER 30. THAT

IS, FIVE DAYS LATER.

IN OTHER WORDS, INSTEAD OF DEVELOPING, EXTEND-

ING, AND GENERALIZING THE GENUINE MOVEMENT

WHICH TOOK ON MORE AND MORE COMBATIVE AS-

PECTS, JOUHAUX AND CO. COUNTERED TO THIS REVOLU-

TIONARY MOVEMENT WITH THE HOLLOW IDEA OF A

PLATONIC PROTEST.

THE DELAY OF FIVE DAYS, AT A

MOMENT WHEN EACH DAY IS A MONTH, WAS NECESSARY

TO BUREAUCRATS IN ORDER TO PARALYZE

THE WORKERS, THE SOVIETS. THE WORKERS FOUND THESE

INSTRUMENTS RUINED OUT, BECAUSE THE LEADERS OF

THE WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS FORMED AN ENCLOSURE

AROUND THE BOURGEOISIE POWER IN ORDER TO MASK IT,

TO RENDER IT UNRECOGNIZABLE AND INVULNERABLE.

THUS THE REVOLUTION THAT BEGAN FOUND ITSELF BRAKED, DEMORALIZED.

THE PAST TWO AND A HALF YEARS SINCE THEN HAVE

REVEALED STEP BY STEP THE IMPOTENCE, THE FA

LSHORNESS OF THE POPULAR FRONT.

WHAT APPEARED TO THE LABORERS IN THE

POPULAR FRONT AS A BLIND FOR YANKEE IMPERIALISM, U.S. IN-

TERESTS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN "INFLUENCING" MANY NEWSPAPERS INTO

TAKING A MORE CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE.

Furthermore, Mexico's delegation

TO LIMA IS LED BY HER LEADING PRO-WALL STREETER,

DR. FRANCISCO CASTILLO NAJERA, HER AMBAS-

SADOR TO WASHINGTON. DESPITE ALL THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT HAS

DONE AND WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE TO DO

TO SUPPORT YANKEE EXPLOITATION, AS EXEMPLIFIED

BY STANDARD OIL INTERESTS, AGAINST HIS OWN COUNTRY AND EVEN HIS GOVERNMENT,

CASTILLO GOES RIGHT ON ORATING

ABOUT THE WONDERS OF THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY.

LOAN PLAN HELPS

UNDoubtedly OF GREAT VALUE IN

SECURING LATIN AMERICAN AID IN

THROTTLING CHILE'S DEMAND FOR

THE POPULAR FRONT AS A BLIND FOR YANKEE EXPLOITATION.

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MAX SHACHMAN
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S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Christmas on WPA...and Off

If Saint Nick happens to slide down the chimney of a WPA worker's home, he will not find a sight likely to inspire the famous Christmas cheer.

The children's stockings hung on the fireplace—or what goes for one—will be thin and threadbare. The family of the WPA worker, his wife and three children will be huddled together in dingy, unheated rooms probably in some fire-trap, disease-infested tenement. Their larder will not be bursting with turkey and vegetables and pumpkin-pie—as the WPA employee can ill-afford such sumptuous food. It will be good fortune indeed if one or more of the family is not laid up with some malady aggravated by the lack of funds for medicine or hospitalization.

With their wretched \$60.50 a month, when they work a full month, how else could the Christmas of millions of Americans on WPA be than dismal and wretched, brightened only by the irrepressible human desire to be happy.

But bad as it is, the Northern WPA worker is fortunate as compared with his southern brother whose monthly allowance is less than half the Northern wage.

And his Yuletide will be at least twice as bright—if it can be called that—as the tens of thousands of WPA workers whose Christmas gift has already been received: the pink dismissal slip from Washington.

Dispossessed and disinherited, unemployed and partly employed American labor is having its 1938 Christmas spirit distilled out of the grinding essence of capitalist poverty and breakdown. Bitter will be the Christmas cheer soaked in the acid of broken New Deal promises and wholesale layoffs, followed by cold and hunger—and Roosevelt battleships and machine-guns followed by death and destruction.

Merry Christmas, indeed!

Come Across, OR ELSE...

The Lima Conference isn't panning out to be the howling success that Uncle Imperialist Sam planned. Between the invisible influence of Britain and Germany and the disinclination of some of the Latin American countries to be protected by the benevolent boot of Wall Street,

ARE YOU GOING TO PIONEER'S PARTY?

Since its last party in May, which evoked such hurrahs of praise from the cognoscenti, Pioneer Publishers has been urged to do it again.

Such a gala dance and floor show has been arranged for New Year's Eve at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, N. Y. C.

An outstanding dancer, Kawalka, will perform two very popular native Hawaiian dances with a special drum accompaniment...

exotic and exciting. Princess Maravaia will pantomime, dance and sing in her performance of Makumba, an African Voodoo rite. She will be assisted by an artist of note, Marko Shipt. Three of the fanciest Harlem steppers, Hunt, Gibson and Savage, will show how it's done in eccentric rhythm...yea man! Spivy, who is well known along the Great White Way for her inimitable rendition of intimate songs, will

take you into her confidence. And finally, the pride of the house, Mary Frieman, will flutter you with such favorites as "Have You Had Your Worthy Cause Today?"

The Arrangement Committee announces that the ballroom and bar will be open at 8 p. m. to give everyone an opportunity to meet the New Year in the proper spirit (no pun intended).

Proletarian prices will prevail at the bar, where food will also be dispensed.

Tickets are \$1.00 but if you fail to get them in advance you will have to pay \$1.50 at the door.

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

Jew-Baiters Are the Spawn of Capitalism

III

Breaking with orthodox Judaism and its yearning for Jerusalem, the assimilationists had declared: "We live already in our promised land, here in this (German, English, French, American) fatherland which we love as fervently as do our fellow-countrymen of other faiths. This government is our government, we are its loyal citizens." None held to this so fervently as the German Jews; and nevertheless their Reform Temples are smoking ruins. So, too, the populous Jewish cemeteries of Palestine the victims of civil war, mutely testify to the hopeless Utopianism of the Zionist dream.

What now?

TWO IMMEDIATE TASKS

Immediate measures are not merely vitally necessary, but constitute the acid test distinguishing the serious fighters against anti-Semitism from the hypocritical word-mongers. "Enough Pious Tears: Admit the Refugees!" Around this demand, the Socialist Workers Party is organizing a campaign to render immediate aid to the victims of Nazi persecution. In cooperation with the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees and other organizations, we are enlisting every honest believer in the right of asylum in a national campaign to demand from the forthcoming session of Congress the lifting of all quota and financial restrictions upon immigration, so that the victims of Nazi persecution may enter America. The distinguished name of John Dewey heads the list of those really sincere democrats who have joined with us in this demand. Only the granting of this demand can make possible the survival of hundreds of thousands of German Jews.

Likewise, in the fight against organized anti-Semitism right here in America, our comrades have taken the initiative: organizing Union Defense Guards to smash the fascist gangster-bands.

Cordell Hull is having a hard time putting over the grand scheme of "Continental defense" and "continental solidarity," so—

The U. S. Navy Department has published the pointed announcement that this year the fleet will maneuver in the Atlantic covering an area extending from Cuban to Brazilian waters.

This will be the second greatest fleet ever assembled at one time under the American flag. The armada will include some 140 battleships, cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, submarines and 600 airplanes including all fighting, scouting and observation types. The personnel will total 3,000 officers and 50,000 enlisted men.

Here you have the "Good Neighbor" policy in terms never uttered in the purring, caressing speeches of Hull or Roosevelt.

Latin American peoples: "Bow before the economic, political and military tyranny of the American Empire, OR ELSE."

Gorman and Hillman

Francis Gorman's secession from the C.I.O. didn't create a ripple among the textile workers—at least not so you could notice it. And that's the way it should be.

The textile workers need not be especially grieved over the departure of this fortune hunter and erstwhile Stalinist bandmaster. After selling the textile workers to the tender mercies of a Roosevelt arbitration board, he became a front man for all sorts of dubious Stalinist enterprises—an intinerant traveller organizing everything but textile workers. His disruptive affiliation—fortunately without any following—to the A.F. of L. marks a fitting and natural climax to his disruptive activities as C.P. agent. The end of the trail was as rotten as the beginning. And now let us hope—good riddance to Mr. Gorman.

But Gorman's secession has served at least one good purpose. It has brought out into the open the bureaucratic one-man rule of Sidney Hillman over the Textile Workers Organizing Committee.

When did the textile and silk and woolen workers give Hillman the right to sit on the leadership of the textile union like a pot-bellied Caesar? The answer is: never! The United Textile Workers Executive Board just abdicated its power to the T.W.O.C. without benefit of convention. That was in 1936. And there has been no convention or sign of one since.

Who empowered Hillman, the "great labor statesman", to grant a wage cut to the textile barons during the recent "recession"—which now comes out for the first time in the dispute with Gorman? Certainly not the workers who were deprived of all democracy and autonomy under the T.W.O.C. set-up!

The Gorman incident has left only a bad odor. The textile workers are not likely to follow him into the A.F. of L. But this much is certain: they will make little progress until they fumigate the real stink of bureaucracy and one-man rule under Hillman's dictatorship and establish real democracy and make an autonomous international union out of the T.W.O.C.

The Lima Conference isn't panning out to be the howling success that Uncle Imperialist Sam planned. Between the invisible influence of Britain and Germany and the disinclination of some of the Latin American countries to be protected by the benevolent boot of Wall Street,

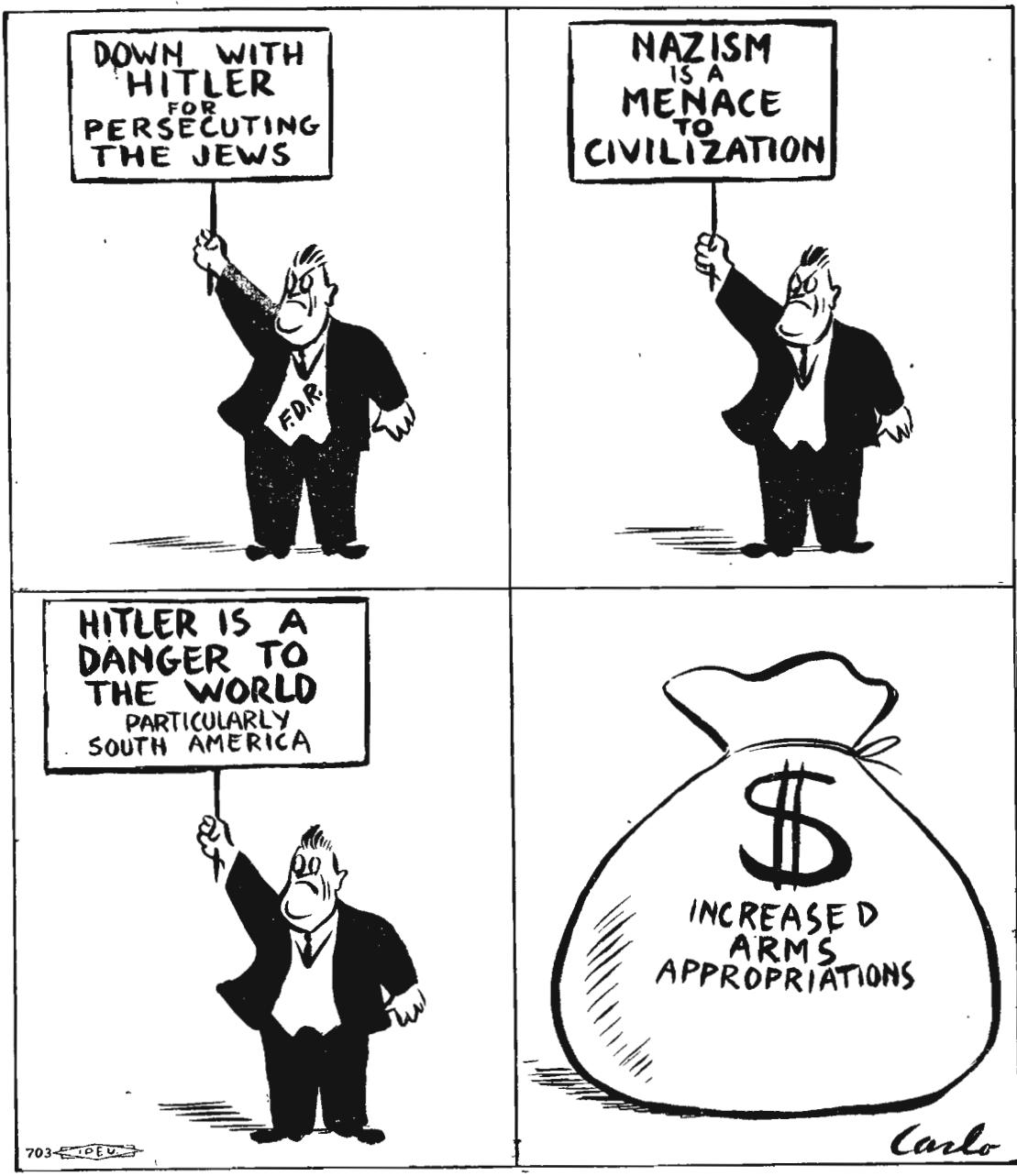
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The Roosevelt Technique



Unions Demand Control of Minn. Farmer-Labor Party

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS.—The Hennepin County Farmer-Labor convention was the opening round in the fight between the labor movement and the politicians for control of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.

By giving absurdly disproportionate weight to the ward clubs, largely composed of office-holders and office-seekers, and to various paper organizations, the politicians' clique has always been able to prevent the labor unions from having a real voice in the Farmer-Labor Party.

After the politicians' clique carried the party down to a crushing defeat by linking its fate to the New Deal, the labor movement stirred itself to put an end to this intolerable situation. The issue will be fought out at the 1939 state convention of the party opening January 27.

Labor Demands Control

Both the Duluth Labor World, organ of the Duluth labor movement, and the Northwest Organizer, organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council and twenty other unions, have called for an immediate change in the structure of the Farmer-Labor Party.

"The sort of regime that existed in the Farmer-Labor movement for the past several years must be wiped out and in its place must be established a democratic regime based upon the union movement," declares the Northwest Organizer.

Unions Crowd Out

With plenty of phony delegates in hand, the Stalinists gained

electing their own chairman as against the unions' candidate by a vote of 225 to 115. Of the 85 votes in the state convention for Hennepin County, 43 go to the ward clubs and rural township clubs, while only 42 go to the unions representing 70,000 workers!

One faction of the politicians, after years of living cheek by jowl with the Stalinists, have sought to get out from under their responsibility for scuttling the Farmer-Labor Party by coming out against "Communists and others who believe in force or revolution." They adopted a resolution embodying this position two weeks ago at a meeting of the state central committee. Actually they have played into the hands of the Stalinists, since the advanced trade union movement of Minnesota is opposed to red-baiting. The trade unions have fought the Communist party because of its pro-war, pro-Roosevelt, union-splitting and union-wrecking policies. At the county convention, the unions voted for the recommendation of the resolutions committee not to act on the anti-communist resolution, and that position carried.

The spectacle which presents itself is that of the "anti-Communist" politicians and the Stalinists both fighting against giving the unions the leadership of the Farmer-Labor Party.

The real fight will come at the state convention in St. Paul on January 27. The real fight will come at the state convention in St. Paul on January 27.

Yesterday's "democrats" in Czechoslovakia today bar Jewish membership in the single party in which all the "democratic" parties have been merged! Who does not know that the upper strata of American and English society are already ripe with anti-Semitism?

Look at what is happening in France, mother of Continental European democracy. The French capitalists and their government enviously point to Germany, where workers cannot strike, work sixty hours or more for cool wages, get no unemployment insurance or sick benefits, etc. The French bosses are saying publicly 'we cannot compete with Germany unless our production costs are the same, i.e., unless French labor works under the same conditions as in Germany. Of course, the French bosses would like to have what their competitors in Germany have, viz., using a Hitler: it would be nice to have it that way. But the French workers have no intention of submitting to slavery. Therefore? The French bosses are getting ready to smash the labor unions by fascist methods. And that means, as part of the arsenal of Fascism, anti-Semitism.

CAPITALISM LIVES BY RACE-HATRED

To insure their continued power, the capitalists must systematically cultivate racial and national hatreds. White supremacy is cultivated as a doctrine in British and French Africa and Southern America as a way of keeping the Negroes in subjection and separating them from their natural allies, the white workers. The Hindu is pitted against the Moslem in India. The big corporations—Ford, "Little Steel," etc.—deliberately foster antagonism among the various races which labor side by side in the mills. As capitalism declines, this weapon becomes ever more necessary for the perpetuation of capitalism. That is why anti-Semitism grows: because the capitalists make it grow.

Alone, the Jewish people cannot hope to prevail against capitalism's need of anti-Semitism. The salvation of the Jews depends upon the victory of the labor movement. When a strong labor movement still exists, there the Jews still have a right to go. Where the labor movement has gone under, there the Jews have gone under. The way to save the labor movement is also the way to save the Jews.

No Bottles, No Machines
And No Sales...
But Forty Millions in Profits!

The "monopoly committee" last week suspended its hearing for the holiday season after concluding five most fascinating days of testimony on the glass container industry. It is this industry which produces yearly the many billions of bottles and jars into which go milk, vegetables, preserves, medicines, beer, liquor, soft drinks and other articles of universal and daily consumption, and thus directly affects the pocketbooks of every inhabitant not only of this country but of the many other nations where the millions of dollars worth of U.S. glass containers are exported.

The major witness was Mr. F. G. Smith, president of the Hartford-Empire Company. Very few persons of the general public will ever have heard the name of this extraordinary company. And yet, in the years 1923-1937, Hartford-Empire took in a total of \$40,479,062.00, a not inconsiderable sum. With the exceptions of 1931-32, its income has been steadily and rapidly rising. In 1937 its profit represented 66.7 per cent on the net capital investment, a rate at which hardly anyone would sneeze.

No Bottles, No Machines

What great public service, then,

was rendered by Hartford-Empire for this princely return? It must, one might think, have turned out a lot of jars and bottles to make so much money. No, dear reader: not a single jar or bottle. Perhaps, then, it makes the machinery used to manufacture jars or bottles? Not at all: not a machine has it ever produced. But it must be at least the selling organization that distributes bottles or machines for making bottles? Wrong again: It sells no bottles and no machines.

Hartford-Empire has just one little item in its cupboard, but with that item it knows that the cupboard will never be bare. Hartford-Empire owns the basic patents on the chief process (the so-called "gob" process) for making glass containers. That is all; and that is enough.

JAN. NEW INTERNATIONAL CONTENTS

An examination and criticism of the position taken by a number of prominent radical intellectuals on such questions as Bolshevism, Stalinism, Trotskyism, fascism and Marxian philosophy is to be the main feature of the January issue of the *New International*. The article, a defense of revolutionary Marxian politics by James Burnham and Max Shachtman, will take up the recent political writings of such well-known figures in American intellectual circles as Sidney Hook, Max Eastman, John Chamberlain, Eugene Lyons, Charles Yale Harrison, Edmund Wilson, Benjamin Stolberg and several others. Special attention is called to this article because of its scope and the controversy which it is sure to arouse in the radical movement.

The real situation in China—the one which the press does not report—is given in detail in this issue of the magazine by its collaborator from Shanghai, Li Fugen. Entitled "After the Fall of Hankow," it gives for the first time a dramatic picture of the realities behind the Chinese struggle against the Japanese invaders—the picture of treachery and villainy in the Chinese camp which have facilitated the pro-

The circulation of the *New International* has been rising gradually and because of the policy of the management to print no more than seems to be required each month, it has been impossible to fill some of the orders and re-orders that come in belatedly. A special request is therefore made to all agents to rush in their precise orders immediately, unless they have already done so. All communications should be addressed to *The New International*, 116 University Place, New York N. Y.

Yesterday's "democrats" in Czechoslovakia today bar Jewish membership in the single party in which all the "democratic" parties have been merged! Who does not know that the upper strata of American and English society are already ripe with anti-Semitism?

Look at what is happening in France, mother of Continental European democracy. The French capitalists and their government enviously point to Germany, where workers cannot strike, work sixty hours or more for cool wages, get no unemployment insurance or sick benefits, etc. The French bosses are saying publicly 'we cannot compete with Germany unless our production costs are the same, i.e., unless French labor works under the same conditions as in Germany. Of course, the French bosses would like to have what their competitors in Germany have, viz., using a Hitler: it would be nice to have it that way. But the French workers have no intention of submitting to slavery. Therefore? The French bosses are getting ready to smash the labor unions by fascist methods. And that means, as part of the arsenal of Fascism, anti-Semitism.

CAPITALISM LIVES BY RACE-HATRED

To insure their continued power, the capitalists must systematically cultivate racial and national hatreds. White supremacy is cultivated as a doctrine in British and French Africa and Southern America as a way of keeping the Negroes in subjection and separating them from their natural allies, the white workers. The Hindu is pitted against the Moslem in India. The big corporations—Ford, "Little Steel," etc.—deliberately foster antagonism among the various races which labor side by side in the mills. As capitalism declines, this weapon becomes ever more necessary for the perpetuation of capitalism. That is why anti-Semitism grows: because the capitalists make it grow.

Alone, the Jewish people cannot hope to prevail against capitalism's need of anti-Semitism. The salvation of the Jews depends upon the victory of the labor movement. When a strong labor movement still exists, there the Jews still have a right to go. Where the labor movement has gone under, there the Jews have gone under. The way to save the labor movement is also the way to save the Jews.