

Appeal Fund Celebrates New Year By Topping \$1,000

A Happy New Year for the Working Class!



Twice-Weekly Drive Total \$1,001.70; Branches Promise Action on Balance

By ROSE KARSNER
Appeal Campaign Director
Total to date \$1,001.70!

The Twice-a-week Appeal On the Road to a Daily, like all good slogans, is realizable. In point of fact it is more than that. It is already assured. Each day's mail strengthens our conviction that our membership, friends and sympathizers are in dead earnest about this accomplishment. And if we read the signs correctly, we will not rest satisfied with the twice-a-week but push forward to the daily.

We know the strength of our own organization. But that is not enough. Let us prove in action the superiority of our ideas!

ON TO THE DAILY!

From Our Branches

East Bay, Calif.—This section of our party has grown sufficiently in membership to divide itself into two separate branches. Elsa Meyers is in charge of the East Oakland campaign, and Carolyn Kerry of the West Oakland branch. Instead of the \$15 quota for the entire East Bay Section originally assigned, each branch has undertaken \$20, and Elsa Meyers writes: "We are carrying on separate campaigns for the twice-a-week Appeal and have entered into a bit of Socialist competition between the two branches. The pledges in our branch already run up to \$20. We will raise all of that and perhaps more." All power to you, Elsa, and your branch. But we are sure Carolyn Kerry will not let you beat her.

Fred Valle of the Detroit branch comes back at us with: "You can rest assured that our branch will end this campaign ringing the bell."

Glen Trimble of San Francisco assures us: "Enclosed find money order for the Twice-weekly Campaign. I may collect some more tonight, but I want to be sure to make the Monday deadline with this batch. The pledges now total enough to guarantee our quota."

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Turn
On
the
Heat!
Make
It
Rise!

SCORE BOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Kansas	\$ 10.00	\$ 14.00	140
Durham, N. H.	5.00	6.00	120
Toledo, Ohio	20.00	20.00	100
Denver, Colo.	10.00	10.00	100
Marston Mills	5.00	5.00	100
Detroit, Mich.	25.00	19.00	76
East Oakland	20.00	13.50	68
E. Chicago	10.00	5.50	55
Boston	200.00	108.25	54
San Francisco	50.00	26.50	53
W. Oakland	20.00	10.00	50
Fresno	5.00	2.50	50
Newark	100.00	48.25	48
New York City	1,050.00	490.20	48
Punta Gorda	5.00	2.00	40
Quakertown	15.00	5.50	38
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	18.00	36
St. Paul	100.00	30.00	30
Worcester	10.00	3.00	30
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	5.50	22
Chicago, Ill.	250.00	50.00	20
Plentywood, Mont.	10.00	2.00	20
San Diego, Calif.	15.00	3.00	20
Yellow Springs	5.00	1.00	20
Cleveland	200.00	35.00	18
South Bend	10.00	1.50	15
Los Angeles, Cal.	200.00	20.50	10
St. Louis	75.00	6.00	8
Youngstown	50.00	3.00	6
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Akron, Ohio	75.00	0	0
Philadelphia	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
Baltimore, Md.	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
Reading, Pa.	10.00	0	0
Sacramento, Cal.	10.00	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	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

TASKS IN REFUGEE CAMPAIGN!

1. Introduce into your trade union, fraternal or other organization the following resolution:

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

Therefore, we, the call upon the present session of Congress 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.

Copies of this resolution shall be sent to U.S. representatives and senators from this state.

2. Circulate for signatures 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.

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Socialist Appeal

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

FDR: 'WARPLANES INSTEAD OF WPA'

Make Congress Heed Labor

Next week the first session of the new Congress opens.

It meets at a time as black as any in the history of this country. Ten raging years of economic crisis find the policies of United States capitalism and its government absolutely helpless in the solving of any major social problem.

After ten long years, twelve to fifteen million unemployed still walk the streets, and at least as many more piece together incomes through part-time employment. One-third of the nation, forty-three million people, live in wretched, squalid quarters, below the minimum level of health and decency. Millions of share-croppers sweat fourteen hours a day, only to sink each year further into debt.

The supreme internal problem immediately facing the country can be summed up in a single phrase: To provide jobs at a living wage to everyone.

What may we expect from the new Congress as its answer to this problem? Since the November Election, the leaders of Congress, Democratic and Republican alike, and the President, have given the answer that satisfies them.

They have said that the new Congress has before it only one item of new business: super-armaments; and that apart from armaments all it need do is "modify, clarify and amend" a few of the existing statutes.

These political harlots of the ruling class, drawing down their \$10,000 a year and expenses in return for their services to their masters, reply to the destitute tens of millions seeking jobs and bread and homes: "Let them eat guns and bullets!"

Powerless to stem the internal crisis, the ruling class now proposes as solution the subjugation of the peoples of Latin America and the Far East to the iron yoke of Yankee Imperialism. It makes its plans to drive the masses of the country to death on the battlefields of its new war to make the world safe for U. S. monopoly profits.

The new Congress is ready, eager, anxious to do its bidding. Like all harlots, the greatest fear of a Congressman is to be shoved out of the warm bed in favor of a fresher and more complacent rival.

It is time that these contemptible hirelings be made to feel the sting of another whip, the whip of the aroused fury of the workers.

It is time for the workers, employed and unemployed, to cease begging, pleading, hoping, and to stand upright and say in a voice that will thunder through the halls of the Capitol: We

will not fight your war! We have our own war to fight, and it is a war against you and the masters whom you serve. We demand from you that those billions which you are so happy to vote for guns and battleships and airplanes be turned over to us, at once, to buy us and our children food and coal and clothing.

The leaders of Congress, echoing the National Association of Manufacturers, find no need for "new social measures." Senator Carter Glass finds "simply shocking" the idea of another billion for W.P.A.

Let the workers tell them something different. Let Congress know that the workers demand a job at a living wage for everyone, and that they will not stop until this demand is achieved.

Senator Glass wants to stop W.P.A.? The workers must tell him and his colleagues: We demand immediate expansion of W.P.A. to take care of every otherwise unemployed worker at trade union wages.

The Department of Commerce says there are not enough jobs to go around? The workers must reply: Make more jobs by the immediate institution of a maximum 30-hour week throughout industry with no reduction in weekly pay.

The Department of Labor shows that the annual wage of the majority of workers is less than the subsistence minimum. Very well: A \$30 minimum weekly wage under all circumstances throughout industry, public works and relief work.

But the bosses complain that such measures would bankrupt them and force them to shut the doors of their plants? All the better. If the bosses can't run industry, let someone else take over who can. *Open up the factories with the aid of government funds and operate them under workers' control.*

The statistics of the Housing Administration demonstrate that a third of the nation requires new housing? Let us take them at their word: Immediate enactment of a \$20,000,000,000 Public Works Program, stressing above all low-rental housing.

But this can't be paid for? Funny that the same question is never asked in connection with armaments. A good beginning can be made in paying for it: *Turn all the war funds over to the unemployed; take the rest from those who have it—the gigantic monopoly corporations and the coffers of the Sixty Families.*

So Congress hasn't any "new business" on its agenda, apart from armaments? Let's begin to teach Congress just how much "new business" it has, and how it's got to go about doing it.

And let's make clear to Congress that when workers talk, they mean what they say.

10,000 PLANES FOR ARMY WHILE RELIEF IS CUT

Ten Million Need Money That Goes for War Aims

Roosevelt's New Year's greetings to three million WPA workers, terrified at the prospect of losing their wretched means of subsistence, came in the form of an announcement that he will ask Congress to appropriate funds for 10,000 new war planes.

Newspaper correspondents call his new "defense" program "double-barreled"—presumably because it is a hunger edict for the unemployed and a war edict, i.e., more profits and dividends for the 60 families, for the country at large.

Grim Fate for 3,000,000

Only a few days earlier, Aubrey Williams announced that unless Congress makes a new billion dollar appropriation by Feb. 7, three million persons, who with dependents make a total of 10,000,000, would be thrown off WPA—and face slow death by starvation.

Despite the so-called industrial upturn, Williams' statement revealed that WPA payrolls had reached an all-time peak of 3,262,000 on Nov. 5th. That furthermore, since Nov. 5th, layoffs on WPA totalled to some 45,000 per week which continued right on through the week of December 13th; the last week of his report.

"Simply Shocking"

In the past week Roosevelt's blows have struck with increasing fury at the unemployed. In their meaning, they were essentially no different than the Tory insult hurled at the unemployed by Senator Carter Glass of Virginia: "A \$1,000,000,000 relief appropriation is simply shocking."

They began with the promotion of Harry Hopkins to the position of Secretary of Commerce and his replacement as Director of WPA by Col. F. C. Harrington. Hopkins was never a real friend of the unemployed but his name was associated with the relatively large-scale relief appropriations. His removal signifies an end to what the gloated rich have called "pampering the unemployed." His replacement by an army man means an end to the silk glove policy towards the unemployed and the beginning of the mailed fist.

And it is not amiss to point out that Roosevelt has the highest regard for Carter ("Let them eat cake") Glass. On the same day Glass was making his pronouncement in the best Hoover style, Roosevelt was sending him high praise for his work on the banking system of the U.S.

Cannon Fodder for Hunger
To Senator Glass a one billion dollar relief appropriation is "shocking" but a one billion dollar army-navy budget is no doubt quite in order. And supposedly Roosevelt thinks likewise because, for one thing, Aubrey Williams' job as head of the National Youth Administration will be to train 100,000 pilots and 125,000 mechanics as a military "backlog." The ideal setup is established: an army man to make the unemployed take starvation and like it; a "friend of the people" to put the unemployed youth in the army for training as cannon fodder.

It is "shocking" to allocate a billion to keep the unemployed from cold and disease but quite in order to appropriate \$30,000,000 or more for "educational" orders for munitions. This thirty million is merely for the purpose of keeping industry in practice at

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Arms Program Displaces Open Door for Refugees

WASHINGTON, D. C.—It is clear, as Congressmen and Senators arrive for next week's opening session of Congress, that the Roosevelt Administration is making a determined effort to stave off any discussion of opening America's doors to the refugees. At the least, the administration would postpone the question until the armament program is adopted and out of the way. The same pressure is being applied to proponents of a continuing WPA program and other measures, and for the same reason: the sum and substance of the Roosevelt program now is armament.

This is the explanation for the anti-German speech of Senator Ickes and the sharp rejection of Hitler's protest by Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles. Bourgeois Jews twitter with pleased excitement at the "anti-fascism" of the Administration and forget completely that the government's diplomatic gestures provide no aid to the victims and refugees. What the gestures do provide, however, is the requisite warlike atmosphere for railroad warfare through the government's vast arms program.

No Help from "Labor Leaders"

Only widespread demands from organized labor for aid to the refugees can now bring help to them. The national leadership of the American Federation of Labor, making perfunctory statements of sympathy for the refugees, firmly maintains, however, its traditional policy of opposition to easing immigration restrictions. The C.I.O. leadership, much more verbose than the A.F.L. in anti-fascist talk, in actuality follows a policy identical to that of Bill Green. Neither leadership is likely to reverse itself unless a groundswell from all parts of the country moves them.

Although a considerable number of unions and central labor bodies have taken up the question at the instance of local progressives, and resolutions have been adopted and forwarded to con-

gressmen and senators, there is also found marked reluctance, even among usually decent trade union officials, to going on record for opening the doors to refugees. They fear the effect of such a step in increasing unemployment, and argument, however logical, is insufficient to convince them. The way must be found to link up the struggle against unemployment with the struggle for the refugees.

Lundeen's Statement

The statement made here this week by Senator Lundeen, Minnesota Farmer-Laborite, that he would oppose easing of immigration restrictions for refugees, on the grounds that there is already too much unemployment in the country, is an alarming sign.

Apparently even those congressional groupings ostensibly friendly to labor and the oppressed will not back a serious program of aid to the refugees. Only the revolutionists and the progressive trade unionists close to them are at present firmly calling for such aid. This is not so strange as it seems: the refugee question involves sharply raising the question of just what and who is responsible for the economic crisis and unemployment, and only the real left wing in the labor movement unambiguously lays the responsibility at the door of the

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Saber - Rattler



SUMNER WELLES

Progressive Sweep Mpls. Drivers Poll

MINNEAPOLIS—The entire progressive slate was swept in to office in the two-day elections, December 23 and 24, for the leadership of General Drivers Union, Local 544.

Carl Skoglund was re-elected President; George Froisig was elected Vice-President in place of Jack Smith who retired on account of ill-health; Farrell Dobbs was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer, as was Grant Dunne as Recording Secretary; Kelly Postal was elected Trustee.

Lima Parley Is Cold Comfort to U. S. Diplomats

British Succeed in Checking Wall St. Program

Completing its labor on behalf of the capitalists of the various American countries and of the unseen—but very much felt—British empire, the Eighth Pan-American Conference held its final session at Lima, Peru, last Tuesday, Dec. 27.

The "Declaration of Lima," was adopted after much wrangling and compromising. The United States delegation had been pushing for a much stronger statement denouncing the totalitarian powers of Europe and Asia and establishing Roosevelt's leadership of the two continents. The U.S. plan was opposed very vigorously by the Argentine delegates in particular.

Britain Main Opposition

Argentina, chief representative of British imperialism in the New World (See article on Argentina on page 3), has no intention of submitting quietly to U.S. domination of the continent. At the same time the British are menaced by German competition, which while not so important on this hemisphere as elsewhere is not to be forgotten.

Thus caught between two fires and also desirous of keeping the U.S. friendly because of events in Asia and Europe, England through her Argentine representatives was willing to sign a compromise resolution which is in reality almost word for word the counter-proposal originally presented by the Argentine delegates

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Brazil Communists Repudiate Moscow

Sao Paulo Regional Committee Issues Call For United Front Congress to Form New Party

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

SAO PAULO, Brazil.—The Sao Paulo Regional Committee of the Communist Party has openly broken with the Communist International and issued a call to all working class organizations, including the Leninist Workers Party (section of the Fourth International) for a national conference to form a new revolutionary working class party in Brazil. This action climaxed the crisis in the Brazilian Communist Party which has been alternately simmering and boiling over during the past six months.

The Sao Paulo regional committee represents possibly the largest and certainly the best body of working class militants in the party.

In a resolution announcing its action, the committee charged the Comintern with capitulating to the capitalists and the imperialists in the semi-colonial countries of Latin America and on a world scale. It denounced it in particular for abandoning the struggle against Yankee imperialism.

Policies of C. I. Condemned

It declared that the Comintern "policy of class collaboration disorganized the world revolutionary movement and sowed the most harmful illusions within the ranks of the working class."

The Sao Paulo committee's resolution said that the Munich conference had resulted in the perilous isolation of the Soviet Union and that this in turn was due to the political disarmament of the world working class by the ruinous policies of the Comintern.

It condemned the "policy of support to the 'democratic' bourgeoisie on a national and international scale in place of a proletarian class policy. Far from removing the fascist danger . . . this has succeeded in giving Fascism greater international influence and new national bases."

The resolution declared that the present Stalinist leadership was undermining the conquests of the October revolution and heading for abrogation the foreign trade monopoly which protects Soviet trade from foreign finance capital.

Organic Break

It concluded by announcing the Sao Paulo party's determination:

"to make the class struggle and working class internationalism the fundamental principles of our policies against fascism, imperialism, imperialist war, and for the defense of the U.S.S.R.;

"to counterpose the policy of the workers' united front to the criminal policy of collaboration with the capitalist class . . . ;

Calls Conference

"to break all organic connection with and political subordination to the bureaucrats in Moscow and their agents abroad, whose errors and crimes with every passing day only aggravate

the difficulties of the working class, compromise the gains of the Russian revolution, and retard indefinitely the world socialist revolution;

"to enter into an understanding with the other sections of the Brazilian Communist Party and other working class political groups moving in the same direction, to convoke a national conference destined to lay a new foundation for the revolutionary vanguard of the Brazilian working class."

Muniz, Carlini Awaiting Trial on Phony Charge

Counsel Asks for Mental Test of Witness

BARCELONA.—The trial of Comrades Carlini and Muniz, leading members of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninist organization (Fourth International) was scheduled here for some time in December.

After many postponements the date had been set for Nov. 8 but was put off once more at the request of counsel for the defense who demanded medical examination of Luis Zanon, the witness whose testimony represents the only basis of the murder charge made against our comrades. Zanon has officially withdrawn and repeatedly contradicted his own statements but he still remains the chief witness for the prosecution!

Zanon claimed to be a witness of an alleged murder of one Capt. Narvich which he first said had been committed by our comrades. This he later retracted and the official case fell to pieces. Muniz and Carlini were nevertheless kept in prison and must still face trial on these repudiated charges.

Both Muniz and Carlini have been subjected to typical G.P.U. third degree methods during their imprisonment. In police headquarters Muniz was stood up face to a wall and several shots were fired on either side of him. Both he and Carlini, however, have openly assumed responsibility as leaders of the Fourth International movement in Spain.

Time is short for action in behalf of these brave militants! Wire your protests to the government here and to the labor organizations demanding their immediate release and, barring that, a public trial and the admission of working class representatives from abroad, especially from France.

Send your wires to President Companys, to the president of the Espionage Court, and to Spanish consulates in your cities.

SH--SH! UNITED STATES ALSO USES SPIES!

The professional pay-riots, with the Stalinists in the forefront, have been conducting a first-class spy scare campaign for the past few months. German spies here and Japanese spies there; military secrets stolen in the East, naval secrets stolen in the West, strategic secrets stolen in the Canal Zone. The President is indignant and Browder is infuriated.

What? Is there any country so base as to use spies to hunt out the government secrets of our fair and unsuspecting land? Yes, sir, and not one but two: Germany and Japan. Both are "aggressor" nations, and fascist to boot. What is the solution? A bigger and better army, navy and air force. More billions for "defense" (and less for the unemployed). Smash the Hun and scotch the Yellow Peril.

Drumming Up War Scare

In a word, the spy scare has been cunningly manipulated to whip up a feverish war-spirit in the country.

The Socialist Appeal has stated repeatedly that the whole scare is a vicious fraud. Are there German and Japanese (and English and French and Italian and Russian!) spies in the United States? Of course, there are. But so are there American spies in every other important country of the world. It is the sheerest hypocrisy to deny this fact which every intelligent person knows or ought to know.

And now we have a tactless admission that the United States

like every other big power—also engages in spy activities!

A couple of weeks ago two alleged Soviet spies were arrested in Los Angeles, Cal., on the charge of having stolen American military secrets. If it were true, it wouldn't surprise us a bit and would shock us less. But the Stalinists find it a little embarrassing and the Daily Worker flings itself into the breach. In a Los Angeles dispatch printed in its issue of December 14, it says:

"Federal Bureau of Investigation operatives who arrested two men as alleged Soviet agents said today they were not involved in stealing any American defense secrets. They were held on suspicion that they had obtained military information which American intelligence agents had garnered concerning the Japanese war machine" (Our emphasis.)

Now, how do you translate "American intelligence agents" into simple English? By the words: "American spies." And how did our own spies—excuse us, "agents"—"garner" the Japanese military secrets? Did they pluck them from the Japanese cherry blossom trees in Washington? Did they buy them in a Japanese candy store in Tokyo? Or from a geisha girl in Yokohama? Or did the Japanese ambassador drop them out of his pocket while sliding down the banister at an embassy reception?

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

SOCIALISM: ONLY HOPE FOR JEWS

IV

That the Jews, if they are to survive, can do so only by linking their fate to that of the labor movement, is the inescapable logical conclusion to which all our analysis points. On numerous occasions, this conclusion has driven itself home to the minds and hearts of many a leader of the Jewish community, in discussions I have had with them. The debacle of assimilationism, the blind alley into which Zionism has led, the sharp fact that only where the labor movement still stands strong can Jews lift their heads—all this leads them to agree that Jewry must cast in its lot with the working class and with labor's allies, the colonial peoples oppressed by the great powers.

But that same Jewish leader, hearing one bark out of a Coughlin, drops all this and reverts to the near-sighted cowardice in which he has been nurtured. Whipped into line by Coughlin, the Jewish leader proceeds to work with might and main against any link between Jewry and the labor movement.

THE MECHANICS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

So prevalent is this attitude among Jews that to refute it requires a concrete exposition of the mechanics of anti-Semitism at work.

In a typical American city of half a million, the Jews number 20,000. The proportion of wage-workers among them is a minority (the development of capitalism never proceeded to the point where the Jews were able to complete the transition from the middlemen occupations they had been limited to under feudalism). The small minority of Jewish workers are concentrated primarily in the needle trades. A larger group are store-keepers and peddlers. The workers and petty bourgeoisie live in one part of town, in houses and at living standards generally below that of the well-united Gentile workers, but the latter have practically no contact with these poor Jews. The average Gentile worker in the city sees Jews only as employers, owners of department stores, saloons and gambling joints, loan sharks, etc., "Did you ever see a Jew do a real day's work?" "There isn't a single Jew in my union." These are typical remarks by Gentile workers, heard not once but regularly. Here is propitious soil for anti-Semitism. But it takes systematic, deliberate fanning to create flames.

Those interested in creating the flames appear: the conscious reactionaries and Fascists, interested in anti-Semitism as a weapon against the labor movement. They tell the masses: your real oppressors are the Jews. They fan hatred of the Jews, and then proceed to turn this hatred upon the militant labor movement by lumping together labor and the Jews as "Jewish Bolshevism." Of Bolshevism itself, the backward worker or farmer knows little, and generally has no active hostility to it; the mechanism of fascism serves to transfer his dislike of the Jews to the Bolshevism which is described to him as Jewish.

HOW NOT TO FIGHT ANTI-SEMITISM

The only way to fight this anti-Semitic mechanism is to expose it as being aimed against the labor movement. But the smug, complacent Jewish leader, completely blind to this mechanism, concludes that the people have a lively hatred of Bolshevism and that this hatred is being directed from Bolshevism to the Jews. Therefore he calls upon the Jews to separate themselves as far as possible from the labor movement, in order that the Jews not share the stigma of Bolshevism; he denounces the young Jewish radical as responsible for anti-Semitism. Actually, only the presence of these Jewish radicals in the labor movement, where the Gentile workers can see them, serves to show the Gentile worker that the Jew is not universally the oppressor that he is pictured to be by the fascist!

If timidity and cowardice could save the Jew, he would have been free of anti-Semitism by this time. Russian-Jewish capitalists gave endless proofs to Czarism that they repudiated radicalism and submitted to the regime; but Czarism nevertheless employed

hatred of Jews to smear radicalism. German Jewry, predominantly middle-class, fawned upon the Kaiser and the Weimar Republic's Junkers and capitalists; far from saving the Jews, all this facilitated Hitler's picture of the Jews as oppressors. Neither timidity nor silence have saved the Jew from anti-Semitism, for, as we have already demonstrated, anti-Semitism is an indispensable instrument to the decaying social system of capitalism.

COUGHLIN, STALIN AND THE JEWS

"I can see the logic of all you say," said a leader of a Jewish community to whom I developed this thought. "But after all, you must admit that when Coughlin attacks us for instigating the Russian Revolution, we can't very well say, yes we did, or that we approve of the Soviet regime. Coughlin's audience takes him to mean that we are responsible for the decimation of the Russian farmers, the dictatorial regime in the factories, the terrible blood purges, the Moscow trials, and so forth. We can't very well identify ourselves with that."

The answer to this argument is not an easy nor a simple one. There is no doubt whatever that Stalin's foul regime has served to discredit the Russian Revolution in the eyes of millions of American workers and farmers who greeted it with hope and longing: Stalin's crimes facilitate the fascist propaganda of Coughlin. But this complication cannot be solved by joining Coughlin in attacks upon the Russian Revolution. One must learn to understand the full meaning of the Russian Revolution, and then one must learn to tell the people what has happened to the Russian Revolution.

THE SPIRIT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In the revolution of November, 1917, the working class, led by a revolutionary party and backed by the vast masses of the peasantry, took the power and established the first Workers' Government in history. That meant complete liberation from Czarist and capitalist oppression. Every national minority, including the Jews, were provided with free scope to develop, both within their own national grouping and in the general society. The scourge of anti-Semitism was eradicated, for the peasant no longer could be befuddled by the oppressing landlord into believing that not the landlord but the Jew was his oppressor. Such anti-Semitism as remained as a dark heritage of the past was ruthlessly punished if it assumed overt forms. The Jew could confidently lift his head, a man among men. That was the spirit of the Russian Revolution.

But that spirit could not live if the Soviet Union remained indefinitely an isolated garrison surrounded by hostile capitalist states. The whole weight of capitalism pressed in upon Russia. Either the revolution must be extended into Western Europe, or the surrounding capitalist states would press in and strangle the revolution.

When the post-war revolutionary upsurge of 1918-1923 failed to break through the capitalist cordon around Russia and the revolution fell back, a mood of retreat and compromise with capitalism arose within Russia. This mood was enormously enhanced by the fact that Russia was pitifully backward in its technology, far below the level of the surrounding states.

STALIN, ENEMY OF SOCIALISM

This mood of retreat and compromise found its expression in Stalin and his clique. Step by step, in their course of making peace with the surrounding capitalist world, the Stalinist clique degenerated until their political methods have become indistinguishable from those of Hitler. Nor, it is clear, will Stalin hesitate at employing anti-Semitism. Walter Duranty, Stalin's unofficial spokesman, has indicated that in his now-famous dispatch of November 11, 1938, to the North American Newspaper Alliance, predicting a rapprochement between Stalin and Hitler: after all, Duranty pointed out, "Stalin has shot more Jews in two years of

the purge than ever were killed in Germany." Despite widespread comment in the labor press on this extraordinary cynical remark, the Communist parties nowhere have repudiated Duranty's statement! How else explain, too, that Stalin has said no word on the Nazi pogroms, and the doors of the Soviet Union remain closed to the refugees.

The spirit of the Russian Revolution is as alien to Stalin as it is to Hitler. That must be understood, must be explained tirelessly to the people. When Coughlin accuses the Jews of instigating the Russian Revolution, the answer to him is that he and Stalin are of one mind and that mind is the deadly enemy of all that Marx, Lenin and Trotsky stand for.

REFORMISTS OPENED DOOR TO FASCISM

Why did not the revolution spread from Russia into Western Europe in those surging years of 1918-1923? This key question, too, the Jew must learn to answer. He must acquaint himself with the stark tragedy of the German, Austrian and Hungarian revolutions, all but successfully achieved, but then thrown into reverse by those who stood at the head of the majority of the workers: the reformist Socialists, the Social Democrats of the Second International. The Kautskys and Hilferdings stood at the head of those revolutions only to behead them. In the name of "democracy," they gave the power back into the hands of the Junkers and capitalists. So, too, Leon Blum and the other French Socialist leaders, in 1936-1938, smothered the revolutionary will of the struggling workers. In each case, the question was posed inexorably: either socialism or fascism. Refusing to take the road of socialism, the reformist Socialists thereby opened the road for fascism. Some of these gentlemen, who in the stark days of the fight against the Moscow trials were living cheek by jowl with the Stalinists in the People's Fronts and would utter no word of criticism of these allies, today dare to justify their original hostility to the Russian Revolution of 1917 by pointing to Stalin's crimes. But it was they who strangled the development of the Russian Revolution, they who left it an isolated garrison and, finally, gave way to a fascist encirclement of the Soviet Union to which Stalin is now yielding. Reformist socialism and its "democracy" is no alternative to Stalin. The destroyers of the Western European revolutions are no less despicable than the destroyers of the Russian Revolution!

CHOOSE YOUR FATE:

SOCIALISM OR FASCISM

Time presses upon all of us the real, inescapable alternatives: either down in the dark with fascism or up into the kingdom of freedom with the socialist revolution. Shackled slaves or valiant fighters for humanity. Choose your fate! For the Jews, moreover, the question is posed even more sharply: either physical extermination or a new social order. The number of countries which have declared totalitarian war upon the Jews increases incessantly: Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Poland. Next on the order of the day is France; we have already indicated why a middle road for France is no longer possible; it is now a case of either a victorious revolution or a fascist dictatorship. And if the French workers do not mobilize in time, if the revolutionists in France are not aided in every possible way by partisans in the rest of the world to make the necessary forced march to victory, French fascism, triumphant, will immeasurably increase the fascist process in England and America. Even if one would, it is impossible to heighten the picture. The facts are too gripping in themselves. He who will not hearken to them has already condemned himself to the fascist terror.

But many Jews will, that I know, for many are already joining the struggle. For what else, in the whole wide world, is there left to fight for, except the socialist revolution? All other roads have failed. Fascism or Socialism: thus stands the order of the day.

ARMS PROGRAM CLOSING DOOR TO REFUGEES

(Continued from Page 1)

capitalists. Meanwhile, the tremendous scope of the refugee problem grows ever greater. In the last week or two, the Nazi terror has been supplemented by the awful advance of anti-Semitism in other countries.

Poland's three million Jews face all the implications of the action taken by the governmental party, the Camp of National Unity, in signing a motion on December 21st urging the government—i.e., itself—to speed up mass emigration of Jews. The governmental party has also introduced in the "parliament" which they control, a series of far-reaching anti-Semitic laws. One forbids civil servants to buy in Jewish shops. Another establishes in certain economic and cultural fields the principle that only a given percentage of Jews may function in them. Preparations are afoot to suppress the Jewish Socialist Bund. A "Week Without Jews" is being arranged by the government party.

Roumania's million Jews were served notice last week that the government is prepared to take strong measures to enforce "emigration. Concentration camps are to be opened for all Jews unable to prove their Rumanian citizenship.

Hungary's 600,000 Jews were placed last week under terms of a bill, introduced in Parliament and certain of passage, further reducing the number of Jews who may engage in various fields of enterprise. Hungary already forbids Jews from constituting more than 20 percent of those engaged in any calling. The new figure, it is understood, will be 6 percent. The noose around the neck of the 350,000 Jews living in Nazi-dominated Czechoslovakia tightened still further this week, when

In the Farmer Labor Party

AN EDITORIAL

Following the debacle in the November elections, at which it was swamped by the Republican Party, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota has now plunged into a bitter fight upon the outcome of which may well depend the Party's entire future.

The miserable showing of the F.L.P. in November can be traced entirely to the cowardice and timidity of the official leadership. Abandoning any attempt to rally the workers and poor farmers of the State through a militant program and campaign, they concentrated on trying to appear "more respectable" in the eyes of the Minnesota big shots than the Republican Party itself. Harold Stassen, the reactionary Republican nominee for Governor, was thereby enabled to pose before the people as a "liberal," and to carry an aggressive fight to every corner of the State, while the workers were left passive and disoriented.

Finding Scapegoats

The election results threw the F.L.P. bureaucrats into a panic. Always more devoted to the Minnesota business men than to the workers and farmers of their own party, they felt that they had not been "loyal" enough to capitalism, and that now they must really prove their devotion to things as they are if they are ever to be permitted a comeback in Minnesota politics when the business men get tired of Stassen. At the same time they had to try to find a scapegoat to blame

for the catastrophic defeat at the polls.

Part of the scheme decided upon came to light at a recent meeting of the State Central Committee of the F.L.P. Association. After a vehement session, a sharp resolution was passed condemning "Communism" and "Communists"; calling for their immediate expulsion from their Association; and threatening all local clubs of the Association with revocation of their charters if they refused to carry through the expulsions.

This, so far, is the sum and total of the "lessons" drawn by these bankrupt bureaucrats from the election.

On the surface, the resolution is of course directed first of all against the Stalinists, who have in recent years made great headway in the F.L.P., to such an extent that they are already widely entrenched and actually have been threatening to take over control.

The stink that has been given off by Stalinism during the past year, the situation in auto and other unions, put the F.L.P. officials in a position to make demagogic use of anti-Stalinist sentiment of all types in order to protect their own positions.

But the real import of the resolution is not grasped by dismissing it as an attack merely on the Stalinists. The resolution states that "all local Farmer-Labor clubs . . . must forthwith expel from membership any member of the Communist Party and also such other persons as advocate the overthrow of the government by force or revolution."

Real Attack on Militants

These bureaucrats know the Stalinists well, and understand perfectly that no Stalinist advocates the overthrow of the government by any means at all, but on the contrary are the most shameless defenders of the government.

The insertion of this phrasing

proves that the nominal attack on the Stalinists is wholly reactionary in character, and that the real implicit direction of the resolution means an attack on the militant workers of Minnesota and on their program, an attack on any attempt to turn the F.L.P. back from its current headlong rightward shift, toward the perspective of genuine struggle for the interests of the workers and poor farmers of Minnesota.

This is why the present moves of the bureaucrats must be met by the sternest resistance, and a counter-attack launched. One step in such resistance, though so far primarily organizational in character, has been taken by the Minnesota labor movement: the unions are demanding an end to the control of the party organization by the piddling local clubs, and the giving of due weight in the party to the mighty trade unions of the Gopher State.

This, however, is not by any means enough. The full reactionary character of the bureaucrats' move must be pitilessly exposed and made clear for what it is; and in the coming State Convention it is up to the worker-delegates to fight for a militant orientation and perspective such as that embodied in the S.W.P.'s "Open Letter to Governor Benson."

People's Front Liberates Nazis

The first act of the new "People's Front" government of Chile, inaugurated last Saturday, Dec. 24, was to decree an immediate amnesty for the Nazis arrested in their unsuccessful putsch of Sept. 5.

The New York Times comments: "The signing of this decree confirms the report that Nazi support was given to Senator Aguirre on the understanding that he would endeavor to clear up charges against those arrested

Soviet Press Gives Scant Coverage to Nazi Pogroms

An analysis of Soviet press coverage of the Nazi pogroms reveals that the persecution of the Jews received scanty attention throughout the worst period of violence, did not get to the front page until Roosevelt and Chamberlain commented on the persecutions, and remains as silent as the tomb concerning the opening of Soviet doors to the refugees.

The Tass (Soviet press service) dispatches to the Soviet press were not only extremely brief but in all cases except two were dated not from Berlin but from Geneva, London, Paris or New York, following the formula: "The Swiss (or English, or French) correspondents in Berlin reported as follows." The two dispatches that were dated from Berlin were very brief, stating merely that new laws were contemplated against the Jews, and reporting the fixing of a fine against the Jewish community.

A detailed description of the news handled by Pravda, Stalin's own organ, will indicate the general Soviet press treatment: The pogroms began November 10th. From November 11th through the 15th, the only items printed were on the back page. November 11: Tass dispatch from Geneva. Back page. November 12: Tass dispatch from London. Back page. November 13: Back page, first dispatch from Berlin, reporting new laws and the fine against the Jews, but nothing under this heading about the pogroms themselves. Other dispatches dated from Paris and London quoted after the thwarted September uprising.

Following the release of Gonzalez von Mares and his followers, the new government's second act was to lengthen the working hours of government employees.

The "People's Front" in Chile makes a stirring beginning in its democratic career.

Not a word about opening doors to the refugees! Thereafter—silence.

the French and English press on the actual events.

November 14: Brief dispatches from London and New York. Back page.

November 15: Reports from London and Paris. Back page. November 16: London dispatches. Back page.

Only on November 17th was the news finally deemed to merit front-page notice, and then apparently only because Tass reported New York comment on Roosevelt's speech against the pogroms.

After Roosevelt—Pious Words Roosevelt having spoken, on November 18th—10 days after the pogroms began!—published its first editorial comment, echoing the pious indignation of Roosevelt.

From November 19th until the 29th the issue got front-page notice. A Tass dispatch from Geneva was the story on the 19th, and on the 21st dispatches on the American reactions. On the 22nd and the 24th the news came from London, on the 25th it consisted of the protests from Belgium. On November 27th Tass reported, "German People Indignant Over Jewish Pogroms."

"Intelligentsia" Protests On the 28th came the second editorial comment, in the form of self-congratulation: "The USSR. Beacon of Culture." Also, for the first time, a report of "protests" by representatives of "Soviet intelligentsia." The protests include glowing descriptions of the happy life under Stalin.

On the 29th, for the first time, appeared reports of meetings on the question, with resolutions adopted. But the meetings were "of Soviet intelligentsia." They took place in Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilissi, and adopted identical resolutions.

Not a word about opening doors to the refugees! Thereafter—silence.

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A Healthy Young Baby

When the bells ring in the New Year, the Socialist Workers Party will be one year old. New Year's Day 1938 saw the launching of the revolutionary party of the American working class. New Year's Day 1939 records a year of slow but solid achievement and the beginning of a campaign to put the party on the map of labor history, present and future.

The new year confronts the party with far more grandiose tasks—no less than directing the working class on the first steps of the high road of the American Revolution. A huge task indeed but our party faces it with confidence, full of hope, of youth and of enthusiasm.

A twice-a-week *Appeal*—a long step on the road to the daily—will begin the campaign. And after that—watch our smoke!

More Pious Tears

The U.S. delegation went to Lima just about the time President Roosevelt was sounding off with his pious wails about the plight of the victims of Fascism in Europe. At Lima delegates of all the American nations—capable of absorbing all the refugees—succeeded, under the careful piloting of Cordell Hull in avoiding the whole issue.

A resolution introduced by the Cuban delegation merely "deplored" the persecution of racial and religious minorities in Europe had a hard time getting out onto the floor of the Pan-American conference. It was finally adopted grudgingly and the matter rested there. No action. No offer of asylum. Not a single offer of concrete help of any kind. Just some more pious tears. Just some more Rooseveltian hypocrisy.

This won't help the victims of Fascism escape their persecutors. It will only leave them to rot and to suffer under the clubs and whips of the Fascist beasts.

We repeat: Open the doors to the victims of Fascism! We'll make it possible for them to live here in the same way we must make it possible for our 15,000,000 jobless to live—by turning all war funds over to the unemployed, inaugurating a \$20,000,000,000 public works program, fighting for and winning the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay, establishing a \$30 minimum weekly wage, and by opening the factories and running them under workers' control.

Open the doors to the refugees and open the doors to a fighting program to win life and livelihood for our own great oppressed the minority, the submerged "third-of-a-nation"—the 15,000,000 jobless and their dependents who must struggle or else starve.

Why We Need an Army

"... with the cooperation of the Public Relations Officers of the War Department" *Life* magazine for Dec. 19 publishes a very elaborate pictorial display of the equipment and lack of equipment of the United States Army. Extensive research, they claim, reveals that the "U. S. is Weak in Arms and Industry Unprepared. *Life* is pulling for the vast rearmament program soon to go before congress and attempting to make America "war-minded" enough to accept it as a matter of course.

But why do we need an army?
This is the question that sorely tries the jingo editors of *Life*. And in their usual fashion, they answer it quite candidly:

"The Army does not talk about it, but it ponders steadily a 'White Paper' containing detailed plans for suppression of 'civil disorder' (i.e. revolution) within the U.S."

"... national defense does not mean lying supinely in wait for an enemy to visit devastation upon us, picking his own place to attack. THE BEST DEFENSE IS AN ATTACK" (*Life's* emphasis) If devastation is to be kept from our land, when an enemy moves against us we must be ready to meet him, to fight if possible on his own ground."

Life speaks for the War Department and the War Department speaks for Wall Street. Why do they need an army?

To protect the ill-gotten wealth of the 60 ruling families (whose names are variations on the theme of Musica-Coster) stolen from the toiling millions of this country.

And to steal some more from the downtrodden peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. That's why they need an army!

W.A. Company Union

David Lasser, President of the Workers Alliance, is "concerned because we see a tendency on the part of some congressional leaders to pose funds for rearmament as against funds for work and social security. We firmly believe that both are necessary."

The head of a company union, slightly on the outs with his boss, would probably have said on the demand for a wage-cut: "There is a tendency on the part of some employers to pose big profits as against high wages. I firmly believe that both are necessary."

Any worker could tell the fink leader that you can't keep high dividends and big profits and not take a wage cut. The W.P.A. worker fired off his job might tell the snivelling fink who runs the Worker's Alliance that you can't run a battleship-armament program and keep the workers in jobs and relief.

The Worker's Alliance is a company union. Faced with the dire straits of the hundreds of thousands fired off W.P.A.—their only means of subsistence—in order to provide funds for the huge army-navy program, what does this organization do?

A few weasel protests, like its mouth was full of hot water, no real action—and a big boost for the rearmament program.

Workers who have learned what to do with company unions will know how to act towards the Workers Alliance. Then they will go out and build the real alliance of employed and unemployed, tied to the unions with the motto of action and life:

BREAD AND HOMES! NOT BATTLESHIPS AND MACHINE GUNS!

Counsel of Treachery

Some wisecracks once said: we learn from history that we don't learn from history. John L. Lewis' recent pronouncement in the name of Labor's Non-partisan League proves again there was more sense than humor in that ancient epigram.

Labor's Non-partisan League was created in 1936 to harness the labor vote for the Democratic Party. But despite the intentions of its creators, it was a reflection of the stirring for independent political action on the part of the millions of new recruits in the C.I.O.

Lewis kept the lid tightly clamped on this sentiment and it stirred vainly in the rotten barrel of the Democratic Party, brightly polished on the outside by a New Deal shine. This company union policy in politics brought the results company unionism has always brought: defeat and disaster.

Democratic Governor Davey of Ohio, elected by labor's votes, smashed C.I.O.'s strike in Little Steel.

Democratic Governor Kraschel, elected by Labor's votes, called out the National Guard and broke C.I.O.'s strike in Newton, Iowa.

Democratic Mayor Wilson of Philadelphia, supported by L.N.P.L. had his cops swinging their clubs over the heads of the garbage collectors in their recent strike.

And that's only the beginning of the record.

By the time the 1938 elections rolled around, it was clear as a pikestaff that the New Deal was no solution to the breakdown of American capitalism. Millions continued unemployed and on the brink of starvation despite an industrial upturn; the middle class and the farmers went down to ruin and bankruptcy in increasing numbers. The future uncertain and unpromising, the masses were groping for a new way out. Labor could have given them new hope and courage by independence in political action and program. But Lewis kept labor strapped to the Democratic party and its faltering New Deal.

Result: practically every candidate supported by Labor's Non-partisan League, all of them Democrats including the Farmer-Laborites who supported the New Deal nationally, went down to miserable defeat. The only "victory" was in New York where Banker Lehman just managed to nose through, while nearly every American Labor Party candidate was beaten.

That election was the warning signal. The middle classes switched from the New Deal to the Republican Party. Only the workers held on because there was no other alternative given them.

Now with the New Deal a squeezed-out lemon—bankrupt in everybody's eyes but Lewis', and discarded even by its once-proud father Roosevelt—it is more than time to break clean from it and the Democratic Party. The New Deal is now the open enemy of the masses. It throws tens of thousands of workers off the WPA rolls and proceeds with unashamed arrogance to build more warships and armaments than any administration since Wilson. Anybody who supports Roosevelt and his New Deal now must answer for his program which is borrowed from Herr Goering: battleships! Not bread! Anybody who supports the New Deal today and fails to take the road fighting independent labor politics is helping the drift to reaction and fascism on the part of increasing numbers of the middle class. Any labor leader who keeps the workers tied to the capitalist parties is a traitor to his class.

And that is precisely what Lewis is doing. His statement that L.N.P.L. will "continue to work within the framework of the Democratic Party" is a counsel of treachery. It proves not that Lewis, does not learn from history, but that he does not want to learn from history!

Politics and the Unions
Concerning the Sailors Union of the Pacific

One of the surest marks of the reactionary nature of the labor school taught by the late Samuel Gompers was its slogan of "No politics in the unions!" The history of the American trade union movement, down to the present day, has shown that the slogan was deceitful as well as reactionary. In reality, it always meant: No working class politics in the unions, no independent political action by the workers. It always meant: capitalist politics played by the conservative leaders in the name of the unions but without the control of the members.

To this day, even William Green and the A. F. of L. leadership are up to their chins in politics—capitalist politics—which takes the form of lobbying in Congress and the State capitols and of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." As a result of the course followed under this slogan, American labor has functioned with one of its arms paralyzed.

The S.U.P. Amendment

These thoughts come to mind as we learn of the constitutional amendment which has just been voted on by members of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, one of the most militant and class-conscious labor organizations in the country. The amendment deals with the question of politics in the Union. Every sentence in it is a first-class mistake and if the S.U.P. were to follow it out in practice, it would rapidly render itself as sterile as the I.W.W. which is attacking it now with such bitter viciousness and whose spirit the amendment breathes from stem to stern.

Let us quote the last three sentences which give the key to the amendment:

"Whereas: The workers have been betrayed in countries all over the world by political opportunists who are only trying to further their own ends, and

"Whereas: Labor cannot afford to owe allegiance to two organizations without weakening its own strength in the economic field, therefore be it

"Resolved: That any member who insists on bringing politics in the union be brought up on charges as a detriment to the union."

Three sentences, and all wrong!

Where the Issue Lies

1. For every political faker who has betrayed labor, there has never failed to be a "pure and simple" trade union faker who beat him to the punch. For every Earl Browder, there are a dozen Greens, Lewises and Hutchesons. For every Thorez and Blum

(Communist and Socialist Party leaders in France), there is a Jouhaux (the French Bill Green). As for the "anti-political" anarcho-syndicalists in Spain, if they played a more revolutionary role than their fellow-People's Front cabinet ministers of the C. P. and S. P., it was not discernible to the naked eye. What is wrong with all these gentlemen? The fact that some engage in political action while others say they don't? They all engage in political action. Their betrayal lies in the fact that they practice capitalist and not independent working class politics.

2. If the amendment means you cannot "owe allegiance to two organizations" in the same field, it is correct. In that case, the I.W.W.—inspired author of the resolution—would have to call for eliminating from the S.U.P. those I.W.W. members who are "two-card men." But the author means something else, and he is doubly wrong. Can a man owe allegiance both to his union and a labor cooperative? A union and a workers' fraternal order? A union and labor sports association? Of course he can, because there is no conflict there.

On the same grounds, there is no conflict between owing allegiance both to his union and to a working class political party. A man can "owe allegiance" both to his left arm and his right arm, and if he uses the one he is not "weakening the strength" of the other. The amendment's author simply aims to send labor into battle against the employers and their government with one arm tied behind it.

Political Rights

3. As for the last sentence, it is not only bureaucratic and highly injurious to the union's interests, but it is also so much nonsense. Not only has any union member—be he Republican or Democrat, Socialist or Single-Taxer, Stalinist or Revolutionist (Trotskyist)—the right to present his political views and proposals before his own union (naturally, at the proper time and in a proper way, which the membership as a whole provides for), but the fact is that the S.U.P. has been up to its elbows in political action, and rightly so, without in the slightest degree impairing its effectiveness or "strength in the economic field."

We understand the sound instinctive reaction of the militant maritime workers against "political action" as taught by the social democrats, to whom the beginning and end of politics is

dropping a ballot in a box once a year.

We understand their reaction against "politics" as practiced by the Stalinists, to whom the term simply means any and every foul trick, cheap maneuver, piece of chicanery and bluff that will enable them to install bureaucratic control over all labor organizations.

But "politics in the unions" should mean to the militant, class-conscious worker in particular nothing more or less than independent working class political action which is organized, practiced and controlled by the workers themselves.

When the S.U.P. or its members properly participate in a demonstration demanding of the government of California that Tom Mooney be released—that is political action, and whoever proposed such a demonstration at an S.U.P. meeting would be "bringing politics in the union!"

When the S.U.P. properly sends its representatives to Washington to oppose anti-labor legislation at Congressional hearings—that is political action.

When the S.U.P. properly calls upon the people of California and Oregon to defeat the anti-picketing ordinance—that is political action.

When the S.U.P. properly tries to organize a fight against the government's fink halls—that is political action.

Where It Would Lead

A dozen similar examples could be cited. Is that the kind of politics that the recent amendment seeks to prohibit in the S.U.P.?

The S.U.P. has been on the right track, which is the reason why it has forged to the forefront of the American labor movement. The kind of nonsense embodied in the amendment, assuming it is enforced, can only lead to one of two things: the reduction of the S.U.P. from a flourishing and representative union to the level of a fruitless I.W.W. sect of flea-bitten anarcho-syndicalists; or the transformation of the S.U.P. into one of those "respectable," "non-political" and bureaucratized unions which the A. F. of L. hierarchy find so ideal.

The unblemished record of fierce adherence to proletarian democracy and aggressive class struggle which the members of the S.U.P. have behind them, gives one the right to expect that both these dangers will be averted—by retiring the "amendment" to its proper place: the museum of the S.U.P.

Democracy a Myth
In the Argentine

By DONALD BERGNER

Buenos Aires is England's financial Gibraltar in Latin America. The Argentine capital, at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, is the gateway to British influence in the Latin States. It is also the seat of one of the "typical American democracies," with all the trimmings. The Presidents make speeches to convince the folks that they're not dictators, and their soldiers' guns make lead speeches to the unconvinced.

The present holder of the presidential chair is Senator Roberto M. Ortiz, one of the country's richest landowners and feudal lords, to the tune of over four million dollars. Senator Ortiz is also the attorney for the tremendous British railroad interests, and the apt disciple and stooge of his predecessor in office, the bloody dictator Agustín P. Justo.

Peace on a Bomber

The Ortiz inauguration on Feb. 2 of this year was "honored" by the attendance of six U.S. army "flying fortress" bombers. The bombers, besides bearing a "gentle hint" that the U.S. is not so far away, also carried a letter from F.D.R. about how "... our two republics nurtured by similar ideals, have lived peacefully for over a century."

Ortiz was elected the preceding September, as so often happens in these "American democracies," by a sizeable minority. His opponent, Marcelo T. de Alvear, received a clear majority of the popular vote, but by a combination of fraud and manipulation of the electoral college Senator Ortiz transformed his own minority into the majority.

Not that Dr. Alvear was so

very different from Ortiz. Oh, no! Alvear is also flesh of the flesh and blood of the Argentine ruling class. He is one of her leading "gilded playboys of yesteryear," a boulevardier, social lion and tourist de luxe, a former president, and Cabinet Minister under President Irigoyen. Together with Irigoyen he won a certain amount of fame as an "anti-imperialist" for their attempt to strengthen native capitalism at the expense of the foreign interests. The Argentine capitalists, themselves tied very closely to London City, did not object at all, as long as the Irigoyen "Radicals" confined themselves to attacking U.S. interests, especially in oil lands. But when Irigoyen stepped on the toes of the British there was an immediate reaction and he was tossed out by the ruling class and a new dictator named Uriburu took over.

Suppresses Strikes

Alvear's "Radicalism" was even less firm than that of Irigoyen. He deserted his chief and made peace with the pro-British forces. But it would be unfair to assume that Dr. Alvear was a temporizer. Not at all. He showed his mettle very courageously at the one really crucial moment in Irigoyen's career. Following the post-war depression a great series of strikes broke out. One of these, the Buenos Aires stevedores, spread right out to Patagonia and assumed tremendous proportions. The government of these "friends of labor" took immediate action. They called out the troops and slaughtered the strikers by the hundreds.

But the British imperialists didn't quite trust him. Mainly be-

cause they felt that the Justo-Ortiz government clique was doing a pretty good job and there was no need to change horses. Then too there were rumors that Alvear, no longer the maker of violent anti-yankee speeches, was more friendly to Wall Street than he should be. But Alvear was ambitious to get back into the Presidential chair. He gathered around him the Union Civica Radical, which had organized the fascist "Klan Radical" during the strike period, the Communist Party, and a Stalinist stooge organization known as the P.S.O. (Workers Socialist Party) made up of ex-left-wingers from the moribund old Socialist Party. And there we have the "Argentine People's Front." A pretty mess! But not very successful.

With no reason to support either of these "democrats," the Marxist vanguard of the Argentine workers, organized in the Bolshevik-Leninist League, denounced both of them as agents of imperialism and called for the formation of a strong revolutionary workers party as the only way to struggle against British and Yankee imperialism and their native agents. The B.-L. L. is now the Argentine section of the Fourth International and can count upon the warm support of the British and U.S. sections in its fight to break the stranglehold of imperialism on Argentine economic and political life.

Britain Dominant

Imperialist interests, especially those of Great Britain, dominate all the main industries of Argentina. Over two billion dollars of British capital invested in the country form the lever by which London controls the railroads,

QUESTION BOX

(Conducted by the National Educational Department)

QUESTION: Why do you attack the pacifists, who, like you, selves are in favor of fighting against imperialist war?—C. H. J. Newark.

Answer: It is not a question of sincere intentions "in favor" of fighting war; it is a question of knowing how to fight war effectively. In our opinion, at the best, pacifism is completely ineffectual in fighting war; it merely sidetracks the anti-war energy of the masses into futile channels, and thereby leaves them unprepared and unarmed before the jingo drive and hysteria of a war crisis.

This applies not only to the absolute pacifists, who are in principle opposed to all resort to forceful means. This policy has been an abject failure in Gandhi's "struggle" against British imperialism, where it has meant complete capitulation. When Franco revolted in Spain, the fascist arms could not have been fought by "folded arms." Even in the day-to-day class struggle, small-scale resort to force is not excluded by militant unionists, much less in the more intense class struggle of a war crisis, when the boss class itself is ready to meet every movement of the workers with violence.

Pacifism in general regards the fight against war as being in a water-tight compartment by itself, without relation to the class struggle of workers against the bosses going on in society, and without realization of the basic roots of war. We know, however, that imperialism war is an inevitable continuation of the politics of a capitalist government which seeks to prop up its decaying system by exploitation of other countries, where it bumps up against rival capitalist governments seeking to do the same. The fight against war, therefore, must be a fight against capitalism itself, and for a new and warless society, Socialism.

War is a symptom of the contradictions of the capitalist system, just as fever is a symptom of malaria. One would not think of treating malaria fever by putting the patient in an ice-box; the only effective treatment is to strike the roots of the disease itself. Similarly with the fight against war.

Marxists decide their attitude toward a given war on the basis of the politics which give rise to that war. We are against the war which Roosevelt is preparing to enter because we know it will be fought for the interests of American imperialism. We are for colonial and national wars, by China against imperialist Japan for example, because China's cause is that of national independence from an imperialist yoke; it is not itself an imperialist nation. We are for revolutionary civil wars, because we are in favor of the politics behind such struggles. That is why we are not pacifists.

All experience shows that an effective struggle against war can be led only by the revolutionary movement. In 1917 the widespread and numerically powerful pacifist movement in America collapsed at the first note of the war-drums. It had no ideological basis for resisting the war hysteria and war slogans, nor any organizational basis for resisting the war drive. At the same time it was movements like Lenin's in Russia and Liebknecht's in Germany who maintained their struggle and organized resistance to the war to the last.

This is why we attack and criticize those who sow pacifist illusions about war in the minds of the masses. But at the same time, wherever pacifists are willing to engage in a concrete action against the war preparations of the American government, on a specific issue such as the war budget, we will certainly join with them in a united front of action on this concrete measure. The best cure for pacifism is real involvement in the class struggle. (Readers of the *Socialist Appeal* are urged to submit their questions to this department.)

Lima Parley Is
Cold Comfort to
U. S. Diplomats

(Continued from Page 1)

as against the original Hull proposal. At the time the Argentine proposal was first advanced the U.S. delegates and the American press attacked it as being virtually meaningless and lacking any concrete plan for the defense of what the boys are pleased to call "the American democracies."

Dressing It Up

Today, faced with the necessity of showing the American public and the world in general that they "brought home the bacon," the document suddenly becomes "a momentous declaration on continental solidarity for defense" (Associated Press dispatch, Dec. 27). This although the U.S. was unsuccessful in its attempts to organize an American League of Nations, Court of Justice, or—most important—a military alliance.

Senator Borah, more frank than

most American politicians, is forced to admit that "we" did not get as much as had been expected. The Baltimore News-Post in its first reaction to the compromise declaration, on Dec. 21, calls it a victory for Argentina. But now the press boys are all working hard to make a victory for the U.S. out of it.

Priest Spills the Beans

One of the U.S. delegates who is evidently unused to some of the diplomatic subtleties is the Reverend Father O'Hara. In his first public appearance in Lima, delivering a sermon on the feast day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the Reverend let loose. Not, to be sure, against the "war-makers" or "aggressors." No; the holy disciple of the Prince of Peace chose as his targets pacifism and "subversive doctrines, be they light pink or dark red."

Father O'Hara (and how many of the rest of the delegation?) thus reveals that he agrees with the War Department, which places first on its list of wars to be prepared for, not wars abroad against fascist powers, but a civil war at home against mass uprisings.

most of the oil fields and banks, the quebracho forests (source of tannic acid), and the tremendous capitalist farms. The latter are often over a million acres large and supply great quantities of wheat, linseed, corn and cattle, mostly for export.

The United States has \$808,000,000 invested, compared with only forty million in 1913, when Britain had a billion and a half. The Wall Street money is mainly concentrated in the packing industry—Swift, Armour and Cudahy—and to a certain extent in banking and the state debt. At one time the U.S. tried to capture control of the oil fields but the "Radical" Irigoyen put a stop to that.

Argentine Imperialism

The tremendous amount of capital invested in Argentina, plus her advantageous climate, resources and advanced industry, have resulted in the development of what is sometimes called "Argentine imperialism." Argentine capital has for many years been reinvested in neighboring countries. For example the Argentine firm of Carlos Casada has over two million dollars invested in Paraguay, controlling approximately ten million acres of farmland—one ninth of the total land of Paraguay—and 200 kilometers of railroad.

Argentina also played a very

active role in the Chaco War, egging on both Paraguay and Bolivia in the hope of weakening Bolivia sufficiently to be able to get in economically while U.S. finance, weakened by the depression was in no mood for expansion. After the war Argentine capital was able to get a 99 year lease of the entire Southeast region of Bolivia. Of course this so-called "imperialism" is more of a "sub-imperialism" reinvestment of capital that was and still is British in reality.

And it is Britain that stands behind the big-armaments policy, the policy at Pan-American Conferences, and the internal policy of the Argentine government. It stood behind the open dictatorship of Uriburu, of Justo, and behind the false "democracy" of Ortiz. This is the "democracy" that was hailed by Roosevelt and Hull this February, that suppresses the independent liberal paper *La Gaceta* every time it gets too critical, that arrested 29 leaders of the C.P. in Buenos Aires on April 7.

On May 11, President Ortiz reiterated his "faith in democracy," and told Congress to get to work passing his bills instead of wasting time debating "politics." As the famous Argentine patriot Sarmiento said in 1852, "Argentine politics is run by cows."

Celebrate New Year at Pioneer Party-Irving Plaza