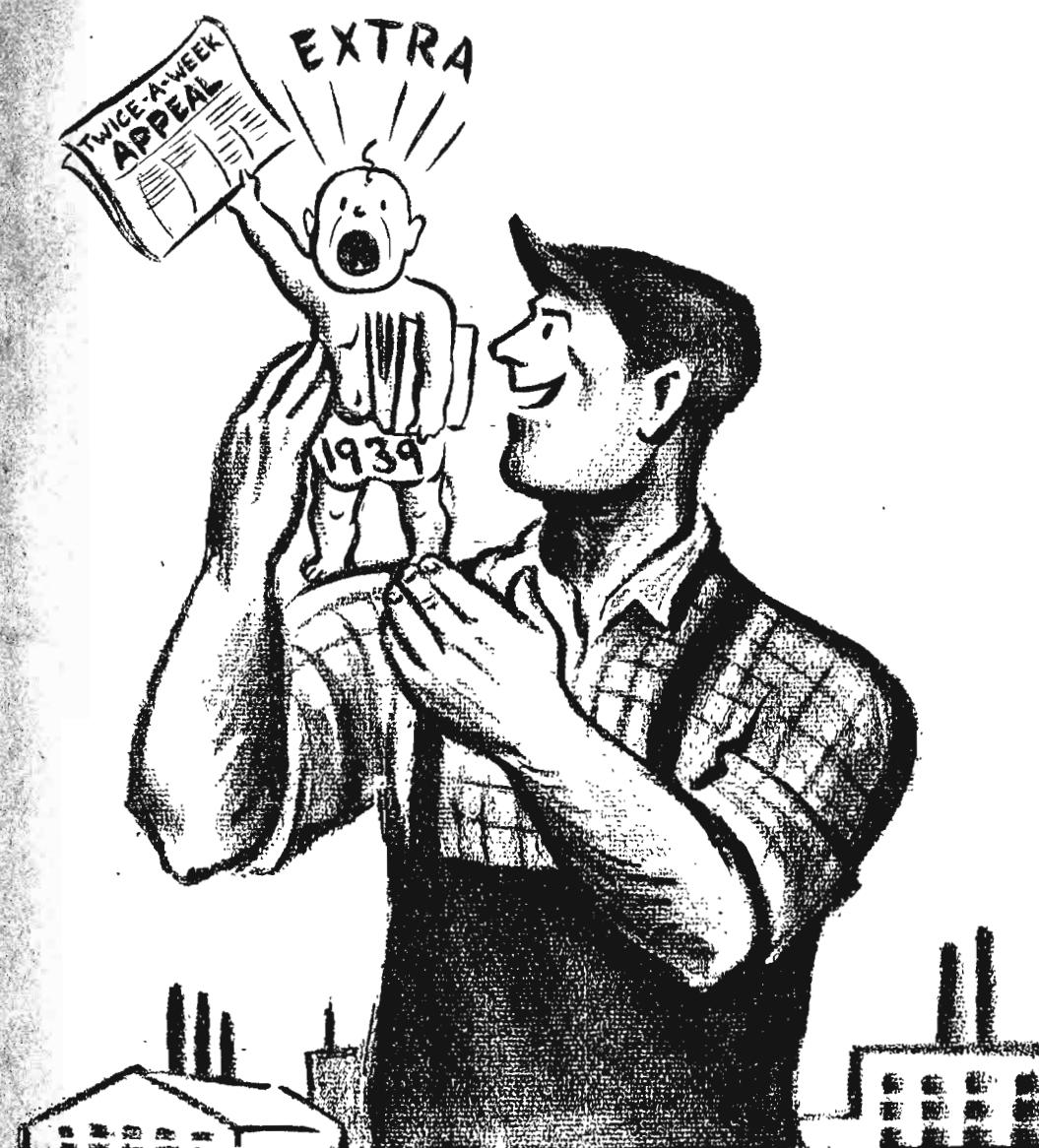


# Appeal Fund Celebrates New Year By Topping \$1,000

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!

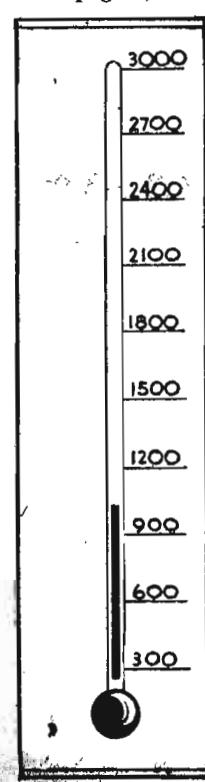
ON TO THE DAILY!

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 Karolyn Kerr 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 Karolyn Kerr 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."

(Continued on page 2)



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	28.50	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.

## 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 pained excitement at the "antifascism" 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 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-Labourite, 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 revolutionaries 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

(Continued on Page 8)

# Socialist Appeal

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

VOL. II—No. 56

Saturday, December 31, 1938

375

5¢ per copy

## FDR: 'WARPLANES INSTEAD OF WPA'

### Make Congress Heed Labor

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.

### Saber - Rattler



SUMNER WELLES

### 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 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.

(Continued on page 4)

### 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.

</

## DETROIT DRIVERS WIN AREA PACT, WAGE INCREASES

### Bosses Crack Before Strike Ultimatum Expires

DETROIT.—Just before the midnight strike deadline set by Drivers Union Local 299, Detroit truck bosses capitulated and signed both the 11-state standard North Central Area over-road agreement and a local city contract, bringing closed-shop conditions to 7,000 drivers and helpers.

Ten cents per hour increases for eighty percent of the city drivers, and a five-cents boost for the rest, 70 cents hourly for local runs, a minimum of 75 cents hourly for all time on over-road runs, 85 cents an hour for tandem drivers in the city, are among the big gains recorded. The rate of 3 cents a mile for long hauls is well over the 2 3/4 cents rate provided in the area contract, and roughly means 80 cents or more per hour.

With Detroit signed up on the heels of Kansas City, and contracts signed previously in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Chicago, and Des Moines, practically all major trucking points connected with Omaha in the North Central Area are under the uniform over-the-road agreement. That leaves the bitter-end bosses in Omaha out on a limb.

Omaha bosses appealed recently to Dan Tobin, President of the Teamsters International, saying they were "confident" that if they could meet with him the Omaha situation could be straightened out. Tobin answered that he had delegated all power to settle to Farrell Dobbs of Minneapolis, John T. O'Brien of Chicago and Joe Scislowski of Milwaukee, the leading figures in the 11-state North Central Area Committee.

## N. Y. ORGANIZES APPEAL SALES

By ABE MILLER  
(Head of New York's Literature Distribution)

(1) We are planning three channels of distribution each week. First, street sales every day at specified congregation points in the city; secondly, 8 separate newsstand routes covering sections of Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens; finally, canvassing and delivery routes in parts of Manhattan and the Bronx.

These three distribution channels will be handled by nine or more volunteer comrades. They will give preference and emphasis to covering newsstands and street sales. Canvassing will consist in visiting our contacts in order to sell them a copy of the Appeal, a subscription or to leave a sample copy. At least two days a week will be devoted to this task. Selection of these special comrades, who will form a special literature committee, is now under way.

(2) **Newstands:** We must aim to sell the bulk of Appeal from the newsstands. At present, 310 are sold each week from the stands without any effort. Our object in the next months must be to sell a minimum of 1,000 per issue from these stands. We must place the Appeal on stands throughout the entire city as part of our approaching campaign. This is to be accomplished by distributing special newsstand leaflets to neighborhood contacts through the mails, street corners, etc. In addition, comrades will place the Appeal on neighborhood stands or in local stationery stores.

(3) **Subscription Drive:** This will be instituted jointly with the newsstand campaign under the slogan of "Every class struggle fighter a twice-a-week subscriber!" As a further incentive for obtaining subs we will stress the additional features in the Appeal—new columns, additional trade-news and feature writers. The bulk of new subs will be obtained from former subscribers, sympathizers and contacts. In each branch a responsible committee of three will visit these contacts.

Our sources, such as libraries, unions and schools must be approached for subscriptions.

New York City now handles and distributes close to 2,000 copies of the Appeal each week. We are confident that the New York comrades will actively support the plan I have sketched above and that major steps will be taken towards our goal of making the Appeal the leading paper of New York's working masses.

### CHALLENGE OF YOUTH APPEARS

The January issue of "The Challenge of Youth," official organ of the Young People's Socialist League, is off the press. Appearing in two colors, this issue appears to be the best job yet done by the youth.

## Montana Farmers Destitute on \$44 Monthly W.P.A. Ration

The following letter was sent by Clayton McCall, secretary of the Federal Labor Union No. 21760, A. F. of L., of Plentywood, Montana, to Aubrey Williams, of the Works Progress Administration:

The membership of Local No. 21760 have instructed me to call your attention to the fact that the amount of \$44.00 now being paid to the workers on WPA projects in Sheridan County is entirely inadequate to meet the requirements of even a subsistence level. Because Sheridan County is classified as an agricultural section, apparently the belief prevails in Washington, D.C., that much less is needed to sustain life than in the industrial centers of the state. This is an erroneous conception.

Every informed person is familiar with the destitution that has prevailed in this section during the past seven-eight years, and any attempt to gloss over such conditions is not taking the welfare of our people to heart. In the season of 1938 an abundant crop was ballyhooed throughout the nation, but when the hard working farmers attempted to reap the rewards of the Agricultural Administration and salvage something from the ravages of that faithful ally, the grasshopper, they found that nothing was returned for their efforts. A comparison of meat and grocery prices with other parts of the state and country would indeed be revealing.

Light and fuel must be included in the list of expenses also; shoes and clothing happen to be essential to one's health and comfort—and a pauper \$44.00 per month is not sufficient to provide these necessities. Children are to be seen away from school because their little feet protrude through tattered shoes without even the pretense of an overshoe to hide this sign of destitution. Farmers are compelled to travel

from 50 to 100 miles in every kind of weather to secure a few dollar's worth of commodities per month. If the unfortunate victim is unable to "thumb" a ride he is often compelled to walk; and if the petty bureaucrats don't know how to distribute such commodities with the least possible inconvenience to the recipient, the unlucky farmer is often-times forced to remain in town and sleep on the floor of some sympathetic's shack. Such conditions could be multiplied if necessary.

Mr. W. E. Parker, WPA director of the state, visited this section and admitted that conditions were indeed dreadful. But why is there not some action taken to relieve such "dreadful" conditions? This same question has been put to him and his answer is: All such adjustments must be made in Washington. Now we are appealing to Washington and it is to be hoped that we will not be told that Mr. Parker is the person who is controlling the switch.

As a necessary step to relieve the situation our Local Union has gone on record to demand a minimum of \$60.50 for work performed on WPA projects. This is not an exorbitant monthly wage and will be still very far from the goal of a decent living standard. Our County commissioners state that there is not enough to give out supplementary relief and that they are helpless to relieve the distress they know exists. With such an admission we are forced to turn to Washington for the much needed relief. This relief must be hidden somewhere, otherwise how could our national, state and county office seekers promise so many good things to us up to and including November 8?"

Copies of the above were also sent to Senators Burton K. Wheeler and James E. Murray, and Congressman James F. O'Connor.

## James Tour Opens at Philadelphia; Will Go to Coast

NEW YORK.—The Stalinist leadership of the fur workers' union, after a 16-month frame-up campaign against Charles Soulounias, well-known union member, have been forced publicly to withdraw their charges against him and to reinstate him in the Greek Fur Workers Local 70.

Popular with the workers, he was elected delegate to the May, 1937 convention of the International, and in July, 1937 he was scheduled to run for election as organizer of the local. He applied for re-admission into the Communist Party. But because he had "dared" to become active again in the labor movement without their consent, the Stalinists decided to make an example of him.

On the eve of the union election, he was called in by Ben Gold and Irving Potash, and ordered to quit not only the union, but also the trade and the city; otherwise, he was threatened with a frame-up, already prepared in advance, and with threats of bodily harm. Still loyal to the Communist Party, Soulounias offered to have his house and belongings searched by two Stalinists to establish his innocence. This was done—and was followed by charges filed against him by Potash, and his expulsion from the union.

By that time, Soulounias was awakened—the Moscow trials had just taken place—to the degeneration of Stalinism. Backed by a progressive group in the union, he fought for trial on the charges by an impartial labor committee. Finally, refused all other redress, he instituted suit on criminal and civil libel charges against the Stalinist leaders. When their attorneys advised the editors of "Empros" that they were certain to go to jail for the libelous articles they had printed, the Stalinists capitulated and settled out of court. "Empros" published a retraction and an exchange of letters between the attorney, making the settlement, in its issue of December 16, pages ten, cents.

The five outlines previously mentioned in these columns are still available at the special price of ten cents for the five. These outlines deal with: "The Right of Asylum," on the refugee problem, an historical sketch; "Open the Doors"; summary of the speech in New York by C. L. R. James on "The Twilight of the British Empire"; and two bulletins on the French situation.

The third is a study-course outline on "State and Revolution," issued by the Y.P.S.L., 16 pages, ten cents.

The five outlines previously mentioned in these columns are still available at the special price of ten cents for the five. These outlines deal with: "The Right of Asylum," on the refugee problem, an historical sketch; "Open the Doors"; summary of the speech in New York by C. L. R. James on "The Twilight of the British Empire"; and two bulletins on the French situation.

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

An active worker in the union since 1925, Soulounias was a leader of the Greek section of the Communist party and editor of "Empros" from 1929 to 1932. He became organizer of the Fur Workers Industrial Union, in charge of the Greek Department, from 1932 to 1934. The Communist party was then in its "third period" adventurism, and Soulounias had numerous disagreements because he advocated united fronts with non-Stalinist Greek organizations. For this "crime," he was suspended from the party in 1934, and ordered to hold no posts in any organization, including the union. Soulounias obeyed. At the end of his suspen-

KAWAIKA—In several Hawaiian Dances  
PRINCESS MARAIVIA—In the African Makumba  
SPINY—Intimate Songs (with a kick!)  
HUNT-SAVAGE-GIBSON—In some fancy footwork  
MARY FRIEMAN—In songs of social significance

SWING MUSIC BY OZZIE CASWELL AND HIS ORCHESTRA

Tickets \$1.00 in advance

HOW SHALL WE FIGHT Anti-Semitism? Speaker, Felix Morrow. At Manhattan Opera House, 34th St. and 8th Ave. Wednesday, Jan. 4, 6:30 p.m. Admission 10 cents. Auspices: Needle Trades Branch, S. W. F. •

On Sale at Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street

\$1.50 at the door

## Drive Total Is \$1,001.70; Branches Promise Action

(Continued from Page 1)

Marshall, of Los Angeles: "We have a good committee of six working on this campaign. The total pledges thus far are \$125 and we are going to run a big New Year's affair for the Appeal."

John N. of Rochester, tells us that Jim Brown is in charge of the branch campaign and is doing a good job. A New Year's Eve party is planned for the benefit of this drive.

Worcester, Mass.—P. T. says: "We will have to meet our quota by weekly payments and will therefore not get the whole amount paid up much before the end of the drive. But we'll make it."

From sympathizers—Not enough of them, but a beginning. A. T. of Miami Beach, Fla., says: "The enclosed is for the twice-a-week Appeal."

Minneapolis: "Warning! Don't let the low percentage of this branch fool you. Minneapolis has the habit of working quietly, slowly, but decisively. Comrade Coover says: "We are contemplating a film showing in addition to the New Year's Eve Jamboree for the Appeal, with Michael Freed in charge of the local campaign."

Daniel F. Brinkman, Denver: "Enclosed find money order which pays up our quota in full. All we need in Denver is a start and I truly believe the twice-a-week Appeal will afford us a favorable opportunity. We are happy over the event and will do our best to make it a success."

"From Small Acorns . . ."

H. Burns, of San Diego, Calif.—"We want to see the Appeal come out twice weekly; and the enclosed sum is not the last. There will be more but we are a small group and mostly unemployed, so don't expect much. Please, however, give us credit for doing our best. The drive is important for our movement and we wish it success. You may depend on it to contribute to the limit of our ability."

John Boulds, Plentywood, Mont.—"I am enclosing a small money order to help the plan for the

## 10,000 PLANES FOR ARMY WHILE RELIEF IS CUT

(Continued from page 3)

the ghastly business of fulfilling war orders.

One billion dollars hardly scratches the surface of the needs of the unemployed army which probably runs up to some 15,000,000. Yet it is even doubtful that this will be granted in its entirety. Yet with the greatest calm, Roosevelt turns around and draws up a war budget which is so high that even newspaper correspondents have "only part of the picture."

Readers are advised to watch for local announcements of time and place.

### New Outlines

Three new educational outlines are available for sale through the National Education Department.

Two are issued by the New York Educational Committee—"Housing," by Grace Saunders, made up into an attractive mimeographed pamphlet, and a brief sketch of Edouard Daladier, French premier, with pertinent facts on his life.

The third is a study-course outline on "State and Revolution," issued by the Y.P.S.L., 16 pages, ten cents.

The five outlines previously mentioned in these columns are still available at the special price of ten cents for the five. These outlines deal with: "The Right of Asylum," on the refugee problem, an historical sketch; "Open the Doors"; summary of the speech in New York by C. L. R. James on "The Twilight of the British Empire"; and two bulletins on the French situation.

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The five outlines previously mentioned in these columns are still available at the special price of ten cents for the five. These outlines deal with: "The Right of Asylum," on the refugee problem, an historical sketch; "Open the Doors"; summary of the speech in New York by C. L. R. James on "The Twilight of the British Empire"; and two bulletins on the French situation.

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

The fifth—the fight of all progressives... does not stop here. We must save the union, and all unions, from the infection of Stalinism. (Signed) Charles Soulounias."

# 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 congress 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.

**Polices 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 of 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, 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

## SH--SH! UNITED STATES ALSO USES SPIES!

The professional pay-traitors, 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 tacit admission in the United States

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 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 middle-class 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-unionized 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 befooled 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

revolutionary 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 into 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.

Romania'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 tightens still further this week, when

a number of decrees drove Jews from various professions.

In the face of the magnitude of the problem, the licksplit attitude of the American Yiddish press, which has hardly voiced the need for opening America's doors, is a horrible spectacle. The revolutionists have given this burning issue the first impetus, and must redouble their efforts if any section of the Jews facing physical annihilation under fascism are to be saved.

## 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 Scapgoats.**  
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 the Association; and threatening all local clubs of the Association with revocation of their charters if they refused to carry through the expulsions.

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."

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

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 Duran'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 Hilferding stand 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!

### 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.

## 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 date-lined 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 16th, the only items reported 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 the 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 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.

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II—No. 56 Saturday, December 31, 1938

Published every week by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASSN.  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: National Office: Algonquin 4-8647Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six  
months. Foreign \$2.50 per year. Bundle order  
3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.All checks and money orders should be made  
out to the Socialist Appeal.Entered as second-class matter September 1,  
1937, at the post office at New York, New York,  
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE  
Associate Editors

S. STANLEY, Business Manager

## 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!

## 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 sniveling 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!

## More Pious Tears

The U.S. delegation went to Lima just about the time President Roosevelt was sounding off with his piteous 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 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 published 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 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!

## 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 beats him to the punch. For every Earl Browder, there are a dozen Greens, Lewises and Hutchisons. For every Thorez and Blum

2. 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."

3. 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.

This applies not only to the absolute pacifists, who 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 imperialist 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.

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 malarial fever by putting the patient in an icebox; 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.)

## 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 ineffective 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 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 imperialist 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.

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 malarial fever by putting the patient in an icebox; 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 doctri-nes, he 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.

active role in the Chaco War, egg-  
ing 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 "imperial-  
ism" is more of a "sub-imperial-  
ism" reinvestment of capital  
that was and still is British in  
reality.

And it is Britain that stands  
behind the big-armaments pot-  
of the policy at Pan-American Con-  
ferences, and the internal policy  
of the Argentine government. It  
stood behind the open dictatorship  
of Uriburu, of Justo, and be-  
hind 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 Oca*  
every time it gets too critical.

On May 11, President Ortiz  
iterated his "faith in democracy,"  
and told Congress to get to  
work passing his bills instead of  
wasting time debating "politi-  
cal."

As the famous Argentine patri-  
Sarmiento said in 1852, "Arger-  
tine politics is run by cows."

## 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 unconvincing.

The present holder of the presidential chair is Señor Roberto M. Ortiz, one of the country's richest landowners and feudal lords, to the tune of over four million dollars. Señor 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."

</div