

All War
Funds To the
Unemployed!

Socialist Appeal

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

Open the Doors
To Europe's
Refugees!

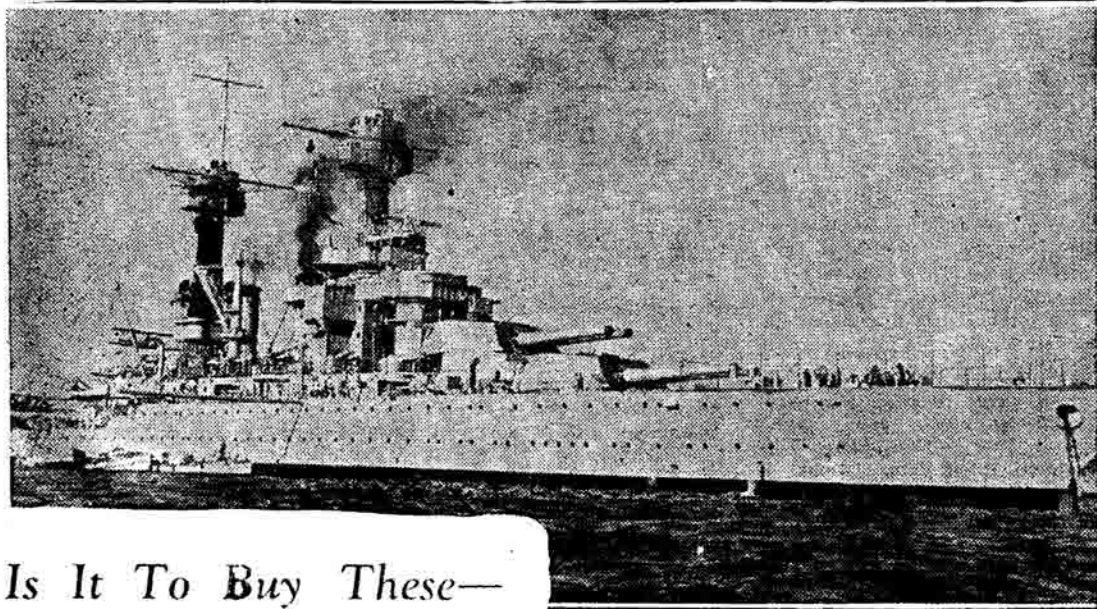
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375

5¢ per copy

BREAD! NOT BATTLESIPS!



Is It To Buy These—

Labor Can Force Congressional Action To Admit Refugees Here

SCORE BOARD

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

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

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Toledo, Ohio	\$ 20.00	\$ 20.00	100
Marston Mills, Mass.	5.00	5.00	100
Detroit	25.00	15.00	60
Oakland, Calif.	15.00	5.50	55
Fresno, Calif.	5.00	2.50	50
Newark, N. J.	100.00	11.25	11
Durham, N. H.	5.00	2.00	40
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	2.00	40
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	5.50	38
New York City	1,050.00	337.50	35
Boston, Mass.	200.00	62.75	31
San Francisco	50.00	15.00	30
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	14.00	28
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	5.50	22
Yellow Springs	5.00	1.00	20
Chicago	250.00	50.00	20
St. Paul	100.00	15.00	15
South Bend	10.00	1.50	15
Kansas	10.00	1.00	10
St. Louis, Mo.	75.00	6.00	8
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Cleveland	200.00	0	0
Los Angeles	200.00	0	0
Akron, Ohio	75.00	0	0
Philadelphia	50.00	0	0
Youngstown, Ohio	50.00	0	0
Allentown, Pa.	25.00	0	0
Austin, Minn.	25.00	0	0
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	0	0
New Haven	20.00	0	0
Washington, D. C.	20.00	0	0
San Diego, Cal.	15.00	0	0
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	0	0
East Chicago, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Gardner, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Joplin, Mo.	10.00	0	0
Kansas City, Mo.	10.00	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Louisville, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Olivia, Minn.	10.00	0	0
Plentywood, Mont.	10.00	0	0
Reading, Pa.	10.00	0	0
Sacramento, Cal.	10.00	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	0	0
Worcester, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	0	0
Fitchburg, Mass.	5.00	0	0
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0
Thermopolis, Wyo.	5.00	0	0

Decision on Asylum Really Rests With Unions

ACTION IMPERATIVE

Will Congress, convening in January, take any steps to aid the victims of Nazi persecution? The answer to this question lies, not in the halls of Congress, but in the hands of the labor movement. If the labor movement permits it, Congress will plausibly express its horror against pogroms and utilize indignation against Hitler to justify the gigantic armament program scheduled for adoption by a united front of Roosevelt and the Republicans.

If, however, the labor movement speaks out for real aid to the victims, then Congress can be made to open the doors to the refugees.

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

The Propaganda Committee of
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U.S. FIGHTS FOR WALL ST. RIGHTS AT LIMA PARLEY

Quashes Proposals Aimed At U.S. Investors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM!

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

A THIRTY-DOLLAR WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE!

OPEN ALL IDLE FACTORIES! OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!



—That We Must Starve?

Unions Organize Jobless For Showdown with New Deal

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

Cleveland UAW Is Setting Up Union WPA Auxiliary

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

By ART PREIS

The failure of the capitalist system to supply even the most elementary needs of the workers is no more glaringly illustrated than in the persistent phenomenon of mass unemployment in the richest country on earth.

It becomes increasingly clear, particularly in the mass production industries, that the organized labor movement and the employed workers in general, face in chronic mass unemployment the most devastating menace to their interests.

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

Mass Unemployment Permanent

In the past year and a half of Roosevelt depression, one decisive fact stands out—mass unemployment is permanent. If in the past

nine years the workers have constantly renewed their hopes on the illusion that "bad times" were merely temporary and that "relief" was desirable merely as a "hand-out" to tide the jobless worker over until his next job, this illusion is fast disappearing.

Where formerly the WPA worker said, "When I get back into private industry . . ." today, the workers in mass production industries are saying in increasing numbers, "When we get back on WPA."

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

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

A resolution calling for mass action, such as project strikes, picket lines on the W.P.A. headquarters, mass meetings and demonstrations, has been introduced by the Organization Committee, and indicates the genuinely progressive direction of the leaders.

The organization is going ahead to stabilize itself in a permanent fashion, and will hold elections of officers this week. Plans are underway to establish the necessary apparatus for an organization of
(Continued on Page 2)

BY LEON TROTSKY

The Decisive Hour In France

(Fourth International Press Release)

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

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

One can say without exaggeration that the party of Herriot-Daladier is the most corrupt of all the French parties, representing a sort of culture for careerists, venal individuals, stock manipulators of the Bourse, and in general ad-

venturers of all kinds. Since the parties of the Popular Front could not reach beyond the program of the Radicals, this signified in reality the submission of the workers and the peasants to the imperialist program of the most corrupt wing of the bourgeoisie.

In order to justify the politics of the Popular Front they invoked the necessity for an alliance between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. It is impossible to imagine a more scurrilous lie! The Radical party expresses the interests of the big bourgeoisie, and not of the petty. By its very essence it represents the political machinery of the exploitation of the petty bourgeoisie by imperialism. The alliance with the Radical party is, consequently, an alliance not with the petty bourgeoisie, but with their exploiters. To realize a genuine alliance between the workers and the peasants is not possible except by teaching the petty bourgeoisie how to emancipate themselves from the Radical party, how to cast off once and for all its yoke from their necks. Meanwhile the Popular Front acts in a directly opposite manner; entering into this "front," Socialists and Communists take upon themselves the responsibility for the Radical party and thus help it in this way to exploit and to betray the masses.

In 1936, Socialists, Communists, and Anarchosyndicalists aided the Radical party in slowing down, and in crumbling the powerful revolutionary movement. Big capital has succeeded during the last two years and a half in recovering a little from its fright. The Popular Front, having fulfilled its role as brake, now represents nothing more for the bourgeoisie than a useless
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SPEED UP REFUGEE CAMPAIGN!

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

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

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

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

Unions Organize Jobless for Showdown With New Deal

Our Press, Organizer and Educator; Twice Weekly!

By MARTIN ABBERN

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

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

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

Branch Competition Keen For Twice-Weekly Prizes

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

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

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

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

From Our Branches

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CLEVELAND UAW LAUNCHES WPA UNION SET-UP

(Continued from Page 1)

tremendously potential size and power.

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

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

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

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

LOCAL 544 TO FIGHT WPA CUTS

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

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

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

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

Announcements

DETROIT, Mich

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

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

NEW YORK

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE NO JOBS! Factory Wheels Turn But Unemployed Do Not Return to their Former Jobs

By DAVID COWLES

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

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

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

Population Grows, Jobs Decline Every year, depression or no depression, the population of the United States increases. In 1930 it was 122,775,000. In each year after that it increased about one million. As a result, today there are about 131,000,000 persons in the country.

Just as the population increases year after year, so does the number of persons looking for work. In 1930, there was 48,800,000. Each year since, there has been over a half million job seekers added. Children who have graduated school, youths who have not graduated but who have been compelled to leave school in order to help support the family, old men and married women who have had to look for part-time or full-time employment in order to make up for the low wages of those who are working in the family—all these have combined to make the present number of persons who are either working or looking for work equal to about 53,000,000.

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

still further. Along the Appalachian Plateau live coal miners displaced by machinery, textile workers laid off by the mills, and others who have returned from the cities to eke out a poverty-stricken existence on a poverty-stricken soil. And in the middle west farm regions are hundreds of thousands of farmers grubbing out subsistence on submarginal soil.

Can Industry Provide Jobs? All of them want a decent job with decent pay. But can industry give it? What are the facts? The facts are plain and unmistakable: Industry by itself, and run under the profit system cannot give jobs to the jobless. It cannot give enough jobs to the working population of 1929, much less jobs to the millions of new workers who have come into the market or to the many millions in the farm areas.

Even during the period of prosperity following 1920, industry declined as a field of employment and offered less jobs. In that year, 30.8 per cent of all jobs were supplied by industry. Ten years later, the percentage had fallen to 28.9, due to displacement of workers by mechanization, by speed-up systems and by operating plants at full capacity in order to lay out goods for orders and then to shut up the plants completely. New industries have not sprung up to give jobs to the displaced workers, nor, despite the propaganda of the Duponts and the Sloans, is it likely that they will.

Less Jobs Since 1929

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

Stage Six-Day Sit-in In New York Relief Bureaus

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Barely three months old, the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, demonstrated its determination to carry on a militant fight for higher relief standards for the unemployed by conducting a six day sit-in strike in two of the main bureaus of the Relief Administration here.

In Jamaica, L. I., more than 150 workers under the leadership of Otto Popovitch took over the offices of the E.R.B. without a hitch early on the morning of December 12th while 80 members of Local 4 in Manhattan did the same at the West 17th Street bureau. Women and children joined with their husbands in the strike and others assisted in organizing the picket lines outside the bureaus.

"Cash for Clothing"

Shouting their demands, "Cash for clothing!" and "Rescind the coal allowance cut!", the pickets cheered the workers inside and drew the attention of many workers and sympathizers in the neighborhoods. Children demanding winter clothing paraded in front of Mayor LaGuardia's home and before the City Hall. The police handled them roughly and even arrested some but were not able to prevent the picketing. The children refused to go home or to school unless the Relief officials came across with winter coats.

In an attempt to demoralize the sit-in strikers, the LaGuardia administration shut off the heat, turned off the water, and closed the fire exits in order to prevent food from reaching the strikers. However, this only served to draw the workers closer together. Through their inexhaustible resourcefulness the workers were able to out-manuever the police and the Relief funkies. Despite the fact that iron bars were placed in every window and the buildings heavily guarded, food was continually received on the inside.

New Interest in Kids In Jamaica, where children were taking part in the sit-in, the Board of Education, the Children's Protective Society and other children's shelter organizations, all suddenly becoming aware at the same time, of the plight of working class children, tried to break the strike by de-

manding the children. But the children held fast. Barricades were built and they remained in the bureau for several days. Finally the children were turned over to the City Shelter where the cost of feeding a child is six times the amount allowed by the relief administration.

On the outside leaflets were distributed to all workers who came to the bureau with grievances. These workers were told the reasons for the strike and asked to join the picket line. This they did and the Jamaica workers thus showed their solidarity with the newly-formed organization. These leaflets appeared every day in Jamaica. All carried the same story—"we demand the immediate consideration of the Mayor and the relief officials on the problem of winter clothing for children." "The consideration of a general increase in relief payments." Similar publicity, unfortunately, was not organized at the Manhattan bureau.

Hunger Strike

The heroic efforts of the unemployed to get a hearing for their demands before Commissioner Hodson or Mayor LaGuardia were extended when after three days they declared a hunger strike in the 17th Street Bureau. For three days they refused to eat and were ready to carry on the strike when some of LaGuardia's police tricked them into leaving by arresting everyone and then releasing them on the sidewalk outside the bureau.

In Jamaica the organization left the bureau after a promise by relief officials that an audience and a consideration of all demands would be granted.

The Stalinists showed their contempt for the unemployed and their cynicism when they contributed 9 cents for food in the 17th Street bureau. Investigators who are members of the Workers Alliance laughed when asked to support this action for clothes and higher relief. This is merely an indication of the attitude of the Stalinists who are running the shoulder to shoulder with the assorted rats who support the administration of "Sales-tax" LaGuardia in New York and Franklin ("I Hate War") Roosevelt in Washington.

This is the true picture of private industry. On one side is an ever growing horde of workers looking for jobs. On the other side is a declining capitalism, which is continuously diminishing in its ability to supply jobs. That is the crux of unemployment.

In 1933, the number of unemployed were conservatively estimated at 15,000,000. In 1937, the peak of prosperity following that crisis, the number of jobless were conservatively estimated at 9,000,000.

Production today is nowhere near that of 1937. Those who had been thrown into unemployment by the recent recession have not yet gotten back their jobs in private industry. The fact becomes clear that private industry cannot even guarantee to its old workers a chance to work. It certainly cannot give jobs to the youth and the new workers.

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

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

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

STRIKE THREAT WINS GAINS ON DETROIT WPA

DETROIT, Mich.—A threatened general strike on all W.P.A. projects in Wayne County by the W.P.A. Division of the United Automobile Workers forced the State W.P.A. administration to adjust many of the grievances and abuses on the projects. The major issue, however, of re-employing men on W.P.A. who were forced off the projects while receiving unemployment compensation, is still unsettled.

The strike vote was taken at a meeting of 300 project stewards on December 1, after the W.P.A. Administration had failed to adjust grievances which included unjustified pay cuts and discrimination against union men. The next day 2,000 W.P.A. workers picketed the G.A.R. building, which houses the Administration, and followed it by a sit-down. The action was ended when Max Barton, W.P.A. director for Detroit and Wayne County, assured Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W., that negotiations demanded by project workers would begin immediately.

Wins Concessions

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

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

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

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

APPEAL ARMY

READERS:

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

BRANCHES GET DOWN TO BUSINESS:

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

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

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

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

San Francisco, Calif.: The

"Frisco local is making a determined effort to pull itself out of a long literature slump. Under the direction of Glen Trimble and a new literature agent the branch is concentrating on newsstand sales. "Enclosed are sample copies of our 'Assignment Blank' and of our 'tip-in.' The assignment blank encourages serious attention to meeting coverage. We now regularly cover: S.U.P., M.F.O.W., Miscellaneous Employees Unions, and Painters' Union."

Subscriptions are still going strong and everything points to a record month in this field. New York City still leads the way with Minneapolis second:

NEW YORK CITY	14
California	5
Minneapolis	7
Ohio	4
Cleveland	3
New York State	3
Detroit	3
Chicago	1
Pennsylvania	1
Florida	1
Montana	1
New Jersey	1
St. Paul	1
Total	45

The Bronx branch of New York City again turned in a whole batch of subscriptions. . . . Bundle order increases last week came from:

(1) San Francisco, which is once again taking a total of 100 per week.
(2) East Chicago, Indiana, has raised its order to 12 per week.
(3) Karolyne Kerry of Oakland, Calif., now takes 35 papers, an increase of 10 per week.

REMINDERS FOR X-MAS AND NEW YEARS.

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

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

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

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

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

Up to the present, the organized labor movement has failed to recognize the true character of present unemployment. The jobless worker who looked to his union for help, received little more than the encouragement of occasional resolutions and the sporadic aid of hastily formed, and most often, poorly informed, grievance committees.

In addition, the C.I.O. in many instances, especially where the Stalinists had any foothold or influence, simply told its members to join the Workers Alliance. Sad to relate, this organization was not merely numerically weak, but was so interlinked with the New Deal politicians and so anxious to gain the favors of the WPA officials as a "respectable" organization, that it has long since degenerated into its own unique form of company-unionism. Throughout the entire period of the Roosevelt depression, it spent its time fawning before the government officials. Its leaders, like David Lasser and Herbert Benja-

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

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

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

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

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

This move, still in its beginnings, is being bitterly fought by the reactionary elements within the labor movement, particularly the Stalinists, who fear the growth of fighting organizations directed against the New Deal politicians and the government which they so ardently woo.

Such elements must and will be brushed aside. The important thing right now is a nation-wide demand by every honest, militant unionist: "Charter the WPA workers!" and "Build the WPA Industrial Unions!"

2nd Annual New Year's Eve Dance
Given by S.W.P. OF CHICAGO
Music by HI-STEPPER — "Swingiest Band in Town"
Saturday Evening, December 31, 1938
at the
LABOR LYCEUM — OGDEN and KADZIE
Tickets 75c

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On the CONVEYOR

PEAK PRODUCTION

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

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

FLINT FIGHTS FOR JOBS

Keenly aware of the fact that unless the set-up is changed, they will never again go back to work, two thousand unemployed Flint Chevrolet workers raised the demand for the establishment of a 32-hour week in the G.M. plants. The Chevrolet division, spurred on by militant auto unionists, promptly resolved to take all necessary steps for the establishment of the 32-hour week and elected a special committee to confer with the International President, Homer Martin and to solicit the support of the International for their campaign. The Flint Buick division promptly followed suit and on Monday, Dec. 12th, the joint committees met with Homer Martin to receive authorization to proceed with the campaign FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 32-HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY.

MARTIN AS "STATESMAN"

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

CLIQUE WRANGLE ON BUT WORKERS FED UP

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

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

THE REAL SCORE BOARD

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

ASK FOR THE APPEAL

AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

BY LEON TROTSKY

THE DECISIVE HOUR IN FRANCE DRAWS NEAR

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

JOUHAUX GUARANTEES BETRAYAL

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

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

WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE?

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

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

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

BUREAUCRATS PREPARE DEFEAT

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

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

HAS THE REVOLUTION BEGUN?

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

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

POPULAR FRONT STEMS REVOLUTIONARY TIDE

The vast torrent of strikes in 1936 demonstrated that the French proletariat was ready for revolutionary struggle and that it had already entered on the road of struggle. In this sense we had the full right to write that "the revolution has begun." But "if it is not from every revolutionary situation that revolution surges," neither is every beginning revolution assured a subsequent uninterrupted development. The beginning of a revolution, which always is the young generation into the arena, is always colored with illusions, with naive hopes and with credulity. The revolution needs usually a harsh blow from the side of reaction in order to take a more decisive step forward.

If the French bourgeoisie had responded to

the demonstrations and to the sit-down strikes, with police and military measures—and this would inevitably have been done if it had not had in its service Blum, Jouhaux, Thorez and Co.—the movement at an accelerated tempo would have reached a more elevated level; the struggle for power would have posed itself indubitably as the order of the day. But the bourgeoisie, utilizing the services of the Popular Front, responded by an apparent retreat and by temporary concessions; to the offensive of the strikers they opposed the ministry of Blum—which appeared to the workers as their own, or almost their own, government. The C.G.T. and the Comintern supported this betrayal with all their strength.

In order to lead the revolutionary struggle for power, it is necessary to see clearly the class from whom the power must be wrested. The workers did not recognize the enemy because he was disguised as a friend. In order to struggle for power, it is necessary moreover to have the instruments of struggle, the party, the trade unions, the soviets. The workers found these instruments rubbed out, because the leaders of the workers' organizations formed an enclosure around the bourgeois power in order to mask it, to render it unrecognizable and invulnerable. Thus the revolution that began found itself braked, arrested, demoralized.

The past two and a half years since then have revealed step by step the impotence, the falsity, and the hollowness of the Popular Front. What appeared to the laboring masses as a "popular" government is revealed to be simply a temporary mask of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This mask is now discarded. The bourgeoisie apparently think that the workers are sufficiently deluded and weakened; that the immediate danger of a revolution has passed. The ministry of Daladier is only, in accordance with the design of the bourgeoisie, an unavoidable stage in passing over to a stronger and more substantial government of the imperialist dictatorship.

HAS THE REVOLUTIONARY "DANGER" PASSED?

Is the bourgeoisie correct in its diagnosis? Has the immediate danger to it really passed? In other words, has the revolution really been deferred to an indefinite, that is to say, remote future? Nothing demonstrates this. Assertions of this type are, at the least, hasty and premature. The last word in the present crisis has not yet been said. In any case to be optimistic over the accounts of the bourgeoisie is not at all the way of the revolutionary party, which is the first to sail forth on the field of battle and the last to leave it.

Bourgeois "democracy" has now become the privilege of the most powerful and the wealthiest exploiting and slave-holding nations. France belongs to this category, but among them she is the weakest link. Her specific economic weight has not corresponded for a long time with her world position inherited from the past. That is why imperialism France now falls under blows of history that she will not escape. The fundamental elements of the revolutionary situation not only have not disappeared in the last two or three years but have been, on the contrary, greatly strengthened. The international and internal situation of the country has grown worse. The war danger draws near. If the fear of the bourgeoisie before the revolution has been lessened, the general consciousness of an impasse has increased.

Nevertheless, how shall we present matters concerning the "subjective factors," that is, concerning the will of the proletariat to struggle? This question—precisely because it concerns the subjective sphere and not the objective—cannot be resolved by a precise a priori investigation. What decides in the final score is living action, that is, the real movement of the struggle. But there do exist certain criteria, not without importance, for the evaluation of the "subjective factors"; even from a great distance one can deduce them from the experience of the last "general strike."

THE WORKERS WANTED TO FIGHT

Unfortunately we cannot give here a detailed analysis of the struggle of the French workers in the second half of November and the first days of December. But even the most general data are sufficient for the question which interests us. The participation in the demonstration strike of close to two million workers, with five million members in the C.G.T. (at least on paper), is a defeat. But upon taking into account the political conditions already indicated and, above all, the fact that the principal "or-

ganizers" of the strike were at the same time the principal strike-breakers, the figure of two millions testifies to the spirit of struggle evinced by the French proletariat. This conclusion becomes even more evident and more clear in the light of previous events—the tumultuous meetings and demonstrations, the encounters with the police and the army, the strikes, the occupation of factories commencing November 17 and tending to increase with the active participation of the rank and file Communists, Socialists and syndicalists. The C.G.T. manifestly commences to lose footing in the events. On November 25 the trade union bureaucrats called a "non-political" peaceful strike for November 30. That is, five days later.

In other words, instead of developing, extending, and generalizing the genuine movement which took on more and more combative aspects, Jouhaux and Co. countered to this revolutionary movement with the hollow idea of a platonic protest. The delay of five days, at a moment when each day is a month, was necessary to the bureaucrats in order to paralyze, wipe out, in tacit collaboration with the authorities, the movement which was developing spontaneously and which they feared no less than did the bourgeoisie. The police and military measures of Daladier could not have had serious effect unless Jouhaux and Co. had driven the movement into an impasse.

The non-participation (or weak participation) in the "general strike" by the railway workers, workers in the war industries, metal workers, and other advanced layers of the proletariat was in no case due to indifference on their part: during the previous two weeks the workers of these categories had taken an active part in the struggle. But precisely the advanced layers understood better than the others, above all after Daladier's measures, that now it is not a question of demonstrations nor of platonic protests but of the struggle for power. The participation of the most backward or, from a social point of view, less important layers of workers, in the demonstration-strike testifies on the other hand to the profound crisis of the country and to the fact that in the toiling masses revolutionary energy still exists despite the years of disintegrating Popular Front politics.

FIND ROAD TO WORKERS!

History has shown certainly that even after a decisive and definitive defeat of the revolution the most backward layers of the workers have undertaken the offensive, the railway workers, the metal workers, etc., remaining passive. This, for example, happened in Russia after the crushing of the insurrection of December 1905. But that situation was the result of the fact that the advanced layers had already consumed their strength in the long previous battles: strikes, lockouts, demonstrations, encounters with the police and the army, insurrections. One cannot say this for the French proletariat. The movement of 1936 has not in any way consumed the forces of the vanguard. The deception invoked by the Popular Front has been able, certainly, to bring about a temporary demoralization in certain layers; but this is balanced by the exacerbation of revolt and impatience in other layers. At the same time the movements of 1936 as well as 1938 have enriched the entire proletariat with an invaluable experience and developed thousands of local workers' leaders independent of the official bureaucracy. It is necessary to understand how to find access to these leaders, to link them with one another, to arm them with a revolutionary program.

We have not the least intention of offering from afar counsel on tactics to our French friends who find themselves on the scene of action and who can feel much better than we the pulse of the masses. Nevertheless, for all revolutionary Marxists it is now more than ever evident that the only serious and definitive measure for drawing a balance of the forces, among them the willingness of the masses to struggle, is action. Pitiless criticism of the Second and of the Third Internationals has no revolutionary value except to the extent that it aids in mobilizing the advance guard for direct intervention in the events. The fundamental slogans for the mobilization are given in the program of the Fourth International, which has in the present period a more timely character in France than in any other country. On our French comrades there rests an immense political responsibility. To aid the French section of the Fourth International with all our forces and with all our means, moral and material, is the most important and most imperative duty of the international revolutionary vanguard.

Coyoacan, D. C.

December 14, 1938

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

(Continued from Page 1)

vestments and accept the same status as native investors.

Fight Collapses

Chile in particular put up a strong fight for the Calvo doctrine. Argentina and Mexico also backed the fight for a while, then started to put in amendments about "except when the investors are treated unjustly" and finally ended up by having their delegates on the Experts' Committee join the others in unanimously voting down the lone Chilean.

Mexico, by the way, has been playing a double role with respect to the entire conference. While the Mexican press denounced the affair from the start as a blind for Yankee imperialism, U. S. interests have succeeded in "influencing" many newspapers into taking a more conciliatory attitude. Furthermore, Mexico's delegation to Lima is led by her leading pro-Wall Streeteer, Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera, her ambassador to Washington. Despite all the U. S. State Department has done and will undoubtedly continue to do to support Yankee exploitation, as exemplified by Standard Oil interests, against his own country and even his government, Castillo goes right on orating about the wonders of the Good Neighbor policy.

Loan Plan Helps

Undoubtedly of great value in securing Latin American aid in throttling Chile's demand for some real "Neighborliness" was the well-timed announcement by U. S. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau that the U. S. would negotiate loans with the Latin American countries in the immediate future. That this is done with the deliberate aim of securing more "cooperation" (read: subservience) on the part of the Southern neighbors is admitted by all.

Despite, loans, speeches, pleas, and demands, however, the U. S. delegation is doomed to definite defeat on one big question: that of the so-called "continental solidarity" plan. Led by the pro-British Argentine bloc, and with the aid of the Chileans who were sent by the old government and therefore are still not very friendly towards the U. S., a very strong, and so far quite successful fight was put up against U. S. plans to line up all the Americas under Wall Street control and thus ensure both the continuance of U. S. domination south of the Rio Grande and Latin American support when the U. S. gets into the next World War.

Argentina's Role

Argentina, with over two billion dollars of British capital controlling her economic life, and her satellites—Uruguay and Paraguay—are raising quite a fuss over the threat of "breaking America's sympathetic attachments to the Old World from which we sprang." Naturally, only of course the "attachments" are not so much from the heart as from the wallet carried over it.

The Argentine bloc gets quite a kick out of the declarations of Hull, Landon and Co. that there must be unity against the "aggressors," the "totalitarian states." They know quite well that, while British imperialist interests have, with the exception of Bolivia and Southern Brazil, been pretty much on the defensive, it is precisely the U. S. imperialists, who blather so much about aggression, who are carrying on a furious struggle to conquer control of those areas now under British influence. The general impression that U. S. interests are on the defensive in Latin America is entirely erroneous. Not only has Wall Street turned German advances into a retreat, but it has been carrying on a steady campaign to take over Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile. In the latter country it has already been successful, and that success will only spur it on further.

The speeches on "solidarity" meaning "peace" and "democracy" are worked over and over again—right during the conference. Batista's Cuba, latest edition of "Roosevelt democracy," hit the front page of last Tuesday's New York Times. While the cannon of Batista's Morro Castle fortress roared its salute to the arriving officers and men of the Nazi war-training ship Schleswig-Holstein, and Cuban officials held a series of welcoming parties, 30,000 Santiago workers quietly lined the docks and streets of the port, each with a black ribbon in his lapel. The "demonstration of displeasure," ordered by the local Federation of Labor, was rushed and broken up by Batista's police, and many of the anti-fascists were arrested.

The article on the Argentine by Donald Bergner scheduled for this issue as the fourth of his series was held over for lack of space. It will appear next week.

Boss Court Convicts Three Who Fought Hunger

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Because they had the audacity to ask that one of their number, Willy Lubin, a hungry and homeless youth be given the right to apply for relief, three young men were found guilty in the Brooklyn County Court of third degree assault and are to appear before the judge this week for sentence.

The three youths were arrested last September when a delegation of Unemployed Union members refused to leave the Williamsburg relief bureau until the case of Lubin was taken up by the bureau officials. Lubin had been denied a hearing of his case for ten weeks prior to the union request.

Only Business Men

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

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

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

Pay-trial Judge

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

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heard as the police of Manhattan and the Bronx."

Nor could the judge resist taking a few cracks at their race because the boys happened to be Jewish. "You people are a disgrace to the Jews. Now with the Jews being suppressed all over the European continent, they should learn to keep quiet and stay out of trouble." The case of the 16 who were arrested at the same time on charges of disorderly conduct will come up for a hearing on January 22.

Xmas Eve. TAXI DANCE

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Adm.—Gents: 7 dance tickets at a nickel per.

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Labor Can Force Congress To Open Doors To Refugees

(Continued from Page 1)

the Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund of St. Louis and vicinity, representing the branches of that area, last week adopted a resolution calling for the removal of all bars to immigration, and forwarded the demand to Missouri congressmen and senators.

The North Shore Industrial Union Council of the C.I.O., Lynn, Massachusetts, representing fourteen local unions, released to the press and sent to the Massachusetts delegation in Congress recently a resolution urging that the doors be opened to all refugees from Nazi Germany. A rally for this demand was held at the Lynn Labor Lyceum on December 17, with William Sherman, Boston District organizer of the Socialist Workers Party as speaker.

Quakertown, Pa., workers, attending the Sunday forum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, decided to organize a local committee of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, after listening to a speech on the plight of Germany's refugees by Sherman Stanley of New York.

The National Committee of the Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund last week gave written au-

thorization to the American Fund to solicit funds for refugee relief from the hundreds of local branches of the organization.

Ikkes' Hypocrisy

That only the labor movement would honestly defend the right of asylum here for refugees became clear this week when Secretary of the Interior Ikkes, New Deal "left winger," speaking to a banquet of the Cleveland Zionist Society on December 18, expanded on the virtues of Palestine—but made no move to back immigration here.

"If we cannot find a place in our own country for more than a handful of these hapless and harassed people," said Ikkes, "perhaps, by our moral and material support, we can help make it possible for them to return to the land of their fathers." He "personally" wished that immigration be permitted here, but "we must faithfully carry out the laws of Congress limiting immigration."

What hypocrisy! Not a word about calling upon the forthcoming session of Congress to open the doors! That demand will not be made by the New Deal. It will be made, it must be made, by the labor movement.

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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Christmas on WPA...and Off

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

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

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

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

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

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

Merry Christmas, indeed!

Come Across, OR ELSE...

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

ARE YOU GOING TO PIONEER'S PARTY?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gorman and Hillman

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

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

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

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

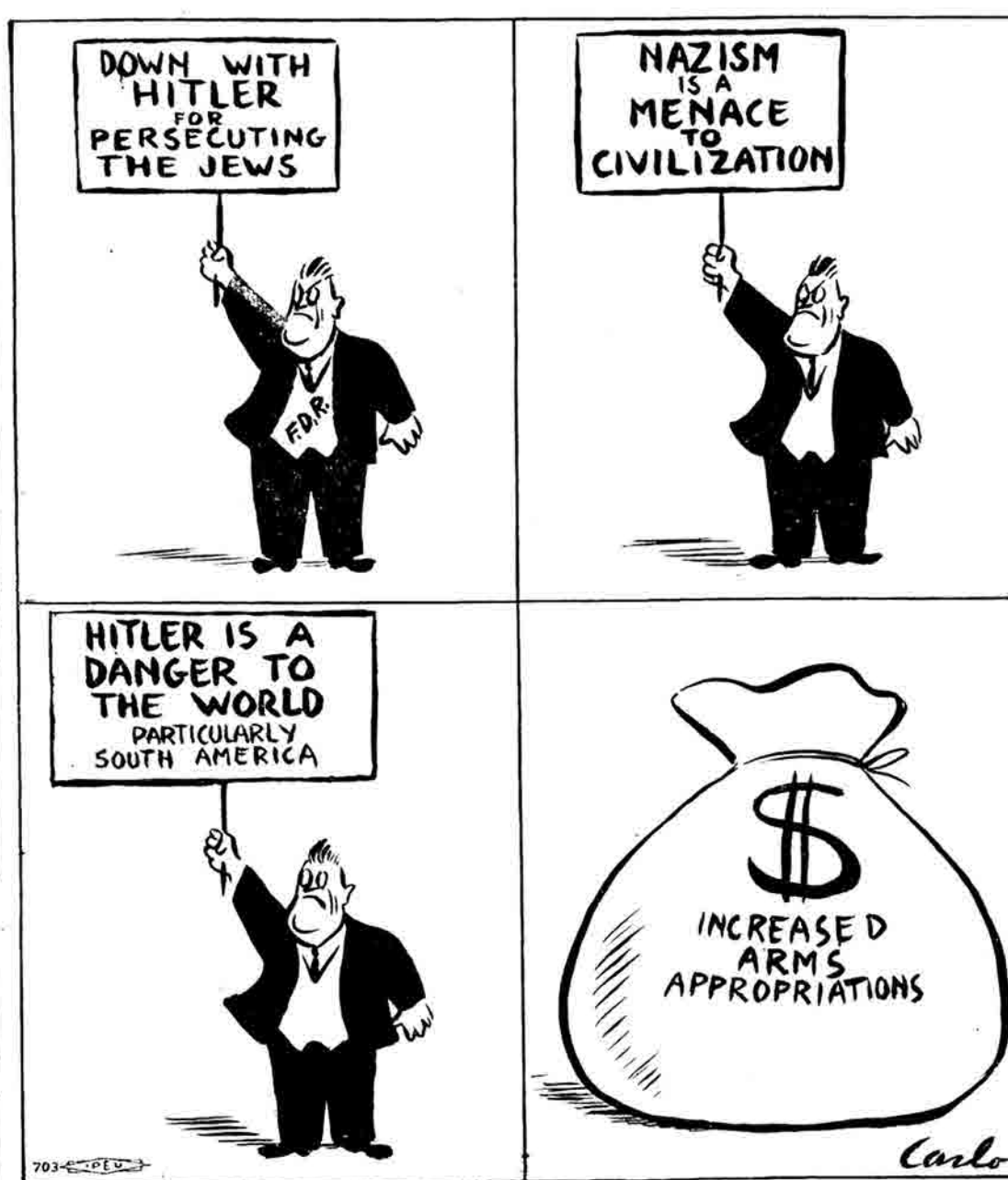
Who empowered Hillman, the "great labor statesman", to grant a wage cut to the textile barons during the recent "recession"—which now comes out for the first time in the dispute with Gorman? Certainly not the workers who were deprived of all democracy and autonomy under the T.W.O.C. set-up!

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

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

The Arrangement Committee announces that the ballroom and bar will be open at 8 p. m. to give everyone an opportunity to meet the New Year in the proper spirit (no pun intended). Proletarian prices will prevail at the bar, where food will also be dispensed. Tickets are \$1.00 but if you fail to get them in advance you will have to pay \$1.50 at the door.

The Roosevelt Technique



Unions Demand Control of Minn. Farmer-Labor Party

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

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

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

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

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

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

Stalinists Oppose Unions

The main question at the Hennepin County convention was whether the unions would control selection of the county's delegation of 85 at the state convention. The Stalinist-controlled county executive committee seated a horde of paper "organizations": two Finnish Workers Clubs, the Ukrainian Tollerers, the Macedonian Society, the Rosa Luxembourg Club, branches of the International Workers Order, etc., etc. Delegates of the powerful Milk Drivers and Dairy Employees Union led a protest against seating the paper organizations, but were voted down by the Stalinist machine.

The main convention fight took place around the preposterous attempt of the Stalinists to exclude from the convention the most powerful and largest union in Minnesota, General Drivers Union Local 544. The pretext was a technicality, and the controversy went on for hours. Even some friends of the Stalinists, however, voted against them on this proposition, and Local 544's delegates were seated. But while delegates from a number of paper locals of the Workers Alliance were seated, the real WPA and unemployed organization of Minneapolis, the Federal Workers Section of Local 544, was excluded from the convention.

Unions Crowded Out
With plenty of phony delegates in hand, the Stalinists gained control of the county convention,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hartford-Empire merely sits back and licenses manufacturers to make the machines for the "gob" process, and then other manufacturers to use the machines to make containers. But could not another process come along and beat it out? Let us not be naive. The only other process used today—the "suction" process—is owned by the Owens-Illinois Glass Company; and Owens-Illinois and Hartford-Empire have a firm cross-licensing agreement. Hartford-Empire does not permit, by its contracts, any licensees from employing any new machines; and by its control of the entire patent field it either chokes off any newly discovered process (such as the recent "air feeder" method) or takes it over for itself.

In such ways, through Hartford-Empire the entire industry, with the exception of an insignificant and powerless 3 per cent, is controlled completely; the output and price of glass containers is decided upon strictly in accordance with the profits of the holding companies that have been set up at the apex of the intricate corporate network. These holding companies, incidentally, can be traced through the Corning Glass Works to the "Houghton Associates" to General Electric and thence to the offices of Morgan & Co.

Seldom has there been made public a clearer or more outrageous example of how under U.S. capitalism essential social services are farmed out to the private domain and to the immense personal profit of the lords and stewards of the Sixty Families; property rights maintained and enforced by the capitalist government are employed as the means for gouging the entire public; and, finally, the whole structure of capitalist economy is utilized not to meet in the best, cheapest and most efficient manner the needs of the people but to pile up millions for the legalized racketeers of the ruling class.

JAN. NEW INTERNATIONAL CONTENTS

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

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

gress of the imperialist assailants. Other features of the January issue include an article on the life and work of Karl Kautsky, leading theoretician of the Second International who died recently in Amsterdam; Dwight Macdonald's popular department of comment and analysis, "Reading from Left to Right"; a discussion of the question: "Is Austria a Nation?" by Charles Crompton; an article on the Pittsburgh convention of the C.I.O. by B. J. Widick; comments on the Pan-American Conference at Lima; on the new position taken by the Stalinists on the question of armaments; reviews of the more important of the recent books, etc., etc.

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

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

Look at what is happening in France, mother of Continental European democracy. The French capitalists and their government enviously point to Germany, where workers cannot strike, work sixty hours or more for coolie wages, get no unemployment insurance or sick benefits, etc. The French bosses are saying publicly we cannot compete with Germany unless our production costs are the same, i.e., unless French labor works under the same conditions as in Germany. Of course, the French bosses would like to have what their competitors in Germany have, without using a Hitler: it would be *nicer* to have it that way. But the French workers have no intention of submitting to slavery. Therefore? Therefore the French bosses are getting ready to smash the labor unions by fascist methods. And that means, as part of the arsenal of Fascism, anti-Semitism.

CAPITALISM LIVES BY RACE-HATRED

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

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

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

Jew-Baiters Are the Spawn of Capitalism

III

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

What now?

TWO IMMEDIATE TASKS

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

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

In combating the Silver Shirts in Minnesota, the Minneapolis trade union movement is teaching the workers that anti-Semites are enemies of organized labor and that the fascist gangs must be fought not merely by words but by the physical power of the Union Defense Guards. Another inspiring example has been that of the Youngstown trade unionists who recently drove the Silver Shirts away from meeting halls in the Mahoning Valley. Minneapolis and Youngstown have shown how fascists shall be fought, and we are proud of our association with these pioneers in the American labor movement.

These immediate tasks deserve the support of every anti-fascist, Jew or Gentile. But these immediate steps must be integrated into a general program to fight anti-Semitism.

That program involves the utter eradication of anti-Semitism from the earth.

"But you can never eradicate it. It has always existed. It always will exist." Thus the defeatists.

THE ROOTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

The answer to the defeatists may be put in the form of an analogy. There are germs which exist everywhere, are breathed in by everyone. But they flourish and infect the human organism only under certain specific conditions. What is important, then, is not the mere existence of these germs, but the conditions under which they break out into disease. What is important, what really makes all the difference, is the condition under which anti-Semitism ceases to be dormant and becomes an organized assault upon the very existence of the Jewish people.

Czarist Russia exemplifies the condition under which anti-Semitism is virulent. Why did the court circles and financiers encourage the Black Hundreds, the pogromchiks? Why the Kishineff massacre of 1907? At the time, not only Jewry but liberal and labor spokesmen everywhere understood just why: the decaying,

tottering system of Czarism systematically attempted to turn the peasant's hatred of his oppressors—Czar and landlord—away from the oppressors and to a fancied oppressor: the Jews. The more the Czarist regime decayed, the more systematically and deliberately did it turn to using anti-Semitism as an instrument to preserve the rotting regime.

Today anti-Semitism is used for exactly the same purpose by decaying capitalism. As anti-Semitism was an index to the decay of the Czarist regime, so today anti-Semitism is an index to the decay of the capitalist states. The outcry against the Kishineff Massacre of 1907 was raised throughout the world, and not least in Germany: the German equivalents of the Myron Taylors then enunciated their wordy sympathy for the persecuted: they could afford then to be liberals on this question. But the decline of German capitalism, its absolute desperation in attempting to survive, has brought yesterday's enlightened German capitalists to the point where they welcome and encourage the Nazis in shifting the hatred of the peasants and backward workers from their real oppressors, i.e., these selfsame capitalists, to their fancied oppressors, the Jews.

Fritz Thyssen, the German steelmaster who persuaded the big capitalists to back Hitler, was in his time at least as much a liberal as Myron Taylor, the American steelmaster. What happened in Germany will happen in England, in France, in America as, one after another, these capitalist regimes reach the stage of decline which Germany reached in 1933. The "liberal" capitalists, at the end of their rope, will turn to the fascist gangsters for support. Only the overthrow of these capitalist regimes, only the smashing of the fascist bands by the working class and its allies and the establishment of Workers' Republics in these countries will save the Jews from the fate of German Jewry. Already the paper of Jewry Daladier, *L'Ere Nouvelle*, proposes the restriction of the number of Jews in French government services!