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**Open the Doors!**

The problem of the European refugees is of profoundest concern to every worker. All hopes for the future, all possibility for the progress of civilization depend today on the action and solidarity of the working class of every country. It is not merely from considerations of humanity that we must seek to aid the victims of fascism driven from land to land, often left in the ditch to starve.

The only real answer to the barbarism practised by the reactionary capitalists in the name of national culture, is the mobilization of working class forces on the basis of international solidarity against all class and national oppression. In the performance of this duty of organizing practical aid for the disinherited and mistreated victims of fascist reaction, the working class forges unbreakable international links in the chain of its struggle to pull civilization out of the mire.

The American proletariat must unite to help the refugees so that in this very process they may prevent the same thing from taking place in their own country. By making their power felt in warding off the blows of reaction delivered against the oppressed of other countries, the American workers at the same time mobilize their strength to defeat similar attempts at oppression at home.

The partition of Czechoslovakia and the advance of fascism into Central Europe daily uproots thousands upon thousands of helpless families which are rendered destitute overnight. It is especially the Jews who become the chosen victims of triumphant reaction. They find themselves a people without a country and without any rights that need be respected. Their terrible plight in Europe is made the more tragic by the events in Palestine. There British imperialism pursues its own aims at the expense of both Arabs and Jews, purposefully utilizing the antagonism between the two. What can we propose in view of the awful tragedy of the refugees, particularly the Jews?

The bourgeois governments, under the leadership of Roosevelt, called the Evian Conference ostensibly to "aid political refugees." This conference presented the ironic spectacle of each of the governments represented making polite requests of all the others to increase their quota of refugees. Roosevelt asked Mexico, Brazil, Argentine to open their doors wider, but the U. S. did not lift a finger to increase its own "share" by as much as a single refugee. Thus

the American quota list is already exhausted for a year and a half to come. In actuality, behind the scenes, the Evian Conference was called to permit the various bourgeois governments to keep tabs on the radical refugees and to advise each other on their movements. The Evian Conference was called for the purpose, not of aiding refugees, but of regulating their inevitable flow over various borders in the interests of the ruling class.

The American Jewish bourgeois "leaders" follow carefully the pattern laid down for them by the political spokesmen for the capitalist ruling class. The policies advocated by these leaders dovetail into those of the American government. The various nationalist Jewish organizations have sent out widespread to Jewish homes telegrams to be signed and forwarded to Secretary Hull of the State Department asking the United States to intervene to prevent Great Britain from closing the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration.

Hull and Roosevelt could have wished nothing better to give them prestige as liberals without lifting a finger to give real help. It costs these wily politicians nothing at all to make this empty gesture. Hull states this publicly when he calls attention, even while sending his gratuitous message to England, to the fact that after all the United States cannot prevent England from carrying out whatever policy it pleases. This remark will be understood in its true worth by the British government.

Thus the Jewish misleaders aid the capitalist politicians in siphoning off the stream of mass agitation into safe and useless channels. The Jews are aroused as never before at the awful plight of their fellow-Jews in Palestine and in the fascist countries. To prevent this sentiment from crystallizing into a militant mass movement, the reactionary Jewish leaders provide a safety valve in the form of harmless telegrams.

We certainly stand against the closing of the doors of Palestine to the Jews. It has always been the Marxist viewpoint that the masses of workers should be permitted to move freely across all borders without restriction. We recognize, however, that the Jews in or out of Palestine will not be helped one iota by appealing to the imperialist British government which is responsible for the oppression of countless millions of people of all races all over the earth. An appeal to this government means to entrust the fate of the Jews to one of the worst enemies of all humanity.

No, the American workers, including the Jewish workers, can perform a far more useful service to the refugees, including the Jews, by making forceful demands not on the British government which need not and will not pay the slightest attention, but on "their own" government. We must demand the open door for refugees not merely in far-away Palestine, but here at home in the United States. Why has not Roosevelt attempted to have the quota law completely abolished—or even revised upwards? This would be really practical aid to the refugees. It would be an excellent way to combat anti-semitism because it would mean an educational campaign against race prejudice conducted in the ranks of the working class.

Organize the masses around this demand for the open door and this demand will soon make itself felt! For the abolition of the quota law and for the reestablishing of the United States as a haven for political refugees! This is the only real democracy—the fight for the Open Door for all refugees!

**Millions Hit as Stalin Purge Continues in Soviet Union**

By J. G. WRIGHT  
No official statistics relating to the Stalinist purge have been issued. None will be forthcoming. Nevertheless on the basis of indirect data in the Stalinist press the number can be roughly approximated. A figure of 1,000,000—1,500,000 for the past two years would be a conservative estimate.

In December 1937, Walter Krivitsky, leading Soviet diplomat who refused to return to Russia, stated that in May of that year he had learned from an authoritative source that the number of political arrests had at that time reached the total of not less than 300,000, the majority being party members and members of their families. In the period since May, the number of arrests had considerably increased and Krivitsky estimated it to be in the neighborhood of half-a-million.

Krivitsky's estimate is indirectly borne out by a dispatch from Denny during this same period: "The purge continues unabated although it has now been going on so long that its trials and executions have become routine news stripped of all dramatic value." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 2, 1937).

**Replacement and Purges**  
However, we have a far more authoritative verification. In January of this year Pravda asserted that: "More than 100,000 people have been advanced to leading posts during last year alone—in districts, provinces, federated and autonomous People's Commissariats. More than 100,000!" . . . The advancement has acquired a mass character, it is becoming almost everywhere a mass phenomenon. (Jan. 27. Emphasis in the original.)

It goes without saying that for every individual who was "advanced" another one was removed, i. e., purged. It is equally clear that for every "leading" functionary a number of subordinates, to say nothing of relatives, were caught in the dragnet. A ratio of 5 to 1 is hardly exaggerated. Thus on the basis of Pravda's boast, the number of those purged during "last year alone" can be set at not less than 500,000. The appalling implication of the figure mentioned in Pravda becomes clear if we bear in mind that Pravda cited it only to call for an intensification of this campaign of "advancement." It was only a modest beginning! In March came the Bukharin-Rykov frame-up as part of the machinery of speeding up the purge.

At that time Webb Miller, United Press staff correspondent, reported from Moscow: "Many thousands of persons have been arrested—the number perhaps running into five figures—throughout the Soviet republics since the recent treason trials." (N. Y. Post March 8).

**"Tens of Thousands . . ."**  
In July, Walter Duranty was able to state with satisfaction that "there is no doubt that it (the purge) cut a deep furrow

through every phase of national life. To prove this it is sufficient to compare published membership lists of official bodies, from the high military council to local soviets, of two years ago and now, or to read reports of changes of the personnel in Communist party secretariats, both provincial and municipal, and in government administrative positions." (N. Y. Times, July 26). The spheres and the changes enumerated by Duranty embrace not isolated individuals but the entire party and administrative apparatus of the country, that is to say, thousands upon tens of thousands of people.

We continually meet with this refrain of "new thousands." Thus, in August, Izvestia stated that "in the recent period thousands of new people have been advanced to leading posts in People's Commissariats and the administrative bodies" (August 28. Our emphasis). And only the other day, Denny reported on the Army purge as follows:

"The purge that is still continuing in the Red Army, though apparently on a smaller scale, is being accompanied by promotions of thousands of junior officers to responsible posts." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 17. Our emphasis).

**Yardstick for Data**  
The scope of the "promotions" provides a yardstick for the real extent of the purge. Let us apply it to these isolated cases in which the Stalinist press provides us with some statistics.

In Pravda, for July 22, A. Akopov, director of the Ural Heavy Machinery Plant made the following boast: "There are more than 400 engineers and technicians in the construction department of Uralmash. Of these only 3 completed their studies prior to 1917, all the others are from among the Soviet youth." We also learn that "more than 250 Stakhanovists from among the labor and technical personnel have been promoted to leading posts." Here we have a purge of more than 60 per cent in a single department. So we are not shocked to discover that in this plant there were: "a foreign specialist, the spy Z. . . ; former chief metallurgist, the 'diversionist' P. . . ; head of the central laboratory, the spy D. . . ; former head of the forging-press dept., Z. . . ; chief engineer, the wrecker L. . . former head of the order bureau, the spy K. . ."

**One-Year Olds**  
Here is a report of the results of the Party Conference in the city of Stalinsk: "In the Kuznets metallurgical plant named after Stalin, the cadres of the party have been vigorously renovated in the last year. The majority of the secretaries of shop committees and group organizations are new people—their past record in party work does not exceed one year." (Pravda, July 22)

Finally, we take the instance of the Don Basin. Time and again has the administration been purged, culminating in the sweeping changes effected by Kaga-

novich in October of last year. Pravda commented as follows: "The People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, com. L. M. Kaganovich has reorganized 'Glavugol'; he has expelled from there the apologists of wreckers' theory . . . the bureaucrats and the office holders; he has reinforced the apparatus of the chief administration with young engineers, tested communists, people who know their jobs and are desirous of fighting for the convalescence of the coal industry." (Oct. 2, 1937).

**"Worthless Directors"**  
On June 11, 1938, Pravda announced the removal of these "worthless directors" and boasted of a new leading staff embracing: 260 mine superintendents; 240 chief engineers, 610 heads of sectors, 400 "leaders of tens," 650 Stakhanovists, 120 organizers and 140 chairmen of mine committees.

Said Pravda: "The chief task of the directors of 'Donbasugol' was to transmit the experience of the advanced mines in the struggle for coal to the laggard mines, to put an end once and for all to criminal negligence and to proceed to root out the consequences of wrecking . . . The former leaders of 'Donbasugol' failed to do this. Departmental-bureaucratic methods of management predominated in their work. The worthless directors have been removed." (June 11). In October of this year, the Donbas has been reorganized once again, this time into three separate units. No purge was reported in connection with this reorganization but it doubtless took place. If the purge elsewhere assumed the same proportions it would involve not 1½ but several millions. We presume that these are exceptional cases.

**Commissariats Cleaned**  
Of the 28 Commissariats established in January 11 have been purged from top to bottom. These include the commissariats of Agriculture, Trade, Mechanical Construction, Light Industry, Food Industry, Land Transport, Finance, and Farm Products Storage. On Oct. 2, came the news of the reorganization of the State Bank, with the appointment of Bulgantsev as chairman, and three deputies. All four of these new appointees are G.P.U. functionaries—an evil omen to the personnel!

The naval commissariat has been purged. The purge in the Army continues. While there has been no confirmation of Bluecher's arrest, it is known that his entire general staff and scores of his closest collaborators have been arrested.

The refusal of collectives to deliver grain to the government is being met by the extension of the purge into the collectives. This list far from exhausts the countless thousands who are involved. In the light of these facts our estimate of those who have fallen victims to the purge at Krievitsky last December is, if anything, an underestimation.

**HARLEM LOCALS QUIT ALLIANCE**

NEW YORK—The growing revolt in the ranks of the Stalinist Workers Alliance reached new proportions last week when in a stormy session of the Harlem Council here Browderite Sam Wiseman, W. A. City Secretary was "shown the gate," and five locals with a combined membership of more than 800 voted to leave the Communist Party-controlled Alliance.

Before this latest chapter in a long series of Alliance defections was over, another local, No. 53, in the Washington Heights section with a membership of over 200, also voted to leave the Alliance, charging the W.A. as being a "C. P.-run racket."

**Twenty Expelled**  
It was also learned here that during the height of the "Harlem revolt," some 20 members of the Communist Party were expelled from that organization, with the reason given as "Trotskyism."

While the "rebellion" in Harlem was in its formative stage,

the Italian Harlem W.A. local, also experienced a "revolt" of its own, when organizer C. Everett, at a meeting of that local two weeks ago, denounced the Stalinist fakers, and led more than 140 members of that local.

Ex-Congressman Vito Marcantonio, candidate and darling of the Browderites, presiding at a branch meeting of the American Labor Party, ordered that Everett be thrown out, when he attempted to address the meeting in Italian, the language which most of the workers gathered there, could understand.

**Calls Cops**  
Marcantonio then proceeded to call the cops. The police arrived, but Everett addressed the meeting, which consisted for the most part of Alliance members, and at the conclusion of his remarks, in which he exposed the false roles of Marcantonio and the Alliance officials, he led a procession out with him.

With the Harlem locals, goes the last remaining stronghold of the unemployed section of the N. Y. Alliance.

Duty predicted that the "rebel" Harlem locals may soon become a section of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union.

**The Notebook of An Agitator**

"MAN'S BEST FRIEND IS HIS DOG"

One of the funny features which relieve the tedium of the current election campaign in New York is provided by the furious battle for Progress which the Stalinists are waging in behalf of Banker-Governor Lehman and the rather impatient request of Lehman that the newly hatched democrats curb their ardor, or at least be more private about it.

The raucous campaign of the Stalinists for "Lehman and Progress" was briefly interrupted last week by the curt public announcement of Lehman that he didn't want their support. Moreover, he added—though not quite so emphatically—he would not accept it. Thus called to heel, a moment of tense and somewhat embarrassed silence on the part of the Twentieth Century Americans followed. During that blessed moment the total volume of sound decibels which assail the collective ear of the public, in total disregard of the anti-noise ordinance, was considerably diminished.

But it was only for the moment. The repudiation only gave them pause. It couldn't stop them. When they are out to defeat reaction at all costs nothing can stop them. Their noisy and delirious new confessions of faith, shouted with the fervor and frenzy of a camp meeting convert, drowned out the politely modulated disavowal of Lehman. They are now in full cry again, and there will be no peace in New York State until they have shouted progress to victory in the elections once again.

There are some over-anxious and jittery people in the embattled ranks of progress who believe all the bad news they hear, and always expect the worst. These political hypochondriacs feared that Lehman's rebuff to his Kremlin chorus signified—oh, danger of dangers!—a "split in the progressive forces."

They were unduly alarmed. The conflict was more apparent than real. It was not fundamental, but only a difference of opinion about manners and methods. Lehman was merely trying to train the Stalinists to curb their enthusiasm, to act more like settled residents of the Democratic Party, not like rowdy new arrivals who have just crashed the gates.

The parvenu-democrats haven't understood this yet. They are like certain breeds of too-affectionate canines who are not satisfied merely to be allowed in the master's house but must leap into his lap and slobber in his face. Lehman, by his press statement, simply meant to say "down Fido!" But Fido-Browder, for whom everything the master does is right, mistook the rebuke for a caress, and began to whine and howl with delight at the attention. That's the sound you hear over the radio on the Communist Party hour.—C.

**RAILROAD UNION RESISTS THREAT OF WAGE SLASH**

(Continued from page 1)

with a vote to call a national strike when the cut becomes effective. And the Roosevelt administration, understanding full well the importance of national transportation in time of war, appointed a "fact-finding board" in order to solve the whole problem as quickly and as quietly as possible.

The hearings held by this "fact-finding board" brought forth no new facts but have succeeded in bringing to the front pages of the newspapers the sorry plight of the workers in this industry and the complete inability of the bosses to run their business.

**Some Eyewitness**

Testifying before this board, Mr. Charles Donnelly, president of the Northern Pacific Railway, said that he did not believe the pay cut would affect general business. "I can't see why prosperous industries would follow action taken by distressed railways," he said.

Mr. Donnelly disagreed with the contention of the council for the brotherhoods that the proposed reduction would reduce purchasing power. "The money saved to the railroads in wages," he said, "would get into circulation in some form."

"We did not tell the men they would get only 85 per cent of their wages," he went on. "We approached them in the same manner as in 1932, pointing out their favored position as compared with the dire straits of the management."

**\$95 Per Month**

Then the fact was brought forward that the average wage in the industry is less than \$95 a month and that section workers, according to L. E. Keller, statistician for the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, earn not more than \$47 a year! (a 15 per cent cut for these workers would bring their pay to \$295 annually).

In answer to the plea of the owners for the wage reduction, W. Jett Lauck, an economist for the unions, charged that the wage cut had been decided upon by a small group of bankers which dominated the railroad industry. He went on to describe how in organizing the New York Central Railroad, the promoter as a preliminary step, doubled the stock in his possession by a 100 per cent stock dividend without any corresponding increase in assets. On this stock, which he described as fictitious, dividends amounting to more than \$210,000,000 had been paid since 1870.

**Diverted Revenues**

"This obviously means," he continued, "that revenues to this amount—which should have been used for advances in wages and working conditions of employees, the lowering of passenger and freight rates, the payments of debts and general improvements—have been improperly diverted and distributed."

In a discussion of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, the witness said that,

with J. P. Morgan & Co. dominating its policies, "there was dissipated within ten years \$400,000,000 of the capital assets of the company."

The resources of profitable roads were used to finance this recent fantastic financial orgy. Hundreds of millions were lost and the workers of these exploited railways are now suffering and will be permanently handicapped by this wrecking—to say nothing of the hundreds of small investors who were thus "taken for a ride."

**Efforts To Balk Inquiry**

The wages and working conditions of employees on two outstanding Western railroads, (the Southern Pacific and Great Northern) have been completely ruined in recent years because the bosses of these roads gave away to their stockholders profitable income-producing assets valued at \$527,000,000.

Despite the fact that neither the fact-finding board nor the administration have shown any intention to favor the unions in this situation, the Association of American Railroads, which is the bosses' organization, has made frantic attempts to prevent the investigation from being held. The publicity such an investigation might attract would not add to the case for the owners when and if a fight develops between the railroads and the unions.

This was exposed by a counsel for the Brotherhoods in the cross-examination of Mr. Pelley, former president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, and now president of the Association. Mr. Pelley said that no investigation "can be done anyway." The counsel asked him if it was not a fact that he had tried to investigate. And answering Mr. Pelley was an emphatic "No!"

"Then," asked the counsel, "is it not a fact that you corresponded with Milton Harrison of the Securities Owners Association and that Mr. Harrison wrote you that he had 'scotched' the investigation." And answering Mr. Harrison did you write:

"I think you did a splendid job and hope that the Senator (Wheeler) stays put! Isn't that true?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Pelley.

**Other Plans**

The plans offered by various groups to save the railroads were reviewed by the board. The Brotherhoods have proposed a series of steps which would reduce competition by restricting trucks from doing long haul work, by the introduction of new, lighter equipment, a fixed rate base for freight and passenger service, restriction of stock so that at no time would more than 40 per cent of the roads' value be sold in bonds or stock, a series of consolidations, cooperation between the management and the unions.

This proposal, however, is not looked upon with any considerable degree of satisfaction by the workers who have in convention after convention gone on record for government ownership and responsibility for the roads. The unions have recently asked the Federal administration to take over the roads and guarantee the workers a minimum wage equal to the average necessary for a decent standard of living.

**VOTE LABOR!**

**For Independent Politics And a Fighting Program**

(Continued from page 1)

ranks and conduct the stubborn fight necessary for victory. A fighting labor program is indispensable. Such a program must provide for the defense of the only serious right which is left to workers in a society based upon exploitation: THE RIGHT TO EMPLOYMENT AT A LIVING WAGE.

The A.L.P. must categorically demand employment and decent living conditions for everybody.

As preliminary steps toward securing this right, the A.L.P. must fight for the following immediate demands:

- 1) **Adequate provision for relief.** New York with its great army of unemployed requires at least an annual appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 for relief and public works projects. This sum will provide a minimum income of \$1,000 a year for the million odd families whose breadwinners are out of jobs.
- 2) **Jobs in industry for the greatest possible number of workers.** This can be achieved by a reduction of working hours in industries with no reduction in pay.
- 3) **Adequate Housing.** A State Housing Authority Act for a complete clearance of slums, the infamous hovels and fire-traps for which New York is notorious. In addition to providing decent housing, it will create jobs for a category of workers particularly hard hit by the depression—the building trades.
- 4) **Opening of factories closed down as a result of the crisis.** The measures enumerated above will absorb only a portion of the unemployed. To provide jobs for millions who will never again be reabsorbed by private industry, the A.L.P. must aggressively support a long term public-works program. Within the framework of such a program, there should be included resumption of work in private enterprises shut down by their present owners, such resumption on the basis of declaring these enterprises and factories to be public utilities which are to be operated by workers' committees and exempt from any profit interest and rent charges.
- 5) **Placing the burden of the depression not on the backs of workers, but where it belongs—ON THE BOSSES.** LaGuardia's sales tax collects pennies from the poor, leaving untouched the dollars of the rich. Repeal the sales tax! Tax the rich! Over and above the demand for a taxation program which will ease the

tax burden of the workers and the small home owners, the A.L.P. must demand that all war funds be turned over for relief—for a program of WPA, public works and housing.

6) **Put an end to the gouging of the power trust and the plans of the transit companies to increase the fare.** The exorbitant gas and electric rates in New York must be reduced. The five cent fare must be maintained. This can be accomplished only by expropriating these trusts and really running them for the benefit of the masses in our city.

While we gird ourselves to fight for the foregoing program, while the trade unions continue their day to day struggles for better wages and working conditions, the reactionary vanguard of the capitalist class is not sitting idly. Boss Hague's onslaught against the workers in Jersey City is but a portent of what is coming everywhere. Anti-semitism and racial hatreds are being prepared openly as bosses' weapons to divide the ranks of the workers. At the same time, the Roosevelt government is speeding up its preparations for a war to redivide the world among the imperialist powers.

Anti-semitism, all racial persecution, fascism and war are by-products of the decaying capitalist system, arising from capitalist decay as inexorably as economic crises, unemployment and working class slavery. The struggle against fascism and war is the struggle against capitalism.

Only the working class, relying upon its own strength and its own independent organizations, in an alliance with the poor farmers and the millions brought to ruin by capitalism can wage a successful struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist society—mankind's sole safeguard against a relapse into barbarism, and the only road that leads to further progress.

Cast your vote FOR INDEPENDENT LABOR POLITICS. Work FOR A BOLD FIGHTING LABOR PROGRAM. Vote for all genuinely independent A.L.P. candidates. Write in the names of James P. Cannon for Governor and Ernest R. McKinney for regular-term senator. Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, (Section of the Fourth International)

**THE MARXIST SCHOOL WEEKLY FORUMS**  
on Sunday evenings at 8:00

OCTOBER 30—SHOULD LABOR SUPPORT THE A.L.P.  
B. J. Widick—Nat'l Labor Sec'y of S.W.P.

NOVEMBER 6—CELEBRATION OF 21st ANNIVERSARY OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION  
Max Shachtman—Editor of New Internat'l

NOVEMBER 13—A.F.L.-C.I.O. UNITY

Irving Plaza — Irving Place at 15th St.