

Anti-Semitic Pogroms Are By-Product of Capitalism

Stem From Same Roots As Lynchings of Negroes Here

By JAMES BURNHAM

The wave of shame and horror that has swept the world at the spectacle of the latest Nazi anti-Semitic bestialities gives witness once again to a depth of noble feeling that promises well for the future of mankind, whatever the darkness of the present. But shame and horror are not enough, and reaction is always awake and ready to harness the noblest feelings to its own bitter shafts. We must also understand; and if we do not understand the meaning of what is now happening, our very indignation will be turned into a further instrument of our own destruction.

Why does this monstrosity in Germany take place? What makes the rulers of Germany scourge an entire people with such animal-like ferocity, hound them in public and in private, drive them from every refuge, seek to deprive them not only of every human comfort and decency but, apparently, of life itself? Who and what are responsible?

Masked Hypocrisy
The Roosevelts and Al Smiths and Hoovers and Dorothy Thompsons, quick to exploit the popular response for their own prestige and aims, tell us that this persecution is "unbelievable" and "unprecedented in history," that it is the work of "madmen" cut off from all connection with the glories of "western civilization." When they tell us this, and use their words to justify the imperialist war that they are preparing, they lie. In reality, these Nazi persecutions are the natural and normal harvest of the social system which these pious hypocrites, the Roosevelts and Smiths and Hoovers and Thompsons, spend their days in defending. It is only a festering sore, present always and everywhere in capitalism, breaking open as disease and rotteness spread more widely throughout the whole social organism.

Capitalist-Bred
Are these persecutions truly "unbelievable" and "unprecedented"? Not in the least. All that is unprecedented is their openness and cold ruthlessness, and even these are by no means unexampled. From its beginnings capitalism has bred on the fanning of the most frightful and hideous racial and religious hatreds—the means whereby capitalism keeps its exploited slaves divided, by which it redoubles oppression of subject races, and provides scapegoats to turn away wrath from its own head.

Do we in the United States need to be reminded that in this country thirteen million Negroes live in precisely those conditions which Hitler today proposes for the Jews: in Ghettoes, in squalor and disease and poverty, deprived of adequate medical care, shut out from all the cultural institutions of the dominant race, prevented from exercising political rights, barred from all dignified or lucrative employment? Does an Englishman need to be reminded how Chamberlain today in Palestine pits Arab and Jew savagely against each other for the safety of British imperialist rule or how he sweats the natives in the gold mines of South Africa? Does a Frenchman have to be told what happens in the Sudan or in Indo-China?

Get at Roots!
The blood of the German Jews, dripping from the hands of Goebbels and Goering and their gangs of maddened sadists, drips also from the white hands of Chamberlain and Roosevelt and from the whole international association of cut-throats and murderers who sustain in life a system whose price for humanity is now measured only in a daily and continuous increase of torment and death.

Hitler launches his thugs against the Jews because, in his desperation, he has no other recourse. Perhaps the expropriation will patch up the cracks in his shattering economy. Even more, he must try to whip the German masses into insane and futile frenzy against the Jews so that they will forget their own chains and their own hunger. And on the other side of the medal the Roosevelts and Hoovers seek to turn the popular fury against the persecutions from its only genuine and effective outlet in a drive against capitalism itself, the source of the persecutions, to their own ends

An African "Homeland" For the Jewish Refugees?

New "Panacea" Put Forward by World Imperialists Full of Pitfalls—Only Solution Is "Open Doors" Right Here

By C. L. R. JAMES

Among Africans, as all over the world, there is wide-spread sympathy for the Jews and detestation of this latest brutality of the Nazis. Africans, more than most other social groups, can understand what it is that the Jews are being subjected to. They are ready to take common action against the imperialists, Fascists and "democrats" who have for generations subjected them to similar persecution in their own country. But the land situation in South and East Africa makes inevitable a wide-spread resentment among Africans at any proposal to send Jews there.

Wherever whites have been able to live in large numbers in Africa, there exists an economic, political and social situation of the most acute tension. The accepted policy is to take the best land for the whites and to segregate the Africans in areas too small for them. This is one of the means by which black labor is assured. Unable to earn a living and money for the Government tax in the restricted areas assigned to him, the African must go to the settler and seek employment at whatever terms the settler offers.

Natives Need Land
This, in Kenya for instance, is the foundation of the conflict between blacks and whites. There are less than 20,000 whites in Kenya. They cannot use all the land they have stolen. But they resist the increasing demand of over two millions African for more land.

To settle thirty or forty thousand Jews in Kenya will be for the native African almost a death-blow. He will see, he sees already, in all who support this, an enemy to his most fundamental need.

Furthermore, the social and political situation will be aggravated. The European in South or East Africa, surrounded by blacks, can maintain his position only by a regime approximating to Fascism.

Racism in Africa
There is no form of racial discrimination practiced by the Nazis against the Jews, that is not practiced by the Europeans in Kenya against the Africans. Any Jew who attempted to behave in a manner different from the ordinary English settler would forthwith be deported from the country. The economic relationship between European and African makes this social system inevitable, and European imperialism will not tolerate any individual departures from it.

The transference of Jews from Germany to Africa means the extension of the Palestine policy to Africa, the strengthening of European imperialism in Africa, with the additional crime that the emigrant Jews will be forced to occupy the position in Africa in regard to the Africans that the Nazis occupy in regard to the Jews in Germany. That is how the ordinary African will see it. He could not help seeing it otherwise.

The more politically-minded Africans have reacted already. The International African Service Bureau, a London organization, issued a statement on the deliberations of the Evian Conference in its organ *International African Opinion*. The Bureau attacked Nazism for its persecution of the Jews and for its schemes for world-wide conquest.

Jews and stated that an independent Africa would be glad to welcome Jews who would be able to contribute materially to the technical and educational development of Africans. But it opposed this attempt of European imperialism once more to solve its difficulties at the expense of the African.

Join Fight for Jews
The Bureau proposed a united front of working class organizations all over the world to agitate and bring pressure to bear on the capitalist governments of the world for the relief of the persecuted Jews. With such an organization the Bureau was ready to work and would mobilize African support for it.



C. L. R. JAMES

In the recent Munich crisis the Bureau stood in a united front with the Revolutionary Socialist League (the British section of the Fourth International), the Militant Labor League, the Independent Labour Party, etc., for the revolutionary struggle against war. The millions of Africans will rally to this policy only on the basis of their struggle against world imperialism for national independence.

Support of the imperialist policy of sending Jews to Africa would create a gulf between the potentially powerful African revolutionary movement and revolutionary socialism. It would assist the British and French imperialists who, by sending Jews to African colonies, would be able to use that, if need be, as an argument for defending these colonies against German "aggression."

Assuredly, the Jews everywhere must struggle, but they must be on guard against being used as pawns by British or French imperialism in the bloody and cynical game of imperialist rivalries. Already L'Ere Nouvelle, the paper of Daladier, the French Premier—who was until yesterday supported by the whole Popular Front of France—proposed the restriction of the Jews in the government service of France. Yesterday's

NEW YORK PARTY AROUSES MASSES ON ASYLUM ISSUE

Workers Respond To Vigorous Drive By Locals

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party—to aid the victims of Fascist persecution in Europe and especially the victims of the Nazi drive to exterminate the Jews—is gathering momentum. Meetings and demonstrations, locally and on a city-wide scale, have been held or are scheduled for the duration of this campaign. Resolutions and petitions are being circulated. Around the main slogan of "Open the Doors to the Refugees!" militant workers of all races and creeds are rallying in an enthusiastic and aggressive demand for action.

At street meetings and demonstrations in every borough of the city the response of the workers has been unmistakable.

In the Bronx, for example, 500 to 600 people gathered last Friday at Tremont and Prospect Ave. More than 100 Socialist Appeals were sold. One thousand manifestos were distributed.

Hundreds of workers on the East Side responded similarly.

In the short period of the campaign 15,000 manifestos calling upon the workers to act against the Nazi pogroms and to demand that the American government let in the refugees have been distributed.

25,000 stickers have been pasted all over the city. 10,000 copies of this penny issue of the *Socialist Appeal* are on sale. In the Garment Center, in the Bronx, on the Lower East Side workers have not only listened to our party speakers, but have themselves helped to distribute the manifestos. Attempts of the Stalinists to disrupt local placard parades and street meetings were squelched by indignant workers.

Thousands of copies of a resolution (printed elsewhere in this issue) for introduction into all unions and mass organizations have been distributed. Already this resolution, calling for the opening of the doors has been passed by a number of locals in New York City. To the Communist Party has been put the question, "What will you do for the refugees now?" "Why does not the Kremlin open the doors?"

Among the youth of the city, in clubs, in the high schools and in the colleges the campaign is being pushed by the Young People's Socialist League. Already thousands of signatures have been secured to the petition to Roosevelt. The City College unit of the American Student Union, which is controlled by the Communist Party, has joined in the call to let down the bars.

As the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party reaches its peak it will try to impress upon every one that the only way to give real aid to the refugees is to abolish all numerical quotas as well as all financial, racial and political restrictions. The success of the campaign depends upon the push of the working class and the minorities already in this country.

"democrats" in Czechoslovakia are today campaigning against the Jews.

On the contrary, mass agitation of the workers against the capitalist governments for the right of asylum to the persecuted Jews could help to draw into the struggle against capitalism millions of Africans. The stronger this agitation by the workers and oppressed colonial on a national and international scale the greater the safeguard of the minority of the Jews. The basis of the approach to the Jewish question, here, as always, is the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, or in other words, the road of the Fourth International.

THE CASE OF GRYSZPAN

By ART PREIS

A pistol shot has torn open the abcess of Fascism. Herschel Grynszpan, homeless 17-year-old Polish Jew, in a gesture of defiance and despair, shot a secretary of the Nazi embassy in Paris. This act has served as the pretext for abominable reprisals against 600,000 defenseless individuals, the whole of German Jewry. Thus, the inner poison of Fascism bursts forth to disgust the world.

WHAT IS GRYSZPAN'S FATE?

Today Herschel Grynszpan lies a pathetic and broken figure in a French prison waiting for the law to move its course to the guillotine. Starting as the central figure of a tragedy still in its opening act, Grynszpan has already become submerged under developing events of such tremendous and shocking character as to divert the world attention from his own fate.

But Herschel Grynszpan must not be forgotten. He is both a portent and a lesson. As a portent, he reflects the growing feeling amongst the masses that fascism can never be curbed by simply bowing to its deadly advance, by servility and meekness, by reliance on sentiment and indignation alone. Fascism can be destroyed only by the most unyielding and courageous resistance on the part of victims and potential victims.

NO INDIVIDUAL TERROR!

As an object lesson, however, this pitiable boy demonstrates, as never before in history, the falseness and futility of acts of individual terror as a means of fighting the oppression of a whole social system. Individual terrorist acts, striking at single representatives of an entire class, are a reflection only of weakness, disorganization, and lack of understanding of the real forces that keep political systems like Fascism in power. Indeed, individual terrorism only re-enforces those ideas which fascism itself employs to gain and hold power. Whoever thinks that by wiping out certain individuals he can cripple an entire regime thereby lends weight to the Fascist ideology, the "Leader" principle, which builds up the need for a Dictator.

FASCISM IS CAPITALISM

But fascism is not the product of the Hitlers and Mussolinis. They themselves are rather the products of fascism, the off-spring of a decaying capitalist order. It is decaying capitalism that breeds Fascism.

The "democratic" capitalists, and their agents—who are themselves prepared, when they feel the need, to push forward their own particular brands of "Fuehrers" in America, Great Britain and France—do not want the true nature of fascism exposed, because in the exposure its very roots will be traced directly into the soil of the capitalist system itself. This is the fundamental fact which Grynszpan did not understand. That is why he made a futile gesture against one individual instead of fighting politically against the system which breeds such individuals.

GRYSZPAN IS VICTIM

The real responsibility for Grynszpan's act does not lie with this half-crazed immature boy himself. In reality, it lies with the "democratic" capitalists and their agents, who raise their hands in horror at this hapless victim and are preparing to offer him as a sop to Nazi blood-

lust. For Grynszpan's individualistic action was merely the reflection of the ideas pumped into him by these very gentlemen, the very basis of whose system is in the crowning of the individual over the masses.

These scoundrels "denounce" in the same breath, and to the same degree, both Hitler and Fascism is the crime of an entire ruling class which degrades millions upon millions of Grynszpan into servile existence.

MUST NOT BE VICTIMIZED

We must not permit the spokesmen of capitalist "democracy" to portray the act of a Grynszpan in the same light as they do the acts of a Hitler. We dare not permit these gentlemen, whose own hands drip with the blood of millions of exploited workers and colonial slaves, to sanctimoniously offer the body of Grynszpan as tribute to Hitler.

Herschel Grynszpan has already paid for his folly a thousand times over—with the terrible realization of the consequences of his false method of fighting fascism. Far from aiding his people and weakening Hitlerism, which was his honest desire, his act served as the pretext for more bloody repressions. For fascism can be destroyed only by the mass revolutionary action of the workers stamping out the entire system of capitalism which breeds anti-Semitism and fascism.

His own words after his arrest attest to this realization, as well as to his just despair of any hope from the representatives of democratic capitalism. He said, "Being a Jew is no crime—I hoped President Roosevelt would take pity on us refugees—I am not a dog—I did not mean to kill—I lost my head." But Roosevelt did not take pity on the refugees. Nor did any other "democratic" leaders. So Grynszpan was driven to resist by the only means which his limited understanding could grasp.

Above all, we must realize that Hitler's actions against the Jews did not arise from Grynszpan's act. Hitler's terror campaign was already planned. It flowed from his desire to use this campaign as an outlet for the resentment of the German masses against their terrible living conditions. Grynszpan's revolver shot was merely a pretext. Inevitably, even if he had never existed, some other pretext would have served.

The tragic fate of this boy must serve as a living lesson to the Jewish people. They must no longer beg for the grace and condescending "good-wishes" of the "democratic" nations, who have not and will not willingly lift a finger for their practical aid. They must stiffen their spines! Stop crawling and cringing! Join hands with all the oppressed workers and masses of the earth to offer open resistance to fascist terrorism!

If Grynszpan dies, it will be only as another victim of the yielding to the fascist demands. The liberals and the "democrats" plan to offer his life as another appeal to insatiable fascism. But the workers must cry "Halt!" to this submission to Nazi blackmail. This is the same sort of blackmail that Hitler has been using on the Jew of the world! But the more you yield to a blackmailer, the more he demands!

Workers of all races, religions and colors! Unite against the taking of Grynszpan's life as payment for the Nazi blackmailing threats!

WORKERS PICKET NAZI CONSULATE

United Front Demonstrates Labor Strength

Shouting the slogans "Open the Doors to the Refugees!" and "Only Working Class Action Can Smash Fascism!" over 400 workers joined in a united front picket line last Saturday morning at the German Consulate in New York City in protest against the Nazi pogroms against the Jews.

The demonstration started at 10 a.m. when members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) marched into Battery Place, where the Consulate is located, and flung a picket line in front of it. Soon they were joined by members of the Socialist Party and of the Independent Labor League who participated in the united front.

Under the watchful eye of a special detail of police the picket line marched, shouting slogans, and bearing placards. Three thousand manifestos setting forth the party position on aid to the victims of Fascist terror were distributed by S.W.P. members to the crowd continually collecting, and continually shooed away by the mounted cops.

COUNCIL JOINS

A large group of reporters and cameramen from the Metropolitan press were on hand.

After the picket line had been marching for some time the Progressive Women's Council, a Stalinist-influenced organization, showed up with its own placards protesting the Nazi pogroms. Sensing the stupidity of refusing to march with the united front picket line already in action this group, after considerable hesitation, joined the line. Despite the exhortations of their leader not to shout any slogans at all many of the women could not restrict themselves to such passivity and joined in some of the shouted slogans, especially those calling upon Roosevelt to open the doors to the refugees.

Through an intermittent rain the line kept marching, adding the cry, "We fight Fascism, rain or shine!" Only after two hours of steady picketing did the line break up in an orderly fashion. Every local paper and some of the evening radio broadcasts reported this protest march.

AMERICAN FUND CALLS FOR AID

Petition lists calling upon Congress of the United States to "Open All Doors to the Refugees" are to be circulated on a national scale according to an announcement of the American Fund For Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This campaign, already begun in New York, is being conducted by the National Campaign Committee For the Right of Asylum of the above-named organization.

The Socialist Workers Party enthusiastically endorses this campaign and call on all workers to give it their support, not only by signing the petition themselves but by circulating them in their unions and other organizations. Only by reinforcing, through such means among others, an irresistible mass pressure upon Congress, can the immigration restrictions which amount to virtual exclusion of all refugees be removed, and this country, the richest in the world, become again a haven for the oppressed and persecuted workers of the world.

All contributions to cover the cost of this specific campaign, as well as contributions to the regular work of the Fund, should be sent in to the Fund at the address given above. In the months of its existence hundreds of dollars have been sent abroad to aid the most persecuted people of Europe, the militant fighters who have been carrying on an open and unrelenting struggle against Fascism from years past right up to the present and have earned thereby the hostility of every government in Europe.

Bosses Exploit Jobless Needs to Bar Nazi Victims

I OUGHT TO KNOW...

By MIKE GOLD

"... it isn't always easy to be honest. The worst moment comes when you find people whom you trusted as comrades and fellow-workers selling out to the enemy. Sometimes it is done for greed and sometimes out of confusion or fear. Often it is done merely because the deserter is tired of being broke. Always there is an elaborate mechanism of self-defense—a new "philosophy," or a new cynicism.

"But it is very painful to witness and a bit demoralizing. I have seen at first hand some scores of cases and have become accustomed to it as a human phenomenon. What I say is that it doesn't pay. The man thinks he has sold out only his brothers. But he has really sold out the best part of himself, and for a mess of pottage. And there always comes a bitter and lonely night when he wakes up and realizes it. That was the story of Judas. He too earned some "easy money" but came to a bad end. It is the universal story.

"No, I think it is better to be loyal and truthful. In the last analysis, a man has to live with himself, and even a gangster like Dutch Schultz raved on his deathbed, in the agony of a bad conscience. And even if there is no bad conscience, such people are always caught up with in time by society."—From the *Daily Worker*, Nov. 22.

The quick-change artists of capitalist democracy have slipped on another fancy dress. Back in the Palmer Red-Raid days following the last war to make the world safe for millionaires, immigration of harassed refugees from war-torn Europe was sharply curtailed. Then, the cry was: "Undesirables! Criminal elements! America for Americans!" The torrent of immigrants into the U. S., so necessary for capitalist expansion, was practically stopped for purely reactionary reasons. But, not today!

Today, you see, these same reactionaries oppose the admission of persecuted refugees from Fascism for "progressive" and "humanitarian" reasons. A few hundred thousand more people added to the 130,000,000 million already here might interfere with the right of America's unemployed to starve.

Majority in U. S.—"Refugees!"
America's unemployed millions, who for nine years have experienced the tender concern of American capitalism for their welfare, will be forgiven—if they show a less than reasonable gratitude for this sudden touching concern and label it for what it is: "WPA Chicken"—baloney!

America is the richest country on earth. Over half its population trace their ancestry in this land no further back than 1860. These "refugees" and immediate descendants of "refugees" of but a few years ago in all decency cannot deny to the oppressed victims of fascism the right of asylum which they so eagerly sought for themselves.

Crocodile Tears

As for the unemployed, who have had to fight for every relief crumb from the groaning banquet tables of the American industrialists and bankers, they must recognize that the crocodile tears now shed in their "interests" are a hypocritical display. They will not permit their persecuted brothers and fellow-workers of other lands to be hounded to their death because America's ruling class might use the refugee problem as an excuse for chiseling on the meager rations of the unemployed. The fight for asylum for the refugees is part of the fight for better conditions for the unemployed, part of the worldwide fight of the working-class to wrest from a brutal and profit-mad capitalism, both fascist and "democratic," the right to work and the right to live.

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