

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II—No. 52 Saturday, December 3, 1938

Published every week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: National Office: Algonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937, at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Stalin and Nazi Persecutions

The foul rottenness of Stalinism has been able on many, even most, occasions to cover itself with a cloak of hypocrisy and pseudo-revolutionary piety. Only occasionally does there arise some imperious issue that snatches the cloak aside and shows the world the full and unspokeable decay that lies beneath.

Never since its beginning fifteen years ago has the meaning of Stalinism been more pitilessly and shamefully revealed than today by its attitude in the face of the Nazi persecutions of the German Jews.

The Soviet Union was founded by the revolutionary workers and peasants as the first great act in the emancipation of all mankind. They built it to be the home and fatherland and hope for the future of the wretched and oppressed of the entire world.

Today Stalin has turned it into a charnel-house and prison, barred and bolted at every gate and window.

There are 700,000, a mere 700,000 Jews in Nazi Germany. The Soviet borders bound one-sixth of the land-surface of the earth, the population on the average more thinly scattered than in any other great power, with countless and unmeasured potential resources of every variety.

If what the hired apologists of the Kremlin say about the Soviet Union is true, is even one-tenth true, what conceivable barrier stands in the way of offering refuge to the German Jews within the Soviet Union? How can it possibly be explained that not a single one of the German Jews is admitted, not a single word spoken by Stalin?

This Stalin, the Stalin whose gates are double-locked against the anguished outcry of the persecuted German Jews—this is the true Stalin. This is what he has done to the Soviet Union.

It would be hypocrisy and demagoguery to raise, at this stage, the demand that the Soviet Union be opened to the refugees. The Jews need something more than a change of air from Nazi prisons and torture chambers and concentration camps—we know what has happened to the best of the refugees formerly admitted. And we know that Stalin can admit no one who might bring tidings from outside, any more than he can permit anyone to escape.

But we demand of all members of the Communist Party and of all those who perch so complacently among the branches of its peripheral organizations:

Answer this question!
Tell us, and tell yourselves: Why do not the German Jews find their infinitely needed refuge within the Soviet Union?

Mr. Backer's Backers

The late B. Charney Vladeck as minority leader of the New York City Council was at best a good reformer, a "clean government" advocate. Nevertheless through long association with the labor movement, he was probably as representative of the prevailing mood of the American Labor Party as any of its trade union leaders might have been. In a distorted way, he was labor's man on the City Council.

When Vladeck died, a controversy arose in top circles of the A.L.P. regarding his successor. The rank and file of the party was completely shut out of the deliberations. But Mayor LaGuardia turned on the steam to have a "liberal" not a labor man appointed in his place. And sad to say, the opinion of this one man—who incidentally only yesterday was a member of the Republican Party—carried more influence in choosing Vladeck's successor than the combined opinions of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists.

Mr. George Backer is the choice of the A.L.P. State Executive Committee to fill the vacancy. Who is this Backer?

Son-in-law of the late millionaire Mortimer Schiff—

President of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (employer of labor)—

Real estate mogul (landlord)—

So this man, an exploiter of labor and a landlord and a patron of the over-rich ultra-rich, is supposed to represent labor in the City Council? Something like appointing a wolf to guard the interests of the sheep.

The record of this A.L.P. leadership smells less like perfume every day. First, the dirty deal with the Republicans and Democrats. Now the

appointment of this millionaire Backer—of everything but labor.

Isn't it time that the rank and file of the A.L.P. took matters in their own hands?

Ludlow's Victory

Mr. Louis Ludlow, father of the Ludlow war referendum, won re-election as Congressman from Indiana, hands down. His Democratic fellow-campaigners went down to defeat in the Indiana Congressional contest.

Ludlow campaigned on one issue: the referendum. He staked his position in Congress on the anti-war sentiment of the Indiana voters—and that's all.

That should give a pretty good indication of where the American people stand on war. They are dead-set against it. It also reveals how little Roosevelt represents the American people in his mammoth army-navy building program and his plans for continental and world conquest.

But if Mr. Ludlow echoes the powerful anti-war feeling extant in this country, he also discloses the cunning ruses that are being used to trick the American workers and farmers out of their anti-war position and make them flag-wavers and cannon-fodder when the bugles blow.

Says Ludlow: "If I am re-elected I will vote every dollar needed for the defense of our country, but I will not vote to put our boys up against the bayonets, poison gas and the aerial bombs in any foreign war in which we have no direct interest."

"The defense of our country?" Whose country? The pecan pickers' of Texas who make a few miserable dollars a week? The strikers' massacred in Chicago's infamous Memorial Day? The Negroes lynched in the South? Or J. P. Morgan's moneybags and gold-inlaid bathtubs? Whose country shall we defend, Mr. Ludlow?

And where do the boundaries of this country end? In Chile, Brazil, South America as your much amended referendum now states? In the Philippines which Mr. Roosevelt also insists is a boundary of the U.S.?

The people who elected Ludlow don't want any war, here, Bolivia, China or anywhere else. And they don't trust Roosevelt or Congress with this fateful decision.

Let's have a referendum that expresses this sentiment—a referendum as much against Roosevelt, Ludlow and their demagogue whoops as it is against war.

A Damning Confession

The Spanish Government's persecution of the P.O.U.M. has had serious repercussions within the C.N.T. (anarchist) unions and the F.A.I. (Anarchist Iberian Federation) which leads the C.N.T. Protests in the ranks against the C.N.T.'s participation in a bourgeois coalition have until now been revealed only by oblique and obscure references in the Spanish Anarchist press.

Now, however, the protests have received a frank formulation, and it is particularly significant that it comes from D. A. Santillan, the best known theoretician of the F.A.I. Although continuing the Anarchist refusal to distinguish between a bourgeois state and a workers' state, Santillan provides a characterization of Anarchist policy in Spain which is sufficient answer to all American anarchists' attempts to apologize for the C.N.T. Writing in "Timon," F.A.I. theoretical organ, Santillan says:

"One cannot serve two masters at the same time. If we are with the people we cannot be with the State which is its enemy. Today we are with the State, which is equivalent to being against the people. For the first time in the history of Anarchism we are more attracted by the interests of the government than by those of the people. The masses, who have a healthy instinct and an intuition for the truth, are beginning to understand. They begin to feel discouraged and hopeless when they see that we, who have always offered our lives to defend their cause, have forgotten them for a paltry dish of governmental lentils.

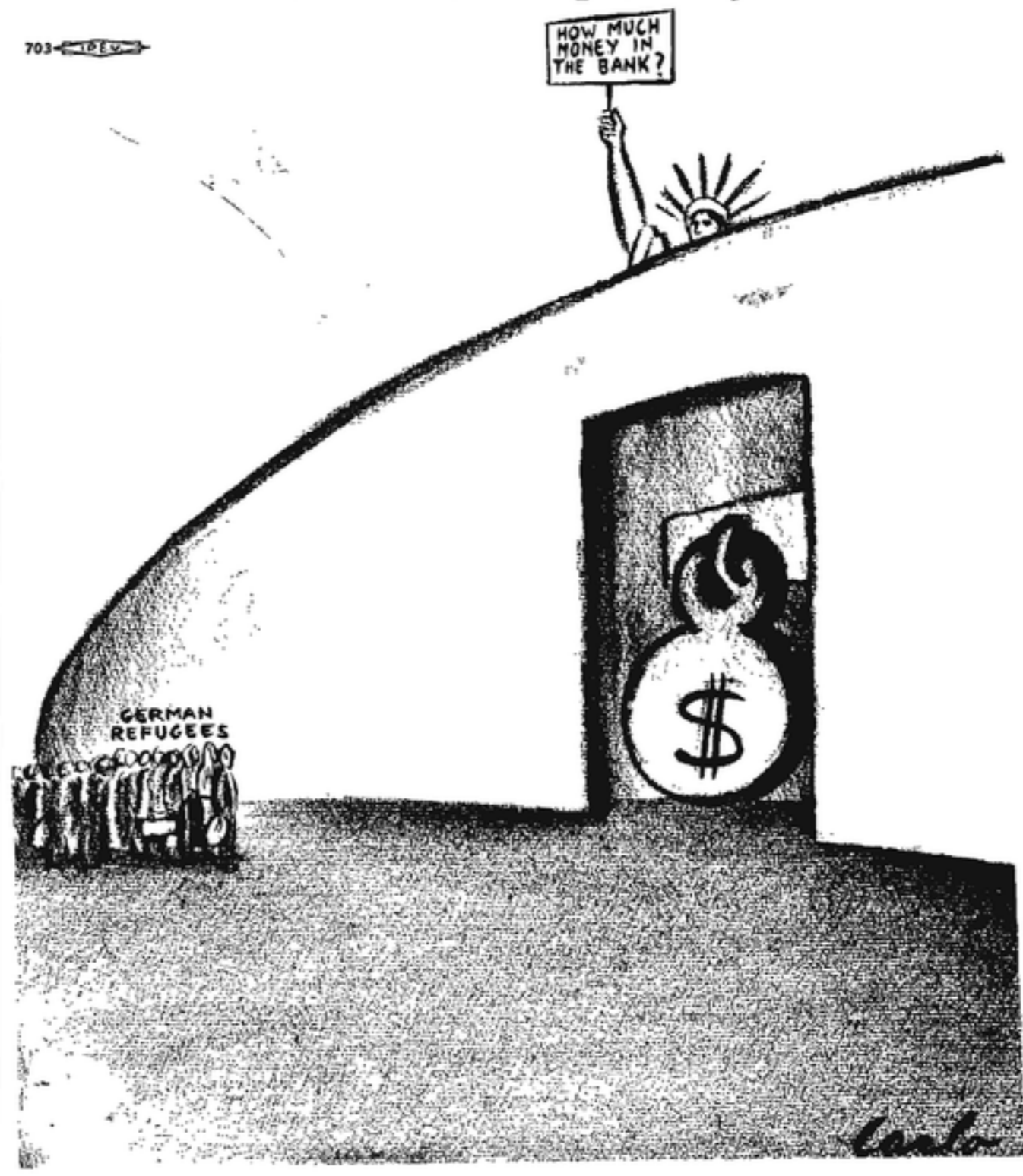
"Dear comrades, all of you undoubtedly have heard the oft repeated phrase, one which now you can no longer doubt: 'When they get to the top they're all alike!'"

"We are exactly like those who have preceded us in the high government posts. The people throw this in our face, and they are right. In order to keep these posts which can only produce decrees, new taxes, new burdens, we must necessarily fight against the interests of the masses. And if tomorrow, the people, tired of suffering, were to come out into the streets as they have done so often before, when we were on their side in their midst, we would have to massacre them. If we do not want to find ourselves in this magnificent predicament we must use all our resources to oblige the people to support in silent humiliation, hunger, injustices and outrages.

"How much longer, comrades? Can the sacrifice of our revolutionary personality lead to anything else than killing in the people all the confidence they have placed in us? They would be more than justified. When we're in the government we're all alike! That is why we insist and demand that some decision be taken. Either we are with the people or we are with the State. We have reached the conclusion that if we side with the State and therefore against the people, we commit an irreparable treachery against the revolution. That is self-evident. But we are also traitors to the war because we deprive it of the active support of the people which, if we know how to use it and all its infinite resources, is the only invincible force.

"For the future of the revolution and the ultimate fate of the war, comrades, there is, perhaps, still time. Always with the people!"

Sweet Land of Liberty



Negroes Underline Hypocrisy of U.S. Indignation Over Jews

Negro press comment throughout the country last week effectively exposed the hypocrisy of those who, while joining in expressions of horror at Hitler's crimes, are themselves involved in the crime of oppressing the Negroes in America.

Many Negro papers carried cartoons in which Uncle Sam looks across the globe in indignation at the Nazi criminals while beside Uncle Sam a lynching is taking place.

And Black America?
"We as a minority group," declares the *Chicago Defender*, "sympathize wholeheartedly with the Jewish race. We know the horrors and heartaches suffered under the heel of the oppressor." Commenting on Hearst's announced "campaign for an American crusade that will bring liberty and justice to all races," the *Defender* says: "But we are wondering whether Mr. Hearst—now with tear-stained cheeks—includes black America in his magnificent program. We have reason to doubt it if we judge from past history, and by reading the biography of Mr. Hearst."

George S. Schuyler, writing in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, sardonically points out that the only time Roosevelt has ever condemned a lynching was when two white men were lynched in San Jose, California.

Roosevelt Challenged
"Again and again his attention has been called to heartless Negroophobic treatment of Negroes seeking relief, to the ruthless discrimination against black skilled workers by the P.W.A., and to the jim-crowism rampant throughout the entire Crackerized government set-up and in no case was Roosevelt sufficiently shocked to say a mumbling word."

The discussion in the Negro press is powerful in its exposure of the hypocrisy of American government and big business, but fails to distinguish between the employing class, which fosters race hatred, and the white workers and poor farmers who are themselves actually victims of this race hatred even when they succumb to it, because thereby they are deprived of the needed alliance between white and black toilers. Controlled by the capitalist elements in the Negro community, the Negro press attacks, not capitalist America, but "white America."

Nevertheless, even in this distorted form, the voice of the oppressed Negroes rings out against his pious oppressors. The *Pittsburgh Courier* justly points out:

Our Own Pogroms
"White America pretends to be shocked by the crazy Nazi 'racial pollution' laws, but is not shocked by its own 'racial pollution' laws in almost two-thirds of its States, and its color complex everywhere which makes interracial association unsafe."

"Just the other day in Smyrna, Georgia, Negroes were hounded out of town by a bloodthirsty mob and their miserable school-house burned to the ground, and neither the President nor any of the big wigs were shocked by this

savagery. . . . Colored America will have more faith in the sincerity of white America's concern about brutality and robbery abroad, when it sees and endures less brutality and robbery right here at home."

Isolationist Reaction
Much of the Negro comment suffers from an isolationist attitude. Typical of some of the Negro commentators is this from the *New York Age*: "When our own house is in order, then and only then can we ask, advise or tell someone else to put his own in order. Until such time the United States government should stay out of other nation's affairs." The reactionary implications of this attitude flow from a failure to recognize that the salvation of all oppressed peoples throughout the world lies in an international alliance of the oppressed against their oppressors. That the United States government is hypocritical is of course true; but from this follows, not turning our backs on Europe, but unity of the oppressed everywhere against "their" governments. This is the necessary, the logical conclusion to be drawn from a survey of the American scene and the rest of the world.

As to actual description of events, the revolutionary Socialist can hardly improve on that provided by the Negro newspapers. Our quotations from the Negro press, so far, have dealt with America. Here is another comment, from the *Norfolk, Virginia, Journal and Guide*, showing the role of the British and French governments:

The Other "Democracies"
"While officials and distinguished citizens of Great Britain, France and the United States besiege Berlin and Rome with righteous protests against the persecution of Jews, the odor from the soiled linen in their own backyards smells to high Heaven."

"With a ruthlessness undisclosed by the news dispatches because of strict censorship, Great Britain is massacring Jews and Arabs. . . . a policy of complete subjugation, repulsive to civilized people, is being applied to natives in South Africa, Rhodesia, Nigeria and Kenya Colony. British soldiers and trained native troops and police were shooting down proscribed natives of British India and the Indian Provinces before Hitler was born; British marines continue to bayonet West Indian laborers whenever they dare demand an economic square deal from the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

What's To Be Done?
Yes, the description of events cannot be improved upon. But what follows, what should the oppressed Negro people do about it? All the oppressed have a single enemy: capitalism. Racial minorities, Negro, Jew, the oppressed races of Asia, the colonial peoples of both hemispheres, must unite with the working class of every country in an international alliance against the imperialist exploiters of humanity. The eloquence of the Negro press does not make up for their lack of a program. Alone, the Negro will go down under the heel of his enemies, as will the Jew. Without allies neither can survive. Who can those allies be? Can they be the white bosses of America who wield the lash over the Negroes? Obviously not. No amount of good-will agencies, trying to tie the Negroes to the "better people"—better bosses—among the whites, like the Urban League, etc., none of these will solve the Negro's problems.

There is only one other real alternative, and that is to unite with the working class and with the oppressed of every land and clime, against their world-wide oppressors. That is the program of the Socialist Revolution.

These last words were italicized by Jerome himself. By which is meant: the "mere" problem of finding immediate refuge does not interest the Stalinists.

After column upon column of this stuff, however, Jerome is still constrained to indicate some answer to the question: Why does not Stalin open the doors to the German refugees? Bewildered and embarrassed minor functionaries are giving all kinds of answers to insistent questioners. They must be given some "line." And so, amidst the repeated cries for "concerted action"—war, of course—against the fascists, Jerome gingerly drops the line, consisting of two points:

The "Line"
1. "The Soviet Union has at all times offered its territory as a haven to refugees from all the five continents."

2. "But the operation of this policy has to be understood in relation both to the international situation in the present period, and to the fundamental program of completing the construction of the classless Socialist society. . . . "One must also

Asylum in the U.S.S.R.?
Daily Worker Writes Over A Knotty Problem

Since November 10th the pogroms have been raging in Germany. In the ensuing weeks of world-wide protest, practically every country not bound up with Germany has felt impelled to make some gesture at finding a refuge for the victims. Upon analysis, these gestures turn out to be worthless, but they do, nevertheless, open the way for a serious campaign to open the doors of these countries to the refugees. Every government not allied with Germany has done so—every government but Stalin's!

Why does not the Soviet Union open its doors to the refugees? Stalin does not answer that question. The silence of the tomb surrounds the Kremlin.

But as the weeks pass, and more and more sincere workers, hitherto unquestioning followers of Stalinism, now raise this question, Stalin's henchmen outside of the U.S.S.R. are hard-put to answer this embarrassing question. So, finally, on November 28th, the *Daily Worker* publishes a lengthy "answer" by V. J. Jerome, entitled "The U.S.S.R. and the Issue of Refugees."

Jerome's Solution Is War!

Upon reading that article, however, one finds not an answer, but an evasion of the question. The main sections of Jerome's article are devoted to a whining alibi that the Soviet Union was not invited to the Evian Conference and is not being invited to a reported Five-Power meeting on the refugee question—and the bold things the Stalinist plenipotentiaries would say at this conference if they were invited.

These bold things, in sum, would be a repetition of the Stalinist line for a democratic war against fascism. In Jerome's words: "international concerted action to halt, repel, and end the aggressions of the fascist powers and thus prevent further persecutions and Diktats for mass evacuations. There is no other way."

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realize that there are those Jewish refugees who, though fleeing from fascist terror, are, in their class status and outlook, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, and, consequently, may not wish or may not be able to adjust themselves to a Socialist economy and culture. And, of course, everybody realizes that, particularly in the present period, with the second imperialist world war already raging, the greatest vigilance must be observed against the penetration of carefully planted spies and other fascist agents! Alibis for Chamberlain, F.D.R.

It is difficult to comment calmly on this swinish "line." To justify Stalin's refusal to offer refuge to the victims of Fascist persecution, the contemptible Stalinist hirelings trump up a series of excuses which can be picked up and used by the American and British capitalists to justify excluding the refugees from the rest of the world. Think of it! Jerome dares to refuse entry into the U.S.S.R. to victims of fascism because among them may be planted fascist agents! On the same ground, Roosevelt can close the door against even those refugees who could come in under the present quota.

As for the oh-so-radical argument that the Jews are "bourgeois or petty-bourgeois," the honest Communist worker should ask himself: Why cannot one-sixth of the earth, populated by 160 million people, 20 years after the Russian Revolution, "completing the construction of the classless Socialist society"—why cannot this gigantic society easily assimilate a few hundred thousand Jews? If after 20 years, a Socialist State cannot assimilate a few hundred thousand non-proletarian elements—and we are talking about penniless Jews fleeing from fascism!—that would mean that half of humanity has nothing to hope for from Socialism.

But Jerome's alibi is the merest subterfuge. Accepting it on its face value, the question still remains: Why does not Stalin open the doors to the hundreds of thousands of refugees from fascism who are workers, farmers and skilled technicians?

Alliance With Hitler
The Jerome alibi is a gross fraud. He dares not and cannot tell the real truth. For, while the Stalinist parties abroad still go on the old line of urging the democracies to make war on the fascist powers, Stalin is already preparing the new line: rapprochement with Hitler, if Hitler will only agree.

That is the explanation for Stalin's silence on the question of opening the doors of the Soviet Union to the refugees. Hitler does not approve of anyone opening the doors to the Jews, and Stalin woos Hitler.

Members of the Communist Party! You cannot believe our explanation, cannot accept it? Then ask your leaders for a more plausible explanation than that of V. J. Jerome and the *Daily Worker*!

Why does Stalin not open wide the doors of the U.S.S.R. to the refugees from fascism?

WHO OPPOSES THE OPEN DOOR?

(Continued from page 1)

and factories be used as they should be used: to provide a job and a decent living for everyone.

As to the objection that admitting the refugees will increase anti-Semitism in this country:

The truth is that fighting for and carrying through the demand to admit the refugees is today the most effective blow that could be struck against anti-Semitism. The theory that anti-Semitism is called into being by the "aggressiveness" of the Jews in pressing their demands and putting themselves forward is certainly refuted by history as thoroughly as any theory could be refuted. The Jews have indeed been as timid, fearful and passive as any living organisms could well be. And the tactic of timidity did not hinder anti-Semitism one tiny fraction in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, or in any other country.

Anti-Semitism arises out of the needs of decaying capitalism, not from the attitude of the Jews. There is no doubt that it is making headway in this country. There is no doubt that in some quarters it becomes more open in the face of the demand to admit the refugees.

But it will not retire if the Jews try to hide in the sand. It will, as reaction always does, grow stronger at the weakness of its opponents. Anti-Semitism has to be smashed; it will not be conciliated into disappearing.

And the most crushing kick that can be given to Anti-Semitism today, as it raises its ugly head on the American horizon, is to drive firmly ahead with the demand that the refugees be admitted.

In this way, reaction, which lurks behind anti-Semitism, will be prevented from consolidating; and the ranks of the genuinely progressive forces within the country, steeled by a firm and unambiguous battle, will be better prepared for the broader struggles that lie ahead.

ONCE AGAIN WHITHER FRANCE?

by LEON TROTSKY

Trotsky's analysis of the strike situation two years ago is finding swift confirmation in the stubborn struggle which the French workers are waging against the Daladier government.

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