

HOUSTON C.I.O. ASKS ASYLUM FOR GERMAN REFUGEE

Also Solidarizes With French Workers

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

HOUSTON, Texas, Dec. 2.—Houston labor today again proved that it is not only in the forefront of all Southern labor but that it ranks among the first of American trade unions in progressive action. In a splendid demonstration of international solidarity, the Harris County C.I.O. Council unanimously adopted resolutions at its meeting here today calling upon the President and Congress to open the doors of the United States to all refugees, and declaring support of the fight of the French workers and pledging every assistance possible.

The resolutions were presented by steel worker delegates and supported by representatives from the oil workers, longshoremen, clothing workers, seamen and marine engineers.

The resolutions follow: Resolution on Nazi Persecutions of Minorities

Whereas, the persecutions and the barbarous oppression of the racial and political minorities in Germany and other European countries has aroused the sympathy of almost the entire nation, and

Whereas, liberal and progressive organizations in the U.S. have voiced these sentiments, especially the Congress for Industrial Organization at the Pittsburgh convention, against Nazism and political persecution, and

Whereas, the workers of Houston heartily endorse these expressions and actions but feel it necessary to do much more than this on behalf of our brutalized and oppressed brothers and sisters of Germany and other foreign lands,

Now therefore be it resolved, by the Harris County Industrial Union Council that we call upon the President of the United States, the U.S. Congress and on the Bureau of Immigration to open the doors of this country to these people and thus make known and reaffirm the fact that our traditions of Liberty, Justice and religious and political asylum are available to these suffering unfortunate.

Copies of this resolution to be sent at once to Pres. Roosevelt, the Texas Congressmen and Senators, to the U.S. Immigration authorities and to the national offices of the C.I.O. as well as to the labor and daily press.

Resolution of Support to the French Workers

Whereas, the valiant men and women of the French working classes are waging a determined struggle in defense of their living standards and for their civil rights, and

Whereas, the efforts of the 200 families of that country are fundamentally the same as the efforts of the 80 American families to smash labor and to bring us all under the vicious heel of fascist oppression and a worsened poverty, and

Whereas, the concern of the workers and the poor farmers of other lands is the concern of the workers of Texas—an injury to one is an injury to all,

Now therefore be it resolved, that the Harris County Industrial Union Council make known its protest against the strike-breaking puppet premier and the efforts he and his class are making to destroy the labor movement in France, and

Be it further resolved, that the delegates to this C.I.O. Council declare our firm solidarity with the French workers in their heroic fight and pledge our every effort to assist them in any way possible, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to the leaders of the C.G.T. and to leaders of the C.I.O. and to the labor and daily press.

LEHIGH UNEMPLOYED SPEAK OUT

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—The Lehigh County Unemployed League of Pennsylvania last week adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, the mass persecution in Europe and the Nazi terror against the Jews demand immediate and concrete action to aid all victims,

"Therefore, we, the Lehigh County Unemployed League of Pennsylvania call upon the President and Congress of the United States to restore the right of asylum and to permit the entry of the persecuted and oppressed into this country by the immediate lifting of all restrictions and quota limitations."

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HOW SHALL WE FIGHT ANTI-SEMITISM?

By FELIX MORROW

It may be that the only thing left for us to do is to die with as much dignity and nobility as we can muster. Sometimes I think we shall end up like those Jewish communities in Poland in the Sixteenth Century, for whom there was no other way out, except to meet death steadfastly, with the words of Kiddush Hashem on their lips."

The speaker was a Jewish business man in a mid-Western commercial city. He had been discussing the virulent anti-Semitism that has been growing beneath the surface in cities like Seattle, Des Moines, Portland, Minneapolis—the typical American city outside the mass production centers. We agreed on the extent of this anti-Semitic growth. But why it was growing, why it was closer to the surface than ever before, what to do about it—on these fundamental questions my host and I were poles apart.

As my host leaned back in his easy chair, in his more than comfortable private home, his posture of gentle resignation recalled to me an incident some years ago in a Pennsylvania town. The Coal & Iron cossacks were smashing a coal strike. I had come to a liberal businessman for help in organizing aid for the miners. In our conversation my host identified himself with the oppressed strikers; but the proposals I brought from the strike committee, he rejected: visionary, impractical, etc., etc. What then? I asked. Cheerfully philosophical, he replied: "Maybe the only thing left for us is to go down underneath the reaction. The spirit of intolerance may prove too much for us."

The posture of neither businessman could really be taken seriously. Their expression of defeatism was merely their genteel way of refusing to go on the firing line. The fact was that, whatever happened to the strike, the Pennsylvania liberal would go on living, not quite as before—he was known as a friend of the miners, and smashing of the strike would cause timid associates to loosen their ties with him, might lose him some business—but still live comfortably. My Jewish host was expressing in very elegant language the simple fact that his life was far-removed from the workers and lower middle-class who made up the majority of the Jewish community and that his separation from them unconsciously led him to hope that somehow, some way, he would share only partially any fate that might befall them.

Fortunately, the Pennsylvania miners did not share my host's philosophical pessimism, and fought their way through to victory, thereby preserving one of the fortresses from which the labor movement was to advance with such giant strides in 1933. Unfortunately, however, my Jewish host's pessimism approximated the general mood of the Jewish masses.

DEFEATISM PARALYZES JEWRY

Yes, a dangerous mood of defeatism is current in American Jewry. That defeatism must be burned out at its roots, for it is paralyzing any serious and effective participation of Jewry in the fight against anti-Semitism. But to replace that defeatism by a courageous outlook requires, first, that the roots of that defeatism be understood.

Jewish workers, intellectuals, most professionals and businessmen cannot afford the luxury of upper-class philosophical pessimism. For if we fail to find a way out, on our backs will fall the whips of the Fascist thugs who, even today, are throughout America preparing for a totalitarian regime.

Certainly one basic factor creating the sense of impotence which pervades American Jewry is the fact that, unlike all other

national minorities, the Jews have no national soil under their feet anywhere. The Irish are a majority in Ireland, the Croats in Croatia, etc., but the Jews nowhere. In Palestine the 400,000 Jews are a beleaguered garrison, surrounded by some 50 million Arab-speaking Moslems of the Near East. What follows? No large section of Jewry has the conviction, intellectual or emotional, that Jewry can prevail against its enemies. A terrible fact!

Contrast the history of Jewish resistance to anti-Semitism with the history of the resistance of almost any other national minority against its oppressors, and the difference stands out in bold relief. Think of the almost numberless revolts of the Irish against Britain, a history studded with "the martyrs"—the Irish terrorists who gave vent, in this desperate and futile way, to the Irish aspirations for freedom. Think, too, of the veneration in which the Irish held "the martyrs." Woe to the Philistine who expressed disapproval of their deeds.

But among the Jews, far more persecuted than most other minorities, such martyrs have been almost non-existent. Who can recall the predecessor of Hershel Grynszpan? And how Jews speak out to defend his deed? It remained for the liberals and the labor movement to organize his defense. The argument that it is better for the Jews to remain in the background in the defense is an argument which would never occur to the Irish, Croatian, Macedonian societies which, whenever the need arises, sprang to the defense of their Grynszpans. That argument is simply another expression of the defeatism which pervades Jewry.

How to overcome the sense of isolation which underlies this defeatism? This, in essence, has been the problem of Jewry in the modern world.

Two main solutions have been proposed by Jewish leadership during the last century. The first solution pursued was assimilationism and, when that showed its limits, there arose the proposed solution of Zionism.

THE ROAD OF ASSIMILATIONISM

In the fully-developed form in which it flourished in the Nineteenth Century, the doctrine of assimilationism is no longer fashionable. Hitler has put a rude end to it! Nevertheless, it still exists, and its present half-hidden forms are actually far more repulsive than its earlier explicit form.

The fact is that assimilationism, in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, played a progressive role. The era of democracy opened up by the French Revolution found the Jews a semi-caste, pursuing the occupations to which they had been limited by medieval society and looking upon themselves as a race-nation destined to remain separated from the general community life. Capitalism, youthful, progressive, with a world to conquer, in its upward course provided hospitable room for all talents to develop; the first, progressive period of the development of the bourgeois state therefore resulted in a process of liberalism toward the Jews. For a time and in those countries in which capitalism early freed itself of feudal ties and created a modern bourgeois state, the Jew was afforded the opportunity to become, to a considerable extent, a political equal, to live where he pleased and pursue any occupation he choose. The assimilationist movement sought to utilize these new opportunities to the fullest extent.

To do so required that the Jews divest themselves of any peculiar status as Jews. Reform Judaism, born in Germany, was

the best-organized expression of this movement: "We are Germans in everything, in hopes, beliefs, language and outlook; we are merely of the Judaic religion as some Germans are Catholics, others Lutheran, etc." Such was the outlook, throughout most of the Nineteenth Century, of Western European Jewry and with it of great influxes into America from Eastern Europe. To the assimilationist leaders of the generation of 1848, the process opened up for Jewish integration into modern capitalist state-society seemed a process which would continue ever upward.

But even in those halcyon years they could not exorcise from their pleasant homes the spectre of Jewish persecution, which raged unabated in Eastern Europe, where capitalist development took place—in Russia and the Balkans, in most of the Austro-Hungarian empire—not in the democratic forms of earlier countries, but tied up with the most reactionary elements of the past. Jewish persecution in Eastern Europe was revealing, already in the Nineteenth Century, that the mere development of capitalism was not going to guarantee a continuous liberation of governmental treatment of Jewry. And in the rest of the capitalist world, too, assimilationism soon demonstrated its extreme limits. The very birthplace of assimilationism, Germany, became toward the close of the Nineteenth Century, the birthplace of modern anti-Semitism. The process of liberalization did not continue forward indefinitely. For, scarcely grown to manhood, capitalism began to decay, and with it decayed the democracy which capitalism had created in its youth.

THE DECAY OF ASSIMILATIONISM

With the first signs of decay within capitalism, the assimilationist movement began to lose its progressive character. It finally ossified into the repulsive Philistinism of the contemporary Reform Temple. No discriminating and thoughtful Jew, growing up after the generation of '48 had opened the doors to the general community and modern culture, could look upon the further fruits of assimilationism as a way of life.

What were the latter fruits of assimilationism, once it had broken down the doors of the ghetto? An assertive and noisy patriotism, a Philistine conformity to the ruling ideas and customs—that is to say, to the ideas and customs laid down by the ruling class in Western Europe and America—and the utterly meager and pseudo-Protestant religion, if one could call it a religion, of Reform Judaism.

To say, "we are Germans (or Americans, etc.) in everything" in 1848, in the lusty manhood of capitalism, meant to be for progress, for democracy, for freedom of culture. To say, "we are Germans (or Americans, etc.) in everything" in 1914 and thereafter meant to be for the imperialist war, to make jingoistic speeches and oppose radicalism, to join the Elks and Masons and the Rotary Club—in short, to become loyal vassals of the ruling powers.

Assimilationism revealed itself as assimilation to the bourgeois state. Body and soul, the assimilationists, with the Jewish bankers and industrialists at their head, had delivered themselves up to capitalist reaction.

This ugly spectacle of assimilationism is not the less repellent because, in the face of the indubitable growth of anti-Semitism, assimilationism is little defended as a rounded doctrine. No longer an ideal, assimilationism is all the more a practice. It has deep roots in the Jewish bourgeoisie's desire (and interest) to conform to the rules laid down by the bourgeoisie as a whole, and the wealthy Jews drag along in their wake a large part of the Jewish population.

Socialist Party Prepares To Liquidate Into A.L.P.

The Socialist Party in New York State will take a referendum vote on December 16-18 on a proposal submitted by the State Committee which means virtual liquidation of that party as a political organization.

The effect of this proposal, which was reported to a membership meeting on November 15 by Norman Thomas, would be the sending of the S. P. membership in a body into the American Labor Party, while a paper organization retaining the name of the Socialist Party would remain on the outside for educational purposes. The actual motion is purposely worded more ambiguously, but its meaning is plain from the discussion now going on in the ranks of the S. P.

Party Disintegrating At the membership meeting Thomas based his case, as did the speakers who followed him, on the deplorable state of the party. Discussing the S. P. debacle in the elections, Thomas complained that the S. P. vote has been going over to the A.L.P. and warned that they could not go on as they were, "with our ideas embalmed," running campaign after campaign and getting nowhere. There has also been a sharp organizational decline in the recent period. Upstate the organization has well-nigh disappeared, to the point where the projected State Convention has been given up by "combining" it with the City Convention. The three Jewish branches in the city have dwindled to one; branches are not meeting, and speakers at the membership meeting complained that members are dropping out in large numbers. The motion was presented to the membership meeting in a background of defeatism and despair.

Terms of the Deal The formal statement of the State Committee in support of its plan speaks throughout in terms of "the entry of the party into the A.L.P.," not merely of members. And by the conditions of this "entry," the S. P. will be permitted to run no independent Socialist candidates, even or rather especially in cases where the A.L.P. endorses capitalist politicians. It is an open secret that this is part of the price demanded by the A.L.P. for its deal with the

Thomas group. A second element of the deal with the A.L.P. was indicated by Thomas at the membership meeting when he stated that there was no intention of forming a Socialist "caucus" inside the A.L.P. upon entry—that is, of the S. P. exercising control over the political actions of its members. Other details of the sale of the S. P. to the A.L.P. bureaucrats are not known, since no full report on these secret negotiations has ever been made to the membership.

Thomas himself has on more than one occasion hinted at the possibility that the S. P. would transform itself into a "Socialist Educational League" inside the A.L.P. There is also a precedent in this regard: when the deep-dyed right-wingers of the Old Guard split from the Socialist Party and formed their "People's Party" in 1936, they were forced to change their organization to "Social Democratic Federation" as a condition for their entry into the A.L.P.

The "Clarity group" in the S.P., incorrigible centrists and vacillators, are, of course, supporting the State Committee's motion, "from a different point of view," as its leader, Herbert Zam, stated at the membership meeting.

Youth Oppose Deal But the city convention of the Socialist youth, meeting at about the same time, passed a resolution condemning the new proposal by an overwhelming vote.

The whole affair is being rushed through with only the barest observance of the formalities. The date for voting was set at only one month after the decision to hold the referendum was taken, and the membership received the formulated motion and accompanying statements only last Wednesday (December 7). Between this date and the termination of the vote are only nine or ten days; there are no discussion bulletins.

Another question agitating the S. P. recently has been the case of Sam Baron, official party representative to Spain last year, who recently testified before the red-baiting Dies Committee on Stalinist activities in Spain. Baron's violation of elementary class principles in collaborating

PICKETING THE NAZIS



Socialist Workers Party members and sympathizers picketing in recent united front demonstration at New York Nazi consulate to protest anti-Semitic pogroms.

with the congressional labor-haters resulted in his expulsion by the City Committee by a vote of 31-14. Peculiarly enough, almost all of the 14 were Clarity-types, while the right wing in general supported his expulsion! The reasons for this line-up are illuminating.

Baron accused the entire party leadership of suppressing his articles exposing the criminal activities of the Stalinists in Spain, the murder of P.O.U.M.-ists, etc. In one case, he pointed out to the City Committee, an article for the Socialist Call was already set up in type when the National Action Committee of the Party ordered it suppressed. The reason for this attitude, he said, was that the leadership had laid down the policy of soft-peddling all criticism of the Spanish government and of the Spanish Stalinists.

Baron said that the state of mind in which he took his story to the Dies Committee was one of desperation because the S. P. leadership had prevented him from making public through the

party the facts he had gathered in Spain as the party's representative.

The right-wingers yelled for Baron's expulsion, therefore, basically because he violated the cowardly line of the S. P. leaders. His "Clarity" defenders opposed his expulsion on the ground that this would be too harsh treatment in view of the leniency that had been shown to David Lasser and Joe Lash, two Stalinist stooges formerly in the right wing of the S. P. There were only a few delegates who knew enough to condemn the rotten principles of both the expellers and the expelled.

MARXIST SCHOOL

116 University Pl., N. Y. C. CALENDAR OF WEEKLY EVENTS Monday, Dec. 12th at 7 P.M. B. J. WIDICK—"The Trade Unions and Politics." Monday, Dec. 12th at 8:45 P.M. JACK WEBER—"The Internal Situation in the Soviet Union." Tuesday, Dec. 13th at 7 P.M. J. G. WRIGHT—"Fundamentals of Marxism." Tuesday, Dec. 13th at 8:45 P.M. JAMES BURNHAM—"The Transition Program of the Fourth International and the Slogan for the Labor Party." Admission—twenty-five cents per lecture

C. L. R. James Addresses Big Meeting in New York

NEW YORK, N. Y., Nov. 30.—A capacity crowd at Irving Plaza heard C. L. R. James, noted British author, describe the death agonies of the British Empire. Scores of New York Negroes turned out to listen to one of the outstanding lecturers of their race, in his first public appearance in the United States.

For almost an hour and a half James turned the spotlight on the hypocrisy of the British "democrats," exposing the inhuman oppression of millions of brown, black and yellow colonialists in the far-flung Empire. This oppression, James analyzed, had given rise to a seething ferment among the natives under British domination, who were awaiting only a critical moment to finish with British rule forever.

This ever-present fear has de-

termined British foreign policy in the recent period and was the fundamental explanation, James stated, for the capitulations to Mussolini, Japan and Hitler. The unity of the revolutionary movement in Great Britain with the discontented colonialists in the empire would soon crash the entire edifice of cruelty and exploitation to the ground, James concluded.

The largest part of the audience remained for almost two hours after the lecture plying James with literally dozens of questions. The high point of the discussion period was a speech by a leading representative of Indian people in this country. His speech, discussing conditions in India and objectives of the Indian nationalist movement, signified complete agreement with the remarks made by James on India and the British Empire.

One-tenth of one per cent of the nation's corporations, according to Dr. Thorp's figures, employ 12.3 per cent of the workers; at the other end of the scale, 76 per cent of employers—the "little business men" having from one to nine workers—employ a total of only 11 per cent.

Dr. Thorp's charts also indicated profoundly important shifts in the relative weight of different fields in the total of "national income." Agriculture, which in 1919-21 accounted for 14.3 per cent, in 1934-37 was reduced to 9.2 per cent. The only major rise was in the percentage allotted to "government," which was 8 per cent in 1919-21, and by 1935-37 had risen to 15.2 per cent. This revealing figure is sufficient by itself to lay bare the immense absurdity of all romantics of *laissez faire* conceptions and at the same time to express the complete inability of the "vile," "vigorous" . . . "private industry" to carry on.

Each of the three witnesses ended up with a "theory" to explain the collapse and provide a remedy. It would really be kinder to pass over the theories in silence. Dr. Lubin felt that the 54 per cent of the low income families were not getting enough money; that is, his theory was a re-statement of the fact. He said that if each of these families received even \$2.25 more a day, industry would again boom—apparently forgetting that under the profit system that \$2.25 would merely be added to the price of goods and services, leaving things exactly where they are.

INQUIRY SHOWS SYSTEM HALTED

(Continued from page 1) With this established, the Wall Street community promised full aid, and sent their specialist, Dr. Willard L. Thorp of Dun & Bradstreet, to function as a research economist for the committee. In his preliminary statement, Chairman O'Mahoney again insisted that the committee would follow "no personal, partisan or factional program": in other words, that its object was only to try to help business to find a way to increase profits, and not in the least to investigate the fundamental diseases of the profit system itself. Nevertheless, in spite of this purpose, Senator O'Mahoney cannot prevent the facts from speaking for themselves.

Economy in Decay The three first days were given over to the testimony of three witnesses: Dr. Isador Lubin, Federal Commissioner of Labor Statistics; Leon Henderson, executive secretary of the committee; and Dr. Thorp. The mass of statistics and charts presented by each of the three united in painting a single picture: that of an economy which, after advancing fitfully and jerkily up to the year 1929, has since that date collapsed into a state of decay from which there is no chance of arousing it.

"No observer can overlook it," said witness Henderson, "nor believe other than that as things now stand our growth has stopped."

Dr. Lubin discussed the problem of "national income," a term which changes its meaning with each speaker, but which apparently refers most of the time to the total price value of the national output of goods and services. He showed that, taking 1929 as a norm (during which year there was still a completely inadequate standard of living for a good half of the population), there had been during the past nine years a total drop of \$133 billions in national income, which figure would rise to \$225 billions if calculated on the price levels of each year involved instead of the 1929 price level.

This colossal sum, translated into human terms, represents the misery, hunger and starvation by which the people of the country are paying for the continuance of capitalism.

Incomes Under \$1250 Dr. Lubin showed that 54 per cent of the families of the country are receiving total family incomes, from all sources, of less than \$1,250, and that only 13 per cent receive more than \$2,500. He also related the low incomes to the inability to buy even those foods necessary to health.

Dr. Thorp, though anxious as direct spokesman for Wall Street to obscure the problem of control of U.S. economy, and to this end denying that many monopolies exist in this country in the sense of a single company monopolizing an entire field, had, however, to make clear how a small group of giant corporations, integrated through trade agreements, dominate nearly every line of production. A single company controls the entire output of aluminum; three companies, 86 per cent of automobiles; three companies, 90 per cent of the can industry; four companies, 78 per cent of copper; three companies, 60.5 per cent of steel; two companies, 47 per cent of beef products; etc. All of these companies, though Dr. Thorp omitted mention of the fact, are of course themselves controlled through the great banking houses.

The Big Employers One-tenth of one per cent of the nation's corporations, according to Dr. Thorp's figures, employ 12.3 per cent of the workers; at the other end of the scale, 76 per cent of employers—the "little business men" having from one to nine workers—employ a total of only 11 per cent.

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