

Refugee Campaign—Tasks for All

- 1. Circulate for signatures the petitions, calling on Congress to open the doors of America to the refugees. Any number of petitions can be obtained upon request from the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
2. Provide aid for the refugees by selling American Fund stamps. Every dollar counts! Arrange affairs, house-parties, etc., for the benefit of the refugees.
3. Introduce into your trade union, fraternal organization, club, etc., the model resolution (published in the December 3rd APPEAL) calling on Congress to open the doors. Send news of any action to the SOCIALIST APPEAL.
4. Arrange meetings on the subject of how to help the refugees and fight anti-Semitism. Expose Stalinist sabotage of the refugee campaign.

300,000 Refugees Seek Entry Here; Storm Consulates

(Continued from page 1)

ers Union Local 544 of Minneapolis, the Teachers Union of New York, Local 10 of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Harris County (Houston), Texas, C.I.O. Council, the Headquarters Branch of the West Coast Marine Firemen, the Lehigh County Unemployed League, and the Essex County Workers Alliance.

for them. Opening the doors of America to the refugees remains the key to saving the refugees.

As militant labor and other proponents of aiding the refugees prepare for the fight to secure Congressional action, the various capitalist groups prepare to keep the refugees in Hitler's prison-house.

Reactionary Legion Stand

Using the Dies Committee as a sounding-board, Stephen F. Chadwick, National Commander of the Legion, declared to that House committee:

"Much as we, as Americans, sympathize with persecuted minorities in other nations, it is the considered thought of the American Legion that proposals to make this country an asylum for any or all political and religious refugees throughout the world are inimical to the welfare of the United States."

The American Legion, which adopted a vicious anti-labor program at its last convention, is being a little more blunt than other capitalist agencies. They will all, however, fight against any Congressional action to admit the refugees. Only the labor movement, if aroused in time by the militant vanguard, will back the fight to admit the refugees. Action is needed!

In every union hall, in every other organization friendly to labor and the democratic right of asylum! A torrent of telegrams and resolutions from organizations taking action must pour in on the Congressmen and Senators between now and the opening of the session. Every meeting held on the refugee issue should send its demands to the congressional representatives of that locality. Add to the mounting pile of petitions which will be presented to Congress when it convenes. Action is what counts now!

Plans for mass meetings on the refugee issue from coast to coast are getting under way. First reports included: Chicago: Two outdoor mass meetings, attended by several hundred, on the University of Chicago campus.

New Haven: A mass meeting at Fraternal Hall in New Haven on Monday night, under the auspices of the local branch of the American Fund, with Dwight MacDonald, editor of Partisan Review, Frank Trainor, C.I.O. steel organizer, and Jacob Belford, New Haven attorney, as speakers.

Toledo: C.I.O. Industrial Union Council, composed of 35 unions, call on Roosevelt and the State Department to lift all restrictions and quota limitations to enable refugees to come in. The resolution was introduced by the delegates from Local 29, United Office and Professional Workers of America, which had previously adopted it.

Boston: A membership meeting of the C.I.O. United Office and Professional Workers Union this week unanimously passed a resolution for abrogation of all restrictions on refugee immigration, after a Stalinist attempt to table the motion was defeated.

Plentywood, Montana: Federal Labor Union No. 21760 directed a resolution to Montana congressmen, declaring the "steps so far taken by political representatives are nothing more than pious protestations," and "that we demand of our representatives in Congress that they remove all immigration restrictions and open the doors of this country to the victims of Hitler's atrocities."

Cleveland: A mass meeting on December 9th at the Workmen's Center, auspices of Local Cleveland of the Socialist Workers Party, around the slogan: "Enough Pious Tears! Admit the Refugees!"

Bronx, N. Y.: Parents Association of Public School 25, meeting last week, telegraphed Roosevelt, calling "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."

Hitler Demands Ransom This preliminary trickle of activity must grow into a torrent if the refugees are to be saved. On Tuesday afternoon, the capitalist press gave eight column banners to a story, "Hitler Modifies Drive Against Jews," but upon examination it merely turns out to be a further move by Hitler to force American Jews to pay ransom for German Jewry. So long as the doors of America remain shut to the refugees, little can be done

for them. Opening the doors of America to the refugees remains the key to saving the refugees. As militant labor and other proponents of aiding the refugees prepare for the fight to secure Congressional action, the various capitalist groups prepare to keep the refugees in Hitler's prison-house.

Reactionary Legion Stand Using the Dies Committee as a sounding-board, Stephen F. Chadwick, National Commander of the Legion, declared to that House committee:

"Much as we, as Americans, sympathize with persecuted minorities in other nations, it is the considered thought of the American Legion that proposals to make this country an asylum for any or all political and religious refugees throughout the world are inimical to the welfare of the United States."

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

BLIND ALLEYS FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE

THE END OF THE ASSIMILATIONIST ROAD

The meaning of assimilation, of identification with the bourgeois state, is clear. If bourgeois German Jewry were not bestially persecuted by Hitler, it would have to join him. However reluctantly and squalidly, in his bestial persecution of the German labor movement. Until yesterday anti-Semitism was not part of the fascist apparatus of Italy; and until yesterday Jewish diplomats, generals, financiers and industrialists, were members of the Fascist party of Italy; a Jewish general led one of Mussolini's armies against Loyalist Spain! In British South Africa, Jews are part of the white community which exploits the black natives and in innumerable humiliating ways maintains a system of racial superiority. As a matter of fact, one need go no further than the American South to see the same phenomenon of Jews Jim-crowding Negroes.

Quite apart from anti-Semitism, therefore, the Jew must take his place: either with the persecutors or join with the persecuted in the struggle for liberation. There is no third category in modern capitalist society, whether fascist or democratic! Such is the structure of rotting capitalist society.

THE ROAD OF ZIONISM

Theodore Herzl, founder of Zionism, typifies the leadership of that movement: disappointed assimilationists seeking their own (bourgeois) nation at a time when the productive forces of the world are strangling within the confining national boundaries.

But we, as revolutionary socialists, precisely because we are internationalists, stand for the unconditional freedom of every people. If only a small segment of Jewry, if only a million Jews, desired a Jewish Homeland, they would have the right to establish it. But under what conditions and by what methods can a Jewish Homeland be established? We declare categorically that it is only possible in a Socialist world.

For the Jews are not only dispersed and have no national state; the same is, in essence, true of the Irish, for every Irish nationalist knows that the government of "Eire" is a puppet of British imperialism. But the inhabitants of Ireland are Irish, while the inhabitants of Palestine are predominantly Arabs.

Under what conditions, then, can one envisage a Jewish Palestine? Obviously only two: (1) By agreement with the Arabs, who inhabit not only Palestine but the Near East; or (2) by driving the Arabs out of Palestine with fire and sword. There is no third real alternative. An ostensible third alternative, the proposal that Jews enter Palestine in such numbers that they will constitute the majority in the country, is merely a variation of either (1) or (2) for it means Jewish domination of Palestine.

The actual course followed by the Zionists has been a futile attempt to avoid these plain alternatives. The leaders of the Histadruth (Federation of Trade Unions) understood quite well in the early post-war years that to reach an agreement with the Arabs meant to unite the Arab peasants and workers with the Jewish agricultural and industrial workers against their oppressors, the Jewish and Arab bourgeoisie and landlords and the British overlords, the "mandate power." But the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund were dominated by the Jewish capitalists, especially the American-Jewish capitalists—incidentally, dominated by the non-Zionist Jewish capitalists and financiers, who looked upon Palestine as merely one form of Jewish charity. The Histadruth adopted regulations providing for Arab-Jewish labor unions; but it remained a platonic gesture, for the Zionist leadership feared to antagonize those who held the purse strings. They

feared, too, a collision with the mandate power, Great Britain, which of course would have understood that Arab-Jewish labor unions would be a revolutionary force endangering imperialist hegemony in the Near East. They took the road of opportunism: class-collaboration with their own capitalists and with Britain.

While the Irish nationalists denounce collaboration with Britain as treason to Irish freedom, Ben-Gurion, head of the Histadruth, denounces opposition to collaboration with Britain as treason to Zionism. The result? Britain has been enabled to pit Jew and Arab against each other. The British have been helped in this by Zionists of every hue, including the "Socialists." It is enough to recall the shameful slogan, "Conquer Jewish Work," i.e., get the jobs for the Jews, which has thrown the Arab workers and peasants into the arms of their bourgeois-feudal leaders who, for their own reasons, are irreconcilably opposed to Jewish expansion in Palestine. The Jewish Fascists, Jabotinsky's Revisionists, are at least realistic when they draw the conclusion that the way to establish a Jewish state is to demonstrate their usefulness and indispensability to British imperialism and thereby secure a free hand to drive the Arabs out by armed force. Without British bayonets, the Jews today would be driven out of Palestine by the Arabs. Jewish colonization in Palestine continues only thanks to British imperialism.

THE PRICE WE PAY FOR ZIONISM

This is understood, and resented, by the other nations oppressed by British might. When Mahatma Gandhi, after solidarizing himself with the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution, goes on to speak bitterly of the Jews being imposed on the Arabs, he is undoubtedly expressing the feelings of the Hindu people. Leaders of the black peoples oppressed by Britain have expressed themselves similarly. When these people, the natural allies of the Jews—and who moreover understand their common cause with the Jews—speak out against Zionism in Palestine, every Jew should take heed.

And to what end do the Zionists thus endanger the friendship of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa for the Jews? Is it not clear that no matter how servile the Zionist movement will be to Britain it will not receive in return the right of unrestricted immigration into Palestine? That is excluded in advance. British imperialism weighs in the balance: 400,000 Jews in Palestine, backed by some part of the 16 million Jews of the world—against 50 million Arab-speaking Moslems backed by the whole Moslem world! Let the Arabs seek freedom from Britain, the British ruling class diverts them from that path by preoccupying the Arabs with the Jewish problem. The Jew thus serves Britain as scapegoat in the Near East, as he serves Hitler and Mussolini and the Polish and Rumanian gangster-rulers as scapegoat in Europe. But in return for the collaboration of the most powerful Arab landlords and capitalists, Britain keeps a sharp rein on the influx of Jews into Palestine and never, under British imperialism, will the Jews be freed from that rein. In return for this mess of pottage, shall world Jewry lose the friendship and potential alliance with the peoples of Asia and Africa, the colonial peoples everywhere, the oppressed of the earth? No, it is too high a price to pay when the only result is perpetual civil-war in Palestine in which a small segment of Jewry faces the Arab masses.

In any event, it is abundantly clear, the salvation of most of the sixteen million Jews of the world cannot be sought in Palestine. Not even the Zionists contend that Palestine under the British Empire can absorb more than a small part of Jewry. We must look elsewhere than in Zionism for the solution.

Why Does Stalin Keep Jews Out of Soviet Union?

"Stalin On Anti-Semitism"

Such is the title over the editorial column in the Daily Worker of December 12. At last Stalin speaks out—but it turns out that, instead of a statement by Stalin on the present onslaught against German Jewry, there is palmed off on us a statement by Stalin made on January 12, 1931!

It would be screamingly ludicrous, if it were not so unutterably tragic, that the leader of the Soviet Union has to be quoted on this burning question by reference to a statement nearly eight years old. Why does Stalin not provide his world-wide press with a statement made directly with reference to the present situation? Why not a word about today's persecution of Jewry in Germany, and particularly why no word offering asylum to the refugees?

Stalin remains silent as the tomb. To cover up his silence, V. J. Jerome and Harry Gannes have sought to provide alibis in the Daily Worker. Jerome's lame explanations have already been dealt with, in the Socialist Appeal of December 3. Gannes' apology deserves separate comment.

Gannes' Version

In his column in the Daily Worker of November 18th, Gannes offered a series of explanations that are in reality effective accusations against the Soviet bureaucracy. According to Gannes, the fault for the failure of the Soviet Union to speak out lies primarily with the British Tories. Why and how? Because they were responsible for not inviting the Soviet Union to the Evian conference last summer and will prevent an invitation to future conferences dealing with the problem of the refugees, thus "barring the U.S.S.R. from making its enormous contribution to the consideration of the refugee question."

And What Then?

Exactly how, however, the mere inclusion of the Soviet Union in any conference would be able to solve the problem is not made clear by the apologist for the Soviet bureaucrats. Can it be that Stalin has a plan which he is ready to spring at a conference? Why wait for an invitation to a conference? The world press will certainly print any plan offered by Stalin through Litvinov. And if that plan includes an offer of the Soviet Union to assume responsibility for a proportionate share of the refugees, why is it necessary to have it presented only at a conference? Will Gannes rise to explain?

How simple it would be to show up the hypocrisy of the capitalist world by presenting a feasible plan and actually offering to assume responsibility for carrying it out!

Allib Ike

Valiantly Gannes proceeds to explain why the Soviet Union is unable to act alone and why it must therefore wait for an invitation to a conference. Reason number one: To have the Soviet Union "isolatedly attempt to grant asylum to the Jewish victims of Nazi barbarism" would be to prove Hitler's contention that the Jewish people are Communists. To save the Jews from such a horrible accusation the Soviet leaders are willing to let them suffer the tortures of hell in Nazi Germany. Incidentally, that reason could also apply to the capitalist democracies since in the eyes of Hitler these also are controlled by Jews.

Since when must leaders of the working class fail to do that which is correct and necessary because the enemy will make accusations? Or must the Jews be saved from becoming Communists in order to prove that Hitler is a liar?

Gannes continues. The Soviet Union is not in a position by itself "successfully to undertake so gigantic a problem as that of the

Jewish refugees." Assuming that to find refuge for 500,000 Jews would be impossible for the Soviet Union in spite of its enormous territory and resources, what is there to prevent its leaders from offering asylum to part of that number, say a hundred thousand or even fifty thousand? What is there to prevent the Soviet leaders from stating that they will assume responsibility commensurate with their ability to offer asylum? What would stir the imagination of the Jewish people, of the workers throughout the world, and liberal opinion, more than a simple honest statement that the Soviet Union is ready to assume its share of the burden?

The Jews Too

Not only are the British Tories to blame, Gannes continues, but the Jews also must assume part of the blame because "no leading Jewish organization has requested of the U.S.S.R. that the growing number of Jewish refugees be permitted to emigrate to the Land of Socialism." We humbly remind Mr. Gannes that if his other reasons have any validity, the fact that a Jewish organization did or did not ask permission is immaterial. Because even if it did ask, it would have to be refused. Simple workers, by the way, would hardly think that the Land of Socialism should insist upon a formal request in order to save thousands of lives.

As a final reason, Gannes suggests that the "present refugees are middle class Jews who seek asylum preferably in countries where they can continue their accustomed ways of life. Would they be ready to accept Socialism and participate in its building?"

Naturally, in offering asylum to middle class elements the Soviet Union would be justified in protecting its economic and political system. It could make it a condition that the refugees come and do whatever work is available to help build a new society. A proletarian state of 175 million people can have no fear of a few hundred thousand middle class elements.

A Hinted Truth

In presenting his final reason Gannes, without knowing it, suggests a picture of the true situation. No Jewish organization asks for asylum in the Soviet Union because in actuality it would mean taking thousands of people out of one hell to dump them into another hell. It would mean that all the independent, thinking elements would be sent to Stalin's jails and concentration camps. The jails are not anxious to invite and the prospective prisoners are not anxious to enter the "Land of Socialism."

Stalin's failure to offer asylum to the German refugees is another blow that he has struck at the idea of socialism. A workers' state that is not degenerated, that would have a leadership of revolutionary Marxists anxious to serve the interests of socialism and humanity, would have seized this opportunity to proclaim to the world its readiness to offer asylum, within its limitations, to the political and racial subjects of persecution. A degenerated workers' state under the leadership of a corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy is fearful, among other things, lest the admission of "foreigners" would increase the elements hostile to it.

Was it not found necessary by Stalin to jail and kill innumerable Hungarian, German, Finnish, Italian communists who escaped from their own tyrants only to find themselves under a tyranny just as bad if not worse than the one from which they escaped? Not until the Stalinist bureaucracy is removed will the Soviet Union become a haven of refuge for those who are oppressed and persecuted for their racial origin or their political activities.

Yezhov Following Yagoda To G.P.U. Resting Place

Nikolai I. Yezhov, the blood-stained head of Stalin's G.P.U., has been liquidated by his boss. More exactly, the first big step in his liquidation has been taken. He has been removed from his post at the head of the Secret Police and allowed for the time being to retain the minor position of Commissar of Water Transport.

In accordance with the system developed in the endless series of Stalinist purges, the removal is equivalent to pronouncing the death sentence upon Yezhov—the same death sentence which he himself pronounced against thousands of Stalin's real and alleged, actual and potential adversaries. The Daily Worker of November 10 tries to explain away the news as merely a trivial commonplace of no particular significance.

Just a Simple Fact "In declining health because the Trotskyist spies attempted to poison him, Yezhov found it necessary to give up one of his two posts, the other being People's Commissar of Water Transport which he still retains. Simple fact, isn't it? But hardly subject to distortion! But look what the press did to it!"

A simple fact indeed for Stalinist Russia! The "voluntary resignation" of Yezhov hasn't fooled a single newspaper anywhere in the world—not even the Daily Worker, which doesn't write according to its beliefs but merely according to the orders of the day which it receives from the Kremlin.

Even little children are beginning to understand—grownups have understood it for years—that "voluntary resignation" is one of the principal methods by which Stalin begins to wipe out his collaborators. Literally scores of prominent Soviet officials have begun their toboggan slide down to the murder-cells of the G.P.U. by "resigning" an eminent position and being allowed to keep a secondary post for a little while, or else by being demoted to a minor post—halfway-house to imprisonment or execution. It is a dead certainty that the same fate awaits Yezhov the man to have around. That is

CANNON, JAMES SPEAK ON FRANCE

NEW YORK—Before a capacity audience in Irving Plaza last Friday night, C. L. R. James, noted British writer, and James P. Cannon, Nat'l Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke on the recent events in France and gave a brilliant analysis of the political conflicts underlying them.

James outlined the ebb and flow of the struggle between the militant workers of France and the Fascist reaction since the days of the street fighting of February, 1934. Clearly, unanswerably he showed that at all times the militancy of the workers has been ready to break out into open conflict against the bosses. It has been held in check only through the traitorous policies of the Popular Front, through the class-collaboration methods of the trade union leadership and the open social-patriotic line of the French Communist Party.

He pointed out that the last general strike was forced on the "leaders" by the rank and file just as had been the magnificent sit-down strikes of June, 1936 and the Clichy demonstration of 2,000,000 workers that same summer.

This time, only even more strongly than before, the action was resisted by the trade-union leadership and sabotaged by the Communist Party, which was as anxious as Daladier not to "endanger the defense of France" by a slowing down of production in the factories.

Solidarity for France "It is the privilege and the duty of every class-conscious worker, of every anti-fascist to give all possible support to the fighting French workers," Cannon declared following James. "The battle against Fascism is taking place today in France. In America, as everywhere else, the fate of the working class is bound up inseparably with the course of the struggle now being begun in France. We must rally to the side of our valiant comrades abroad around the slogan 'Workers' Committees of Action in Every Factory, Town and Industry—On to the Workers' and Peasants' Government! A workers' victory in France is the best safeguard against Fascism in America!"

Blackwell Coming To Trial, State Dep't Is Informed

Word has just been received from the State Department in Washington that Russell Negrete Blackwell, American anti-fascist militant, jailed in Loyalist Spain, will be brought to trial soon.

Previous reports from the American Charge d'Affaires in Spain have indicated that the Minister of State was disposed to favor the immediate release of Blackwell without trial. According to the State Department, it now appears that "such action has met with the opposition of the judicial authorities."

The State Department's communication asserts that Minister of Justice Pena informed them that when the sentence is known, consideration will be given to the possibility of releasing Blackwell in care of the American consular representatives. This statement appears to assume a conviction before trial.

ment had been previously informed that Blackwell was being held as "a dangerous revolutionary." However, the C.N.T. (Spanish anarchist union federation), wrote its American representative they were informed by the Military Investigation Service in Spain that Blackwell was formerly secretary to Leon Trotsky and an American spy. The Stalinist press has, at various times, accused him of being a Franco, German, and Italian espionage agent.

The fact that Blackwell's name was mentioned in the recent trial of P.O.U.M. leaders which resulted in convictions of eleven and fifteen years indicates the seriousness of his case. The Russell Negrete Blackwell Defense Committee, which has been working to secure his release, is planning a series of actions to guarantee him a fair trial and mobilize working class support in his behalf.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—29 workers of the West Mfg. Corp. a dress factory here, signed a petition calling upon the federal government to open the doors of the United States to refugee victims of Nazi terror.