

Branches: Mobilize for the Twice-Weekly Campaign!

STORY ON PAGE TWO

All War Funds To the Unemployed!

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

Open the Doors To Europe's Refugees!

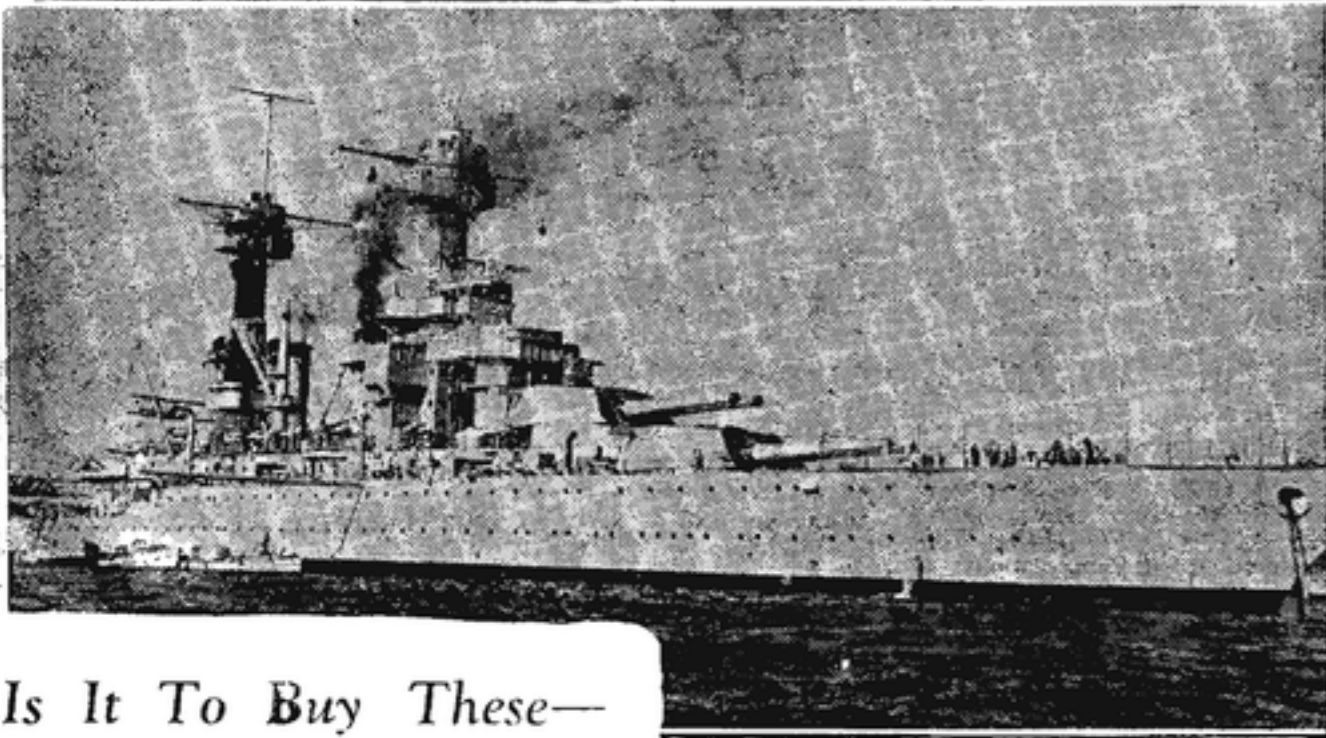
VOL. II—No. 55

Saturday, December 24, 1938

375

5¢ per copy

BREAD! NOT BATTLESHIPS!



Is It To Buy These—

Labor Can Force Congressional Action To Admit Refugees Here

SCORE BOARD

The total this week is \$619.95 for the twice-weekly Appeal. Toledo Branch still heads the list, with Detroit a close second. This week's mail was heavy with letters of enthusiasm, plans and some cash, but not enough to send the barometer shooting up. How about those points with zeros next to them? What are you doing to wipe them out? Let us hear from you.

Readers, sympathizers and friends of the Socialist Appeal sent in a total of \$10 during the past week. We hope for a more active participation in our drive from this group.

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Toledo, Ohio	\$ 20.00	\$ 20.00	100
Marston Mills, Mass.	5.00	5.00	100
Detroit	25.00	15.00	60
Oakland, Calif.	15.00	5.50	35
Fresno, Calif.	5.00	2.50	50
Newark, N. J.	100.00	41.25	41
Durham, N. H.	5.00	2.00	40
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	2.00	40
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	5.50	38
New York City	1,050.00	367.50	35
Boston, Mass.	200.00	62.75	31
San Francisco	50.00	15.00	30
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	14.00	28
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	5.50	22
Yellow Springs	5.00	1.00	20
Chicago	250.00	50.00	20
St. Paul	100.00	15.00	15
St. Louis	10.00	1.50	15
Kansas	10.00	1.00	10
St. Louis, Mo.	75.00	6.00	8
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Cleveland	200.00	0	0
Los Angeles	200.00	0	0
Akron, Ohio	75.00	0	0
Philadelphia	50.00	0	0
Youngstown, Ohio	50.00	0	0
Allentown, Pa.	25.00	0	0
Austin, Minn.	25.00	0	0
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	0	0
New Haven	20.00	0	0
Washington, D. C.	20.00	0	0
San Diego, Cal.	15.00	0	0
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	0	0
East Chicago, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Gardner, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Joplin, Mo.	10.00	0	0
Hannas City, Mo.	10.00	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Louisville, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Olivia, Minn.	10.00	0	0
Plentywood, Mont.	10.00	0	0
Reading, Pa.	10.00	0	0
Sacramento, Cal.	10.00	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	0	0
Worcester, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	0	0
Fitchburg, Mass.	5.00	0	0
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0
Thermopolis, Wyo.	5.00	0	0

Decision on Asylum Really Rests With Unions

ACTION IMPERATIVE

Will Congress, convening in January, take any steps to aid the victims of Nazi persecution? The answer to this question lies, not in the halls of Congress, but in the hands of the labor movement. If the labor movement permits it, Congress will plausibly express its horror against pogroms and utilize indignation against Hitler to justify the gigantic armament program scheduled for adoption by a united front of Roosevelt and the Republicans.

If, however, the labor movement speaks out for next aid to the victims, then Congress can be made to open the doors to the refugees.

Many unions and other labor and fraternal organizations have adopted resolutions for rescinding all quota and financial restrictions on immigration and have forwarded these demands to their local congressmen and senators—a list of these actions was published in last week's Appeal—but more widespread action is needed if Congress is to be impelled to act.

The Propaganda Committee of (Continued on Page 3)

U.S. FIGHTS FOR WALL ST. RIGHTS AT LIMA PARLEY

Quashes Proposals Aimed At U.S. Investors

Scoring its first and probably only important victory at the Eighth Pan-American Conference now being held in Lima, Peru, the United States delegation smashed the movement at the conference for a strong resolution against intervention into Latin American countries on behalf of foreign investors. The Sub-committee in charge of this question voted Saturday to table the question for another five years.

Several Latin American countries would like to have gotten a ruling through the conference denying diplomatic protection of "foreign investors and supporting the famous "Calvo Doctrine." This doctrine holds that countries must recognize as valid contracts which stipulate that foreign investors waive all privileges of diplomatic protection of their in-

(Continued on Page 3)

A Program for the Unemployed

With national elections out of the way for another two years, the New Deal has begun its head-on drive against the unemployed.

During the months following the November Election, 125,000 were cut from the WPA rolls in the face of the fact that in this same period employment in industry decreased substantially. Far more drastic cuts, publicly announced, were temporarily withdrawn only because of the resistance or threat of resistance from the unemployed workers.

More stringent "means tests" are serving as a device to throw workers off the rolls into the cold and hunger of the Winter season. Plans are already completed for Congress to strip all types of relief appropriations to the bone.

The unemployed of this country now confront the most terrible prospect of their history: not merely insecurity, but literal starvation, cold, disease, death.

Only bold, sharp, uncompromising struggle can change this prospect.

The unemployed must understand first of all that they enter this period of struggle with no general organization of their own which can serve as an effective instrument in their fight. The Workers Alliance of America, which pretends to speak for the unemployed, is wholly useless.

To begin with, the W.A.A. has a negligible membership in comparison with the more than 13,000,000 unemployed. It is only a hollow shell, utilized by the Stalinists as their puppet spokesman.

But the Workers Alliance has degenerated above all because of its policy, a policy diametrically opposed to the interests of the unemployed. As controlled by its Stalinist directors, the W.A.A. is not a union of and for the unemployed but a political adjunct of the Roosevelt regime.

A union in industry whose policy was to praise and support the program of the boss would be known by every worker as no genuine trade union but a company union.

The boss for the unemployed is the Federal Government. An unemployed organization, therefore, which spends its time supporting and praising the Federal Government and its leaders is not a genuine union of the unemployed, but a company union. This is the status of the W.A.A.

To meet the problems ahead, therefore, the unemployed must break with the remnants of the W.A.A. and build new, fighting organizations which can really serve them and not the bosses and the bosses' government.

Wherever possible these new organizations must be made an integral part of the trade union movement, as has occurred in Minneapolis through the initiative of the Teamsters, in Detroit through the U.A.W., and is now proposed in Cleveland by the U.A.W.

But organizations without an adequate program will be useless. A program to get anywhere now must break with all timidity and polite requests for a dollar or two more a week. It must pose a set of demands which can rally the masses of the unemployed and answer their most burning needs. A very minimum for the immediate present must include:

1. Recognition that the boss of the unemployed is the government and that the unemployed can win their demands only by wresting them out of the government.
2. Primary dependence for results on mass action, on sit-ins, strikes, demonstrations, instead of on parliamentary maneuvers which when divorced from mass action yield nothing but soft soap.
3. Immediate expansion of the WPA to take care of every otherwise unemployed worker at trade union wages.
4. The immediate enactment of a \$20,000,000,000 Public Works Program, featuring especially low-rental housing.
5. In order to increase at once the number of jobs available in industry proper: joining with the trade unions to demand the immediate institution of a maximum 30-hour week throughout industry at no reduction in weekly pay. Both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. are on record for the 30-hour week. The United Automobile Workers Union is making a fine beginning at putting the demand into action through its call for a 32-hour week in auto; but the U.A.W. plan is in danger of slipping back to a mere "spread the work" scheme unless the fight for reduced hours is always coupled with the refusal to accept any reduction in weekly pay. The aim of the workers, employed and unemployed alike, must be not to spread poverty among themselves but to make the bosses pay the costs of giving decent jobs to everyone.
6. A \$30 minimum weekly wage under all circumstances throughout industry, public works, and relief work.
7. If the bosses whine that giving decent jobs at decent pay will bankrupt them, then: Let the factories be opened up with the aid of government funds and operated under workers' control.
8. And to meet a substantial part of the initial costs, let all the gigantic funds now pouring into the war machine that is being designed to safeguard the bosses' profits on a world scale, at the expense of the peoples of the world, be turned over to the unemployed.

W.P.A. JOBS FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED AT TRADE UNION WAGES!

A TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM!

THE THIRTY-HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN WEEKLY PAY!

A THIRTY-DOLLAR WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE!

OPEN ALL IDLE FACTORIES! OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!



—That We Must Starve?

Unions Organize Jobless For Showdown with New Deal

Charter W.P.A. Workers: Major Task Before C.I.O.

Industry Pick-Up Does Not Relieve Unemployment; Labor Action Alone Will Open Factories

By ART PREIS

The failure of the capitalist system to supply even the most elementary needs of the workers is no more glaringly illustrated than in the persistent phenomenon of mass unemployment in the richest country on earth.

It becomes increasingly clear, particularly in the mass production industries, that the organized labor movement and the employed workers in general, face in chronic mass unemployment the most devastating menace to their interests.

Despite all the tremendous gains of the past few years, particularly in the field of industrial unionism, constantly recurring economic declines heaping up new and more extensive strata of unemployed have cut wide swaths in the union ranks and hold the terror of insecurity over every employed worker. The knowledge that there are thousands of jobless men, desperate for any opportunity to earn a livelihood waiting just outside the plant gates cannot help but breed an extreme caution in the average worker. It is a desire to hold on to his miserable portion without complaint rather than risk the loss of all in a fight for more decent wages and working conditions.

Mass Unemployment Permanent

In the past year and a half of Roosevelt depression, one decisive fact stands out—mass unemployment is permanent. If in the past

nine years the workers have constantly renewed their hopes on the illusion that "bad times" were merely temporary and that "relief" was desirable merely as a "hand-out" to tide the jobless worker over until his next job, this illusion is fast disappearing. Where formerly the WPA worker said, "When I get back into private industry . . ." today, the workers in mass production industries are saying in increasing numbers, "When we get back on WPA."

A pick-up in production no longer means a proportionate rise in employment. Rationalization of industry has proceeded at a pace sufficient in the past three years to permit a 25 to 35 percent expansion of production from the low norms of last March, without any material increase in employment. Those

(Continued on Page 2)

Cleveland UAW Is Setting Up Union WPA Auxiliary

TO FIGHT WPA CUTS

CLEVELAND, O.—Paralleling the developments in Toledo, Detroit and other industrial centers, the C.I.O. members on W.P.A. a good portion of the 73,000 W.P.A. workers in this unemployment-ridden city, have established the C.I.O.-W.P.A. Workers Industrial Union.

Hampered for months by the sabotaging actions of the reactionary Stalinists, who infest the Cleveland Industrial Council and many of the Auto Workers locals, a hard-hitting group of progressive and militant auto unionists have finally established an industrial union for the W.P.A. workers around a real program for stopping the W.P.A. lay-offs, expanding the public works program, for supplementary relief, and for higher W.P.A. wages.

A resolution calling for mass action, such as project strikes, picket lines on the W.P.A. headquarters, mass meetings and demonstrations, has been introduced by the Organization Committee, and indicates the genuinely progressive direction of the leaders.

Organization Under Way

The organization is going ahead to stabilize itself in a permanent fashion, and will hold elections of officers this week. Plans are underway to establish the necessary apparatus for an organization of

(Continued on Page 2)

BY LEON TROTSKY

The Decisive Hour In France

(Fourth International Press Release)

Each day, whether we wish it or not, we convince ourselves anew that the earth continues to revolve upon its axis. Likewise, the laws of the class struggle act independently of the fact that we recognize them or not. They continue to operate despite the politics of the Popular Front. The class struggle makes the Popular Front its instrument. After the experience of Czechoslovakia it is now the turn of France: the most hidebound and the most backward have a new occasion to teach themselves.

The Popular Front is a coalition of parties. Every coalition, that is, every durable political alliance, has by necessity as its program of action the program of the more moderate of the coalesced parties. The French Popular Front has signified, since its debut, that the Socialists and Communists placed their political activity under the control of the Radicals. The French Radicals represent the left flank of the imperialist bourgeoisie. On the banner of the Radical party are inscribed "patriotism" and "democracy." Patriotism signifies defense of the colonial empire of France; "democracy" signifies nothing real, but serves solely to enchain the petty bourgeois classes to the chariot of imperialism. It is precisely because the Radicals unite plundering imperialism with verbal democracy that more than any other party they are constrained to lie and to betray the masses.

One can say without exaggeration that the party of Herriot-Daladier is the most corrupt of all the French parties, representing a sort of culture for careerists, venal individuals, stock manipulators of the Bourse, and in general ad-

venturers of all kinds. Since the parties of the Popular Front could not reach beyond the program of the Radicals, this signified in reality the submission of the workers and the peasants to the imperialist program of the most corrupt wing of the bourgeoisie.

In order to justify the politics of the Popular Front they invoked the necessity for an alliance between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. It is impossible to imagine a more scurrilous lie! The Radical party expresses the interests of the big bourgeoisie, and not of the petty. By its very essence it represents the political machinery of the exploitation of the petty bourgeoisie by imperialism. The alliance with the Radical party is, consequently, an alliance not with the petty bourgeoisie, but with their exploiters. To realize a genuine alliance between the workers and the peasants is not possible except by teaching the petty bourgeoisie how to emancipate themselves from the Radical party, how to cast off once and for all its yoke from their necks. Meanwhile the Popular Front acts in a directly opposite manner; entering into this "front," Socialists and Communists take upon themselves the responsibility for the Radical party and thus help it in this way to exploit and to betray the masses.

In 1936, Socialists, Communists, and Anarchosyndicalists aided the Radical party in slowing down, and in crumbling the powerful revolutionary movement. Big capital has succeeded during the last two years and a half in recovering a little from its fright. The Popular Front, having fulfilled its role as brake, now represents nothing more for the bourgeoisie than a useless

(Continued on Page 3)

SPEED UP REFUGEE CAMPAIGN!

1. Introduce into your trade union, fraternal or other organization the model resolution (published in the December 3 APPEAL) calling on the forthcoming session of Congress to open the doors of America to the refugees. Send news of all actions taken to the SOCIALIST APPEAL.
2. Circulate for signatures the petitions for asylum. Petitions may be obtained from the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
3. Provide aid for working class refugees by selling American Fund stamps. Every dollar counts! Arrange affairs, house-parties, etc., for the benefit of the refugees.
4. Arrange meetings on the subject of how to help the refugees and fight anti-Semitism. Expose Stalinist sabotage of asylum for the refugees in America and Soviet Russia.