

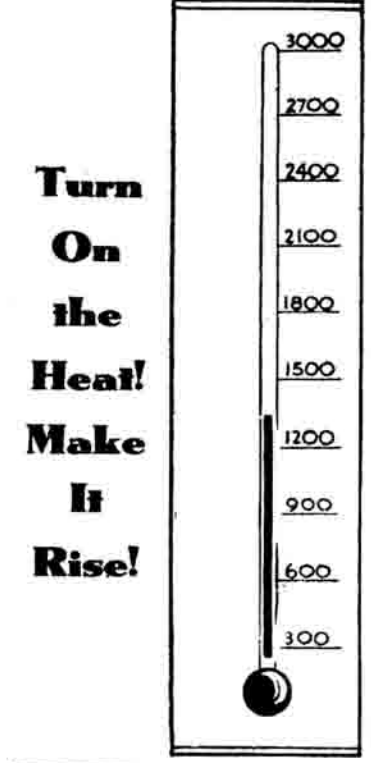
Branch Competition Gets Hotter In Twice-Weekly Drive

FUND AT \$1,330
AS PARTY BEGINS
TO REACH QUOTAS

But More Speed Is
Needed to Reach
Our Goal

By ROSE KARSNER
Appeal Campaign Director
Total to date is \$1,330.70 with reports from the St. Paul-Minneapolis New Year's Eve Jamboree not in as we go to press.
Of the branches competing for the Fourth International banner, San Francisco and Detroit have gone over the top. Both these branches are not satisfied to rest on their laurels. They promise to keep on collecting for the campaign.
Returns from the branches are picking up, but still too slowly. In the remaining four weeks, the barometer must take bigger and faster leaps if we are to realize the slogan of The Twice-a-week Appeal on the Road to a Daily.
Let us prove in action the superiority of our ideas.

PRIZES
In addition to the three banners for the branches making the best showing in the campaign, considering size and ability of membership, we have three autographed copies of C. L. R. James' books. Two copies of "World Revolution" and one of "Black Jacobins." These are to be given to sympathizers sending in the biggest collection on the Appeal folder now in the mails, or members plugging hardest in the branches. Let us know who they are and what they have done.
From Our Branches
Local New York—The Astoria Branch is the first in the Local to fulfill its quota 100 percent. The next branches making the best showing so far, are Downtown, Bronx and Lower East
(Continued on page 2)



SCORE BOARD			
	Quota	Paid	Percent
Kansas	10.00	\$ 17.00	170
Sacramento	10.00	12.00	120
Durham, N. H.	5.00	6.00	120
Denver	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	25.00	25.00	100
Marston Mills	5.00	5.00	100
San Francisco	50.00	50.00	100
Toledo	20.00	20.00	100
E. Chicago	10.00	7.50	75
E. Oakland	20.00	13.50	68
Punta Gorda	5.00	3.00	60
New York	1050.00	593.20	57
Newark	100.00	55.75	56
Boston	200.00	108.25	54
West Oakland	20.00	10.00	50
Fresno	5.00	2.50	50
Los Angeles	200.00	101.50	50
Lynn	50.00	22.00	44
Hartford	5.00	2.00	40
Quakertown	15.00	5.50	38
Plentywood	10.00	3.50	35
St. Paul	100.00	34.00	34
Worcester	10.00	3.00	30
San Diego	10.00	3.00	30
Cleveland	200.00	61.00	31
Chicago	250.00	72.00	28
Youngstown	50.00	11.00	22
Fargo	25.00	5.50	22
St. Louis	75.00	16.00	21
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20
Yellow Springs	5.00	1.00	20
South Bend	10.00	1.50	15
Phila.	50.00	2.50	5
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Akron, Ohio	75.00	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
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	0	0
Gardner, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Olivia, Minn.	10.00	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	0	0
Fitchburg, Mass.	5.00	0	0
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0

Open the Doors
To Europe's
Refugees!

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375

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FIGHT CUTS IN W. P. A.!

11,000 Taxi Drivers
Strike in New York

LaGuardia Mobilizes Full Police Force as
Reply to Union Demands for
Decent Conditions

NEW YORK CITY.—A battle between 11,000 taxi-drivers and the big fleet companies began this week when the C.I.O. Transport Workers Union called a strike Tuesday afternoon.

Within two hours, 8,500 drivers and 1,000 maintenance men responded to the call, leaving 7,000 cabs idle in the garages. The addition of the night men will bring the total of cabs laid up to 8,500.

Over 5,000 owner-driver cabs classed as independents are not affected by the strike call.

Nearly 100 full time and volunteer organizers carried the strike message to the drivers at shift-changing time. The men quickly responded. They had voted strike authority by a big majority last week.

Cops Mobilize
La Guardia's 19,000 cops were fully mobilized in a show of strength to curb the militancy of the strikers. It was under Mayor LaGuardia in 1934 that police broke a big cab strike.

Weeks of stalling and months of chiseling by the big companies culminated when the contracts expired on December 31.

Demands
The immediate union demands contained in the contract proposals include: the closed shop, job security, hiring through union halls on a rotation basis, elimination of the "shape-up" system under which drivers are picked each day by the shop foremen; an end to racial discrimination; nine hours daily for day men; ten hours work for night men, with provision that on Saturdays and holidays the day men be allowed an extra working hour, and night men two extra hours; seniority rights providing for selection of days off and vacation periods; drivers with one to five years service, one week's vacation with \$25 pay, and drivers with five or more

(Continued on page 4)

Moscow Frameups
Exposed by Trial
Of Ukraine GPU

Admit 'Confessions'
Extracted from
Victims

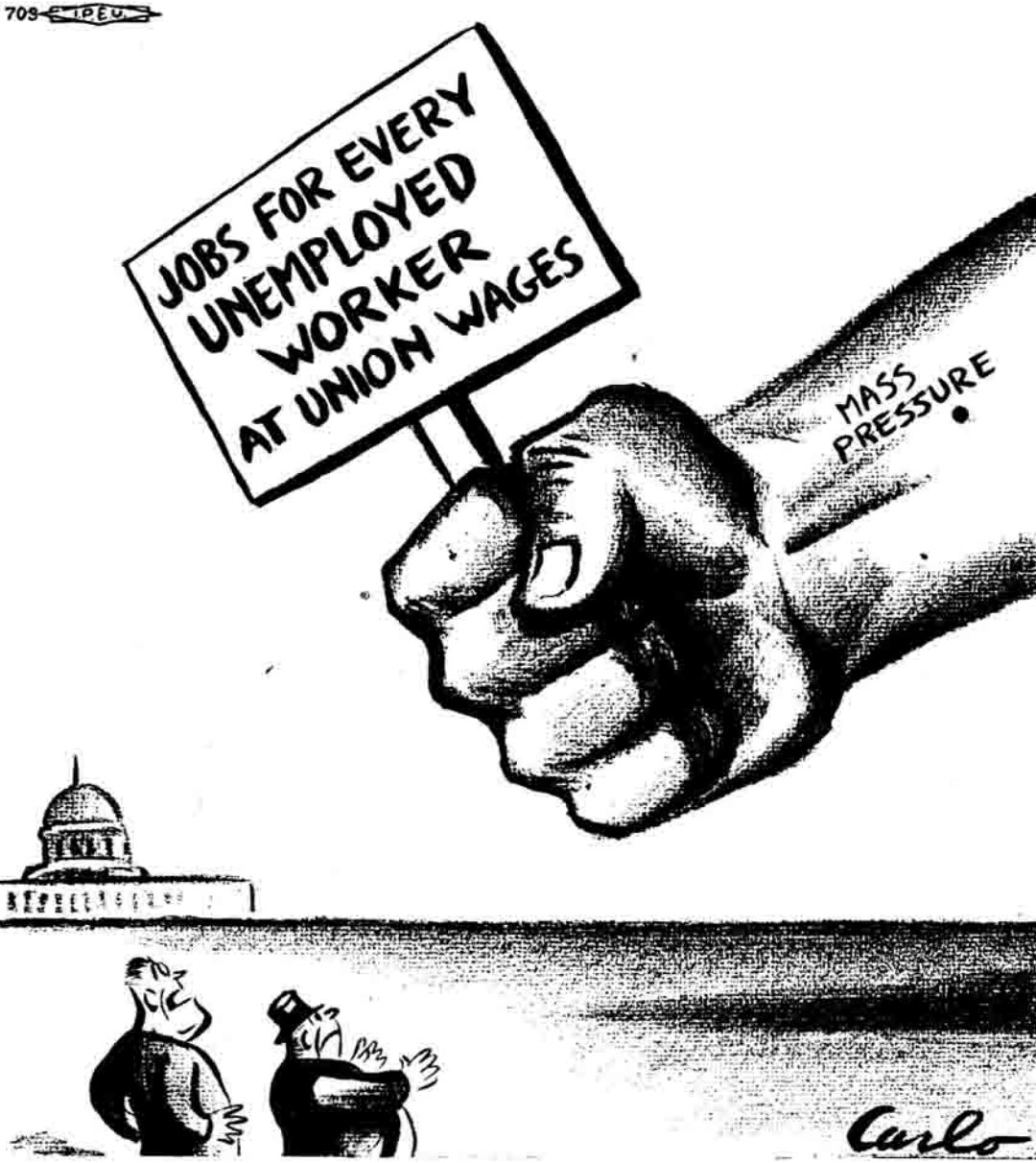
That Russia's secret police systematically extorted false confessions which constituted the basis for judicial frame-ups—a conclusion established last year by the Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey in its exhaustive investigation of the trials against Trotsky—received weighty confirmation from reports arriving this week of a trial of five G.P.U. officials which culminated in an order for their execution on January 3.

The trial took place at Kiev, in the Ukraine. Despite its obvious importance, the trial was reported only in the Sovetskaya Ukraina of Kiev, no word on the trial appearing in the Moscow press, according to Harold Denny, New York Times correspondent, who underlines the significance of this silence. Nor has a word on the trial been published in the Daily Worker here during the course of the trial nor prior to our going to press. Our sole information so far is based on two dispatches by Denny, January 2 and 3 in the New York Times.

Swear to Any Crime
In the trial, it was brought out that five G.P.U. officials, under the direction of a superior official who "died" before trial, had methodically organized frame-ups, giving them substance by extorting confessions from innocent persons. Among the frame-ups organized were the extortion of confessions in which victims swore they belonged to Fascist youth organizations and testified that others belonged with them, although the organizations were non-existent and innocent victims were forced to accuse others whom they did not even know. The reports in the Sovetskaya Ukraina, Denny says, were careful to give "no inkling of just what methods were used to extract confessions."

(Continued on page 3)

New Year's Resolution No. 1



Blackwell Freed,
Washington Hears

Militant Acquitted
After Trial at
Valencia

Russell Negrete Blackwell is free, acquitted by a Spanish court, and is now at the American consular offices in Valencia, according to a telegram received Tuesday by his wife, Edna Blackwell, from Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles.

Welles said that Moffat, consul at Valencia, will report Blackwell's departure from Spain, "which will be by safest means available."
Blackwell, American militant, arrested on charges brought by Stalinists, was released last summer and placed on board boat by the American vice-consul, but was then seized by Stalinist agents and returned to jail. The Blackwell Defense Committee, constituted by a broad circle of anti-Fascists, has been vigorously campaigning for his release.

BRENDA'S PARTY
Champagne for the Idle Rich;
No Refuge for Oppressed

"What will we do with all the European refugees once they get here? Who is going to keep them alive in the United States? Isn't there unemployment enough as it is, without adding to the army of the jobless?"

These are some of the questions heard wherever the problem of Jewish and other refugees from fascism is being discussed.

It is not merely the average or conservatively minded worker who puts these questions. Even many class conscious workers, who are imbued with the spirit of international solidarity, are asking them too.

There Is An Answer
We do not want to pretend that the questions do not deserve an answer. We think, on the contrary, that they do. We think, also, that there is an answer.

Let us see if we cannot find at least a hint at a solution from the case of Miss Brenda Diana Duff Frazier. Now what can she possibly have to do with the question of the refugees? This:

We don't know the young lady,

but we've read a good deal about her in the papers. No doubt so have many others, including the unemployed, the homeless, the foodless.

Miss Frazier just had a lovely coming-out party in New York, as one paper described it, "in a practically solid gold setting at the Ritz-Carlton" Hotel. Being the year's most gorgeous debutante, she just had to have a little party.

Quite A Shindig
And from all reports, it was a high-class shindig. Supper and breakfast alone came to \$8,000. Now a man can't eat without washing it down, can he? So \$1-

(Continued on Page 4)

Slashes Plotted As
Foil to Arms Plans

Roosevelt Presents Congress With Huge
Armament Budget as Garner & Co.
Prepare Blow at Jobless

A specter haunts Congress, the specter of 15,000,000 unemployed.

President Roosevelt is asking for a gigantic war budget, for battleships, for thousands of new warplanes.

The unemployed are asking for food, for homes, for jobs. To finance the arms program he needs to fulfill the war plans of Yankee imperialism, Roosevelt is prepared to slash away at the meager funds now allowed for the jobless and the 3,000,000 workers on W.P.A.

Homes or battleships, jobs or war—that is the reality behind the fanfare in Washington.

Unquestionably with Roosevelt's tacit okay, the other Democratic big-wigs, led by Vice-President Garner, are launching a

campaign whose avowed aim is to cut W.P.A. appropriations by at least a third for the coming year.

This is the plan that lies behind all the palaver about "taking the W.P.A. out of politics" and "reorganizing the W.P.A." and "returning control to state and local agencies." The \$1,425,000,000 appropriated for W.P.A. for the current fiscal year has been exhausted in six months. Now it is being proposed that only \$500,000,000 be provided for the next six months, in other words, one-third of what was spent in the last six-month period! Meanwhile the revamped W.P.A. administration under Col. Francis Harrington would proceed to wholesale shaving of the W.P.A. rolls and make it possible to put over a still smaller appropriation for the fiscal period after next July.

A Smelly Deal
This is the proposal of Representative Woodrum, Democratic chairman of the subcommittee which will pass on the W.P.A. appropriations.

In other words, it begins to smell very much like a deal in which Roosevelt will get his arms budget, will be permitted to "deplete" the plight of the jobless and make his usual promises, while the Garners and the Woodrums cut away at the frail structure of unemployment relief and the W.P.A. projects.

One of the first barrages in this campaign is going to be the report of the Senate Campaign Expenditure Committee which will be devoted mainly to airing charges that W.P.A. funds have been used to oil the Democratic political machines, especially in some of the contests last Fall. The hearings on confirmation of Harry Hopkins' appointment as Secretary of Commerce will of course be used for the same purpose.

Every effort will be made to use misuse of W.P.A. funds as a pretext for justifying cuts in those funds by the present Congress.

But the workers—employed and unemployed—must act to prevent Roosevelt, Garner & Co. from putting over this cheap piece of trickery.

Our Answer
We've got our own answer to the questions these Washington gentlemen raise about "politics" in the W.P.A.

Yes, we say, take W.P.A. out of "politics"—i.e., out of the hands of the New Deal politicians—and put it in the hands of the workers themselves!

And to this campaign to cut W.P.A. funds we must counterpose our own program and make Congress heed it:

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!
W.P.A. JOBS FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED AT TRADE UNION WAGES!

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

A JOB FOR EVERY WORKER AT A LIVING WAGE!

(Continued on Page 3)

STATEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, U.S.A.

Yankee Imperialism At Lima

Hitler's Munich triumph has impelled American imperialism to launch a gigantic counter-offensive for the conquest of the world. The slogans abandoned by Anglo-French imperialism at Munich—"democratic anti-fascist front," "common action against the aggressor," "collective security"—have now become the weapons of Wall Street. Under these slogans Roosevelt called the Latin American countries to Lima, and they inspired the "Declaration of Lima."

The first fruit garnered by American imperialism following Munich is the capitulation of Great Britain to America's trade demands. The Munich crash gives the United States what Hull could not obtain in three years of tenacious striving: a month after Munich the Anglo-American commercial accord is signed, and it is followed by the American-Canadian accord: Great Britain opens

the door of its empire to the Yankee rival. Meanwhile Stalin, terrified, looks toward Roosevelt as a savior.

Toward World Empire

The United States takes over the front line in the battle against Nazi and Japanese imperialism, declares open war against German barter trade, places German products on the black-list, incites world public opinion against German barbarism and ostentatiously breaks the neutrality law in favor of China. The United States bars the road to further conciliation between England and Germany—through the Anglo-American and American-Canadian accords which cover nearly two-thirds of world commerce—obliging England to declare economic war against Germany.

First Act at Lima

Lima is the stage on which the American imperialists have played the first act of their world-

wide counter-offensive against Germany and Japan. The United States delegation sought to consolidate Yankee hegemony in Latin-America, to eradicate all European influences, to expel Germany and her allies from Latin-America's markets and, in short, to destroy all positions hitherto conquered by rival imperialisms. As the United States comes to the front of the stage, the world conflict assumes a new form. Now it is not simply the old conflict between the starved imperialisms, impelled to the offensive by their desperate condition, against the satiated imperialisms who benefited from Versailles and are constantly on the defensive, having as their only aim the preservation of their booty. Now a new partition of the world is being pressed most determinedly by the United States.

Elsewhere, Wall Street still develops its counter-offensive, under

purely economic forms (war against controlled commerce, restoration of complete liberty of commerce, lowering of tariffs, loans, etc.) In the Western Hemisphere, however, that counter-offensive assumes definite political forms, ranging from collective declarations against aggressors and proposals for defensive alliances to ever more precise plans for military strategy.

American imperialism aims at more than monopolizing the markets and the sources of raw materials of the entire Western Hemisphere. It also aims at making the Americas, from Cape Horn to Patagonia, the physical, economic and strategic base required for the coming decisive struggles for the possession of the world. This is why Roosevelt bellicosely proclaims, alongside of the evangelical preaching of Hull, that the United States will defend, tooth and nail, all the countries of the

hemisphere. The "good neighbor" Wall Street, in reality aims to transform its neighbors into American-controlled Manchukuo and Czechoslovakias.

What "Defense" Means

Authoritative military circles do not conceal what they understand by defense of our hemisphere: the military unification of the Americas under the direct control of Washington.

The U.S. War Department considers military control of Latin America and the possession of its sources of raw materials as vital to the development of the defensive and offensive power of the American war machine. Among materials which the United States must secure abroad, the War Department has classified twenty-one as "strategic" and a few others as "critical," that is, materials which are not sufficiently produced at home to provide for the

Yankee Imperialism Is the Main Enemy in Latin America

(Continued from Page 1)
necessities of a war. Most of these materials are to be found in the rest of the Western Hemisphere. Among these raw materials are Canadian nickel, Bolivian tin, rubber, manganese, Brazilian and Columbian coffee, Argentine wool, Chilean nitrate, Mexican silver, petroleum from Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, etc.

Cannon-fodder too
Latin-American contains another raw material of primary importance which American military experts greedily eye: man, can-

non fodder. The potential manpower reserves of Latin-America equal those of the United States. Today, in fact, its immediately available trained manpower is superior to that of the Yankee metropolis! Washington estimates that Latin America can immediately put into the field more than a million men with military training. This means that, as soon as war breaks out, the very first shots will initiate payment to Uncle Sam of blood tribute by the oppressed peoples of Latin America!

American Totalitarianism

The political and military objectives of Wall Street in Latin America are totalitarian, embellished though they are by Rooseveltian democracy. Washington seeks a monopoly in everything: in raw materials and markets, in ideology and politics, in foreign relations, in military missions, war supplies, naval and air lines and bases, in military preparations. Washington wants no other powers—not even "democratic" France!—to maintain military missions in Latin America. Washington obliges the Latin American countries, one after another, to dispense with long-established European military, naval or aviation missions and to establish new, exclusively American ones. It even leases war vessels to Brazil. The old plan for a second canal, in Nicaragua, is taken from the archives. Military aides are sent to all the Latin American capitals with the objective of molding their military mechanisms into the strategic plans elaborated in Washington. American military, naval or aviation missions are already operating in Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Haiti, Guatemala, Colombia, and they are coming in other countries; they do not instruct, nor will they instruct, the forces of these countries in the special problems of their own defense, but aim to create strategic bases for the war plans of American imperialism. Cuba already is nothing more than an outpost of the American naval system, as much so as Porto Rico. All this is geared into Roosevelt's gigantic armament program, for which we are being called upon to provide astronomical sums.

A Filmy Alibi
The pretext for building this tremendous apparatus is a threat by a foreign totalitarian power. Under world conditions today,

however, who can believe that threat is imminent, when we see Japan entirely absorbed in China, Germany geared to the Herculean task of devouring Eastern Europe, and Italy preoccupied in the Mediterranean? This pretext was unmasked for their own purposes by the representatives of "democratic" English imperialism at Lima, the Argentine delegates.

No, these sensational preparations are not for defensive purposes. That pretext merely serves to delude American workers and to frighten the peoples and governments of Latin America into seeking shelter under the wings of the Yankee eagle. If these arms, apart from their use in the coming inter-imperialist war, are employed in Latin America, they will be used there, when the necessity arises, to crush revolutionary mass movements for national independence in the semi-colonial countries! The Yankee imperialists cannot be defenders of these peoples of whom they are the principal exploiters and oppressors. Woe to any people which listens to the merrid song of Washington! That song is as deceiving as the tunes emanating from Berlin, London, Tokyo, Paris or Rome.

Democracy Stretches
The enslaved peoples of Latin America cannot but feel a sarcastic note in the call for common defense of democracy issued by Roosevelt-Hull to the Latin-American governments. What sort of democracy can these governments defend, the satrapies of Getulio Vargas, Benavides, Somosa, Trujillo, Batista and Company? Today they are the devoted lackeys of Wall Street, but tomorrow they will unhesitatingly sell themselves to Hitler or to the Mikado, if the switch would serve to continue them in power.

What They Mean by Democracy

The defense of "democratic" institutions means concretely to Washington two things: the eradication of German-Japanese competition and the preservation of the concessions and privileges of the big American trusts against the bourgeois-nationalist independence movements exemplified by Toro in Bolivia and Cardenas in Mexico.

Behind Roosevelt's sonorous phrases is the determination to assure the monopoly of Latin America's markets. The constant turmoil and the growing political and economic restrictions in the European and Asiatic markets makes the Latin American markets ever more important to Wall Street. Latin America now takes 20% of all American exports. Despite its supremacy in commercial relations with the twenty southern republics since 1918, the United States feels itself threatened by competitors and, as a matter of fact, during the last two years did lose first place in five of the principal countries of Latin America (Mexico, Brazil, etc.). The American share of South American importing markets was 44% in 1920, but that figure decreased to 30% in 1928; last

year it rose again to 34.4% for the whole of Latin America—more than the combined imports from Great Britain, Germany, Japan and Italy. But Germany—practically eliminated in 1920 as a consequence of the war—has meanwhile pushed into second place ahead of England and has become, thanks to its methods of control, subsidies, etc., the most serious competitor of the United States, seeking to open a breach in the zone of Yankee monopoly.

Slogans Hide Reality
To defend itself against its competitors, Wall Street raises the liberal slogan of return to free commerce; in actual content, however, that slogan gives Latin America the same status as was held by the American colonies when they did not have the right to trade except with the British crown. As for the "defense of international law," it means simply that in spite of the fictitious sovereignty of the dependent nations of the New World, the Yankees reserve for themselves the right to intervene in the internal life of these states to restore, if necessary by force, the privileges and monopolies that they enjoy there, or to impose new ones.

The Right to Be Squeezed

In essence, Secretary Hull calls upon the Latin American states to concede the right of Wall Street to repeat its past infamous

excesses, interest and super-profits on the five billion dollars (40% of America's total investments abroad) invested in the mines, petroleum, public services, electricity, meat packing, territorial concessions and plantations which constitute the key positions in the economic life of Latin America.

The gentlemen of Wall Street are terrified by the danger that the Mexican example will prove contagious. They move to block the road to more audacious expropriations. They grant the degree of "democratic" and "anti-fascist" to dictators like Vargas and Benavides, while they insinuate through the kept press that Cardenas favors fascism.

Knows No Limit

In squeezing the Latin American lemon, Wall Street piles contradiction upon contradiction. It obliges the tributary countries to buy only in the American markets, but at the same time drains into its own coffers the gold of these countries, demands prompt payment for old debts, the end of exchange control by the Latin American governments, and the immediate handing over of Wall Street credits now frozen in Latin American banks for lack of exchange. As if this were not enough, Wall Street tries to deprive these countries of their traditional markets for products which America also produces (wheat, cotton, sugar, etc.). The catalogue is not complete without referring to the reprisals and boycotts organized by Wall Street against any country which, like Mexico, dares to expropriate imperialist concessions. Wall Street cannot but strangle the goose that lays its golden eggs.

The immediate danger of fascist domination in Latin America is internal. It rears its head in each and every country. It is

Fight Is Against Imperialism!

We are confident that the Latin American masses will not allow themselves to be duped into abandoning the anti-imperialist struggle, which will continue despite the efforts of dollar diplomacy to stifle it.

It must be stressed that the principal enemy of the Latin American peoples is not fascism in general but imperialism. Fascism in Latin America is only one of the uniforms used by one of the imperialist cliques.

Enemy Is At Home

In the advanced democratic countries, not to struggle above all against your own national capitalist class and its "democratic" governments, means not to defend democracy but to prepare the way for fascism. If the examples of Italy, Germany, Austria, and Spain did not suffice, we now have the fresh examples of Czechoslovakia and France. Czech democracy quietly and automatically transformed itself into fascism. In France the much-acclaimed chief of the People's Front, Daladier, decided almost overnight, with the complete support of his party, to begin the reactionary offensive and consciously prepare for the transition to fascism. The same process of democratic degeneration will inevitably take place in this country unless the American workers succeed in overthrowing the capitalists and establishing a Work-

ers Government.

In the dependent and semi-colonial countries of Latin America the fight against fascism is finance capital—i.e., American finance capital which holds the lion's share and is the chief imperialism oppressing the two continents—and its native agents. The Latin American capitalists, far from being able to lead a struggle for the independence of their countries, simply become agents of Yankee imperialism. The liberation of Latin America is a task that falls to the workers and peasants in struggle against the imperialists and against their own immediate exploiters.

Dictators Backed by U. S.

The reactionary dictatorships that rule most of Latin America are maintained by the support they get from Washington or London, the imperialist capitals. The danger of a Nazi, Italian, or Japanese invasion of Peru, Argentina, or Nicaragua does not lie in a spectacular armed invasion by the armies and navies of the totalitarian powers. The rivalries among the imperialist bandits serve to protect Latin America from such an invasion. In order to make a landing on the coast of Brazil, Germany would first have to destroy the American fleet, and probably the British as well. But their chances of doing that are still remote.

Fascist Danger Is At Home

The immediate danger of fascist domination in Latin America is internal. It rears its head in each and every country. It is

nourished by the patronage of American imperialism and by the fact that the Latin American countries are transformed into



Only a few days after the Lima Conference came to an end huzzas for the united front of the American democracies—the black splotches on the map show those countries actually ruled by grinding dictatorships—the New York Times correspondent suddenly revealed that at Lima the dictatorship of President Benavides had actually submitted the conference delegates to a kind of reign of terror. The Times headlined "censorship, intimidation and espionage" at Lima and the correspondent detailed a lengthy account of how Benavides had hounded the newsmen at the conference to prevent any news of an anti-fascist character from being sent abroad!

Why Truth Comes Out

Why the present revelation? The murderous onslaught of the degenerate bureaucracy against all its potential enemies let loose a Frankenstein which threatens to destroy everything, including the bureaucracy itself. Industrial production, military work, administration in every sphere—everything falters as fear-paralyzed functionaries and workers flinch at every step, fearing that any initiative, anything, may bring them into the view of the secret police and cause their downfall. As though stricken with a plague of inertia, the whole nation sinks into passive silliness. The terroristic methods of the ruling clique thus endanger its own security, for its own power and privileges require a functioning society.

The ruling clique is therefore driven to find ways and means to reassure the people, or at least

the millions of functionaries. In the past year, therefore, Soviet leaders have made various reassuring speeches. But these have not achieved their aim. Finally, in desperation, the bureaucracy has had to expose part of its own mechanism in the hope that this extraordinary step will create the necessary reassurance. But in the nature of the whole regime—ironical touch!—the scapegoats had to be their own methods, convicting themselves in the Kiev trial by self-confessions.

No doubt these confessions, too, had to be extorted by those very efficacious methods of "compelling" which the authorities were very careful not to have described in the courtroom. The extortion methods are kept secret, undoubtedly, for the good and sufficient reason that they are still to be used in future purges.

The Kiev trial was attended by

officials and intellectuals, administrators and Stakhanovists, who presumably were summoned in order to be directly reassured. The fact that the trials were not reported throughout the Soviet Union indicates that the ruling clique still hopes to provide such reassurance by such local trial-demonstrations, with discreetly limited audiences, and without much publicity. The all-devouring paralysis, however, will not be lifted by these measures or, indeed, by any measures which the bureaucracy itself can undertake. Nothing but the removal of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the revival of the Soviet and the establishment of a new revolutionary party can save the Soviet Union from destruction.

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Socialist Appeal

economic vassals of the Northern colossus.

Pave Way For Fascists

When petty bourgeois nationalist leaders like Haya de la Torre or Grau San Martin, or "socialist" leaders like Grove, abandon the traditional struggle against U. S. imperialism in order to unite with it for a "common" struggle against fascism, the Nazi agents in Latin America are quite content. The capitulation of these leaders makes it easier to reach the masses with fascist demagoguery. It also makes it easier for the fascists to make connections with those national capitalists (mainly the local industrialists) who aspire to economic independence. The agents of Hitler or Mussolini can thus mask themselves as nationalists. They can make use of the masses' hatred

of the great foreign monopolies—mostly American or British—to make them believe that the anti-imperialist fighters and the revolutionary militants are nothing but agents of Wall Street and London. This method is the principal one used by all the native fascists in Latin America backed directly or indirectly by Hitler or Mussolini: the Integralists of Brazil, the Gold Shirts of Mexico, the Nacistas of Chile, the Brown Shirts of Argentina, etc.

Thus, to suspend the struggle against Yankee or British imperialism, even for a single moment, is to hand the masses over to the mercies of the fascists, to make it easier for the fascist enemy to conquer from the inside!

Rulers Cannot Fight Fascism

The reactionary dictatorships in the majority of Latin American countries cannot serve as instruments of struggle against international fascism but rather as channels for its penetration. The mock constitution granted (by divine right?) to Brazil by President Vargas on Nov. 10, 1937, was directly modeled on totalitarian lines. His coup d'état was planned and carried out with the active participation of the Integralists and other Nazi agents. If Vargas did not at that time transform himself into a Brazilian Hitler, it was only because he feared popular opposition and civil war and could not count on sufficient direct aid from Hitler.

He chose, therefore, to return to the fold of his old Yankee masters. Meanwhile his "democratic" constitution cloaks a regime of terror, concentration camps, deportations to plague-infested islands, torture and murder. Trade unions are organs of the state and political parties are prohibited. This is the kind of "democracy" Roosevelt asks the Latin American people to defend against the advance of the Fascists from across the Atlantic!

Fascist Economic Gains
These regimes, by their very nature, favor the penetration not only of Fascist ideas, but of Fascist economic and political influence. Thus the German consul in Salvador assumes the post of

director of the country's agricultural and credit bank. In Peru, more than half the country's banking activity is controlled by the Bank of Italy. In Brazil, Vargas divides the Amazon region between the Mikado and Henry Ford. In Santo Domingo, Trujillo opens a land concession to 40,000 Nazified Germans. In these countries farm hands and European immigrants, suffering under the general economic backwardness, and contemptuous of the cultural inferiority of their new lands, are easily attracted by the racial myths and respond to the perfected demagogic technique of the German and Italian propaganda machines.

Struggle Must Be Revolutionary!
The conclusion from all this is clear: semi-colonial Latin America, an oppressed continent, cannot escape Fascism without struggling against imperialist oppression. But this struggle means national independence. It means an agrarian revolution to bring about the distribution of land to the tillers. It means expropriation of the foreign monopolies. It means the granting of unrestricted democratic liberties to the people and the elevation of the living standard of the masses. This is the only program that can liberate the millions of Latin American slaves from the chains of imperialist oppression, of fascism, and create dictatorships!

"Anti-Fascist" Illusions

Unfortunately, this program is rejected not only by imperialist hirelings but by nationalist petty-bourgeois leaders who are impressed by the advance of the fascist powers and by noisy Stalinist demagoguery. Haya de la Torre, for example, believes in the "sincerity" of Roosevelt. Why? Because Roosevelt has not yet used troops and cannons like some of his predecessors and teachers (Wilson!). Haya de la Torre simply does not understand that Wall Street is not yet reduced to methods of last resort and desperation. Hitler cannot wait; but Roosevelt can.

Tweedledum and Tweedledee
In essence, however, Roosevelt's foreign policy is that of his predecessors and of his Republican rivals. Landon's place in the American delegation at Lima demonstrates that fact. There are no differences on imperialist policies within the ruling class of the United States.

Stalin Serves Roosevelt
Roosevelt's demagoguery is ably served by Stalin and his minions in deluding the Haya de la Torres. On April 17 of this year

Stalin's personal organ, Pravda, urged the United States to have "a more active foreign policy" and to enter into "common action with all the democratic elements of Latin America, as the only possible way of resisting the destructive forces of fascism." Thus, while Roosevelt drags the dictators and fuchers of Latin America into the "democratic anti-fascist front," the Stalinists attempt to entice into it the popular anti-imperialist leaders. Stalin's supreme hope lies in Wall Street and he demonstrates to it his usefulness. The Popular Front of Chile is the most finished expression of that policy.

If Browder, fuchser of American Stalinism, could not find a place in the American delegation as a lackey of Hull-Landon, his superiors in the hierarchy of labor lieutenants of Wall Street did appear. John L. Lewis' daughter (C.I.O.) and Tracy (A.F.L.) were there to provide a "working class" sanction for America's predatory policy. The Latin American peoples were presented with the spectacle of a sacred union extending from Landon to Browder.

Lackeys Do Not Speak For Us!

The labor lieutenants of Wall Street, lackeys of the imperialist exploiters of the Western Hemisphere, by their presence at Lima attempted to convey to the Latin American peoples and their most popular leaders (the Haya de la Torres, Grau San Martins, Groves, etc.) the idea that the American working class solidar-

izes itself with the imperialists of their own country. This is false! These lackeys of imperialism represent only the labor aristocracy which lives off the crumbs cast to them by the imperialists from their feasts at the expense of the Latin American peoples.

But the vast majority of the

American proletarians do not have anything in common with these aristocrats and lackeys. Though miserably deceived by the labor lieutenants and the Stalinist hirelings, the millions of American proletarians have true class instincts. They feel in their depths that the enemy who exploits them in this country is the same oppressor who keeps under an even more terrible yoke the semi-slave masses of peasants and workers south of the Rio Grande. Speak out to your brothers in the North, workers and peasants of Latin America, and they will learn to answer you in a common tongue, in union against the common oppressor!

The Socialist Workers Party of the United States, section of the Fourth International, revolutionary vanguard of the American workers, before the brother peoples of Latin America denounces the grim comedy of Lima. We warn our brothers in Latin America against the maneuvers of the American delegation which spoke there for Wall Street. We appeal to the semi-colonial peoples of the south to unite with us against the common enemy: imperialism, and that includes the American brand. We pledge our unremitting aid in rallying the working class of this country in effective solidarity with the Latin American peoples in their struggles for national freedom.

For Joint Struggle

The liberation of Latin America from the imperialist yoke, the destruction of the threat of fascist intervention at its very roots, can be achieved only by common action of the American working class with the worker and peasant masses of Central and South America.

To this great historic task the Bolshevik-Leninists of the United States summon all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and national-democratic forces of Latin America.

Our Fate Is Yours

Your national independence will be a gigantic step in speeding the socialist revolution in the United States. Likewise the victory of the proletarian revolution in this country will guarantee the complete liberation of the peoples of Latin America. Our fate is indissolubly linked with yours.

In the coming struggle for freedom, the historic task of the revolutionary vanguard of the United States and of Latin America, organized under the banner of the Fourth International, will be to place itself in the forefront of that battle and lead it to a triumphant conclusion.

For the national independence of the Latin American countries! For the agrarian revolution and the national and social liberation of the semi-colonial peoples!

For the proletarian, socialist revolution in the United States!

For the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics of all the Americas!
New York, December, 1938.

DRIVERS' LEADERS JAILED IN AKRON

By R. FERGUSON

AKRON, Ohio—Two drivers' union business agents were sentenced to one and two day jail terms for violation of an anti-picketing injunction last week here. The charge of contempt of court sent them to the "jug," after they made a test-case of the validity of a sweeping injunction against all picketing of a flink gasoline station.

Chet Smead, president of the Truck Drivers Joint Council, and T. C. Dethloff, president of Taxi Drivers local 345 were the leaders sentenced for protesting the issuance of the injunction against "all persons" aiding Drivers Local 348.

Together with John Ellis and Sam Pollock, two other A.F. of L. union business agents, these unionists formed a "Civil Liberties Committee" to carry on picketing activities while Local 348 was under legal restraint. The last two named escaped sentences because the judge found "a reasonable doubt whether these two men had willfully violated the court order."

The courtroom sessions were attended by large crowds of A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unionists intensely interested in the case. The presence of these unionists "convinced" the judge that he had better tread lightly in his anti-labor activities.

Bonaparte

By EUGENE TARLE
A standard Marxist study of Napoleon Bonaparte's life and times. Originally sold for \$1.50—Now for a limited time only, \$1.25. (400 pages.)
LABOR BOOKSHOP
28 East 12th St., N. Y. C.

Moscow Frameups Bared By Ukraine G.P.U. Trial

(Continued from page 1)
tract the false confessions from the ten men who appeared as prosecution witnesses." The witnesses were limited to describing that G.P.U. officials "compelled" them to make the confessions.

Ordinarily news out of Soviet Russia is limited to what emanates from Moscow officials and the Moscow press. Apparently Denny picked up the Kiev story independently of the official news sources. In view of his former uncritical attitude, Denny's underlining of the fact that the trial did not bring out the instrumentalities employed to secure confessions speaks volumes.

Preserve Faith in G.P.U.
Denny further points out the

motivation for this trial in the fact that "much stress was placed by the prosecution on the necessity of the public's having faith in the political police." "This crime is particularly heinous," the prosecution declared in asking the death sentence, "because it has sullied the honorable name of Chekist (G.P.U.) with contemptible deeds."

Thus a tiny corner of the curtain has been lifted exposing a minor cog in the vast mechanism employed by Stalinism in the two-year blood purge of which the three most celebrated trials took place in Moscow but which included hundreds of frame-up trials throughout the Soviet

Union.

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EditorHAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE
Associate Editors
S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Musica and Business Secrets

(Reprinted from the Northwest Organizer of
December 22, 1938)

This Coster case gives us ideas. Why not let the workers of the United States get a good long gander at those financial operations that even now are being covered up by the uncaught Costers and Whitneys in the marts of trade and gold?

Why not find out exactly why these big corporations can't pay a living wage? Why they can't provide more jobs?

Let labor's trusted representatives open the books of the big corporations.

We know the trusts and the big shots don't keep any secrets from each other. The business secrets of today are part of a gigantic plot of the monopolists against the interests of the people.

Why not see how many Muscas, Whitneys, Mellons, Insulls and Morgans there are, robbing, faking, plundering the wealth of the underpaid workers who produce the goods they finagle with.

Let's have a good old-fashioned pecking contest, with the American workers for judge.

Then we'll find out who it is that's cheating whom.

How the Arms Program Works

On December 30th, the U.S. Navy awarded a quarter of a million dollar contract to the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

Two days before, E. G. Grace, Czar of the corporation, announced to the press that he would fight recommendations of the N.L.R.B. to disband the 20-year old company union.

In a few words: the Navy gang knew that Grace was using scab sponsoring a company union and intimidating workers from becoming real union men. And Grace knew he could sponsor a company union and union-busting methods and get the Navy contract.

The whole army-navy building program as revealed by this little incident is, in the final analysis, a scab union-busting program. It starts by giving the plums to open shops as well as to unionized establishments. Then as war comes closer and the might of the militarist gang (working hand-in-glove with the New Deal "liberals") increases, it begins to make inroads on the union organizations. That's what the M-Day Plan is for. It begins with a little favoritism for company unions and ends by putting the real unions behind the eight-ball.

There's a real point in Grace recalling that the company union plan was worked out in 1918 in cooperation with the War Labor Board. It is not merely a recollection—it is a prediction of the way things will look when war begins.

Hitler Apes Stalin

On January 3rd Hitler initiated the biggest "treason" trial in his six years of power. As one reads the official dispatches and the accounts of the first day of the trial, one is forcibly reminded of Stalin's juridical methods. Hitler seems to have drawn more than one leaf from the book of the Moscow trials.

As in the Moscow models, one learns in advance that those who are to be tried are already assumed to be guilty: some seventeen or so are to be beheaded. The trial is preceded by vituperative official releases. The chief victims are presented as oppositionists from of old, when they have actually been adherents of the regime. Ernst Nickisch, the most prominent defendant in the Nazi court, is presented as a Socialist who "antagonized National Socialism long before 1933"; actually he became a militarist in 1923, supported the Nazi conquest in 1933, and published a newspaper after Hitler became Chancellor.

The trial, like the Moscow ones, includes secret sessions, while the public sessions are to be in the nature of demonstrations, with some twenty-two principal defendants and numerous supernumeraries. It is reported they will confess in open court. It will be a big show.

Stalin, however, still leads Hitler in the number of victims.

Socialist Party Comes to An End

Party Folds Up to Become an "Educational" Society
Inside the American Labor Party

PATCH UP A LITTLE MISUNDERSTANDING



NORMAN THOMAS



ABE CAHAN

By the combined support of the extreme right wing (Thomas-Laidler) and their Tyler-Zamite satellites, a majority of the membership of the New York State Socialist Party has just voted in favor of a proposition submitted to referendum by the State Committee which provides for the members of the S.P. entering the American Labor Party.

The vote really brings to a conclusion a whole stage of development of the Thomas organization and marks its voluntary liquidation as a political party. Its liquidation as a left wing organization was effected some time ago.

After its break with the incorrigible social-democratic "Old Guard" a few years ago, the Socialist party not only took on new life but moved rapidly in the direction of revolutionary Marxism. The growth of a genuine left wing in its ranks, however, frightened the centrists and the right-wingers who had remained after the split. With a bureaucratic cynicism not exceeded by any Stalinist clique, the Thomas-Tyler leadership thereupon arbitrarily expelled from the party every member who stood for a revolutionary program.

Prediction Confirmed

The mass expulsion of left-wingers took the heart and soul out of the S.P. Hundreds who were not expelled, dropped out in disgust. The left wing, which formed the Socialist Workers Party a year ago, did not have long to wait for the fulfillment of its prediction: it declared that with the left wing gone, the extreme right wing would have undisputed and undisputed sway in the party and would reduce it to a conservative, impotent, social-democratic "educational" sect. Precisely that has happened now.

The membership of the S.P. has been reduced to a shadow—a far cry from the days, only a few years ago, when it looked down contemptuously upon the small revolutionary groups from the "heights" of its 15-20,000 membership. In the last elections, it was virtually wiped out as an electoral machine, losing its place on the New York ballot because it failed to poll even half of the required votes; its showing elsewhere was the worst yet recorded in the last 30-40 years.

The Dual Strategy

Simultaneously, the right wing developed a "dual" strategy. First, dissolve the party into the A.L.P., now that the S.P. had the "good fortune" to cease being an "official party," which makes its members eligible for membership in the Labor Party of New York. Secondly, fuse with the Social Democratic Federation, that is, return to the withered bosom of the "Old Guard."

The entry into the A.L.P., not at all reprehensible in itself but

which depends entirely on the policy which it is intended to follow inside it, means in the given case the end of the S.P. as a political party. Two years or so ago, virtually the entire party membership looked askance at the proposals of Alfred Baker Lewis and Co. to convert the S.P. into an educational society, that is, into a "respectable" Fabian club. No other party leader dared then to associate himself with this plan. Tyler-Zam and their friends even denounced it sternly as opportunistic liquidation. That opportunist liquidation is now being realized jointly by Lewis, Thomas and Tyler.

To make absolutely sure that the remnants of the S.P. are properly housebroken, the unification with the Social-Democratic Federation, led by the distinguished "revolutionary socialists" Abe Cahan and James Oneal, is being rushed to completion. The political program of the united organization can easily be imagined now. It will differ from the classic opportunism of the present S.D.F. like a skinny mouse differs from two skinnier mice. After 37 years of independent existence in New York, the Socialist party will have produced a Fabian mouse, looking in its old age for scraps of cheese in the A.L.P.

The Centrist Lament

The "minority" statement of the Zamites in the referendum, which endorsed the majority proposition, nevertheless begged piteously that "there must not be an unorganized rush which will denude the branches and sub-committees of personnel and make independent socialist existence impossible in fact, even though guaranteed in theory." The plea will be coldly ignored by Thomas, Laidler and Altman, who are the real and only bosses. The "independent socialist existence" in store for the S.P. will be circumscribed rigidly not

so much by Thomas, much less Zam, as by Alex Rose, Dubinsky and Hillman.

In a word, its "existence" will be as real and independent and critical and free as is that of the S.D.F., its partner in the coming family reconciliation. You can more easily catch a bird by baiting its tail than catch Laidler and Company saying or doing anything that hurts the bureaucratic political position of the A.L.P. hierarchy.

Future for S.P. Militants

What is left of Thomas' famous "all-inclusive" party? Little more than reminiscences of the tender moments it spent together with the "Old Guard" in the years gone by; there will be many such moments again in the days to come. Yet there is a little more than that. In the referendum in New York, a surprising number of members (85 out of 345, or one-fourth) voted against the State Committee proposition. In this, we are sure, these comrades did not express an unbending opposition to working inside the A.L.P. on a revolutionary socialist program, as their distrust of the unprincipled and opportunistic leaders of the S.P. This distrust is fully warranted, for gentlemen like Laidler and Altman will do exactly as much to infuse the A.L.P. with a class-struggle program as Louis Waldman and August Claessens have done—neither more nor less.

But what will these comrades do now? And the youth comrades in particular, for among them there are still many who want a militant socialist party? To all of them, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) call for true socialist unity, on a revolutionary Marxist program. Their place is with us, comrades in a common struggle. Is it not time they took their proper place?

BRENDA'S PARTY

(Continued from page 1)

500 was spent on champagne for one evening, and another \$1,000 for Scotch and rye and just plain Bourbon. And you can't just sit around making a pig of yourself at the table, can you? So another \$2,500 was paid for a little music to keep things moving. And what's the good of music if you can't dance? So another \$500 went to buy 300 gigoles to keep the girls amused at the party.

And you wouldn't expect them to dance around in a room that looks like a barn, would you? So another \$1,500 went for decorations, including flowers. Nor could you take chances on any roughnecks crashing a quiet little private party, could you? So another \$400 went to hire private dicks for the night.

She Needs Relaxation

In a word, Miss Frazier's party set her back some \$25,000-\$50,000 for the night, and considering the clean, healthy fun they all got out of it, it was cheap at twice the cost.

Now don't think we begrudge Miss Frazier a little fun. Not for a minute. She has a tough job to do and she ought to be allowed a little innocent relaxation. Imagine how hard you would have to work to manage an estate which totals \$4,051,000! Well, that's what Miss Brenda has to draw her modest income from; and it's this little income that she must watch over so carefully so that she can have another little party next month.

But Here's A Point

And as we were reading the reports of the accounting of Brenda's little estate, and the details of her cozy little party, we were struck by a little point.

Hundreds of thousands of horribly persecuted people in Europe haven't even a crust of bread or a glass of clean water—much less a roof over their heads. They are refugees from the fascist barbarians. They ask that the traditional right of asylum be invoked so

that the doors of "democratic America" may be opened to them.

And here are a gang of gigoles and clothes-horses, swilling around like so many swine at a gilded trough, wallowing drunkenly in champagne, squirting away about \$50,000 for just one night of celebration—the "coming out" of a worthless social parasite.

Relieving Miss Frazier

Why, it would be the easiest thing in the world to maintain hundreds of thousands of refugees in this country! It would be just as easy to extend real relief to the millions of unemployed.

All that has to be done is to relieve Miss Frazier of most of her worries. Just slap a tax—a real one—on the fortune which she squanders in slop and swill. Slap the same stiff tax on all the members of her useless class!

And if the working class were to fight for that, for really putting the squeeze on the parasite class, the problems of the masses would be the easiest thing in the world to solve.

It is not the refugees who are the problem. The problem is the Brenda Fraziers and the rest of her class. And if we tackle that problem in the simplest, boldest and most direct way, we'll find that the "problem of the refugees" will be automatically resolved.

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QUESTION BOX

(Conducted by the National Educational Department)

QUESTION: How do you answer the argument that the big armaments program will provide jobs?—M.B.F., Boston.

ANSWER: If the armaments program is a "blessing" for this reason, then so was the tornado that swept the East not long ago. It cannot be denied that tornadoes, earthquakes, fires, etc., also provide jobs—provided they take place on a sufficiently large scale. It is obvious, however, that such calamities waste the wealth of society and make every member of society so much poorer.

The same is true of the armaments program. The products of this industry do not go to satisfy a single human need; they do not add a whit to the wealth and goods available to society. The government might just as well decide on a billion-dollar program to build Egyptian pyramids every mile from coast to coast. On the contrary, unlike pyramids, the armaments program means the expenditure of money (wasting of wealth) in order to make possible the destruction of more wealth, not to speak of lives—this being the sole use for which armaments are manufactured.

The armaments program, in brief, means expenditure for socially useless, or rather socially destructive ends. We propose that the huge sums which Roosevelt wants appropriated to build huge battleships, and make machine-guns and poison gas, be spent rather on low-cost, non-profit housing, to provide substitutes for the slums; to build decent dwellings for the families now condemned to live in fire-traps and unsanitary hovels. Homes, not battleships! This expresses sharply the contradiction between advocacy of the armaments program and the interests of the masses of workers.

It is also noteworthy that out of a billion dollars spent on armaments, as against a billion dollars spent on (say) W.P.A., a smaller percentage of the former will end up in the hands of the needy workers themselves, because of the exorbitant profit-making which is rampant in the munition-making industry.

It cannot be denied that the great armament programs of other countries have resulted in propping up industrial activity, at least at first, and have created a kind of artificial prosperity, temporarily and on a limited scale. It acts as a shot-in-the-arm for capitalism, temporarily stimulating but leading eventually and shortly to an even greater relapse.

Thus far, we have answered the question on the basis of economic considerations. But it would be short-sighted to look upon the armaments program as a measure for domestic economic recovery. The armament program is another link in Roosevelt's preparation for the imperialist war which he knows is inevitable. It is one of the laps in the arms race which is progressing so feverishly among all the nations of the world. It is Roosevelt's saber-rattling to catch the attention of Germany and Japan.

This means that sooner or later the armaments program WILL provide a job for every able-bodied man—the job of killing his fellow-workers in foreign uniforms. We will be permitted to fight for the investments of the Fat Boys in Latin America and elsewhere, while dictatorship is clamped down at home, the militant labor movement is smashed, labor is squeezed to carry on the war, and Roosevelt makes pretty speeches about "democracy." This is the armament program's job—nothing else.

(Readers of the Socialist Appeal are urged to submit their questions for an answer by this department.)

C. P. MISRULE
IS EXPOSED IN
TEACHERS UNION

(Continued from page 1)

cratic regime which the Stalinists have established in the Teachers' Union, the resignation of four prominent members of Teachers College served to bring the fact dramatically before public attention.

Professor Childs pointed out that he had, in fact, resigned from the Local some time last Spring, but had not made his withdrawal public out of a desire not to injure the union. He was impelled to make the announcement publicly, he said, only after an insinuating and characteristic attack had been made upon him and his associates in the pages of the Nation by the well-known C. P. stooge, James Wechsler. The Wechsler article was calculated to discredit in advance any possible public criticism that Childs might make of Stalinist misrule in the Union.

Militants Fight C. P. Misrule

Militants in the New York Teachers' Union, who have long been conducting an organized fight against the class-collaborationist bureaucracy of the C. P., have expressed themselves as regretting the decision of the college teachers involved to quit the union.

Their position is that it is—now more than ever—necessary to stay in the union and extend the fight against the disastrous policies and leadership of the Stalinists. Many of them feel gratified at the statement by Professor George S. Counts, former collaborator of the Stalinists who has recently broken with them, but who has declared, in connection with the resignations of other members from the Teachers' Union, that while he is discontented with the management of the union by the Communist Party people, he intends to stay inside the organization and fight against anti-democratic malpractices.

Professor Childs' revelations of the C. P. stranglehold on the union proved very interesting. He pointed out that after the official Columbia University Stalinist paper "Vanguard" had repeatedly published stupid and malicious attacks on the faculty and the College, he made an attempt to have the Teachers' College Union Chapter made public a disavowal of any connections with the Stalinist sheet. In this effort, he was defeated by the Stalinist overlords who were interested primarily in defending their clique interests, no matter how stupidly expressed or injurious to the union. It was after this humiliating demonstration of the complete factional control which the Stalinists exercise over the union, plus the fact that they



C. L. R. JAMES

C. L. R. JAMES
OPENS NATIONAL
TOUR IN PHILA.

C. L. R. James, noted English lecturer and writer, opened a national speaking tour on Friday, January 6th, in Philadelphia, and will speak in Newark on Sunday, the 8th.

A series of meetings addressed by James in New York prior to his departure brought enthusiastic praise for his oratorical ability and capacity for analysis of world events. Audiences will have an opportunity to hear him in almost every important city in the United States.

His next lectures are scheduled for the following dates and places:

New Haven: Tuesday, January 10, 8 p.m.: "Twilight of the British Empire," Otisfield Hall.

Roxbury: Thursday, January 12, 8 p.m.: "Twilight of the British Empire," Otisfield Hall.

Lynn, Mass.: January 13, 8 p.m., Lynn Labor Lyceum, 127 Oxford Street: "Twilight of the British Empire."

Boston: Sunday, January 15, 8 p.m., Masonic Temple, 1095 Tremont Street: "The Negro People and World Imperialism."

Time and place of later meetings will be reported as the tour progresses.

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tried to have him meet with Browder and Hathaway, C. P. leaders, in order to "straighten out" union matters (!!) that union, plus the fact that they

THEIR WAGE IS ONE CENT AN HOUR!

How do the millions of workers down at the bottom of the economic ladder live? The answer to this question, long shrouded in mystery and kept from public attention by the venal press, is now coming to light thanks to the Wages and Hours Bill.

Compelled to seek information for the purposes of applying the Bill, the Wages and Hours Administration has uncovered degrading conditions of poverty and exploitation which have kept millions of workers in the black pit of coolie misery. Out of their slave labor comes the fabulous wealth of the Doris Dukes, the Barbara Huttons, the Brenda Fraziers and the rest of the parasite, upper-class bums of the 60 ruling families.

The Wages and Hours Bill in no way solves the problem of sub-standard labor. It merely smears a little soothing salve on this festering sore in the aim of making American workers more amenable to becoming cannon fodder in Wall Street's coming war, and of easing competitive conditions for the big capitalists.

Down at the bottom of this pit are the workers in the needle trades, cane sugar, fertilizer, pecan shelling and lumber industries of Puerto Rico and the South.

One Cent an Hour

In Puerto Rico, for instance, according to U.S. Labor Department statistics, 31.4 percent of the women engaged in the needle trades earn less than one (1) cent per hour, 31.1 percent earn one and under two cents and 31.4 percent earn two and under four cents. Adult male labor in the sugar cane fields averages less than ten cents per hour. The Labor Department states that the cost of a proper diet in Puerto Rico is \$3.19 per week. Yet over one-fifth of the families interviewed by government investigators had total weekly earnings of less than 50 cents and almost four-fifths earned less than \$3.00 per week.

In Texas there are many women workers averaging less than five cents per hour; in the entire pecan shelling industry the wages range from less than five to seven cents.

There are countless other examples of pay below 25 cents per hour. Notoriously low is the pay of the turpentine workers of Florida and the fertilizer and cotton workers throughout the entire South.

Western Union "Wages"

In the North the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies typify super-exploitation. About 50 percent of the Western Union "boys" outside of New York City

earn 10 to 19 cents per hour. In New York City over 25 percent earn 20 cents per hour or less.

The Roosevelt "solution," the Wage and Hour Act, which is to maintain "the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency and general well being," applies only to those 11,000,000 workers whose products or services are used in commerce between the states. Under the Act they are to receive not less than 25 cents an hour and their work week is limited to 44 hours for the first year; the second year they will receive 30 cents and work 42 hours; the third year they will receive 35 cents and work 40 hours; the eighth year they are to get 40 cents and work 40 hours. Time-and-a-half is to be paid for overtime.

In terms of real life this wage scale means that a man lives decently and marries on \$11 per week. The second year he is raised to \$12.60 and puts a couple of kids into the world. By the time the eighth year comes around he is getting \$16 per week and is looking for investments for his surplus cash.

Bill Does Not Effect All

It must constantly be borne in mind that the Act will affect only some 2,225,000 of the 11,000,000 workers directly or indirectly engaged in interstate commerce. The 24,000,000 workers who are not so engaged receive no attention whatsoever.

There are other tremendous gaps in the Act. Child Labor (under 16) in interstate commerce is prohibited. 50,000 children will be released from sweatshops immediately. Yet the New Deal has made no provision for supplementing the income of their parents who are unable to support them. Child Labor not involved in interstate commerce goes on. The New Deal courts say it is the problem of the states. All courts have said so since 1916.

Furthermore, the Act provides no minimum wage for part time workers, learners, handicapped persons and messengers. Workers handling, preparing or canning horticultural and agricultural products or making dairy products "within the area of production" or at nearby plants having seven or fewer employees are also excluded.

These are the gaps which become evident at first glance. As time goes on the government will inevitably multiply them in order not to drive weak businesses to the wall. It must also be remembered that all cases of dispute are settled by a boss court.

Employer Evasion Begins

The employers, however, have not waited for the New Deal to punch additional holes into the

Act. They have already begun a campaign of firing and evasion. To-date 3,300 complaints have been registered by unions and groups of workers. In Puerto Rico 120,000 of the island's 420,000 workers are being laid off, bringing the number of unemployed there to 350,000. Saw mills in Arkansas and Mississippi have closed. 5,000 to 7,000 workers of the pecan shelling industry around San Antonio have been shown the gate. In the North, the Western Union Telegraph Company has threatened to dump 3,125 "boys" onto the street because the company is operating at a deficit (\$1,615,919 for the first ten months of 1938); yet R. B. White, president, and Newcomb Carlton, chairman, continue to draw \$75,770 and \$62,065 per year.

Compared with America's capacity to produce, the Act's \$11 worth of purchasing power is a mockery. It has time and again been shown that a living wage begins at \$30. By setting such a sub-standard minimum the government has encouraged the bosses to reduce wages. This was done under the N.R.A. and will be done again.

Whether or not the Act can even to some slight degree benefit labor as a whole will only be decided by the activity of the trade unions. It is not enough for them to register complaints with the Wage and Hour Division. Where the bosses lay off and reduce wages, the unions must demand inspection of the books looking toward reinstatement and restoration of wages if the boss can pay. If the business is running at a deficit, as Western Union is, the workers must demand that the government take it over with workers control of wages, hours and financial operations. If the enterprise is too small to be taken over, the union must demand public works at trade union wages for those who have been cast on to the streets.

No reliance on the government! Make the boss or his government pay! For a 30 hour week at a \$30 minimum!

CORRECTION

In the article on Argentine last week an erroneous reference was made to a "Bolshevik-Leninist League" in Argentina. Actually several groups of the Fourth International tendency exist in Argentina and the Pan-American Sub-Secretariat of the International is at present sponsoring unity negotiations.

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