

**Open the Doors
To Europe's
Refugees!**

Socialist Appeal

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

**All War
Funds To the
Unemployed!**

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F.D.R. CUTS WPA, BOOMS WAR

Tom Mooney Freed After Twenty-Two Year Battle

S.W.P. Greets Tom Mooney

Immediately upon receiving official announcement that Tom Mooney had been freed, the following telegram of greetings was addressed to him by the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party:

"TOM MOONEY
"SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

"SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HAILS YOUR RELEASE AS VINDICATION OF LONG STRUGGLE BY WORKING CLASS AGAINST CAPITALIST FRAMEUP SYSTEM AND WELCOMES YOUR RETURN TO ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN LABOR MOVEMENT.

"JAMES P. CANNON, Secretary
"SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY."

Class War Prisoner Is Fully Vindicated

**Became Symbol of Workers' Struggle
Here and Abroad Against
Capitalist Injustice**

Tom Mooney, imprisoned together with Warren K. Billings for more than twenty-two years on a frame-up which aroused an international protest movement was freed last week by virtue of a full pardon granted him by the new Governor of California, Culbert L. Olson.

In his statement accepting the pardon, Mooney declared that he would now concentrate on obtaining the release of his co-worker, Billings.

Mooney was convicted in San Francisco on Feb. 24, 1917 of first degree murder—Billings, tried separately, was convicted of second-degree murder—in connection with a dynamite explosion on July 22, 1916 during a reactionary "Preparedness Day Parade" of the open-shoppers.

Railroaded by Open-Shoppers
Mooney had been active for years in aggressive labor organization drives, and had earned the fierce hatred of the reactionary and open shop forces of California. Even before the Preparedness Day Parade, repeated efforts had been made by these forces to railroad Mooney to prison.

The trial which ended in Mooney's being sentenced to death by hanging, was one of the most outrageously flagrant examples of a frame-up known in the history of the country. The very dregs of society were scooped up by the prosecution, working hand in glove with the California capitalist class, to bring false testimony against Mooney.

Prostitutes, pimps, drug fiends and similar elements, wax in the hands of the District Attorney, were the principal witnesses of the prosecution. Evidence which clearly proved Mooney's innocence was deliberately suppressed by the District Attorney, as was the case with the famous photograph which showed Mooney and his wife Rena watching the parade from the roof of a building which was six miles from the scene of the explosion, while a jeweler's clock in the street below showed only a few minutes from the time when the dynamite blew up.

Russian Workers Protest
Interestingly enough, the conspiracy of silence and direct sabotage of Mooney's case by the conservative labor leaders who always hated his militancy, was broken in this country by the revolutionary workers of Petrograd who demonstrated before the American Embassy in 1917 with cries which bewildered American correspondents transcribed in their cables as "Free Muni!"

The demonstration, however, served to bring the Mooney case dramatically before the American working class and helped the development of a powerful mass

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\$30 FOR 30-HOUR WEEK IS TOLEDO JOBLESS DEMAND

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

TOLEDO, Ohio—Adoption of a militant and progressive program for the unemployed marked the rally held here last week of 500 W.P.A. workers under the auspices of the Federal Workers Council executive board, C.I.O.

Presented by Timothy McCormick, of the United Truck operators union, the program for immediate action in Ohio and for a long-range national plan was enthusiastically endorsed.

Highlights of the program are:

1. The guarantee of an opportunity for jobs at union wages under union conditions for all workers either in private industry or on government public works.

2. A minimum wage of \$30 per week, and the establishment by law of \$30 per week, every week as the minimum guaranteed income level.

3. A 30-hour maximum work week, six hours per day, five days a week with no reduction in the present weekly earnings of workmen in industry.

4. Five billion dollar federal public works program to provide permanent jobs at socially useful work.

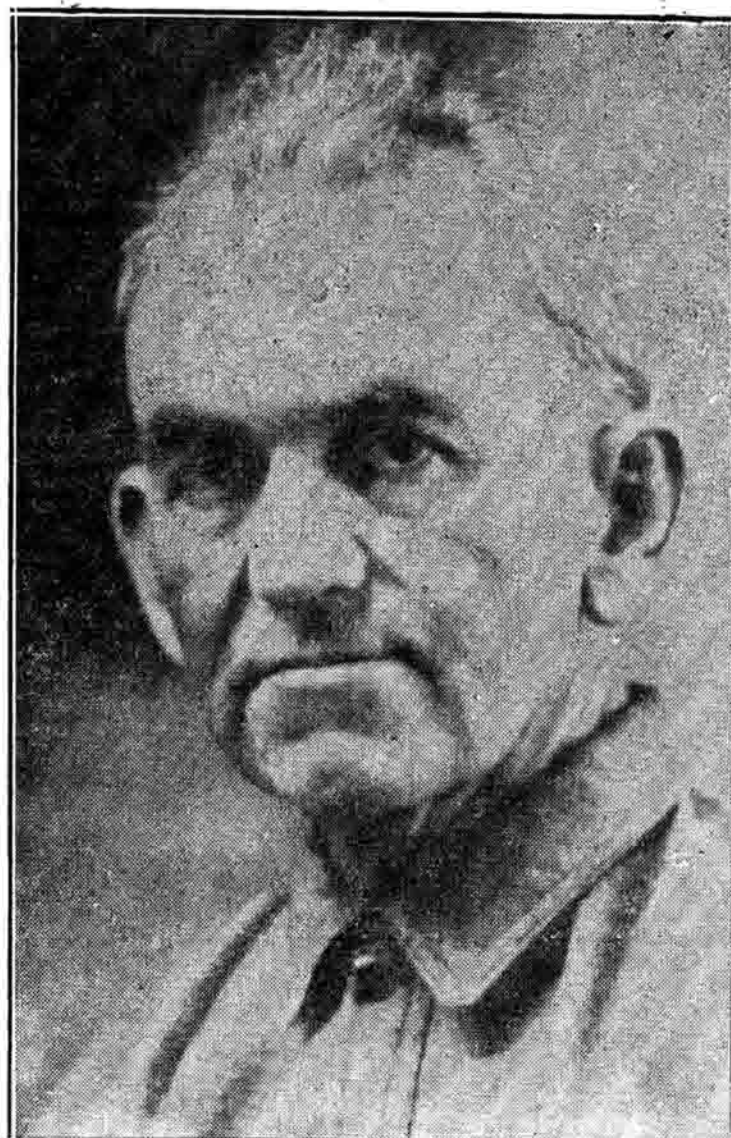
5. Five billion dollar annual appropriation for a federal low cost housing program until every worker's family has a decent home.

6. All factories and productive equipment, either idle or working far below capacity, shall be operated by the government to provide work for the unemployed on a production for use basis.

7. Tax the rich to pay the cost of this program.

8. Immediate establishment of an adequate federal cash relief program to provide emergency relief until jobs are provided

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Roosevelt Condemns Jews To Be Permanent Pariahs

**Asks Mussolini to Open Up Ethiopia But
Clamps Down on Admitting
Refugees to U. S.**

By FELIX MORROW

Pious tears continue to flow here for the Jewish refugees, but there is not a sign that the Roosevelt administration intends to permit Congressional action enabling refugees to find a haven here. The extraordinary fact that not a single Congressman has issued a public statement declaring for relaxing immigration restrictions, not even Congressman Celler whose bill with that purpose died in the last session and has not been re-introduced, is to be explained by active administration discouragement of such measures.

Privately administration leaders are saying that Jews should go to "sparsely settled" lands—Africa, South America, Palestine, in fact anywhere except the United States. Roosevelt has now publicly enunciated this principle in his letter to Mussolini requesting that Jews be allowed to settle in Ethiopia.

A "Subtle" Move

Administration admirers think it was very clever and very noble

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Leon Trotsky Hits Back At N. Y. 'Daily News' Slanders

The New York Daily News has opened up a campaign of vicious attack upon the Mexican workers and upon the expropriation policy pursued by the Mexican Government. A series of articles by one Fred Pasley is presenting Mexico as being under the rule of "anarchy and the Reds." Editorially the News has on recent occasions charged that Leon Trotsky was the real power in Mexico behind President Cardenas. Pasley sent a list of questions to Trotsky which the latter agreed to answer if the News in turn agreed to publish the answer in full. The interview appeared in the News last week. Trotsky's replies to Pasley follow:

1. The News in an editorial published October 29, 1938, said in part that "Trotsky is a friend and adviser of Cardenas," and that therefore you were behind the expropriation of petroleum properties in Mexico. Your counsel, Mr. Albert Goldman, has demanded that The News retract the editorial by the News. Will you please state your personal views as to the truth or falsity of the News' allegations.

2. It has been frequently implied in the daily press of the United States, probably because

tion discouragement of such measures.

Even this, with its threat of unprecedented suffering for the unemployed, is not enough for Wall Street. Under the slogans of "economy," "take politics out of relief," and "return control of relief to local agencies," a determined drive is on to lower the appropriations still further, and to hamstring them with restrictions.

Resistance Imperative
It would be impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of the prospect for the unemployed. Only the most determined mass resistance from the unemployed will prevent the President and Congress from carrying out their plan.

In some quarters it is even thought that the cut in the WPA budget is a preliminary to the

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SLASHES OUTLAY TO PROVIDE FOR BIG ARMS BUDGET

**Millions to Starve
to Aid Plans
For War**

RESISTANCE VITAL

The new session of Congress is opening up with the most bitter attack in years, by both the President and Congressional leaders, on the already shamefully inadequate relief structure. If present plans go through, the unemployed have before them the most terrible year since 1929.

With at least twelve to thirteen million now unemployed; with the list swelling far more rapidly through the entrance of new age groups into the labor market and through technological displacement than can possibly be compensated even by the problematically promised upturn in business; with relief now far below the minimum living standards of the Government's own figures; with these conditions staring the country in the face, it is proposed to slash the rate of relief heavily for the remainder of the current fiscal year, and still more deeply for the next fiscal year (beginning July 1).

Cut of 25%
Roosevelt has asked for a special appropriation of \$875,000,000 to carry WPA through to July 1. \$125,000,000 of this, however, is to be set aside in a special reserve for "emergencies" subsequent to July 1. With the previous appropriation for the current year virtually exhausted, the new \$750,000,000 spread out over the remainder of the fiscal year would represent a cut of about 25% in monthly WPA expenditures.

Such a cut could, of course, be accomplished only by sweeping layoffs—which in point of fact have been going on since a week following the elections—and by reductions in the WPA wage scales.

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Billion More For War; Billion Less For WPA

One billion dollars more for arms! One billion dollars less for relief!

That, fellow-workers, is the proposal of the new budget now put before Congress and the nation.

The budget of the current fiscal year carries a little over one billion dollars for arms. The new budget lists \$1,300,000,000 for "normal" expenses of the War and Navy Departments, and "special" appropriations to carry it well over \$2,000,000,000. And the plan will be to add plenty more even to that figure before this session of Congress is over.

During the current fiscal year, something more than \$3,300,000,000 is being spent on WPA and other forms of relief—a sum that doesn't come within a hundred miles of supplying the need. The new budget proposes a total of approximately \$2,300,000,000.

Whose budget is this? Who is demanding that a billion more dollars be poured into the pockets of the munitions manufacturers, and a billion dollars be taken away from the unemployed? That must be one of those Tory-Hoover-Landon-Liberty League plots we hear so much about? Or is it Hearst's or Coughlin's idea?

Wrong on both counts. This is the budget of the "leader in the fight of progress vs. reaction," America's No. 1 demagogue, the sanctimonious hypocrite of the White House—Franklin ("I hate war") Roosevelt.

This is the answer of Roosevelt to 13,000,000 unemployed and their families, to the rotten food and worse housing of 40,000,000 persons, to all the aged workers thrown out of jobs with no chances of ever getting new ones, to the sharecroppers and tenant farmers who don't see five dollars cash from one end of the year to the next, to the rubber workers getting ten hours a week when they are lucky, to the steel workers being thrown out in the cold by the tens of thousands as the new rolling mills open.

This is the kick in the face of the U.S. workers with which Franklin Roosevelt starts off his new year.

This is the man John L. Lewis told us to vote for, remember? This is the hero of William Green, Sidney Hillman, Dan Tobin, David Dubinsky, and Earl Browder.

They don't seem to be complaining; they got what they bargained for. What's a billion more or less for the unemployed to them? They're not worrying about WPA or relief rolls. They're too busy living up to their side of the contract, getting ready to lead the workers of the country into Roosevelt's war.

It's about time that the workers of the United States woke up to the real meaning of Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal, and of the Greens and Lewises and Tobins who sell him to the public. He's had six years, now, to show his stuff. The results are in: permanent mass unemployment, universal insecurity, a sinking standard of living—and his war just around the corner.

Last week's annual message to Congress and the budget message bring Roosevelt more into the open than at any time in the past. A stiff, powerful blow at unemployed and the working class; a summons to a Holy War for Wall Street; that is what the messages boil down to.

Roosevelt calls on the nation to get ready to fight for "religion," "democracy," and "the sanctity of international law." What a shameless piece of trickery from this unscrupulous jingo, ready at all times to prostitute every dictate of conscience, God or morality to the fundamental needs of the Sixty Families!

Religion somehow didn't stimulate him to include a single word of comfort for the German Jews; democracy didn't provoke him to the smallest protest against the Latin American dictatorships which his power upholds; the sanctity of international law wasn't potent enough to lead him to apologize in the slightest for trying to strangle Mexico to death because Mexico wants to lead its own life.

It's time the workers came to see that the struggle for jobs and a decent living has got to be a struggle against Roosevelt and his New Deal and their publicity agents in labor's ranks just as much as against the Republicans.

To support Roosevelt and the New Deal is simply to support Roosevelt's program for slashing relief and plunging the workers into the most terrible war of history. Roosevelt, Roosevelt himself, is the outstanding leader of U.S. capitalism in its new, offensive against the unemployed, and the leader of the war-mongers.

Roosevelt has delivered his message to Congress. The workers had now better deliver their message, and put it in terms that Congress can understand.

Take these two billion dollars of war funds, through which U.S. workers are supposed to murder their brothers in other countries, and use them where they ought to be used: for the unemployed.

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!

Jobs: jobs for every worker at a decent wage! A universal maximum work week of thirty hours, and a universal weekly minimum wage of thirty dollars for every worker, employed, unemployed, or part-time employed!

THIRTY DOLLARS! THIRTY HOURS!

You can't do it, you Congressmen say? Then get out, and let somebody take your place who can.

INDICATES HE IS READY TO HURL NATION INTO WAR

**Tries To Make Use
Of Anti-Fascist
Sentiment**

'GUNS, NOT BUTTER'

Driving relentlessly towards a super-armaments program to equip American imperialism for the defense of its world-wide interests in the coming war, President Roosevelt last week submitted a budget to Congress which calls for the largest peace-time military and naval expenditures in the history of the United States.

One billion dollars are to be sliced off the already skimpy allotment for the relief of the unemployed millions, while the same amount, and more, is to be added to the war budget.

Taking his place in the vicious circle of the international armaments race, Roosevelt sought to justify his proposals for military and naval appropriations by referring to the piling up of armaments in other countries—countries which, in turn, try to justify

Forgotten Words for the Forgotten Man

"The employment given by armament programs is false employment. It builds no permanent structure and creates no consumer's goods for the maintenance of a lasting prosperity. We know that nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy, like a house of cards, will fall apart." From a speech delivered by Franklin D. Roosevelt in Buenos Aires, Date: 1936.

their expenditures for the same purpose by reference to still other lands.

Anti-Fascist Sentiments Exploited

At the same time, Roosevelt made cunning use of the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses by rhetorical flourishes in favor of democracy in opposition to dictatorship, with the explicit declaration that the armaments he proposes are intended for the approaching war. It goes without saying that, like the imperialist demagogues of all countries, "democratic" as well as fascist, the war into which he envisages plunging the masses of the United States, is exclusively for "defense"—that is, for the defense of the economic interests which the American ruling class has in this country and all over the rest of the globe.

It is difficult to imagine a more cynical contempt for the unalleviated sufferings of the millions still in the cold grip of unemployment, than is revealed in Roosevelt's proposed budget. Although he, like his fellow-democrats, expresses pious indignation at the brutally frank slogan of the Nazis—"Bullets not butter"—the budget is simply a translation in the language of expenditure statistics of the same thought.

The wretchedly neglected unemployed are to be cut down a billion dollars, so that what little slivers of butter they have seen in the past will melt away into nothing. On the other hand, there is an additional million allocated to "bullets."

Large Items Concealed

It is interesting and significant that the unprecedented war budget increase is hypocritically minimized. Although the press features the fact that it is being augmented "only" 30 percent above the figure of the preceding year, bringing it to a total of about \$1,300,000,000, the actual expenditures in the budget ran to about twice that sum. Not in the headlines, but hidden away in the body of a Washington dispatch

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Omaha Truckmen In Key Battle Against Bosses

Cannon Sees a Gain
For Whole
Country

By JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary, S.W.P.
MINNEAPOLIS—As the Omaha truckmen's strike goes into its nineteenth week, and it becomes apparent that this extraordinarily long struggle will soon culminate in a victory for the workers, it is in point to describe the national significance of this great fight.

That the strike was limited to the area around Omaha—roughly including Lincoln and Sioux City, Iowa—is itself a remarkable fact and a tribute to the generalship provided by the North Central Area Negotiating Committee of the teamsters. This committee, backed by the teamsters unions in eleven states, has brilliantly conducted a general campaign which has established uniform minimum conditions under a signed closed-shop contract for some 300,000 highway drivers in the 11-state area.

An Iron Ring
Bold action drove the bosses into line so that the one strike which has had to be conducted is being waged under conditions favorable to the workers. The strike area is entirely surrounded by unionized terminals which do not handle scab-transported goods, and the strikers are fighting with the financial backing of their brothers throughout the area and with funds provided by the International.

Victory in Omaha means final assurance that the 11-state uniform contract is a permanent achievement. Meanwhile the area covered is already growing; the essential elements of the contract have now been applied to the main sections of Texas and Oklahoma, thereby creating an entering wedge for all unions into the deep South. As the movement grows in strength, it secures superior conditions; the last regional contract signed, covering Detroit, secured the best advances as yet made.

It is already taken for granted in the Teamsters International that what began as a modest five-state venture some two years ago in Minneapolis (the old North Central Drivers Council) and blossomed a year ago into an 11-state set-up, will shortly extend to the rest of the country.

Composition Changed
In the process, the actual composition of the teamsters' movement has undergone a profound change. It is already no longer a movement based on driver-salesmen (milk, bread, ice, laundry), but a really proletarian movement of transport drivers and warehousemen, and will become so increasingly. This signifies that the Teamsters International, already with some 500,000 members, the largest single union in the country and rapidly growing, will by its significant social composition play a role even greater than that indicated by its sheer numbers.

Tobin's break with his old colleagues at the A.F.L. convention was a reflection of this process. The teamsters' movement is undoubtedly scheduled to play a major role in the progressive unification of the labor movement. The contrast between its growth—under conditions of scope given to fresh and vital forces within it and coupled with a policy of amicable relations with the C.I.O. mass unions—and the ossification of the die-hard unions like Wharton's machinists and Frey's moulders, is a real sign of the times. Far from strengthening the old A.F.L.'s discredited program, the onward march of the teamsters is hastening the victory of industrial unionism.

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CHICAGO MASS MEETINGS
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BRITISH EMPIRE"
Friday, January 27—8:00 P.M.
Capitol Building
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**"SOCIALISM
AND THE NEGRO"**
Sunday, January 29—3:00 P.M.
Abraham Lincoln Center
700 Oakwood Blvd. Adm. 15c
Unemployed Free

More Die in Firetraps as Boss Politicians Make Promises

By GRACE SAUNDERS
Two fires broke out in a tenement building at 210 West 103d Street, New York City, shortly before dawn on January 5, one on the first floor and one on the third floor. Scores of inhabitants of the building awoke from sleep with the acrid smell of smoke in their nostrils and the horrifying sound of burning, crackling timbers in their ears.

Escape through the entrance of the building and escape to the roof were both blocked. Pressed on all sides by terrifying sheets of flame, they attempted to make their way to fire-escapes and safety. Two of the occupants were crippled. Heroic action by firemen saved the lives of the majority of the trapped people.

But four of them, Mrs. George Dagnault, 65 years old, Mrs. Anna LeClair, 52 years old, Harry Arges, 20, and his 18-year old wife, Beckie, perished miserably, suffocated and burned to death.

Condemned Firetrap
The building that was razed was one of the "old law tenement buildings," condemned by the authorities as unsafe for human habitation. Yet scores of people were living in it, and four people died in it. The building was operated, commented a city official, in "violation of the law."

There are some 64,000 of these old tenements standing in New York City today, serving as insecure homes to hundreds of thousands of the city's poor, in "violation of the law."

Week after week the dreary reports of loss of life from fires in tumbled-down tenements recur monotonously in the press. So commonplace have they become that only occasionally when the papers are short of news, an arson angle can be exploited, or loss of life and property rises to spectacular heights are they accorded more than brief perfunctory mention.

Yet the causes of these fires are known, and in the majority of cases they could be avoided or at least kept under control. But the authorities have become callous, and nothing is done.

The 103d Street fire differed from countless others in that in this instance an arrest was made. Of the landlords, who have already been condemned as criminally negligent? Absurd! The arrested man was a 27-year old unemployed elevator operator, who is accused of having lighted the fires in order to obtain a negligible stipend from a newspaper for having turned in a "hot" tip. The owner of the property, the Beacon Arms Company, escapes with no more than the inconspicuous mention of its name in the paper.

What the City Does
Faced with this problem, what does the city do? Take upon itself the task of repairing the old-law tenements to conform with the Multiple Dwelling Law, charging the costs to the landlords

RUBBER WORKERS THREATEN STRIKE

By R. FERGUSON
(Special to Socialist Appeal)
AKRON, O.—Goodrich unionists yesterday in a large membership meeting voted their executive board authority to "take such action as it deems advisable" if the company does not rehire within 10 days 42 union members who have not been taken back since the business upturn last fall.

The union already has forced the company to rehire 50 workers through negotiations under its collective bargaining contract, but the company insists on denying the 42 remaining workers their seniority by such phoney excuses as "physical disqualifications" and "bad work records."

The rubber barons are making a bad guess if they think they can get away with such chiseling against the largest and most militant of the Akron rubber unions. Already rumors are passing around in the labor movement that Goodrich local may go on strike. President Callahan interpreted the union vote to mean that "it simply shows that we mean business."

Sentiment amongst many fighting gum miners is that the company's stalling through long-drawn-out negotiations and attempted weeding out of militant committeemen under guise of feeble charges, really makes them worse off under a contract than without one.

On Jan. 1 the union contract expired. Since then new negotiations have bogged down, primarily on the question of paid vacations. The union refuses to continue until the company grants the same or better conditions than last year, which were won after the quick, well-organized strike.

where they rightly belong? A law, known as the Prior Lien Statute, designed to enable the city to act thus, the costs to constitute a charge against the property ahead of mortgages and all other liens except taxes was opposed by "three large savings banks"—Mayor LaGuardia is careful not to divulge their names—and their opposition was backed by the courts which held the bill a violation of both State and Federal Constitutions.

Alternatively the city might condemn and close the buildings which are such a hazard to health and life. But, and here we come to the nub of the situation and a fact which even the genial mayor is willing to admit: "there is no place for these tenants to move if the buildings are demolished."

The mayor is outraged by this latest in a long series of avoidable catastrophes, and thunderously proclaims that at long last he is going to try to solve the problem. He is going to petition the State Legislature to amend the existing law to permit and require the city to publicize the names of the owners and mortgages of the unsafe old-law tenements so that "everybody may see" and then "we will show you the respectability of some of the owners of these firetraps."

And What Then?
And then, after we have learned about the "respectability" (once more!) of the owners of these firetraps, presumably the slum landlords will undergo a change of heart and make the necessary outlays for the minimum protection of life. Whoever asserts that such timid pressure, if indeed it can be called pressure at all, will alter the actions of the money-grubbers who own the ramshackle tenements, is either a fool or a demagogue. The only pressure that slum landlords can understand or will understand is pressure that threatens their gains culled at the expense of human misery. That pressure must come—and will only come—from the workers acting in a united mass through their organizations.

Mayor LaGuardia, however, apparently realizes that the "exposure" he advocates will not have very serious results, and he points with expansive pride to the

Tom Mooney Freed After Twenty-Two Year Battle

(Continued from page 1)
movement in this country to prevent the frame-up gang in California from hanging Mooney. So strong did the protest become that Governor Stephens of California found himself compelled, on Nov. 28, 1918, to commute Mooney's sentence to life imprisonment.

The tireless work of Mooney's friends, and defense committees that were formed throughout the country, continued to unearth new evidence and to reveal the whole sordid system by means of which Mooney had been convicted. Several witnesses against him subsequently recanted their false testimony, among them Frank C. Oxman and John MacDonald. A special investigation committee sent to California by President Wilson also disclosed that a frame-up had been perpetrated.

Years of Struggle
In spite of this, and in spite of the fact that 11 of the 12 living jurors, as well as the presiding judge, later called for Mooney's liberation, a succession of California governors refused to release the victim of class justice.

Finally, after years of agitation and repeated demonstrations of Mooney's innocence and the vicious frame-up which sent him to prison, and after years of sabotage and cynicism displayed by all the courts of the country before which the case was brought, including the United States Supreme Court, Mooney was par-

MINN. WORKERS FIGHT WPA CUTS

(Special to Socialist Appeal)
MINNEAPOLIS—1,500 aroused workers protested W.P.A. layoffs at a mass meeting sponsored by the Central Labor Union Relief Committee on January 3rd at Eagles Hall.

A five-point program was adopted and the Central Labor Union committee empowered to press for it:

1. Immediate stoppage of all W.P.A. layoffs.
2. Thirty hours of work each week at trade union wages and

ASK FOR THE APPEAL
AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

practical steps that the authorities are taking to solve the housing problem—erection of the Harlem Houses, the Williamsburg project, the Red Hook and Queens Bridge undertakings.

But what he fails to say is that these projects, good in themselves, amount in view of the immensity of the problem which exists to little more than a scratching of the surface, that they provide merely a miniature architect's model of what might be done, and of what must be done if this shameful waste of lives is to be avoided.

Government Program
As has been pointed out on other occasions, the entire low-cost housing program of the government—city, state, and federal—envisages the construction of some 250,000 to 300,000 dwellings by 1940 or 1941 for the entire country, whereas the immediate shortage of decent homes is conservatively estimated at the present time as five and a half million. In other words, all the grandiose and much-publicized efforts of the government may in several years time result in erecting four or five per cent of the homes desperately needed today. And it should be borne in mind that the need is not static, but is increasing every day.

It should also be borne in mind that in the majority of these so-called low-cost housing projects, the rent is so high that the present slum dwellers cannot possibly take up residence in them.

The problem of the immediate demolition of firetrap tenements, which can be made possible only by the construction of many thousands of really low-rent housing projects, is a pressing one. No serious effort is being made to meet it.

The government, instead, is absorbed in the task of building a gigantic army and navy. President Roosevelt, in his recent budget speech to Congress, asked for \$2,000,000,000 for the armed forces of the country for the fiscal year 1939-1940. Two billions for the defense of Morgan, Rockefeller, DuPont et al investments abroad.

How about \$2,000,000,000 (at least!) in 1939-1940, Mr. President, for the defense of American lives in homes?

done by Governor Olson. The long overdue gubernatorial action is only a confirmation of the contentions made by militant labor for 22 years that Mooney was the victim of capitalist justice, and a vindication of the fight made by the labor movement throughout the world.

Upon his release, Mooney declared that he intends to devote himself to restoring the unity of the American trade union movement, now divided between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O.

Backed Olson
Although Mooney was imprisoned throughout the past 22 years, he remained in actuality the director of the campaign for his release conducted by the Defense Committee.

It is regarded as unfortunate, however, that while the campaign for Mooney was conducted for years on a militant working class basis, the famous class-war prisoner permitted himself, in the last elections, to urge workers to get behind the candidacy of the Democratic party nominee for Governor of California, Olson, which was the line taken by the Stalinists and other opponents of independent working class political action.

Meetings are being planned for Mooney in every important city, and, judging from the enthusiastic parade which greeted him in San Francisco, workers will turn out in unprecedented numbers to welcome Mooney back to activity in labor's ranks.

Protest in St. Paul

ST. PAUL, Minn.—A resolution passed by the Warehouse Employees' Union of this city condemns in strong words the W.P.A. layoffs and the Roosevelt administration's war plans.

Declaring that it is the duty of all workers to assist the unemployed and to resist war, the union's resolution concludes with the demand that "all war appropriations be turned over to projects such as housing, which will be constructive rather than destructive."

Miles Dunne, Secretary-Treasurer of the Teamsters' Joint Council, warned the workers that the day will soon come when American capitalists, vying with German and Italian competitors, will attempt to put the heel of fascism on the necks of the American workers.

Big Phila. Meeting Opens James Tour

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—C. L. R. James opened up his cross country lecture tour before a large and appreciative audience in Philadelphia on Friday, Jan. 6. The noted Negro labor orator who spoke on the decline of the British empire showed an amazing grasp of all the factors involving the political and economic road of England's collapse.

"The name of England is being dragged through the mud in the colonies," James reported. Tracing historically the first cracks in the structure of one of the world's great imperial realms, he graphically exposed the meaning of Chamberlain's appeasement policy and the resultant pact of Munich. James completely captivated his audience with his graceful yet forceful platform style and his ability to clarify the issues on hand.

1600 WPA WOMEN FIRED ON COAST

Relief Union Plans
to Fight New
Firings

(Special to Socialist Appeal)
LOS ANGELES.—Some 1,600 women employed on the sewing projects were cut from W.P.A. rolls today and advised to seek work in private industry. Colonel Donald H. Connelly, Southern California W.P.A. administrator, in a statement to the local press declared that the original orders from Washington directed a cut of 2,600 persons but because of protests the cuts were restricted to the 1,600 women.

The first in the recent series of cuts was ordered the day after Thanksgiving when all class B, or disabled workers, were cut from the rolls. In the month of December the number employed was reduced by 6,000. At the end of November there were 53,000 employed by the W.P.A. in Southern California and to date the number has been reduced to 45,400.

Militants Fight Cuts
At the time of the discharges on Nov. 24, several experienced unemployed militants who received dismissals began to organize the unemployed and project workers in an effort to combat the cuts. They refused to seek assistance from the Workers Alliance. Their past membership in the W.A., according to their statement, convinced them that no real opposition to the W.P.A. cuts could be expected from this sterile organization controlled locally, lock, stock and barrel, by the Communist Party.

These militants, well known to the unemployed in Los Angeles, led by Mel Kitchen, one of the original members of the Workers Alliance in Los Angeles, set themselves the task of organizing the Relief Workers Protective Union, a name that is associated with one of the first and most effective unemployed organizations in So. Calif. Their first activity was the calling of a protest meeting which arranged a demonstration and a one day sit-down strike in the local offices of the W.P.A.

W.A. Opposition
The only activity of the W. A. in this period has been their efforts to prevent the organization of the R.W.P.U. At the first meeting called by the organizing committee for the R.W.P., the arriving workers witnessed the sight of frenzied members of the W.A. standing in front of the auditorium shouting to them to boycott the meeting and to attend the W. A. meeting called for the same night. By peculiar coincidence the W. A. has arranged meetings only when R.W.P.U. circulars appeared on the projects calling for a meeting, and each time the R.W.P.U. held a mass meeting the W. A. blossomed out with a meeting for the same evening.

The only militant action of the unemployed and project workers in Los Angeles in protest against the cuts has been undertaken by the young R.W.P.U. which promises to develop into a fighting union for the unemployed in Southern California.

WANT ADS

GIRL WORKER—Student wants furnished room or studio. Rent within proletarian means. Within half-hour traveling distance of East 125th St. Answer: K. M., care of S. Stanley, 116 University Place, New York City.

LARGE FURNISHED apartment to share: Conveniences, Kitchen, Very low rent. Write Biensstock, c/o Appeal.

University Luncheonette
100A UNIVERSITY PLACE
near 12th St.—right near headquarters
Best Food at Best Prices
Special 25c Lunch!
Soup, any 10c Sandwich, Coffee, Tea or Milk with Cake or Pie.

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Socialist Appeal

UNION MEN DEFY MARTIAL LAW IN OKLA. OIL STRIKE

Tulsa Unions Are
Roused by Call
For Guard

(Special to Socialist Appeal)
TULSA, Oklahoma.—Organized labor throughout this area has thrown its entire weight behind the 2,000 oil workers on strike at the Mid-Continent plant here in an effort to keep the National Guard from breaking the walkout that began on Dec. 22.

Flagrant violation by the company of its agreement with Local 217, Oil Workers International Union, C.I.O., and its refusal to settle major grievances caused the strike.

The strike became so effective that Governor Marland, another one of those "friends of Labor" politicians, ordered the National Guard out on Dec. 24, despite the protests of the labor movement, to protect several score of scabs within the plant.

Labor Backs Strikers
Realizing the grave danger of a defeat through the strike-breaking tactics of the National Guard which has declared martial law in that area, organized labor rallied quickly behind the strikers.

District Council 5 of the Oil Workers which represents 15,000 members in Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri endorsed the strike and has pledged \$10,000 a week to the pickets. Sand Springs Local 296 pledged \$200 weekly.

The truck drivers union and other A.F. of L. unions here are also supporting the strike. President Barnes of the Oklahoma City Trade and Labor Assembly, A.F. of L., spoke at a strike rally pledging aid.

Merchants Aid Strike
The resentment against the National Guard is not confined to the strikers alone. Local merchants have given tons of food and kitchen equipment to the strikers in a fine demonstration of solidarity.

The spirit of the strikers is kept high through the noble work of the women's auxiliary which has over 100 women and girls working six hour shifts day and night to feed the pickets.

Mid-Continent was placed on the unfair list of the C.I.O. last week at the request of the Oil Workers International Union. It is urging action by all A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions in secondary picketing.

Union Lists 16 Grievances
The strikers are being paid \$10 a week in benefits by the International Union.

Latest support for the strikers came from the S.W.O.C. lodges when H. Rasmussen, district organizer, addressed the pickets at a special mass meeting.

Jack N. Hayes, president of Local 217, listed sixteen major grievances that the union had against the company and which the men were forced to strike against. Seniority violations and low wages were among those listed.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

ANTI-SEMITISM here and abroad and how to fight it, will be discussed by Felix Morrow, Sun, Jan. 15, at 8 P.M., at Grand Central Palace, 90 Clinton St. (above Delancey). Questions and discussion from floor. Auspices, Lower East Side Branch, S.W.P., 183 Norfolk St., at Stanton.

CELEBRATE VICTORY STRIKE: Jamaica Unemployed Relief Workers League. Saturday, January 21st, Democratic Hall, 104-25 150th St., Jamaica, L.I. Band Entertainment Drinks

PHILADELPHIA
DWIGHT MACDONALD, editor of the Partisan Review, will speak for the Workers Educational Forum on "Refugees—1939's Problem." Time: 8:30, January 20th. Place: 277 South 11th Street.

AKRON
C. L. R. James will speak on the "Future For Racial Minorities." Friday evening, Jan. 20, at 8 p. m. at 399 1/2 S. Main St.

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APPEAL ARMY

APPRECIATION FROM
FRIENDS IN SCOTLAND:

"I have been receiving the Appeal regularly and thank you for sending it since I thoroughly enjoy reading it and also seeing the type of work that is being done. I also must say that I am in nearly complete agreement with both the policy and the line taken by the Fourth International. I am looking forward to doing as much work as I am able to on my return to America."

From a student in Glasgow.
"For quite some time I have been a regular reader of your magnificent journal and all the time I have read it it has been my sincere conviction that there is no effort to compare—let alone surpass—with yours from the viewpoint of journalism. I make bold to say that this is the considered opinion of other foreign readers."

"It is my fond hope that the Appeal in its new garb—that of twice-a-week—will go forward and that the producers thereof will enjoy the best of success. Je vous saluez, bonjour, comrades, et cela en abundance!"
P. O'Connell, a French Scotsman of Aberdeen, Scotland.

NEW YORK CITY MOBILIZES FORCES FOR APPEAL

The first in a series of mobilizations was held last Saturday by the New York branches. The coming Saturday another and special mobilization will be held to sell this week's issue of the Appeal containing Trotsky's answers to the Daily News and its filthy, red-baiting campaign against Mexico. It is planned to hold these mobilizations regularly once each week from now on.

CIRCULATION DEPT. TO BE SET UP IN NEW YORK

Plans are now under way for the setting up of a special circulation department in New York City, to be aided and supported by the Appeal. This department will have as its job the direction of professional Appeal salesmen, handling of newsstand and delivery routes, organization of mass street sales and general promotion. Comrade Abe Miller—New York literature director—will have complete charge of this new department and promises to be handling many thousands of Appeals before long.

NEWS FROM BRANCHES:

Lee Calvin from Lynn, Mass., writes us that, "In my opinion Abe Miller's suggestion of organizing routes for the Appeal is one of the best ways to build up circulation. We have had fairly good success in Lynn in this direction. We have had an estab-

Progressive Victimized By Painters Union In N.Y.

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—P. Chusid, a member of Local No. 442, chained himself to a post in the headquarters of District Council No. 9 of the Painters Union in New York last Saturday afternoon. To reporters and newspaper photographers who hastened to the scene, Chusid explained that his action was in protest against recent discrimination against him by officials of the District Council in the handling out of work slips. He asserted that this discrimination was due to the fact that he disagreed with the Stalinist politics of the union leaders.

After several hectic hours in which big crowds gathered at the union headquarters, many to express their sympathy with the demonstrator, police were called to clear the hall and to saw off the chains.

Call Strong-Arm Men
The Stalinists, aghast at the spectacle for a while, nevertheless did not delay making a "reply" characteristic of their methods.

As the workers filed out of union headquarters at the behest of the police, they were met by a squad of strong arm men from the Stalinist-controlled furriers union. The latter milled around, threatening various of the better known opposition militants. Several of the hooligans, whose names and dirty work are well-known throughout the market, concen-

MODERN AGE BOOKS

12c each — 5 for 50c — Limited Time Only
André Gide—Travels in the Congo
Leo Huberman—Labor Spy Racket
Minton and Stuart—Men Who Lead Labor
Dorothy Sayers—Suspicious Characters
David MacDuff—Murder Strikes Three
Federal Writers' Project—1938 Almanac For New Yorkers
Archie Blinn—Lightship
William Rollins—Wall of Men
Anna Katherine Green—The Leavenworth Case
Morley Callaghan—They Shall Inherit the Earth
Paul Cade—Death Slams the Door
Harvey Ferguson—Blood of the Conquerors
(Add 3c per book for postage)
LABOR BOOK SHOP—28 East 12th Street, N.Y.C.
Open Monday to Saturday, 10 A.M. to 8 P.M.

QUESTION BOX

(Conducted by the National Educational Department)

QUESTION: You say: Give the bourgeoisie, performing progressive tasks in China and Spain, independent-organizational-class support. Isn't it clear, though, that even with military "unity," a political split in the rear inevitably will weaken the vital struggle against Fascism?—F.V.L., Bronx, N.Y.

ANSWER: First, the bourgeoisie in China and Spain is NOT playing a progressive role. In Spain, the "loyalist" bourgeoisie was forced into the struggle in spite of itself, as a result of the pressure of the workers and peasants, when they were on the point of capitulating to Franco without a struggle. Similarly in China, where the native bourgeoisie for years refused to carry on any struggle at all against Japan, struggles half-heartedly and temporarily today, and insofar as they do, act as puppets of Anglo-American imperialism. Only the working class and the peasantry form the progressive forces.

It is the struggle itself, the war against Japan or Franco, which is progressive in our view, and which we support. This struggle cannot be carried on effectively, consistently and to final success as long as it remains under the leadership of the bourgeois forces who have time and again betrayed it, and are getting ready to sell it out completely. Our attitude therefore is: military support of the war, even though under treacherous leadership; but no political support of this treacherous leadership (i.e., Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Spanish People's Front, the official governments). Indeed, our military support of the war requires the struggle to eliminate these betrayers and put in their place Workers and Peasants Governments which can and will really carry on the war.

The situation is similar to a strike which is led by old-line labor fakers who hamstring the fight and are looking for the first opportunity to sell it out. As long as the Chiang and Negrin "Governments of Defeat" remain, the military struggle is doomed.

In China, for example, the bourgeoisie does not DARE to carry on a whole-hearted struggle against Japan because this would mean arming the workers and peasants, arousing them to action; and it is precisely this that the bourgeoisie fears far more than the Mikado, under whose rule they can hope to continue to participate in the exploitation of the Chinese masses. In Spain, for similar reason, the civil war has been a series of military betrayals, on top of the refusal of the government to raise the only slogans which can disintegrate the fascist forces and rouse the masses: land to the peasants, freedom to the Moors, workers' control of the factories, etc.

This is why a "political split in the rear"—or more boldly, awakening the workers and peasant masses to overthrow their betrayers and set up their own government—is the only possible road by which the tide can be turned to victory against fascism and the unleashing of the revolutionary forces in all Europe.

(Read: "Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain" by Felix Morrow, and "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution" by Harold Isaacs.)

ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES

The People Against War

"Incoming Congressmen are awaiting with deep interest the President's revelations on our foreign situation. They are reporting that the people are not willing to go to war, and are opposed to the dispatch of any troops to Europe, as in the World War. It is certain, therefore, that a strong neutrality policy will be enacted. While in accordance with national sentiment, there will be increased in National Defense, the disposition of a large number of the members of the two Houses will be to curb executive adventure abroad, and even to press to passage some form of the Ludlow amendment to the Constitution for a referendum on war." Army and Navy Journal, Dec. 31, 1938.

Liberals Responsible for War Program

"No Hoover or Harding could put over the present militaristic plans. Only one who had been sold to the country as a liberal could succeed with it. It thus succeeds the liberals will have themselves to thank for having invested Roosevelt with the character which made possible the destruction of one of their most cherished ideals." John T. Flynn, New Republic, Nov. 30, 1938.

Browder Supports F.D.R.'s Armament Program

"We cannot deny the possibility, even the probability, that only

Letters to the Editor

Editor, Socialist Appeal:

I have been a regular reader of the Socialist Appeal for some time, and have introduced it to many of my friends. At times the paper has been very absorbing, but there were periods when that was not the case. I found myself hopefully glancing at this or that issue and being disappointed. If that were still so I would not now be writing you.

I want to tell you that I think the Appeal has never been better than the recent issues. The last one in particular is swell. The article on the Lima Conference and Yankee Imperialism was exceptionally informative. The light touch introduced recently by several articles—"Brenda's Party," for example, is very effective.

Let me hope that the coming issues will continue to show the same trend. That will be the surest way of guaranteeing the success of the twice-weekly Appeal.

Sincerely,
Bridgeport R. L.

Letter from STEIN received. We insist upon your meeting an absolutely trustworthy comrade. Address the Socialist Appeal ATTENTION MARTIN.

SLASHES OUTLAY TO PROVIDE FOR BIG ARMS BUDGET

(Continued from page 1)

attempt to liquidate the entire WPA setup (as the CWA was liquidated in its time) in favor of a straight "dole" and a throwing of much of the relief responsibility back to States and municipalities—a move which would mean simply starvation for hundreds of thousands of the unemployed.

The immediate drive against the WPA appropriations must be met with the stern counter-demand for the extension of WPA to give jobs to every otherwise unemployed worker at trade-union wages with an overall minimum pay of thirty dollars per week.

It is clear that this session of Congress intends to take every step against the unemployed that it can get away with. It will be necessary to show it, from the beginning, that it can't get away with a thing.

'DEMOCRACY'— Salvador Style

Secretary of State Cordell Hull returned this week from his "triumph" at the Lima conference where the defense of "American democracy" was the principal theme. Meanwhile it begins to appear that all roses do not smell as sweet as they are made to look.

Salvador was one of the American republics which most staunchly supported the Washington thesis of "continental defense" at the recent conference. A few days ago in this little sanctuary of democracy a la Lima President Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez called together his puppet Constitutional Congress and arbitrarily had his presidential term extended for six years.

The New York Times pointed out that this is the third instance of its kind and that a fourth is in the making in Nicaragua, another "democratic" gem in the American diadem. The Times also reported that Martinez had the aid of German and Italian specialists in controlled propaganda and terror. The "controlled press," said the Times report "is free to attack democracy but not totalitarianism." One editor who dared to write something complimentary about France on Bastille Day was promptly exiled. Another newspaper had to apologize for a mild reflection on Hitler's appearance.

Last Monday out of Latin America came another jeweled addition to the annals of Latin American "democracy." The newspapermen of Salvador arranged a frontier New Year's party with their confreres from neighboring Guatemala. When in Salvador a newspaper let it slip that the newsmen might discuss the "campaign for democracy" the Guatemalan contingent was kept at home by the police and the indiscreet Salvadorean writer of the newspaper item was fired.

A.S.U. Endorses Militarization of Youth

"The American Student Union last night endorsed President Roosevelt's plan to train 20,000 college youths each year to fly planes." Associated Press, Dec. 30, 1938.

Leon Trotsky Hits Back At N. Y. 'Daily News' Slanders

(Continued from Page 1)

under my unmasking the calumnies spread against me here by Stalin's agents. Finally, the program of the Fourth International, which I support, is very far from the program of the Mexican government.

It is not difficult, on the other hand, to understand that the Mexican Government, preoccupied with the national prestige of its country, would never seek counsel from a foreign immigrant. I learned of the agrarian and other measures of the Mexican government through the newspapers, exactly like the majority of other citizens.

On the basis of what data did your paper arrive at its conclusion? Evidently on the basis of the simple fact that the government of General Cardenas accorded me the right of asylum. Is it not monstrous? In 1916, I was expelled from Europe as a result of my struggle against the imperialist war, and I found asylum in the United States. Without any passport, without any visa, without any absurd and humiliating formalities! Your immigration authorities were interested that I did not have trachoma but were absolutely unconcerned about my ideas. Yet twenty-two years ago, my ideas, I venture to assure you, were as bad as now. At that time, it did not occur to anyone to draw the conclusion that President Wilson had given me the right of asylum in order to utilize my "counsels."

The Right of Asylum You will object, perhaps, that this was in the remote past, when the United States had not yet been emancipated from the vestiges of barbarism; and that the present flowering of civilization began only after the great emancipatory "war for democracy." I will not discuss that. Demo-

Roosevelt Doubles Outlay for Arms; Heads for War

(Continued from page 1)

to the New York Times (Jan. 8, 1939), we read: "President Roosevelt placed the amount ("for national defense") at \$1,319,558,000, or nearly a third again as much as is being spent this year. But throughout the bulky tome that makes up the annual budget estimates were to be found other lesser items directly and indirectly connected with the proposed military and naval expansion that would bring the total defense budget to nearly double the amount indicated."

In other words, the real sum to be expended on war preparations will be around two and a half billion dollars.

Significant Reaction Abroad That the talk of a military budget for "defense" purposes alone is the sheerest hypocrisy, is revealed not only by the desperate maneuvers of Roosevelt, Hull and Landon at the Lima Conference, called for the purpose of consolidating U. S. imperialism's position in Latin America from competitive economic encroachments, but more directly by the uniform tone of the reception given Roosevelt's message by the so-called European "democracies."

Both London and Paris, where the imperialists are feverishly preparing their positions for participating in the coming war, hailed the Roosevelt message, and

the war-budget implementing it, as public notice that the United States will be on their side of the next war as it was in the last. The hard-boiled statesmen of Europe are not at all deceived by Roosevelt's stern condemnations of "dictatorships" and "dictatorships," for they are as well aware as the next man that these flourishes are meant exclusively to impress and befuddle the masses.

Allied with Dictators They know that in order to strengthen America's position against certain dictatorships (which "happen" to be Wall Street's economic rivals in Asia and Latin America), Roosevelt has not had the slightest hesitation or compunction about allying himself solidly with such reactionary dictatorships as the ones that oppress Guatemala, Nicaragua, Cuba, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Bolivia and other countries.

It is significant, further, that the Tories and "Economic Royalists" of the Republican party hierarchy, are enthusiastically behind the Roosevelt war and war-budget policy—from Washington to Lima and back again—and complain only against the failure to cut the relief budget still further as well as against any plan to use war preparation funds for anything except war preparations!

Fischer Shocks Faithful By Swing from Stalin Line

BOSTON—Louis Fischer, Moscow correspondent of The Nation, for many years an "unofficial" apologist for Kremlin policies, and most recently notorious for his brazen articles in The Nation justifying the Stalinist line in Spain, has publicly dissociated himself from the Stalinists on a series of basic issues!

Speaking on "The Soviets in World Affairs" at Ford Hall Forum here on January 1st, Fischer astounded the Communist party members and sympathizers in the audience by refusing to give Stalin a clean bill of health.

Fischer Shocks Faithful

While prominent Stalinists gazed at each other in startled bewilderment—Louis Fischer appears every year at the Ford Hall Forum and his lecture is always the occasion for a Stalinist "triumph"—Fischer developed a new orientation. This was sharply evident in the question period. Asked why the Soviet Union does not open its doors to the refugees, Fischer answered:

"I have not heard a satisfactory answer for not letting the refugees into the Soviet Union."

Referring to the Moscow trials, Fischer said: "I do not approve of everything that is going on in Soviet Russia." Questioned about the "Jewish state" of Biro-Bidjan, recently purged, Fischer stated he could not express any optimism about the project.

In a solid hour's presentation, he made not a single attack on the "Trotskyites" and not a single reference to Stalin! In the past, Fischer has never failed to praise the beloved leader and denounce the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites."

During the question period, Dwyer, literature agent for the Daily Worker, took the floor and bitterly attacked Fischer for his speech.

Followers Troubled

As the bewildered and perturbed Stalinists filed out afterward, they accumulated in the neighborhood in knots of troubled heads close together, pondering the transformation of their once-adored Louis Fischer.

Never having been a revolutionist, having come to the Stalinist movement as an interpreter of Stalin to the bourgeoisie, no one could expect Fischer to break with the political precision of a revolutionist. But his break is, nevertheless, of symptomatic significance. To defend Stalinism is no longer intellectually respectable. Even a Malcolm Cowley now finds it necessary in cultural circles to whine that he has been misunderstood, that he is really not a Stalinist, that he has many differences, etc. The Stalinist grip on the intellectual world is passing, as crime heaped upon crime finally turns unthinking adoration into shocked reflection and revolution.

Jews CONDEMNED BY ROOSEVELT TO BE PARIAHS

(Continued from page 1)

of Roosevelt to send the letter, it not only served the purpose of "subtle" pressure upon Mussolini to break the axis with Hitler, they say, but served to focus public attention anew upon the plight of the refugees. Mussolini's refusal to accede was to be expected, and the net result is that everybody is once more awakened to the need to find a haven for the refugees. So say Roosevelt men.

And of course it is true that the demoralized and cowardly respectables who lead the Jewish-American community are expressing gratitude for Roosevelt's gesture and according to his request that the lid be kept down on all proposals to open the door to the refugees here.

What It Really Means

But Roosevelt's proposal to Mussolini actually serves to publicly crystallize and drive home the doctrine that haven for refugees is to be sought primarily outside the civilized world. The Uganda, the Guianas, the African wilds, the Argentine pampas, the Brazilian back-country—these are to be deemed good enough for the Jews. Hundreds of thousands of cultured cosmopolitans, accustomed to the refinements of metropolitan existence, are to be saved, if at all, by being condemned to the bitter task of opening new areas to agriculture.

The ostensible pretext for this doctrine is that metropolitan areas of the world cannot today absorb the refugees. By this criterion, however, no haven at all could be found for the refugees, for the world is suffering today from agricultural overproduction as much as from overproduction of manufactured goods. If there is no room for more city workers, technicians and professionals, neither is there any room for more tillers of the soil.

Turning Back the Clock

If the principle underlying Roosevelt's proposal to Mussolini were carried out on the basis that the refugees should not aggravate agricultural overproduction, they would then be condemned to mere subsistence farming—raising only what they could themselves consume and then, being without cash crops, depending for manufactured goods on the charity of more fortunate Jews or reduced to primitive handicraft manufacturing to supplement their produce-raising. A fantastic attempt to turn the clock back to the days before the market existed!

The whole doctrine implied by Roosevelt is a fraud. Overproduction exists everywhere. It affects the lonely gauchito riding cattle, the Australian sheep-herder, the black peasant in darkest Africa. It is, of course, not real overproduction at all, but capitalist-enforced abstinence from the use of goods and services. Neither in the cities nor in the back-country do people actually have enough

On Fair Play and Plain Fraud

In a recent editorial we asked why two Locals of the I.L.G.W.U. where the Lovestonites are influential—Local 22 and the Knit-goods Workers—had not passed a resolution demanding that the U. S. open its gates to the refugees. For this we were roundly and piously abused by Lovestone's "Workers' Age" of December 31. The "Workers' Age" claimed that such a resolution was passed and that as a labor paper we knew or should have known it.

«To this we reply: (1) we did not and do not now know that such a resolution was even introduced, much less passed, and (2) had these locals—particularly Local 22 with its 30,000 members—passed such a resolution, we would have considered that a big step forward in the campaign for the refugees and would have given it the prominent notice it merited.

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ing the doors to the refugees, but for governmental action against Hitler, i.e., a telegram perfectly acceptable to the Stalinist war mongers who are, unfortunately, a power in Local 22.

We hasten to add in justice to him that Charles Zimmerman, head of Local 22, when asked about resolutions adopted by the union, did not make the claim made by the "Workers' Age," of which he is an editor. He referred to the above-mentioned resolution, to approval by the Local of a similar resolution of the General Executive Board, and to a resolution calling for facilitation of immigration to Palestine. He made no claim to being able to produce such a resolution as the "Workers' Age" claims to exist.

Speech Came Later

All that Zimmerman did say was that, after our editorial and after the Lovestone editorial, he made a radio address on Dec. 29 which included a call for opening the doors to the refugees. He taxed us with not having brought to his attention our discovery that his union had not acted on this question, prior to publishing our editorial. We did bring it to his attention in the most efficacious manner, by publishing the fact; that it was efficacious is evidenced by his subsequent radio speech.

Now, as to the editors of the "Workers' Age," if it weren't for their indignant insistence on "fair play" as contrasted with what they call our "miserable tradition of factional unscrupulousness," we might suspect they were lying. Not that we can claim to be total strangers to Lovestonite "fair play." We have had plenty of it, and what we got ran from mayhem and burglary to frame-up and slander.

The "Workers' Age" boasts of its "patience" in the face of our "factional sniping." There is some truth to this statement. A few examples:

Fair Play and Patience

The "Workers' Age" endorsed the A.L.P.-Republican horse-trade in the last elections (fair play); we criticized it (factional sniping); it had no reply to make (patience).

The "Workers' Age" supported Democratic banker Lehman of the Sixty Families and Murphy in Michigan (fair play); we criticized this piece of treachery (factional sniping); instead of answering our criticism, the "Workers' Age" got an advanced case of lockjaw (patience).

The leading Lovestonite in Massachusetts campaigned for the unspeakable admirer of Mussolini, Curley (fair play); we expressed some doubts on this course (factional sniping); the "Workers' Age," like Old Man River, didn't say nuttin' (patience).

Yet, we are not hard-hearted brutes, and we understand Lovestone's difficulty in making a public defense of the above mentioned policies, especially since there is widespread opposition to them in his ranks. But the difficulty hadn't ought to be palmed off as the Christian virtue of patience. The two aren't the same thing. Neither are plain fraud and fair play.

\$30 FOR 30-HOUR WEEK IS TOLEDO JOBLESS DEMAND

(Continued from Page 1)

for all needy unemployed.

9. No costly armaments program at the expense of America's needy. Homes before battleships! A decent living for the American workers before the protection of big business profits in foreign lands.

A demand that Congress immediately pass an emergency deficiency appropriation of at least \$1,000,000,000 to cover the period from Feb. 15 to June 30 and to provide for a minimum 25% wage increase in all classifications was also made at the W.P.A. rally.

A slashing attack on the policy of W.P.A. cuts was made by various speakers at the meeting.

JUST PUBLISHED
FASCISM AND THE American Scene
By Dwight Macdonald
32 Pages 10 cents
(7c in quantities of 10 or more)
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York, N. Y.

—LEON TROTSKY.
Coyoacan, D.F., Dec. 28, 1938

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MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor

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Associate Editors

S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Welcome Back, Tom Mooney

The Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Appeal, echoing the joyous feeling of every working man and woman throughout the world, cordially welcome Tom Mooney back into the ranks of the labor movement. His captors were never able to break his spirit, or to take his mind and heart out of the movement; and now they have been forced to let him return, physically, to the great cause to which his whole life has been dedicated.

We are proud to recall, in welcoming Tom Mooney, that he was saved from the hangman's noose by the independent class action of the labor militants of Russia and the United States. It was that kind of action that kept the Mooney case alive, that prevented it from sinking into the oblivion which his persecutors hoped would also hide their unspeakable crime. And, at bottom, it was that kind of action that finally forced the ruling class, which planned his judicial assassination, to relinquish its prey.

The working class is satisfied in the knowledge that it owes no gratitude to "condescending saviors" for its own persistence in snatching Mooney from slow death behind prison walls. Its own class solidarity made that victory possible. The same solidarity and militant action will speed the day when Warren Billings, too, is freed. That's the next step!

A Clear Warning

The American capitalists are thinking seriously in terms of turning to Fascism as a way out of their economic difficulties. President Roosevelt admitted this implicitly in his message to Congress last week. That message was a war message. It was also a double-edged message of warning to the workers that they would face fascism if they did not agree to the "unity" needed to allow Yankee imperialism to go to war.

"The first duty of our statesmanship (Roosevelt said) is to bring capital and manpower together. Dictatorships do this by main force. By using main force they apparently succeed at it—for the moment. However we abhor their methods, we are compelled to admit that they have obtained substantial utilization of all their material and human resources. Like it or not, they have solved, for a time at least, the problem of idle men and idle capital. Can we compete with them . . . and at the same time remain . . . within the Bill of Rights . . . ?"

In another passage Roosevelt significantly said:

"I hear some people (which people?) say: . . . There are certain advantages in a dictatorship. It gets rid of labor trouble, of unemployment, of wasted motion, and of having to do our own thinking. . . ."

Roosevelt warned the capitalists in reply to this that they would either have to take the "voluntary risk" of their capital and try out the Roosevelt program, or pay "the cost of seeing our capital confiscated"—i.e. regimented by main force—under a Fascist regime.

These revealing passages in Roosevelt's message we must take as a warning of just how

close the danger is. The bosses are thinking of fascism. So is Roosevelt. That is their alternative and that is the alternative the workers cannot and will not accept. If capitalism in crisis can offer us only war and fascism as its way out of its dilemma it is time and more than time for us to say: An end to capitalism! Let the workers take over and reorganize the whole works on the basis of social ownership, not of private profit. That's the way we'll put an end to wars and to fascism.

The C. P. And Roosevelt

Roosevelt's attempted mobilization of the Western Hemisphere at Lima for a "war for democracy," his delegates' speeches there, his jingo speech opening Congress, his message calling for a billion-dollar cut in W.P.A. appropriations, in a word his campaign for American imperialist hegemony of the world, has been hailed with incredibly sycophantic praise by the American Stalinists. Last week's "Daily Worker" devoted more space to Roosevelt adulation than that sheet has ever, to our recollection, devoted in a similar period of time to praise even of Stalin.

Nor is this entirely at the bidding of the Kremlin. The bended knee to Roosevelt was, of course, first assumed at a nod from Stalin, but in the process of remaining in that posture, the Stalinists have learned to love it quite apart from Stalin's instructions. In carrying out the "People's Front" line of integrating themselves into the New Deal and the trade union bureaucracy, the Stalinists have become part and parcel of the apparatus ruled by Roosevelt and John L. Lewis. When Lewis and Roosevelt move in a direction different from Stalin's, the Stalinist hirelings will follow their new masters rather than the old. Lewis and Roosevelt are right here and all-powerful, and the pay is certain every week, whereas Stalin has suffered too many blows and who knows when his foreign exchange will peter out?

With Stalin or without him, the American Stalinists are inextricably linked to the imperialist war machine. They will serve it, they are already serving it, as recruiting sergeants. Even without the face-saving device of a "People's Front" in which they formally participate, they have already come out in support of Roosevelt's armament program. The same goes for —

The Social Democrats

The Social Democratic Federation of James O'Neal and Abe Cahan holds a position identical with the Stalinists on collective security. Even before fusing organizationally with the Old Guard's section of the Second International, Norman Thomas' section has been indicating its blood-brotherhood with the Abe Cahan by an ever-more shameful policy on the war issue. The latest "peace program" of its Keep America Out of War Committee, adopted in conjunction with a group of bourgeois "pacifist" organizations, marks a new stage in the march of the Norman Thomases toward fusion with the war-mongers. We need quote but one plank:

"The American people accept the necessity of armaments for defense, but they want to know that the armaments they are to pay for are for defense only and not for foreign adventures." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 2)

By its signature to this statement, the "Socialist Party" leadership abandons definitely the principle which all socialists adhered to before the World War: no support to any and all armament appropriations. The socialist movement then, and the revolutionary socialist movement now, has made clear why it is inadmissible to distinguish between offensive and defensive armament appropriations: all armament constitutes offensive weapons in the hands of the capitalist state directed against the working class. We weigh our words carefully and we say: in adopting the social-patriotic standpoint of conceding the justice of defense appropriations, Norman Thomas and those who follow him have passed to the other side of the barricades just as surely as have the Brownings, the Oneals and Abe Cahan.

EVICTED SHARECROPPERS START MASS TREK TO U.S. HIGHWAY

SIKESTON, MO., Jan. 8.—A mass exodus of thousands of evicted sharecroppers and their families of southeast Missouri will begin on Tuesday when they plan to move their meagre belongings to U.S. Highway 61. It is estimated that they will form a thirty mile line, running from Sikeston to New Madrid and south into Caruthersville.

This demonstration was enthusiastically decided upon at a meeting of 350 representatives of 1700 Negro and white croppers held here last night.

Planters to Gain by Change
Owen H. Whitfield, Negro tenant farmer and spokesman of the group, stated that the aim of the evictions was to convert the croppers into day laborers and thus deprive them of their share of the parity payments made by the government under the cotton-acreage reduction plan. These payments, he explained, are sometimes more than \$100 for a cropper, while day laborers receive from 75 cents to \$1 a day for about 120 days in a year. A planter with 200 acres of cotton could gain from \$1500 to \$2000 a year

by this change.
Some planters suggest that the croppers could maintain their status if they would give them three-fifths instead of one-half the cotton crop. Others would permit them to remain in their miserable shacks as day laborers, that is, eliminate planters' responsibility to provide cash and credit loans to the poverty-stricken croppers.

The sharecroppers also understand that an increase in day laborers would mean a sharp reduction in wages, some estimates going as low as 40 cents a day—for 10, 12 and 14 hours. Already an unusually large proportion of farm families in southeast Missouri are wage day laborers.

Living Standards Low
The 20,000 cropper and laborer families are living on the lowest standards to be found anywhere in the country. A government report on southeast Missouri finds that:

"The fertile soils produce abundant crops but the level of living of the people who till the soil is lower than that of families living in the slum districts of our large American cities."

"Rich Land-Poor People." U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, Region III, Jan. 1938.

Significant is the prevalence of large individual and corporate land ownership. In 1935, there were 6,000 owner-operators and 27,000 tenants, sharecroppers and laborers. In two counties almost 90% of the farmers were tenants, and in a third county more than 80% were tenants.

Insurance Cos. Hold Land
Insurance companies own more than 200,000 acres (of the 1,800,000 acres of farm land in the seven counties); two insurance companies own more than 40,000 acres each. Twenty-five percent of the farm land is held by owners of 1,000 acres or more. More than half the acreage is owned by holders of 200 acres or more each. There are also individual holdings of 3 and 4,000 acres each.

It is these large landowners who get the profits out of the rich land and the cruel, terrific exploitation of the tenants, sharecroppers and laborers. The feeble relief measures of the Roosevelt administration have not even scratched the surface of the problem. The labor movement, above all, the C.I.O. in St. Louis will have to give direct aid to the organization of these exploited people.

F.D.R.'s Budget Message!



Relief For Horses But Not For Men—That's the Law!

By BILL MORGAN

It was eleven-thirty p.m. on upper Fifth Avenue one cool evening, and Officer Smith could hardly believe his eyes. There, on the sidewalk, walking along and peering into each garbage pail they passed, were two large horses.

Said one horse to the other, "It's only two days now but it seems a week."

"Yes," said the other, "If I don't eat something soon there'll be only one of us left."

At this point the cop stepped up and demanded to know what the h— they were doing. Walking around like that. . . . The horses then explained they used to work for Jones & Co., but what with the depression and hard times and all, well, Mr. Jones had been forced to fire them both. And there they were, hungry and tired.

Officer Smith grunted. "Come along with me and no funny business now." At the home of Mr. Jones he stopped and knocked on the door. When Jones appeared the policeman shouted, "Don't you know the law? Ya gotta take care of these here horses or the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals will have ya run in and I'm the man to do it! Ya gotta take in these plugs and feed 'em and keep 'em decent—see?"

BUT, Unemployed Are Not . . .

Horses
When this was done some unemployed workers—fired by the same Mr. Jones—overhearing the above conversation, immediately walked up and knocked on the door. When Jones answered the knock the men explained their case—no place to sleep—nothing to eat.

"What!" shouted the boss, "Get out of here before I call a cop. WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU ARE? HORSES?"

Indeed, men are not horses. If we examine the records of the Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City, we will see the difference when it comes to providing unemployed workers and their children with food and enough clothing to cover them in winter. Horses are lucky.

Children remain away from school because they have no shoes. Fathers and brothers cannot look for work because winter overcoats are considered a "luxury" by the E.R.B. And, if, on the hottest days of summer, we see mother or sister wearing an overcoat while she walks to the bureau, the reason is clear. She wears a heavy coat in July because she has not one single decent dress to wear in public. . . . Freeze in winter—sweat in summer.

The total clothing allowance for the month of November, 1938 came to \$2,175. This amount was to be equally divided among all applicants. The average number of relief cases per month in New York comes to about 165,000. The clothing budget, therefore, means that an average of 13c per person was provided for the month when winter is well under way! Novem-

ber—the month of colds, flu, and other usual working-class illnesses.

Organized Pressure Gets Results
Out in Jamaica, Long Island, (a part of New York City) the request for clothing was answered by an over supply of mattresses and pillow-cases! Some workers threatened to wrap the pillow-cases around their feet and wear them for shoes and then picket the Relief Bureau! Others said they would make holes in the mattresses and wear them for overcoats on the same picket line.

After months of continual stalling by the officials, the workers marched into the bureau in a body and refused to leave until clothes were provided for their children to wear to school. After a six-day siege in which the workers' children took active part, the officials finally gave in and granted shoes, coats, dresses, etc. The result of the sit-in strike is a lesson the Jamaica workers will not soon forget. They realize now that organized pressure by the workers can bring results.

And what about medical care for the workers who are without jobs in the land of plenty? It should be an easy task to provide the proper and necessary medical assistance in America, where medical science has made such rapid advances in recent years.

We have in America so many fine hospitals, thousands of doctors, hundreds of clinics and so many "free medical centers" for the workers who cannot afford to pay. It would be to the bosses' advantage to keep workers in good condition. The machines are always kept oiled and in running condition even when not in use. But, here, too, an inspection of the medical records of the E.R.B. shows us that today there are hundreds of thousands of workers who are too sick to work and others who will not be able to return to their trades because of illnesses contracted while unemployed.

Poverty Breeds Disease
In New York City, for example, the record shows that in a single month (Nov. 1938) more than 3,400 unemployed workers applied for medical diagnoses in order to be eligible for special diets.

The types of illnesses are interesting. Anemia, 136 cases; Cardiac (heart trouble), 164 cases; Tuberculosis, 636 cases; Nose and throat infections, 40 cases; Stomach and intestinal, 336 cases; Diabetes, 383 cases; Malnutrition, 1,266 cases; and 496 cases classed as "other" illnesses.

A quick glance at the list shows that five of the above are caused directly or indirectly by lack of proper food or simply by lack of enough food!

These are the totals for only one month! If November is an average month, the total number of such reported cases would amount to over 40,000 a year. And keep in mind the nature of the sicknesses. Unless the very best care is administered in most cases there will be no cure. Malnutrition,

which is the most frequently reported, can only be treated by insuring the patient plenty of rest, fresh air, and an abundance of good meat, fresh eggs and milk, and fresh fruit and vegetables.

The "special diet" allowed for illness is a grim joke to the thousands of underfed workers. At meetings of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, how many mothers have reported that they must put the children to sleep by feeding them warm water and sugar! How many workers have been forced to use "special diet" money to make up the rent so the landlord won't throw them out into the street? How many tubercular children are working at home on artificial flowers, lamp shades, etc?

Leaflet Lists Rights

This is only a part of the picture. The allowances for food, clothing, coal, rent, and medical care are small enough. But a new aspect of the whole situation is becoming clearer every day. The investigators and the bureau officials often "forget" to inform the worker who has waited patiently for weeks, filled out dozens of forms, answered scores of questions, and put up with the insolence of petty officials, that he is entitled to any specific amount for each of these important items! So the workers are often gyped.

A leaflet issued by the U.P.W.U. in Jamaica makes clear to the workers' this despicable practice: "Fellow Starvationists!!! Was your case rejected? Do you need supplementary relief? Do you need clothing? Do you need a special diet? Do you get your full food allowance? Do you get your full coal allowance? Do you get your shoes repaired? Do you get carfare to go to the clinic?"

"If you need any of the above items and are not getting them you are being chiselled."

"The only way to beat this chiselling is to organize and fight. We, the members of the Unemployed and Relief Workers League, are doing this. We have a fighting, militant Union. None of our members are gyped. Come to our next meeting and explain your case. WE WILL LISTEN AND ACT!"

"We meet every Wednesday night at 8 p.m. at 146-37 South St. Right on the corner of Waltham St., Jamaica, L.I."

The plight of the unemployed becomes more and more desperate with each passing day. Unemployment is on the upgrade, relief and W.P.A. are being cut to the bone and the Stalinist leadership of the Workers Alliance blackmailed the unemployed and relief workers by taxing them three and sometimes four dollars before taking up grievances. And when one sees how many investigators belong to the Stalinist gang, the problem of living becomes increasingly difficult for the unemployed.

The Unemployed and Project Workers Union has made an heroic

Drive Slows Up; Branches Must Speed Fund Action

By ROSE KARSNER
Appeal Campaign Director

Total collected \$1597.10 and only two more weeks to go!
We get many enthusiastic letters and promises. But without the remittances to be recorded on the Score Board, these letters remain just so many words on paper.

Collections must be speeded. Comrades must strain every effort to pay up on their quotas and get them in to the office before the end of the campaign. No time to lose!

Eleven branches are still in the zero column. Of these Lexington, Evansville and Portland have definitely promised to send in their quotas in full before February 1. What about the others?

As the campaign nears an end, competition for the Fourth International banner is increasing. James M. Collier of Cleveland branch writes: "Why don't you extend date for winning the banner until February 1 so that more branches will have a chance to compete for it? More money will be coming in from more branches from now on." If Cleveland branch completes its quota by February 1 it will certainly be entitled to one of the banners. Its quota is pretty stiff. So go to it, Collier.

Herbert Martin of the East Chicago branch says: "We have a nice bare wall in our headquarters already reserved for the red banner so you might as well hold one for us. We are positively determined to get it."

Then there is the very determined Fred Valle of Detroit who came in with 100% last week. He says "we decided on the exact spot in our headquarters for that banner. So please oblige." Yes, it looks like Detroit gets one of the banners for sure.

San Francisco too will get one of the prizes. Remember there are autographed books to be given as well as banners.

The final competition for banners is now between Cleveland and St. Paul branches. If our guess is correct, Henrietta Geller is sure to fulfill the St. Paul quota in the next few days. Which means that we may have to make up an extra banner for Cleveland.

SCORE BOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Kansas	\$ 10.00	\$ 20.00	200
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
Yellow Springs, O.	5.00	5.00	100
Houston, Texas	10.00	10.00	100
East Oakland	20.00	17.50	87
E. Chicago, Ind.	10.00	7.50	75
St. Louis Local	50.00	36.75	74
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	3.00	60
Worcester, Mass.	10.00	6.00	60
New York Local	1050.00	700.85	67
Newark, N. J.	100.00	58.25	58
Philadelphia, Pa.	50.00	28.00	56
Boston	200.00	108.25	54
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	8.00	53
West Oakland, Cal.	20.00	10.00	50
Fresno, Cal.	5.00	2.50	50
Los Angeles	200.00	101.50	50
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	25.00	50
Chicago Local	250.00	110.00	44
St. Paul	100.00	41.00	41
Allentown, Pa.	25.00	10.00	40
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	2.00	40
Plentywood, Mont.	10.00	3.50	35
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	8.00	32
Cleveland	200.00	61.00	31
San Diego, Cal.	10.00	3.00	30
Youngstown	50.00	13.00	26
South Bend, Ind.	10.00	2.50	25
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	5.50	22
Gardner-Pitchburg	15.00	2.00	13
Akron, Ohio	75.00	8.00	11
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Austin, Minn.	25.00	0	0
New Haven	20.00	0	0
Washington, D. C.	20.00	0	0
Baltimore, Md.	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
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0

'INTELLECTUALS IN RETREAT' IS FEATURE OF 'NEW INTERNATIONAL'

A critique of a whole series of radical intellectual articles of Bolshevism forms the subject of a lengthy analysis by James Burnham and Max Shachtman, editors of the New International, in the January issue of that magazine which is now off the press.

Such questions as "one-party dictatorship," the relations between Stalinism, Leninism, "Trotskyism" and fascism, the inevitability of Thermidor, collaboration with the social-democratic press, dialectical materialism, and numerous other problems which have been dealt with recently in

the writings of Sidney Hook, Max Eastman, Ben Stolberg, Charles Yale Harrison, Eugene Lyons and others, are subjected to an exhaustive analysis by the authors of the article, which is called "Intellectuals in Retreat."

The authors point out that the critics of Bolshevism referred to above have been moving away from a revolutionary Marxist position and towards the views of social reformism. All indications are that the article will arouse the liveliest interest—and a no less lively polemic.

Among the other features, special attention is called to an article from Shanghai by Li Fu-jen, which throws a revealing light on the conduct of the war by Chiang Kai-shek and his Stalinist adherents.

Orders for the January issue may be placed with the Manager at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

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