# Time Is Growing Short! Speed Up the Appeal Drive!

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!** 

VOL. III—No. 2

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# F.D.R. CUTS WPA, BOOMS WAR

# Tom Mooney Freed After SLASHES OUTLAY Billion More For War; READY TO HURL BIG ARMS BUDGET BILLION Less For WPA NATION INTO WAR Twenty-Two Year Battle BIG ARMS BUDGET Millions to Starve

## 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 RE-LEASE AS VINDICATION OF LONG STRUGGLE BY WORKING CLASS AGAINST CAPITALIST FRAMEUP SYS-TEM AND WELCOMES YOUR RETURN TO ACTIVE PAR-TICIPATION 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

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

Mooney was convicted in San -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

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

(Continued on page 2)

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 imnediate 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 workings in industry.

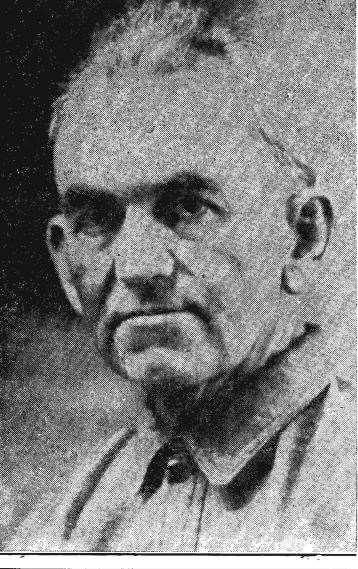
4. Five billion dollar federal public works program to provide permanent jobs at socially

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

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 (Continued on page 3)



# 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 WEEK IS TOLEDO To Be Permanent Pariahs

JOBLESS DEMAND Asks Mussolini to Open Up Ethiopia But unprecedented suffering for the unemployed, is not enough for Clamps Down on Admitting

charged that Leon Trotsky was the real power in Mexico behind

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.

1. The News in an editorial the Cardenas government gave

published October 29, 1938, said you asylum, that you were the

properties in Mexico. Your coun-policy and the taking over of

2. It has been frequently im- rally, I willingly answer your

plied in the daily press of the questions. The editors of the

United States, probably because Daily News have expressed them-

President Cardenas. Pasley sent a list of questions to Trotsky which frankness.

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 go to "sparsely settled" landspermit Congressional action enabling refugees to find a haven here. The extraordinary fact that 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 it was very clever and very noble be explained by active administra-

Trotsky's replies to Pasley follow:

you please state your personal

of the News' allegations.

the editorial by the News. Will that true?

measures. Privately administration leaders are saying that Jews should tions. Africa, South America, Palestine, in fact anywhere except the United States. Roosevelt has now not a single Congressman has publicly enunciated this principle in his letter to Mussolini requesting that Jews be allowed to settle in Ethiopia.

A "Subtle" Move

Refugees to U.S.

(Continued on page 3)

N. Y. 'Daily News' Slanders

The New York Daily News has opened up a campaign of vici- selves in their articles on Mex-

ous attack upon the Mexican workers and upon the expropriation ico, its government, and my al-

policy pursued by the Mexican Government. A series of articles by leged participation in Mexican

one Fred Pasley is presenting Mexico as being under the rule of politics with a laudable frankness

'anarchy and the Reds." Editorially the News has on recent occasions I shall strive to avoid brutali-

in part that "Trotsky is a friend inspiration of many of President or of meeting General Cardenas

and adviser of Cardenas," and Cardenas' policies; also that he or speaking with him. I have

that therefore you were behind has frequently consulted you, es- had no relations through writ-

the expropriation of petroleum pecially as regards his agrarian ing with him, except the ones

sel. Mr. Albert Goldman, has de- industry by the government for have not been and I am not now

manded that The News retract the benefit of the workers. Is is any relationship, direct or in-

views as to the truth or falsity has engaged itself by telegraph en aged, and I do not now en-

to reproduce my answers integ-

Leon Trotsky Hits Back At

to Aid Plans For War

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 problematic 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. \$120,000,000 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

Wall Street. Under the slogans of "economy," "take politics out of relief," and "return control of relief to local agencies," a detertion discouragement of such mined drive is on to lower the appropriations still further, and to hamstring them with restric-

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

In some quarters it is even Administration admirers think thought that the cut in the WPA budget is a preliminary to the (Continued on page 3)

that would appear as brutality.

ty, however, without damaging

**Never Met Cardenas** 

News (October 29, 1938) that

Trotsky is "a friend and coun-

selor of Cardenas" is absolutely

false. I have never had the hon-

concerning the right of asylum. I

direct, with any other members

gage in any political activity con-

nected with the internal life of

the country, if we do not con-

(Continued on page 3)

A-Since your editorial office of the government. I have not

The affirmation of the Daily

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

That, fellow-workers, is the proposal of the new RESISTANCE VITAL 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 employment, 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 unem-

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.

Tries To Make Use Of Anti-Fascist Sentiment

### 'GUNS, NOT BUTTER'

Driving relentlessly towards a uper-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:

their expenditures for the same purpose by reference to still other

Anti-Fascist Sentiments Exploited At the same time, Roosevelt made cunning use of the antifascist 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

(Continued on Page 3)

## For Whole Country

By JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, S.W.P. MINNEAPOLIS-As the Omaha teamsters' 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.

including Lincoln and Sioux City, | safety. Two of the occupants and a tribute to the generalship Area Negotiating Committee of backed by the teamsters unions 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

into line so that the one strike man habitation. Yet scores of which has had to be conducted is people were living in it, and four being waged under conditions people died in it. The building favorable to the workers. The was operated, commented a city strike area is entirely surrounded official, in "violation of the law." by unionized terminals which do not handle scab-transported goods, and the strikers are fighting with | York City today, serving as insethe financial backing of their cure homes to hundreds of thoubrothers throughout the area and sands of the city's poor, in "violawith funds provided by the In- tion of the law." ternational.

Victory in Omaha means final assurance that the 11-state uniform contract is a permanent achievement. Meanwhile the area covered is already growing; the that only occasionally when 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 of cases they could be avoided or 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' move- gible stipend from a newspaper ment has undergone a profound change. It is already no longer | The owner of the property, the salesmen (milk, bread, ice, laun- with no more than the inconspicdry), but a really proletarian uous mention of its name in the fornia from hanging Mooney. So tentions made by militant labor movement of transport drivers paper. and warehousemen, and will become so increasingy. This signifies that the Teamsters International, already with some 500,000 self the task of repairing the old- Mooney's sentence to life imprismembers, the largest single un- law tenements to conform with onment. ion in the country and rapidly the Multiple Dwelling Law, charggrowing, will by its significant ing the costs to the landlords social composition play a role even greater than that indicated by its sheer numbers.

leagues at the A.F.L. convention 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 yesterday in a large membership to fresh and vital forces within it and coupled with a policy of board authority to "take such acamicable relations with the C.I.O. tion as it deems advisable" if the mass unions-and the ossification company does not rehire within of the die-hard unions like Wharton's machinists and Frey's moulders, is a real sign of the times. the business upturn last fall. Far from strengthening the old A.F.L.'s discredited program, the the company to rehire 50 workonward march of the teamsters ers through negotiations under is hastening the victory of indus- its collective bargaining contract, trial unionism.

WANTED! Appeal Salesmen! \$1.00 per day minimum guaranteed! Pleasant Work Plus Fine Commissions! See Abe Miller at Labor Book Shop

CHICAGO MASS MEETINGS C. L. R. JAMES

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AT ONCE!

AT ONCE

"THE TWILIGHT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE"

Friday, January 27-8:00 P.M. Capitol Building 159 N. State St. Adm. 25c

"SOCIALISM AND THE NEGRO" Sunday, January 29-3:00 P.M. Abraham Lincoln Center

700 Oakwood Blv'd. Adm. 15c

Unemployed Free

# Omaha Truckmen | More Die in Firetraps as Boss Against Bosses Politicians Make Promises

Two fires broke out in a tene- law, known as the Prior Lien ties are taking to solve the hous- spoke on the decline of the Britment building at 210 West 103d Statute, designed to enable the ing problem -- erection of the Street, New York City, shortly city to act thus, the costs to con- Harlem Houses, the Williams- grasp of all the factors involving before dawn on January 5, one stitute a charge against the propon the first floor and one on the erty ahead of mortgages and all third floor. Scores of inhabitants other liens except taxes was opof the building awoke from sleep posed by "three large savings with the acrid smell of smoke in banks" -- Mayor LaGuardia is selves, amount in view of the their nostrils and the horrifying careful not to divulge their immensity of the problem which sound of burning, crackling tim- names-and their opposition was exists to little more than a bers in their ears

the building and escape to the and Federal Constitutions. roof were both blocked. Pressed That the strike was limited to of flame, they attempted to make firemen saved the lives of the

But four of them, Mrs. Georthe teamsters. This committee, gette Daugnault, 65 years old, Mrs. Anna LeClair, 52 years old, in eleven states, has brilliantly Harry Arges, 20, and his 18-year conducted a general campaign 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 Bold action drove the bosses the authorities as unsafe for hu-

There are some 64,000 of these old tenements standing in New

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 son angle can be exploited, or loss of life and property rises to corded more than brief perfunctory mention.

Yet the causes of these fires are known, and in the majority 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 neglifor having turned in a "hot" tip. movement based on driver- Beacon Arms Company, escapes

What the City Does

# y its sheer numbers. Tobin's break with his old colwas a reflection of this process.

By R. FERGUSON

(Special to Socialist Appeal) AKRON, O.-Goodrich unionists meeting voted their executive 10 days 42 union members who have not been taken back since

The union already has forced but the company insists on denying the 42 remaining workers their seniority by such phoney excuses as "physical disqualifica-

tions" and "bad work records." The rubber barons are making a bad guess if they think they can get away with such chiselling 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 simpy shows that

we mean business.' Sentiment amongst many fighting gum miners is that the company's stalling through longdrawn-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 con- week at trade union wages and American capitalists, vying with tinue until the company grants the same or better conditions then last year, which were won after the quick, well-organized strike.

backed by the courts which held Escape through the entrance of the bill a violation of both State they provide merely a miniature

Alternatively the city might on all sides by terrifying sheets condemn and close the buildings which are such a hazard to the area around Omaha-roughly their way to fire-escapes and health and life. But, and here we come to the nub of the situation Iowa-is itself a remarkable fact were cripples. Heroic action by and a fact which even the genial mayor is willing to admit: "there provided by the North Central majority of the trapped people. 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 going to try to solve the problem. He is going to petition the State city to publicize the names of the several years time result in erectowners and mortgagees of the ing four or five per cent of the unsafe old-law tenements so that homes desperately needed today. "everybody may see" and then And it should be borne in mind we will show you the respecta- that the need is not static, but is bility of some of the owners of increasing every day. these firetraps."

And What Then?

about the "respectability" (once | jects, the rent is so high that the more!) of the owners of these present slum dwellers cannot posfiretraps, presumably the slum sibly take up residence in them. andlords will undergo a change alter the actions of the moneypapers are short of news, an ar-grubbers who own the ramshackle tenements, is either a fool or a demogogue. The only pressure spectacular heights are they ac- that slum landlords can under- gigantic army and navy. Presistand or will understand is presculled at the expense of human through their organizations.

Mayor LaGuardia, however, abroad. points with expansive pride to the in homes?

Queens Bridge undertakings.

But what he fails to say is that these projects, good in themscratching of the surface, that 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 or other occasions, the entire lowcost 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 conproclaims that at long last he is servatively estimated at the present time as five and a half million. In other words, all the Legislature to amend the existing grandiose and much-publicized law to permit and require the efforts of the government may in

It should also be borne in mind that in the majority of these And then, after we have learned so-called low-cost housing pro-

The problem of the immediate of heart and make the necessary demolition of firetrap tenements outlays for the minimum protec- which can be made possible only tion of life. Whoever asserts that by the construction of many such timid pressure, if indeed it thousands of really low-rent can be called pressure at all, will 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 dent Roosevelt, in his recent sure that threatens their gains budget speech to Congress, asked for \$2,000,000,000 for the armed misery. That pressure must come forces of the country for the fisand will only come-from the cal year 1939-1940. Two billions workers acting in a united mass for the defense of Morgan, Rockefeller. DuPont et al investments

apparently realizes that the "ex- How about \$2,000,000,000 (at posure" he advocates will not least!) in 1939-1940, Mr. President, have very serious results, and he for the defense of American lives

Upon his release, Mooney de-

clared that he intends to devote

himself to restoring the unity of

the American trade union move-

ment, now divided between the

**Backed Olson** 

ed throughout the past 22 years,

he remained in actuality the di-

rector of the campaign for his re-

lease conducted by the Defense

It is regarded as unfortunate,

for Mooney was conducted for

years on a militant working class

basis, the famous class-war pris-

Although Mooney was imprison-

A.F. of L. and the C.I.O.

### Tom Mooney Freed After Twenty-Two Year Battle (Continued from page 1) . | doned by Governor Olson. The

the world.

Committee.

movement in this country to pre- long overdue gubernatorial action the Communist Party.

vent the frame-up gang in Cali- is only a confirmation of the conthat Governor Stephens of Cali- victim of capitalist justice, and a Faced with this problem, what fornia found himself compelled, vindication of the fight made by does the city do? Take upon it- on Nov. 28, 1918, to commute

The tireless work of Moonev's riends, 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 rame-up had been perpetrated.

Years of Struggle

In spite of this, and in spite of oner permitted himself, in the last the fact that 11 of the 12 living elections, to urge workers to get jurors, as well as the presiding behind the candidacy of the judge, later called for Mooney's Democratic party nominee for liberation, a succession of Califor- Governor of California, Olson, nia governors refused to release which was the line taken by the the victim of class justice.

Finally, after years of agitation independent working class politicand repeated demonstrations of al action. Mooney's innocence and the vi- Meetings are being planned for

cious frame-up which sent him to Mooney in every important city prison, and after years of sabo- and, judging from the enthusiastage and cynicism displayed by tic parade which greeted him in all the courts of the country be- San Francisco, workers will turn fore which the case was brought, out in unprecedented numbers to including the United States Su- welcome Mooney back to activity preme Court, Mooney was par- in labor's ranks.

# MINN. WORKERS

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS.—1,500 aroused at a mass meeting sponsored by ing and public works program the Central Labor Union Relief in addition to Federal aid. Committee on January 3rd at Eagles Hall.

Union committee empowered to housing construction program, press for it:

1. Immediate stoppage of all W.F.A. layoffs.

2. Thirty hours of work each the day will soon come when

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND American workers.

3. An immediate local housing rogram to build modern homes or W.P.A. and unemployed work

4. State and municipal housing authority acts and enabling legisvorkers protested W.P.A. layoffs lation for a \$25,000,000 city hous-

5. That all city government agencies meet to cooperate with A five-point program was the trade unions in planning a adopted and the Central Labor five or ten year public works and

Miles Dunne, Secretary-Treas-Council, warned the workers that structive." German and Italian competitors, will attempt to put the heel of fascism on the necks of the

Big Phila. Meeting

James opened up his cross country lecture tour before a large and appreciative audience in OKLA. OIL STRIKE Philadelphia on Friday, Jan. 6. The noted Negro labor orator who ish empire showed an amazing burg project, the Red Hook and the political and economic road or England's collapse.

> "The name of England is being dragged through the mud in the colonies," James reported, Tracing historically the first cracks in

James completely captivated his that began on Dec. 22. audience with his graceful yet

## 1600 WPA WOMEN FIRED ON COAST

#### Relief Union Plans to Fight New Firings

(Special to Socialist Appeal) 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, and Missouri endorsed the strike in a statement to the local press and has pledged \$10,000 a week declared that the original orders to the pickets. Sand Springs Lofrom Washington directed a cut cal 296 pledged \$200 weekly. 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 ern California and to date the

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 Aliance. 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 tocally, lock, stock and barrel, by

These militants, well known to the unemployed in Los Angeles, strong did the protest become for 22 years that Mooney was the led by Mel Kitchen, one of the original members of the Workers ganizer, addressed the pickets at Alliance in Los Angeles, set themselves the task of organizing the Relief Workers Protective Union, 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 comhowever, that while the campaign mittee 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 ap-Stalinists and other opponents of peared on the projects calling for meeting, and each time the R.P.W.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.

Protest in St. Paul

ST. PAUL, Minn.-A resolution passed by the Warehouse Employee's Union of this city condemns in strong words the WPA 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 urer of the Teamsters Joint be constructive rather than de-

> Subscribe to Socialist Appeal

Opens James Tour UNION MEN DEFY PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—C. L. R. MARTIAL LAW IN APPRECIATION FROM FRIENDS IN SCOTLANI

#### Tulsa Unions Are Roused by Call For Guard

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

TULSA, Oklahoma -- Organized labor throughout this area thas the structure of one of the world's thrown its entire weight behind great imperial realms, he graph- the 2,000 oil workers on strike at cally exposed the meaning of the Mid-Continent plant here in Chamberlain's appeasement policy an effort to keep the National and the resultant pact of Munich. Guard from breaking the walkout

Flagrant violation by the com-Union, C.I.O., and its refusal to readers. settle major grievances caused the strike.

The strike became so effective ne of those "friends of Labor" to protect several score of scabs of Aberdeen, Scotland. within the plant.

Labor Backs Strikers Realizing the grave danger of

a defeat through the strike-breakng tactics of the National Guard LOS ANGELES. - Some 1,600 which has declared martial law women employed on the sewing 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

> 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

Merchants Aid Strike The resentment against the National Guard is not confined to of November there were 53,000 the strikers alone. Local mer- of professional Appeal salesmen, employed by the W.P.A. in South- chants have given tons of food handling of newsstand and deand kitchen equipment to the livery routes, organization of mass number has been reduced to strikers in a fine demonstration street sales and general promoof solidarity.

pledging aid.

the women's auxiliary which has department and promises to be over 100 women and girls working six hour shifts day and night to feed the pickets. Mid-Continent was placed on NEWS FROM BRANCHES: 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 week in benefits by the International Union.

Latest support for the strikers when H. Rasmussen, district or-

Jack N. Haves, president of Lo 217. listed sixteen major cal grievances that the union had against the company and which the men were forced to strike member of Local No. 442, chained against. Seniority violations and himself to a post in the headlow wages were among those quarters of District Council No. 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 Auspices, Lower East Side Branch, S.W.P., 163 Norfolk

ELEBRATE VICTORY Strike: January 21st, Democratic Hall, 104-25 150th St., Jamaica, L.I. Band Entertainment Drinks

PHILAD ELPHIA

WIGHT 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

AKRON

WANT ADS

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 Bienstock, c/o Appeal

University Luncheonette 100A UNIVERSITY PLACE near 12th St.—right near headquarter Best Food at Best Prices Special 25c Lunch!

Soup, any 10c Sandwich, Coffee, Tea or Milk with Cake or Pie.

# APPEAL ARMY

FRIENDS IN SCOTLAND: "I have been receiving the Apending it since I thoroughly enjoy reading it and also seeing the type of work that is being done. also must say that I am in nearly complete agreement with Rochester, New York, has orgaboth the policy and the line nized a mass-subscription plan taken by the Fourth Internation- under which every member of the al. I am looking forward to do-Rochester branch will become a ing as much work as I am able yearly subscriber and pay on the to on my return to America."- installment plan. We'd like to From a student in Glasgow.

been a regular reader of your ger for details. magnificent journal and all the time I have read it it has been APPEAL ARMY BULLETIN my sincere conviction that there NOW IN MAILS: is no effort to compare—let alone forceful platform style and his pany of its agreement with Local bold to say that this is the con- suggestions for handling distribuability to clarify the issues on 217, Oil Workers International sidered opinion of other foreign

"It is my fond hope that the hat Governor Marland, another and that the producers thereof Our slogan is: 1,000 new subscribcoliticians, ordered the National Je vous souhais bonheur, com- published shortly as well as a Guard out on Dec. 24, despite the arades, et cela en abondance!"— list of prizes to be awarded to protests of the labor movement, P. Crichton, a French Scotsman

#### 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 moblizilations 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 tion. Comrade Abe Miller-New York literature director -- will The spirit of the strikers is kept nigh through the noble work of have complete charge of this new handling many thousands of Appeals before long.

Lee Calvin from Lynn, Mass., writes us that, "In my opinion Abe Miller's suggestion of organi- increase for the 2-a-week Appeal. zing routes for the Appeal is one of the best ways to build up cir- the beautifully bound 1938 copy culation. We have had fairly of the Appeal? Liberal commisgood success in Lynn in this di- sions on 3 or more bound vol-

We plan an extensive campaign in this direction in the the very peal regularly and thank you for near future and I'm sure that if other locals try this type of circulation it will bring results." We

agree heartily. James V. Brown, lit-agent of have other branches undertake "For quite some time I have such a scheme. Write the Mana-

Bulletin No. 2 containing full surpass—with yours from the and detailed information about viewpoint of journalism. I make the new Appeal, with plenty of tion, is now mailed out. We hope it will prove of value to lit-agents.

The most important thing is to Appeal in its new garb—that of get going on the new subscription twice-a-week-will go forward drive that begins on February 1. will enjoy the best of success. ers by April 1! Quotas will be branches (not individuals this time) receiving and sending in the highest number of new subscriptions.

> We reported last week on December being a record month for Appeal subscriptions. January, however, hasn't had such a good start although everything indicates a sharp pick-up for the next week. Here's the list for the past

Chicago ..... Ohio ..... New York City ...... Massachusetts ..... Missouri ..... Minneapolis Rhode Island Philadelphia Washington, D. C..... Connecticut .... California . Foreign ..... Total....\* \* \*

Karl Marx Shier of Chicago fame was quite successful at the Chicago local's New Year's Eve party. . . . He picked up half-adozen subs during the evening. . . Only one bundle-order increase was recorded this weekthat came from Sol Thomas of Philadelphia who now takes a total of 20 per week. .

#### REMINDERS:

(1) Send in your pundle-order (2) Have you gotten orders for

# came from the S.W.O.C. lodges when H. Rasmussen district on Painters Union In N.Y.

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK-P. Chusid, 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 repeated discrimination against him Central Palace, 90 Clinton St. by officials of the District Coun-(above Delancey). Questions cil in the handing out of work and discussion from floor. slips. He asserted that this discrimination was due to the fact that he disagreed with the Stalinist politics of the union leaders.

Jamaica Unemployed Relief
Workers League. Saturday, 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

spectacle for a while, nevertheless their dirty work for them. did not delay making a "reply" characteristic of their methods. the rank and file painters back-As the workers filed out of union ing them will not stand for this headquarters at the behest of the type of Stalinist "enlightenment" C. L. R. James will speak on the police, they were met by a squad either. They are ready to defend "Future For Racial Minori- of strong arm men from the Stal- their right as union men against 🖢 ties," Friday evening, Jan. 20, inist-controlled furriers union. anyone. They will defend their at 8 p. m. at 399 % S. Main St. The latter milled around, threat-militants with every ounce of ening various of the better known strength at their disposal. They opposition militants. Several of will also call on the Civil Liberthe hooligans, whose names and ties Union to watch the gangster GIRL WORKER-Student wants dirty work are well-known tactics of the Stalinists and guard furnished room or studio. Rent throughout the market, concen- against them.

trated on Martin Rarback and Thomas Katsikis, prominent opposition painters, and made ready to maul them. Rarback and Katsikis were surrounded from all sides by these gangster types while the cops looked on passively. Only by escaping in a passing car belonging to a fellow union member were the two militants able to avoid a slugging. Leadership Under Fire

Constantly under fire in the local unions, with one test vote after another going against themrecent by-elections in Locals 454 by heavy majorities to elected positions—the Stalinist Weinstock crowd in control of D.C. No. 9 believes it can "convince" the rebellious rank and file by means of organized terrorism against opposition militants. It is significant of their total lack of strength in the painters union that even for such a job they have to get goril-The Stalinists, aghast at the las from the furriers union to do

The progressive opposition and

#### 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 Binns-Lightship William Rollins-Wali of Men Anna Katherine Green-The Leavenworth Case

Harvey Fergusson-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.

Morley Gallaghan-They Shall Inherit the Earth

Paul Cade-Death Slams the Door

# **QUESTION BOX**

(Conducted by the National Educational Department)

QUESTION: You say: Give the bourgeoisie, performing progressive tasks in China and Spain, independent-organizationalclass 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 temporizingly 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 betraved 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

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

### ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES

conquest.

U. S. A., Dec., 1938.

Militarization of Youth

A.S.U. Endorses

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance.

"A fascist world can be pre-

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,

#### Liberals Responsible for War Program

'No Hoover or Harding could succeeds the liberals will have 30, 1938. 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 oma but were absolutely uncon- Trotsky . . . Lombardo Toledano, paper) is a foreign correspondent touch introduced recently by seveval 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 Ap-

Sincerely, Bridgeport

Letter from STEIN received. We insist upon your meeting an Address the Socialist Appeal AT-TENTION MARTIN.

# SLASHES OUTLAY Roosevelt Doubles Outlay JEWS CONDEMNED On Fair Play and TO PROVIDE FOR for Arms; Heads for War BY ROOSEVELT **BIG ARMS BUDGET**

(Continued from page 1)

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 hunicds of thousands of the unem-

The immediate drive against the WPA appropriations must be met with the stern counter-denand for the extension of WPA o give jobs to every otherwise unemployed worker at tradeunion wages with an overall min- half billion dollars. imum pay of thirty dollars per

with a thing.

### 'DEMOCRACY'---Salvador Style

Secretary of State Cordell Hull eturned this week from his "triimph" 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 Amercan republics which most staunchly supported the Washington thesis of "continental defense" at the recent conference. A few days ago in this little sanctum of democracy a la Lima President Maximiliano Hernanpuppet Constitutional Congress and arbitrarily had his presidential term extended for six years.

The New York Times pointed out that this is the third instance Americas from conquest by the of its kind and that a fourth is in An unarmed people stands today the making in Nicaragua, another as helpless victims for fascist "democratic" gem in the American diadem. The Times also reported that Martinez had the aid vented only, in the words of the of German and Italian specialists Manifesto of the Communist Inror. The "controlled press," said ternational on November 7, 'with the Times report "is free to atthe aid of such governments which are ready to use armed tack democracy but not totalitarforce in the defense of the liberty ianism." One editor who dared to bewilderment—Louis Fischer apand independence of their peo- write something complimentary ples.' Only on this basis 'it will about France on Bastille Day was be possible for a firm front of promptly exiled. Another newsthe peoples to arise which will paper had to apologize for a mild umph"=Fischer developed a new compel the fascist aggressors to reflection on Hitler's appearance. respect frontiers and keep the Last Monday out of Latin

peace." Social and National Se- America came another jewelled curity. Report to the National addition to the annals of Latin Committee, Communist Party, American "democracy." The newspapermen of Salvador arranged a frontier New Year's party with their confreres from neighboring Guatemala. When in Salvador a

newspaper item was fired.

(Continued from page 1) 1939), we read:

attempt to liquidate the entire amount ("for national defense") of Europe are not at all deceived WPA setup (as the CWA was at \$1,319,558,000, or nearly a third by Roosevelt's stern condemnabe found other lesser items direct- to impress and befuddle ly and indirectly connected with masses. 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 (which

Significant Reaction Abroad

Congress intends to take every alone is the sheerest hypocrisy, is ones that oppress Guatemala, step against the unemployed that revealed not only by the desper- Nicaragua, Cuba, Peru, Brazil, can get away with. It will be ate maneuvers of Roosevelt, Hull Venezuela, Bolivia and other necessary to show it, from the and Landon at the Lima Confer- countries. beginning, that it can't get away ence, called for the purpose of It is significant, further, that hailed the Roosevelt message, and 'tions!

the war-budget implementing it, as public notice that the United TO BE PARIAHS to the New York Times (Jan. 8, States will be on their side of the next war as it was in the "President Roosevelt placed the last. The hard-boiled statesmen again as much as is being spent tions of "dictatorships" and "dicthis year. But throughout the tatorships," for they are as well bulky tome that makes up the aware as the next man that these annual budget estimates were to flourishes are meant exclusively

Allied with Dictators

They know that in order to strengthen America's position against certain dictatorships men. "happen" to be Wall to be expended on war prepara- Street's economic rivals in Asia tions will be around two and a and Latin America). Roosevelt has not had the slightest hesitation or compunction about ally That the talk of a military ing himself solidly with such It is clear that this session of budget for "defense" purposes reactionary dictatorships as the

consolidating U. S. imperialism's the Tories and "Economic Royaluniform tone of the reception budget policy—from Washington given Roosevelt's message by the to Lima and back again-and so-called European "democracies," complain only against the failure \*Both London and Paris, where to cut the relief budget still furthe imperialists are feverishly ther as well as against any plan preparing their positions for par- to use war preparation funds for ticipating in the coming war, anything except war prepara-

# Fischer Shocks Faithful By Swing from Stalin Line

BOSTON-Louis Fischer, Mos-, In a solid hour's presentation, cow correspondent of The Nation, he made not a single attack on for many years an "unofficial" the "Trotskyites" and not a single apologist for Kremlin policies, reference to Stalin! In the past, and most recently notorious for Fischer has never failed to praise dez Martinez called together his his brazen articles in The Nation the beloved leader and denounce justifying the Stalinist line in the "counter-revolutionary Trot-Spain, has publicly dissociated skyites." himself from the Stalinists on a series of basic issues!

Speaking on "The Soviets in um here on January 1st, Fischer speech. astounded the Communist party members and sympathizers in the audience by refusing to give Stalin ed Stalinists filed out afterward, a clean bill of health.

Fischer Shocks Faithful gazed at each other in startled adored Louis Fischer. pears every year at the Ford Hall Forum and his lecture is always the occasion for a Stalinist "triorientation. This was sharply evident in the question period. Asked why the Soviet Union does not open its doors to the refugees,

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

During the question period, Dwyer, literature agent for the Daily Worker, took the floor and World Affairs" at Ford Hall For- bitterly attacked Fischer for his

Followers Troubled

As the bewildered and perturbthey accumulated in the neighborhood in knots of troubled heads close together, pondering While prominent Stalinists the transformation of their once-

Never having been a revolution-

ist, 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 respect-

# (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 pubattention anew upon the 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

And of course it is true that or should have known it. spectables who lead the Jewishing gratitude for Roosevelt's gesture and acceding to his request proposals to open the door to the refugees here.

What It Really Means position in Latin America from ists" of the Republican party hi- licly crystallize and drive home merited. competitive economic encroach- erarchy, are enthusiastically be- the doctrine that haven for refuments, but more directly by the hind the Roosevelt war and war- gees is to be sought primarily outside the civilized world. The labor papers, including "Justice," Uganda, the Guianas, the African official organ of the I.L.G.W.U., to be deemed good enough for the tion of the "fact."

The ostensible pretext for this basket. doctrine is that metropolitan areas of the world cannot today as much as from overproduction of manufactured goods. If there is no room for more city workers. more tillers of the soil.

Turning Back the Clock

If the principle underlying Roosevelt's proposal to Mussolini that the refugees should not ag- could find his industry and gravate agricultural overproduc- talents utilized to the utmost and tion, they would then be con- the product of his labor enriching for manufactured goods on a perspective of eating his heart the charity of more fortunate out in Ethiopia. Jews or reduced to primitive handicraft manufacturing to supthe market existed!

able. Even a Malcolm Cowley now Roosevelt is a fraud. Overproduc- second-class citizens of the world. of lockjaw (patience). finds it necessary in cultural cir- tion exists everywhere. It affects Not for them the life of civilizacles to whine that he has been the lonely gaucho riding cattle, tion. Even twenty-five years ago Massachusetts campaigned for Referring to the Moscow trials, misunderstood, that he is really the Australian sheep-herder, the this doctrine would have seemed the unspeakable admirer of Musnewspaper let it slip that the Fischer said: "I do not approve not a Stalinist, that he has many black peasant in darkest Africa. incredible; but so rapid is the solini, Curley (fair play); we expense might discuss that the "The American Student Union newsmen might discuss the "cam- of everything that is going on in differences, etc. The Stalinist grip It is, of course, not real over- decay of capitalism that put over the present militaristic last night indorsed President page for democracy" the Guateplans. Only one who had been Roosevelt's plan to train 20,000 malan contingent was kept at the "Jewish state" of Biro-Bidjan, ing, as crime heaped upon crime enforced abstention from the use Semitic doctrine is now enuncisold to the country as a liberal college youths each year to fly home by the police and the indiscould succeed with it. If this planes." Associated Press, Dec. creet Salvadorean writer of the he could not express any optimism into shocked reflection and redo people actually have enough cies."

In a recent editorial we asked ing the doors to the refugees, but why two Locals of the I.L.G.W.U. for governmental action against ential—Local 22 and the Knit- acceptable to the Stalinist war where the Lovestoneites are influ-

Plain Fraud

goods Workers-had not passed a resolution demanding that the a power in Local 22. plight of the refugees. Mussolini's U. S. open its gates to the refugees. For this we were roundly "Workers' Age" of December 31. The "Workers Age" claimed that such a re-olution was passed and that as a labor paper we knew

the demoralized and cowardly re- &To this we reply: (1) we did not and do not now know that American community are express- such a resolution was even in-(2) had these locals—particularly that the lid be kept down on all Local 22 with its 30,000 members -passed such a resolution, we would have considered that a big step forward in the campaign But Roosevelt's proposal to for the refugees and would have Mussolini actually serves to pub- given it the prominent notice it

Checkup Shows No Resolution But a careful checkup on all

opening new areas to agriculture. that it is tossed into the waste speech.

absorb the refugees. By this criterion, however, no haven at all such a resolution, nor its place what they call our "miserable tracould be found for the refugees, of publication! The only action dition of factional unscrupulousfor the world is suffering today on the Nazi pogroms by Local 22 ness," from agricultural overproduction is reported in "Justice," Dec. 1-a were lying. Not that we can Roosevelt calling, not for open-

technicians and professionals, food or manufactured goods, nor neither is there any room for enough medical and dental care, nor enough housing or schooling. In a sane world, every last Jewish or anti-Nazi worker, doctor, dentist, teacher, writer, technician, were carried out on the basis actor, artist, musician, scientist,

Second-Class Citizens

Far from constituting a gesplement their produce-raising. A ture of friendship to the Jewish in Michigan (fair play); we critifantastic attempt to turn the refugees, Roosevelt's proposal to cized this piece of treachery (facclock back to the days before Mussolini to settle them in Ethi- tional sniping); instead of anopia is a pronouncement that the swering our criticism, the "Work-The whole doctrine implied by refugees are henceforth to be ers Age" got an advanced case

Hitler, i.e., a telegram perfectly mongers who are, unfortunately.

We hasten to add in justice to him that Charles Zimmerman, and piously abused by Lovestone's 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, troduced, much less passed, and 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 wilds, the Argentina pampas, the and the "Workers Age" itself up taxed us with not having brought Brazilian back-country—these are to Dec. 31, 1938, reveals no men- to his attention our discovery that his union had not acted on ews. Hundreds of thousands of The "Workers Age" has ex- this question, prior to publishing cultured cosmopolitans, accus- pressed itself in favor of admit- our editorial. We did bring it to comed to the refinements of met- ting all refugees. Yet it asks us his attention in the most efficacopolitan existence, are to be to believe that it considers the cious manner, by publishing the saved, if at all, by being con-adoption of a resolution by these fact; that it was efficacious is demned to the bitter task of two large locals so unimportant evidenced by his subsequent radio

Now, as to the editors of the It is not accidental that the "Workers Age," if it weren't for 'Workers Age" did not name the their indignant insistence on we might suspect they telegram from the Local to claim to be total strangers to Lovestoneite "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 ts "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 demned to mere subsistence farm- ing the life of all with whom he the A.L.P.-Republican horse-trade ing-raising only what they could comes in contact. But in the in the last elections (fair play); themselves consume and then, capitalist world we live in, he is we criticized it (factional snipbeing without cash crops, depend- condemned by the Roosevelts to ing); it had no reply to make (patience).

> The "Workers Age" supported the Sixty Families and Murphy

The leading Lovestoneite in pressed some doubts on this course (factional sniping); the "Workers Age," like Old Man

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 diffi-

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

(Continued from Page 1) for all needy unemployed. 9. No costly armaments pro-

gram 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 provide for a minimum 25% wage 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.

32 PAGES

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### **Leon Trotsky** Hits Back At N. Y. 'Daily News'

gram of the Fourth Internationfrom the program of the Mexi- this government evidently sym- sas. It is enough to say that my paper in a series of articles: on can government.

pied with the national prestige mocracy; this is done by Hitler, of General Cardenas. What basis "communism"; on the other hand of its country, would never seek by Mussolini, by Stalin. This was does he have for such affirmal is the G.P.U. which would comcounsel from a foreign immi- done in the past by the Russian tions? The same as your paper, promise my right of asylum in grant. I learned of the agrarian | Czar and the Turkish Sultan. The | What is his aim? To secure my | Mexico. The combining of efcan government through the if we consider it seriously, sup- G.P.U. I proposed to Mr. Toledano solutely possible: they are also newspapers, exactly like the ma- poses hospitality also towards po- that an impartial commission not identical but symmetrical. jority of other citizens.

ment of General Cardenas ac- through respect for its own. corded me the right of asylum. had given me the right of asylum falsity of these charges.

in order to utilize my "counsels." The Right of Asylum

cratic civilization

imperialist war, and I found asy- tourists at your Mexico City resi- from the meridian of exactitude. lum in the United States. With-dence. He later wrote in part, 4. Your counsel, Mr. Albert with devotion to Mexico in order out any passport, without any "All through Latin America in the Goldman, according to a story in to help me in my work and to visa, without any absurd and hu- last few weeks Cardenas has sent the Mexico City newspaper, Ex- protect me against possible atmiliating formalities! Your im- emissaries preaching the rewards celsior, is quoted as saying that tempts at assassination. They do migration authorities were inter- of confiscation. . . . It is easy to the instigator of "these editorials ested that I did not have trach- guess who taught him this- published in the Daily News (my cerned about my ideas. Yet who went to Russia to study the living here, who has connections twenty-two years ago, my ideas, Soviet system and who is a fol- with the Communists in the venture to assure you, were as lower of Trotsky, etc. . . " Mr. United States and of Mexico." In- way. They did it then and they bad as now. At that time, it did Allen repeated the gist of these asmuch as Mr. Goldman has pubdo it now not for me personally, not occur to anyone to draw the charges recently in New York licly made that charge against but for the ideas which I repre-

A-I have answered Mr. Allen's insinuations in the Mexican week-You will object, perhaps, that ly Hoy and you have the possithis was in the remote past, when bility of utilizing my answer comthe United States had not yet pletely. In Mr. Allen's articles

al, which I support, is very far ately provokes the hypothesis: tion of the ex-Governor of Kan- have been repeated in your newspathizes with Trotsky's concep- curious "follower" systematically the one hand are the capitalists, It is not difficult, on the other tions. Permit me, nevertheless, repeats in his speeches and ar- discontented with the Mexican hand, to understand that the that granting the right of asylum ticles that I am preparing . . . government and desirous of pre-Mexican Government, preoccu- to one's followers is still not de- the overthrow of the government senting its measures as alien

and other measures of the Mexi- principle of the right of asylum, deliverance into the hands of the forts by these two groups is ab-He, too, of course, will evade or falsity of that assertion. 3. Mr. Henry J. Allen, former reply. Toledano and Allen are A-The source of my income is Is it not monstrous? In 1916, I Governor of Kansas, visited Mex- not identical, but symmetrical, at my literary work. And only that! was expelled from Europe as a ico in the Fall of 1938. He at- least, in the sense that they find But it is absolutely true that my result of my struggle against the tended a seminar of American themselves at the same distance friends in the United States as

the 'foreign correspondent?' A—Yes, I have information that "axis" a threat to world peace? the person who informed the

litical adversaries. I permit my- be created for public verification 5. It has been publicly stated in On the basis of what data did self to think that the government of his declarations. Toledano, of New York City that your stay in your paper arrive at its conclu- of General Cardenas accorded me course, evaded reply. I am ready Mexico City is being financed by sion? Evidently on the basis of hospitality not through sympathy to send the same proposition to a group of auti-Stalinists in New the simple fact that the govern- for my political conceptions, but the address of ex-Governor Allen. York City. Please state the truth

well as in other countries come that on their own initiative, voluntarily sacrificing their time and their means or the means of their friends. They did so when I was in Turkey, in France, and in Norconclusion that President Wilson City. Please state the truth or the News, may I have the name sent. It is evident that these ideas have an attractive force. 6. Is the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo

A-Of course, the Berlin-Rome-Daily News about my alleged Tokyo "axis" is a menace to have nothing to say about that. "participation" in the government peace. But it is only one side I will add only that the "democbeen emancipated from the vesand speeches, so far as they contires of harherism; and that the communist Bonty of the Communist Bonty of the war danger. To make war, racies" have a simple means of the communist Bonty of the war danger. tiges of barbarism; and that the cern my life and activity in Mex. the Communist Party of the at least two sides are necessary. present flowering of civilization ico, there is not a word of truth. United States. You know how Contemporary wars arise from hands; they need only buy it. Inabsolutely trustworthy comrade. began only after the great eman- You yourselves quote in your difficult it is in such cases to pre- the irreconcilability of imperial- sofar as Great Britain, for excipatory "war for democracy." question Mr. Allen's assertion sent juridical evidence even if the ist interests. On the same rails ample, boycotts Mexican oil, it

has now tary of the union organizations, editorial office, it will not be dif | headed toward each other loaded to sell oil to Germany, Italy, or expropriators. -LEON TROTSKY.

to what I have said already. When the Daily News affirms

German government on my counlaunches the version which passed like a yellow thread The International Inquiry Comthe Moscow accusations were frameups. The editorials of your into truth.

To whom the Mexican government sells oil is its own affair. I I will not discuss that. Demo-that Lombardo Toledano, Secre- facts are indisputable. For your of our planet, several trains are bliges the Mexican government Coyoacan, D.F., Dec. 28, 1938

sider my unmasking the calum- reached, it seems, such a flower- is my "follower." In Mexico this facult, however, to verify the ex- with greed and hate. Of course, Japan. Chamberlain's government culty hadn't ought to be palmed ries spread against me here by ing that the mere fact of the sentence is capable only of pro-Stalin's agents. Finally, the pro- Mexican government's granting voking a Homeric laugh, perhaps groups exist, both interested in neer will be more "guilty," which interests of the oil magnates than tience. The two aren't the same me the right of asylum immedi- not very flattering to the reputa- making the insinuations which less, this fact has no importance. the interests of national defense, thing. Neither are plain fraud Guilty is the regime of imperial not to speak of the interests of and fair play. ism which concentrates the riches "democracy." But this is still not of the nations and of humanity all. When the masters of destiny into the hands of a few mono- in the great democracies give Hitpolists. It is necessary to put an ler a present of Czechoslovakia end to this regime of monopoly; for his birthday and then maniit is necessary to expropriate the fest discontent toward the Mexican government which sells its oil to whoever wishes to buy, it P.S. Now after receiving the is impossible not to say that here issue of your paper dated Decem- hypocrisy surpasses all admissber 10, I must make this addition able bounds and thus becomes stupid and ridiculous.

But I am preoccupied now with that I was the inspirer of the ex- another aspect of the matter. The propriation measures of the Mex- affirmation that thanks to Mexican government, there is no callican oil, I want to help Hitler umny in that. It is simply false, gain victory over Stalin is not But your paper has now launched only a lie, but also a calumny. a second report, which, while a The U.S.S.R. and Stalin are not lie, represents at the same time a the same thing. I am an advercalumny. The Daily News affirms | sary of Stalin but not of the U.S. that Mexican oil is sent to the S.R. The task of overthrowing the reactionary parasitic dictasel, and that moreover, my aim is torship of the Stalinist oligarchy to cause Stalin damage. The is the task of the Russian work- from Feb. 15 to June 30 and to Daily News here in its own name ers and peasants. They cannot transfer this task to Hitler. Hit- increase in all classifications was ler is only the perfidious agent of through all the Moscow trials. German imperialism. Hitler's victory would signify frightful eco-Dr. John Dewey declared that nomic, political, and national slavery for all the people of the U.S.S.R. and above all, the restonewspaper are not capable of ration of the rights of private converting an unmasked frameup capital. Or perhaps you think that I advocate expropriation of oil resources only for Mexico? No. to defend the nationalization of

the means of production realized by the October revolution the elementary duty of every socialist, beginning with myself.

-LEON TROTSKY.

JUST PUBLISHED FASCISM AND THE American Scene By Dwight Macdonald

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

F.D.R's Budget Message!

#### SOCIALIST APPEAL

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MAX SHACHTMAN

HAROLD ROBERTS FELIX MORROW 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

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

"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 itfor 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

"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 offascism. 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 Oneal 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 Cahans 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 consitutes 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 Browders, the Oneals

## **EVICTED SHARECROPPERS START** MASS TREK TO U.S. HIGHWAY

mass exodus of thousands of Some planters suggest that the evicted sharecroppers and their croppers could maintain their stafamilies of southeast Missouri | tus if they would give them threewill begin on Tuesday when they fifths instead of one-half the cotplan to move their meagre belong- ton crop. Others would permit ings to U.S. Highway 61. It is es- them to remain in their miserable timated that they will form a shacks as day laborers, that is, thirty mile line, running from eliminate planters' responsibility Sikeston to New Madrid and to provide cash and credit loans south into Caruthersville.

This demonstration was enthusiastically decided upon at a meet- stand that an increase in day laing of 350 representatives of 1700 borers would mean a sharp reduc-Negro and white croppers held tion in wages, some estimates gohere 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 cottonacreage 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 of our large American cities."

to the poverty-stricken croppers.

The sharecroppers also undering as low as 40 cents a day-for 10, 12 and 14 hours. Already an unusually large proportion of farm families in southeast Mis-

souri are wage day laborers. Living Standards Low

The 20,000 cropper and laborer

"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

('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 80% were tenants.

Insurance Cos. Hold Land en countign): two insurance comof 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

It is these large landowners who get the profits out of the rich mer. families are living on the lowest land and the cruel, terrific ex-

of 3 and 4,000 acres each.

"Yes," said the other, "If I don't eat something soon there'll be on- the Relief Bureau! Others said they must put the children to y one of us left."

At this point the cop stepped up and demanded to know what the h- they were doing. Walkng 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 peen forced to fire them both. And there they were, hungry and

y believe his eyes. There, on the

sidewalk, walking along and peer-

ng into each garbage pail they

'It's only two days now but it

passed, were two large horses.

seems a week.

the policeman shouted. "Don't ya know the law? Ya gotta take care of these here horses or the Socito Animals will have ya run in em and keep 'em decent-see?" BUT, Unemployed Are Not . . .

Horses

ARE? HORSES?"

land ownership. In 1935, there Emergency Relief Bureau in New turn to their trades because of were 6,000 owner-operators and York City, we will see the differ- illnesses contracted while unem-27,000 tenants, sharecroppers and | ence when it comes to providing | ployed. laborers. In two counties almost unemployed workers and their 90% of the farmers were tenants, children with food and enough and in a third county more than clothing to cover them in winter. the record shows that in a single

Insurance companies own more school because they have no for medical diagnoses in order to than 200,000 acres (of the 1,800,- shoes. Fathers and brothers can- be eligible for special diets. 000 acres of farm land in the sev- not look for work because winter The types of illnesses are interovercoats are considered a "lux- esting. Anemia, 136 cases; Cardipanies owning more than 40,000 ury" by the E.R.B. And, if, on ac (heart trouble), 164 cases; Tuacres each. Twenty-five percent of the hottest days of summer, we berculosis, 636 cases; Nose and the farm land is held by owners see mother or sister wearing an throat infections, 40 cases; Stomovercoat while she walks to the ach and intestinal, 336 cases; Diabureau, the reason is clear. She betes, 383 cases; Malnutrition, 1,wears a heavy coat in July be- 266 cases; and 486 cases classed cause she has not one single de- as "other" illnesses. cent dress to wear in public. . . . A quick glance at the list shows

standards to be found anywhere ploitation of the tenants, share- the month of November, 1938 enough food!!! in the country. A government re- croppers and laborers. The feeble came to \$2,175. This amount was port on southeast Missouri finds relief measures of the Roosevelt to be equally divided among all one month! If November is an av- before taking up grievances, And the officials and the Stalinist administration have not even applicants. The average number erage month, the total number of when one sees how many investi- gangsters. The U.P.W.U. has recscratched the surface of the prob- of relief cases per month in New such reported cases would amount gators belong to the Stalinist ognized that LaGuardia, Rooselem. The labor movement, above York comes to about 165,000. The to over 40,000 a year. And keep in gang, the problem of living be velt and Company must be fought all, the C.I.O. in St. Louis will clothing budget, therefore, means mind the nature of the sickness- comes increasingly difficult for every day in the week and that have to give direct aid to the or- that an average of 13c per person es. Unless the very best care is the unemployed. ganization of these exploited peo- was provided for the month when administered in most cases there

It was eleven-thirty p.m. on up- other usual working-class ill- ported, can only be treated by inper Fifth Avenue one cool even- nesses.

For Men—That's the Law!

Relief For Horses But Not

ing, and Officer Smith could hard-Organized Pressure Gets Results (a part of New York City) the and fresh fruit and vegetables. request for clothing was answered by an over supply of mattress-Said one horse to the other, es and pillow-cases! Some workers threatened to wrap the pillow- meetings of the Unemployed and cases around their feet and wear Project Workers Union, how them for shoes and then picket many mothers have reported that they would make holes in the sleep by feeding them warm wamattresses and wear them for ov- ter and sugar! How many work-

marched into the bureau in a them out into the street? How children to wear to school. After flowers, lamp shades, etc? a six-day seige in which the workers' children took active part, the officials finally gave in and grant-Jones he stopped and knocked on soon forget. They realize now the door. When Jones appeared that organized pressure by the workers can bring results.

And what about medical care for the workers who are without ety for the Prevention of Cruelty jobs in the land of plenty? It should be an easy task to provide and I'm the man to do it! Ya got- the proper and necessary medical ta take in these plugs and feed assistance in America, where medical science has made such rapid advances in recent years. We have in America so many fine When this was done some un- hospitals, thousands of doctors, mployed workers-fired by the hundreds of clinics and so many ame Mr. Jones-overhearing the "free medical centers" for the bove conversation, immediately workers who cannot afford to pay. walked up and knocked on the It would be to the bosses' advandoor. When Jones answered the tage to keep workers in good conknock the men explained their dition. The machines are always case-no place to sleep-nothing kept oiled and in running condition even when not in use. But, "What!" shouted the boss, "Get here, too, an inspection of the out of here before I call a cop. medical records of the E.R.B. WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU shows us that today there are hundreds of thousands of workers Indeed, men are not horses. If who are too sick to work and we examine the records of the others who will not be able to re-

Poverty Breeds Disease In New York City, for example month (Nov. 1938) more than 3, Children remain away from 400 unemployed workers applied

Freeze in winter-sweat in sum- that five of the above are caused directly or indirectly by lack of

suring the patient plenty of rest, fresh air, and an abundance of Out in Jamaica, Long Island, good meat, fresh eggs and milk,

The "special diet" allowed for illness is a grim joke to the thousands of underfed workers. At ercoats on the same picket line. ers have been forced to use "spe-After months of continual stall- cial diet" money to make up the ing by the officials, the workers rent so the landlord won't throw body and refused to leave until many tubercular children are clothes were provided for their working at home on artificial

Leaflet Lists Rights

This is only a part of the pic-Officer Smith grunted. "Come ed shoes, coats, dresses, etc. The clothing, coal, rent, and medical along with me and no funny busiresult of the sit-in strike is a lescare are small enough. But a new ness now." At the home of Mr. son the Jamaica workers will not aspect of the whole situation is 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 gypped. 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 alowance? Do you get your full coal allowance? Do you get your shoes repaired? Do you get carfare to go to the

"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 gypped. 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 ic beginning and won demands the bone and the Stalinist leader- from the E.R.B. officials by miliship of the Workers Alliance tant and decisive actions. Work-The total clothing allowance for proper food or simply by lack of blackmail the unemployed and re- ers who are joining find the only lief workers by taxing them way to win decent conditions for These are the totals for only three and sometimes four dollars

winter is well under way! Novem- | will be no cure. Malnutrition, | Workers Union has made an hero-standards of living.

# Drive Slows Up; Branches Must Speed Fund Action

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 Portand have definitely promised to send in their quotas in full before February 1. What about the others? 270Q As the campaign nears an end, competition for the Fourth International banner is increasing. James M. Coller of Cleveland branch writes: 24QQ "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, Coller. 1500

> > 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 San Francisco too will get one of the prizes.

Remember there are autographed books to be given as well as banners.

Percent

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

1200

### **SCORE BOARD**

	Stroets.	1 1410	2 02 00240
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	160
Yellow Springs, O	5.00	5.00	100
Houston, Texas	10.00	10.00	109
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
	25.00	8.00	32
Rochester, N. Y.	200.00	61.00	31
Cleveland	10.00	3.00	30
San Diego, Cal	50.00	13.00	26
Youngstown	10.00	2.50	25
South Bend, Ind	25.00	5.50	22
Fargo, N. D	15.00	2.00	13
Gardner-Fitchburg	75.00	8.00	11
Akron, Ohio		15.00	3
Minneapolis	500.00	0	0
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	U	

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

shevism 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 socialism and the inevitability of Thermidor, collaboration with the social-democratic press, dialectical materialism, and numerous other problems which have been dealt with recently in

their families is by fighting both only by uniting with the trade un-The Unemployed and Project ion workers can they win better

A critique of a whole series of | the writings of Sidney Hook, Max radical intellectual critics of Bol- 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 spotlight on the conduct of the war by Chiang Kai-shek and his Stal-

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

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