

Branch Competition Gets Hotter In Twice-Weekly Drive

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

**But More Speed Is
Needed to Reach
Our Goal**

By ROSE KARSNER
Appeal Campaign Director
Total to date is \$1,330.70 with reports from the St. Paul-Minneapolis New Year's Eve Jamboree not in as we go to press.

Of the branches competing for the Fourth International banner, San Francisco and Detroit have gone over the top. Both these branches are not satisfied to rest on their laurels. They promise to keep on collecting for the campaign.

Returns from the branches are picking up, but still too slowly. In the remaining four weeks, the barometer must take bigger and faster leaps if we are to realize the slogan of The Twice-a-Week Appeal on the Road to a Daily.

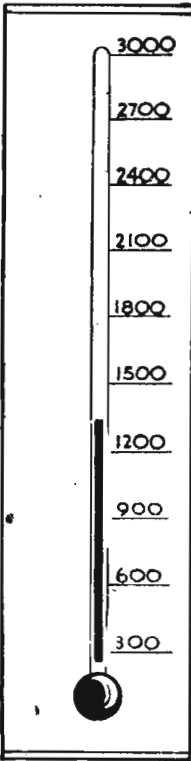
Let us prove in action the superiority of our ideas.

PRIZES
In addition to the three banners for the branches making the best showing in the campaign, considering size and ability of membership, we have three autographed copies of C. L. R. James' books. Two copies of "World Revolution" and one of "Black Jacobins." These are to be given to sympathizers sending in the biggest collection on the Appeal folder now in the mails, or members plugging hardest in the branches. Let us know who they are and what they have done.

From Our Branches
Local New York—The Astoria Branch is the first in the Local to fulfill its quota 100 percent. The next branches making the best showing so far, are Downtown, Bronx and Lower East.

(Continued on page 2)

**Turn
On
the
Heat!
Make
It
Rise!**



SCORE BOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Kansas	10.00	\$ 17.00	170
Sacramento	10.00	12.00	120
Durham, N. H.	5.00	6.00	120
Denver	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	25.00	25.00	100
Marston Mills	5.00	5.00	100
San Francisco	50.00	50.00	100
Toledo	20.00	20.00	100
E. Chicago	10.00	7.50	75
E. Oakland	20.00	13.50	68
Punta Gorda	5.00	3.00	60
New York	1050.00	583.20	57
Newark	100.00	55.75	56
Boston	200.00	108.25	54
West Oakland	20.00	10.00	50
Fresno	5.00	2.50	50
Los Angeles	200.00	101.50	50
Lynn	50.00	22.00	44
Hartford	5.00	2.00	40
Quakertown	15.00	5.50	38
Plentywood	10.00	3.50	35
St. Paul	100.00	34.00	34
Worcester	10.00	3.00	30
San Diego	10.00	3.00	30
Cleveland	200.00	61.00	31
Chicago	250.00	72.00	28
Youngstown	50.00	11.00	22
Fargo	25.00	5.50	22
St. Louis	75.00	16.00	21
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20
Yellow Springs	5.00	1.00	20
South Bend	10.00	1.50	15
Phila.	50.00	2.50	5
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Akron, Ohio	75.00	0	0
Austin, Minn.	25.00	0	0
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	0	0
New Haven	20.00	0	0
Washington, D. C.	20.00	0	0
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	0	0
Gardner, Mass.	10.00	0	0
Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Olivia, Minn.	10.00	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	0	0
Fitchburg, Mass.	5.00	0	0
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0

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

Socialist Appeal

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

**All War
Funds To the
Unemployed!**

VOL. III—No. 1

Saturday, January 7, 1939

375

5¢ per copy

FIGHT CUTS IN W. P. A.!

11,000 Taxi Drivers Strike in New York

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 4)

Moscow Frameups Exposed by Trial Of Ukraine GPU

**Admit 'Confessions'
Extracted from
Victims**

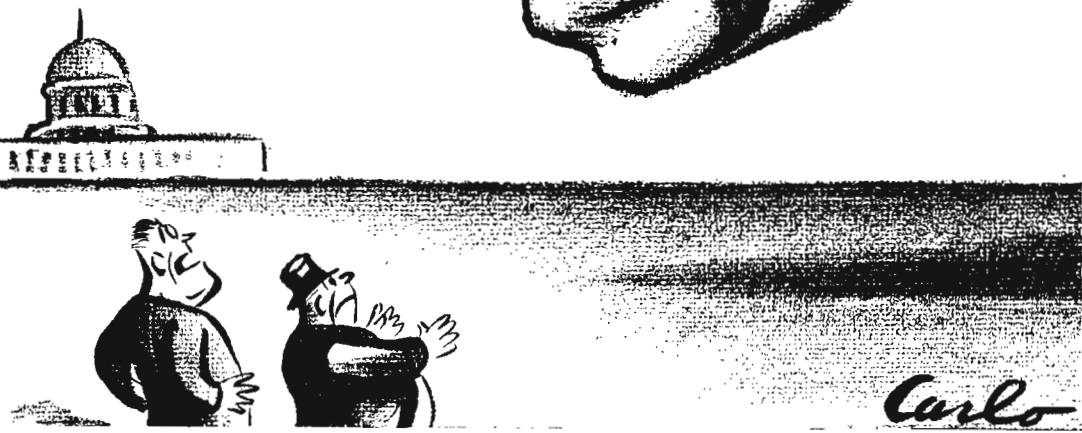
That Russia's secret police systematically extorted false confessions which constituted the basis for judicial frame-ups—a conclusion established last year by the Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey in its exhaustive investigation of the trials against Trotsky—received weighty confirmation from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

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

Swear to Any Crime
In the trial, it was brought out that five G.P.U. officials, under the direction of a superior official who "died" before trial, had methodically organized frame-ups, giving them substance by extorting confessions from innocent persons. Among the frame-ups organized were the extortion of confessions in which victims swore they belonged to Fascist youth organizations and testified that others belonged with them, although the organizations were non-existent and innocent victims were forced to accuse others whom they did not even know.

(Continued on Page 3)

New Year's Resolution No. 1



Blackwell Freed, Washington Hears

**Militant Acquitted
After Trial at
Valencia**

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

Welles said that Moffat, consul at Valencia, will report Blackwell's departure from Spain, "which will be by safest means available."

(Continued on Page 3)

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

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

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

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

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

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

We don't know the young lady,

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

Slashes Plotted As Foil to Arms Plans

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. P. MISRULE IS EXPOSED IN TEACHERS UNION

**Progressives Fight
for Inner-Union
Democracy**

A sensational exposure of the rule-or-ruin course which the Stalinists in control of the Teachers' Union in New York are pursuing inside that organization, came to light suddenly when announcement was made of the resignation from College Teachers Union, Local 537, American Federation of Teachers, of one of its prominent members, Professor John L. Childs.

The announcement was followed with the information a few days later that three other members, instructors, like Childs, at Columbia University, had followed him in withdrawing from the organization on substantially the same grounds. The three included Professors F. Ernest Johnson, Bruce Raup and later Dr. Louis M. Hacker.

Hacker, Childs Resign
In making public their withdrawals from the union, the resigning members, especially Childs and Hacker, declared that they could no longer remain members of a union in which democratic control of the organization was mythical, having been replaced by the reality of Stalinist factional domination. The union, they asserted, had been converted into an instrument for the furtherance of the political line of the Communist party.

Though those informed about the real situation in the labor movement have known for some time of the destructive bureau-

(Continued on Page 4)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!

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

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

A JOB FOR EVERY WORKER AT A LIVING WAGE!

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

Yankee Imperialism At Lima

Hitler's Munich triumph has impelled American imperialism to launch a gigantic counter-offensive for the conquest of the world.

The slogans abandoned by Anglo-French imperialism at Munich—"democratic anti-fascist front," "common action against the aggressor," "collective security"—have now become the weapons of Wall Street. Under these slogans Roosevelt called the Latin American countries to Lima, and they inspired the "Declaration of Lima."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 3)

Hague Emboldened By C.I.O. Weakness

NEW INJUNCTIONS CHALLENGE UNION RIGHTS IN JERSEY

Union-Busting Drive Resumed Full Blast

NEWARK, N. J.—The failure of the C.I.O. to lift the fight against Haguelism, for civil liberties and workers' rights, out of the dragging grip of the courts and onto the field of mass actions and intensive union organization has emboldened New Jersey reaction. Two recent opinions expressed by Vice Chancellor Berry are a challenge to existing unions in this state.

The deportation and egging of Norman Thomas aroused public sentiment against the abrogation of guaranteed liberties. It focused national attention on Jersey City. But at best, it was only a sample of reaction's concealed weapons. Union organization was prevented in Jersey City, but elsewhere, unions remained immediately unharmed. Now reaction has drawn a dagger that is aimed at the heart of every union.

Injunctions "Dime a Dozen"
Injunctions restraining picketing are being handed out "a dime a dozen" by courts dominated by the Hague machine through gubernatorial appointments. And as a consequence, bosses operating under union contracts are preparing to break them. A real union-busting drive is opening up.

In the case of the strike being led by Culinary Alliance Local 611, A.F. of L. it was the opinion of the Vice Chancellor Berry that: "If the employees were not satisfied with the way the employer was able to pay them, they had a perfect right to quit and walk out and she had the same right to hire others in their places."

In other words, where striking workers are replaced by scabs, no strike exists. Any further attempt to picket would be illegal and constitutes grounds for granting to the boss an injunction restraining picketing.

Picketing "Not Legal"
"There is no law in this state which in terms legalizes picketing," says Berry; and therefore all picketing can be declared illegal. In this manner, Local 108-United Retail Employees, C.I.O., was restrained from picketing the Kitty Kelly Shoe Corp. This in the face of a 100% walkout. Here too the court ruled that it was convinced that in this case the strikers' places had been filled by others, that business was proceeding normally, and that therefore, there was no strike situation.

The issuance of injunctions for such brazenly stated reasons has this single meaning: the courts are prepared to strangle every union that dares to strike. It hopes to involve them into drawn out legal entanglements. Thus it is calculated that union funds will be dissipated and the morale of the membership will be broken down. And it is true that if the unions permit this, they will be victimized accordingly. Appeals against injunctions require hundreds of dollars and months of time.

Win Strikes by Action
The fight against injunctions will not be won in the courts. Judges' ears are not attuned to the protests of workers but to the instructions of political bosses. No will the fight be won by lobbying for an anti-injunction bill as the Anti-Injunction League has been doing for more than a year. Judges will stop issuing injunctions only when, in spite of them, strikes are won by mass action.

A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions are affected alike. They must unite on this issue. The whole organized labor movement of New Jersey has to be awakened to this fact. When mass picket lines close down struck stores, strikes such as that of Local 108, U.R.E.A. against the Kitty Kelly Shoe Corp. will be won. Vice Chancellor Berry, Hague, and the bosses of New Jersey must be shown that injunctions can neither break a union nor defeat a strike.

LABOR BOOKSHOP NOTES

In order to make the latest books available to all workers, the Labor Bookshop has reduced its circulating library rates to 15c a week and 3c a day. Latest books available at the present time are THE BLACK JACOBIANS by C. L. R. James, SCHOOL FOR DICTATORS, by I. Silone, and MY LIFE AS A REBEL, by Angelica Balabanoff. In addition, the circulating library carries the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

American Student Union Takes Rabid Jingo Line

The fourth annual convention of the Stalinist controlled American Student Union, meeting in New York during Christmas week, completed its transition from a militant anti-war force to an outright jingoistic, war propaganda agency on the campus when they adopted resolutions in favor of "national defense" and R.O.T.C.

The Young Peoples Socialist League, which broke from the A.S.U. last September because of the latter's pro-war line, picketed the mass meeting at the Hippodrome which opened the first session of the A.S.U. convention. More than 150 Y.P.S.L. pickets shouted "Against Imperialist War"; "Schools Not Battleships"; "R.O.T.C. Funds to NYA"; "The A.S.U. Supports R.O.T.C."

The entire tone of the convention was support of the New Deal. Particularly important was the fact that the A.S.U. came out openly for the imperialist foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration. To demonstrate their support of the imperialist plunder of South America the following is part of a motion that was adopted:

"We are confident that vigorous leadership by the American democracy is more necessary than ever after Munich. It is for this reason that we approve the steps taken by the United States at Lima to strengthen democracy in the Western Hemisphere and to unite it against aggression. We urge education for and support of a democratic (!) application of the Good Neighbor Policy by

Negotiations With G. M. Are Stalled

DETROIT.—That no progress is being made in negotiating a new and better contract between the United Automobile Workers Union and the General Motors Corp. is not only being felt by G. M. workers but it is admitted by members of the bargaining committee.

In almost a month of negotiations only two points have been discussed, according to a member of the committee. And on this no decision has been arrived at—not even a "gentlemen's agreement." The points in question are the extension of seniority to G. M. workers employed for more than a year and the revision of the "D" list of preferential employees.

Unless seniority is extended to these unemployed workers on January 1, 1939, 6,000 Chevrolet workers in Flint will be considered as having no claim to their jobs. They have been unemployed since January 6, 1938. The "preferred list" has not been a major grievance, although it can be used as an entering wedge against good union men or for the starting of a company union.

The fear of the G. M. workers getting together has caused the International officers to discontinue the G. M. conferences previously held. Now conferences are being held of various G. M. divisions such as Fisher Body plants, foundries, assembly plant, tool and die, etc. At these conferences, new demands on the Company were not made. Their chief purpose was to discuss plant standards and grievance procedure. No uniform demands were suggested by the International or demands drawn up. Problems common to all G. M. workers or the policy of the union toward G. M. were not on the agenda.

No real progress can be made toward a better contract until a conference of G. M. workers is held. At such a conference the demands of the June, 1937, conference must be reaffirmed with some revisions.

which we mean non-interference in the affairs of other nations, common consultation to safeguard the Hemisphere against fascist penetration, and the carrying thru of the trade agreement program in such a way as will strengthen democracy in the Western Hemisphere."

Recruiting Sergeant's Manual
The discussions at the convention were not over the question of whether or not the A.S.U. should support national defense, but rather on how the A.S.U. would act as the best recruiting sergeant for the army. The resolution adopted stated the following:

"The A.S.U. believes that the first line of national defense for the United States must be its foreign policy. . . . To the extent that our foreign policy is effective in checking aggression, to that extent do we limit the need for armaments. . . . The A.S.U. instructs its National Executive Committee to undertake . . . a study of what are the defense needs of the United States. . . ."

The American Student Union, which in former years led the fight against R.O.T.C. on the campus, completely reversed its position and has decided to drop the fight against militarism on the campus.

To top off the whole convention in the true spirit of their war-

United States--Padlocked Pantry for Unemployed

Christmas week with its spirit of peace on earth and good will toward men brings sharply to mind a small news item of 1938. It seems a mother of four small children refused to feed her family despite a well-stocked pantry. The pantry door remained locked while the food rotted away. The youngsters cried with the pain of hunger but the mother turned a deaf ear. Finally neighbors, aroused by the pitiful wails of the hungry babes, broke in and had the mother taken to a hospital for mental disorders.

All will agree that an insane asylum is the proper place for such a mother. But how many stop to consider the fact that every day here in America, the richest country in the world, thirteen million unemployed workers are faced with the awful problem of providing for rent, food, clothing, light, gas and medical attention. Think of it! The U.S.A.—the largest producer of wheat, cotton, coal, oil steel, and machinery is unable to provide for the men who build the buildings, the steel mills and the automobiles. . . .

Private Property's Padlock
These men go hungry in the midst of plenty. Even the President has had to recognize the fact that at least one third of the nation is without proper food, clothing and shelter—the three main necessities of life! Families are broken up. Young men commit suicide. Girls become prostitutes. Old men and women are sent to the poor houses where death is a welcome relief. The man with a job lives in deadly fear of being fired and cannot buy back the very goods he produces.

America, the mother of thirteen million unemployed workers turns a deaf ear to her hungry children. The pantry remains locked with the sacred lock of Big Business and the 60 families. That lock is called PRIVATE PROPERTY.

And the private property of the 60 families and Big Business is very well cared for even when it is not in use. Idle machinery is well provided for. Watchmen keep it oiled and in good condition. It represents money invested and must not be allowed to rust or freeze. The machinery and buildings are insured against fire and theft. The boss looks out for his private property—keeps a lock on it.

mongering methods, the convention welcomed the announcement by President Roosevelt that 20,000 students must be trained for the army air corps. Molly Yard, speaking on the floor of the convention, stated that she was proud to say that she welcomed the military aviation training proposed by Roosevelt for the student bodies because she felt that in that way we could be guaranteed that the air force will be used in the interest of the people.

Y. P. S. L. Warns
The Young Peoples Socialist League warned the members of the A.S.U. that the Stalinist leadership would eventually lead them to support the war mongering aims of the government. A good deal of resentment was shown by rank and file A.S.U. members at the convention, which was demonstrated by the eagerness with which they bought and read the Challenge of Youth, paper of the Y.P.S.L. which carried an open letter to Joe Lash, exposing the A.S.U., predicting that the A.S.U. would drop the R.O.T.C. fight. 65 delegates bought the Challenge. Even the Socialist Party youth, who did not break with the A.S.U. after it demonstrated its complete war line, indicated their sympathy for the Y.P.S.L. picket line.

The Young Peoples Socialist League urges all anti-war elements on the campus to break with the A.S.U. and other campus war mongers.

McKinney Hails Twice-Weekly

The Twice-a-Week Appeal should be welcomed by every worker, by every reader, by every sympathizer of the Socialist Workers Party and all those who want to see a real revolutionary workers' paper increase its influence and prestige in the United States.

The Twice-a-Week Socialist Appeal is an answer to the demands made on the revolutionary party—the Socialist Workers Party—for more frequent discussion and interpretation of the many significant national and world-wide events in which the working class of the United States is involved. Furthermore, the appearance of the Socialist Appeal twice a week means a doubling of the volume of news stories; especially, trade union news, the doings of Congress and Roosevelt's war preparations.

Send in subscriptions and contributions now! Support the only real anti-war paper in the U. S.!

FUND AT \$1,300 AS PARTY BEGINS TO REACH QUOTAS
(Continued from Page 1)
Side, each with two-thirds of their quotas turned in.

HOSPITAL UNION CUTS LOOSE FROM C. P. DOMINATION Advances Swiftly Under Progressive Leaders
CHICAGO, Dec. 6.—The Hospital Workers Union of this city, which a year ago was under Stalinist leadership, has completely freed itself of C. P. domination. Local 787, which replaced the defunct Local 396, is today making rapid progress.

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United States--Padlocked Pantry for Unemployed

Christmas week with its spirit of peace on earth and good will toward men brings sharply to mind a small news item of 1938. It seems a mother of four small children refused to feed her family despite a well-stocked pantry. The pantry door remained locked while the food rotted away. The youngsters cried with the pain of hunger but the mother turned a deaf ear. Finally neighbors, aroused by the pitiful wails of the hungry babes, broke in and had the mother taken to a hospital for mental disorders.

All will agree that an insane asylum is the proper place for such a mother. But how many stop to consider the fact that every day here in America, the richest country in the world, thirteen million unemployed workers are faced with the awful problem of providing for rent, food, clothing, light, gas and medical attention. Think of it! The U.S.A.—the largest producer of wheat, cotton, coal, oil steel, and machinery is unable to provide for the men who build the buildings, the steel mills and the automobiles. . . .

Private Property's Padlock
These men go hungry in the midst of plenty. Even the President has had to recognize the fact that at least one third of the nation is without proper food, clothing and shelter—the three main necessities of life! Families are broken up. Young men commit suicide. Girls become prostitutes. Old men and women are sent to the poor houses where death is a welcome relief. The man with a job lives in deadly fear of being fired and cannot buy back the very goods he produces.

America, the mother of thirteen million unemployed workers turns a deaf ear to her hungry children. The pantry remains locked with the sacred lock of Big Business and the 60 families. That lock is called PRIVATE PROPERTY.

And the private property of the 60 families and Big Business is very well cared for even when it is not in use. Idle machinery is well provided for. Watchmen keep it oiled and in good condition. It represents money invested and must not be allowed to rust or freeze. The machinery and buildings are insured against fire and theft. The boss looks out for his private property—keeps a lock on it.

APPEAL ARMY

Remember! 104 issues for the same price as formerly!

Now with New Year's safely past and the Appeal drive at the half-way mark, the time is approaching for the actual issuance of the twice-weekly Appeal. In the time left between now and February those branches that have not already laid their plans for extra distribution activity must take action immediately. It is up to the literature agents in these branches to bring the problem to the attention of all members.

Also, we urge literature agents to start sending in their increased bundle-orders at once so that we can lay our plans. The success of the twice-weekly paper naturally depends upon greatly increased circulation. New York City, Detroit and Cleveland are already on record to handle many more papers than they have ever done. Send in your increased order now. February 1st is the deadline for the first twice-a-week issue.

RECORD MONTH FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS!
As we expected, December turned out to be an all-time record month for the number of subscriptions turned in! The average per week during the month was 47 subs, which is quite close to our goal of 50! This is considerably higher than any previous month in the approximately 1 1/2 years of the Appeal's publication. Also, the number of renewals during the month was highly gratifying. All in all, we can definitely say that we begin the new year with the most solid foundation in the field of circulation and subscriptions that our press has ever had in America!

Let's hit our average of 50 subs per week in January!

Only one bundle order increase was received during the week. That was from Elsie Meyers, capable agent for the East Oakland, Calif., branch, who increased her bundle to 25 copies.

BOUND VOLUMES—1938:
The bound-volume of the Appeal for last year is bound to be in great demand. All 56 issues neatly bound in black and red, delivered right to your home. We want to make this offer to literature-agents. Any agent sending in orders for 3 or more bound volumes will receive a generous and substantial commission from the Appeal.

And don't forget that we still have on hand bound-volumes for 1937!

SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands

- MANHATTAN: Fourth St. at University Place, S.E.; at Broadway, S.E.; at Fourth Ave., S.W. at Fourth Ave., N.E.; at Fourth Ave., S.E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S.W. at Third Ave., N.W.; at Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N.W.; at Sixth Ave., N.E.; at Grand Book Store, E. 15th St., 12th St. and University Pl., N.E.; at Grand, 75 Greenwich Ave., Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave., S.W.; at Sixth Ave., S.W. at Sixth Ave., S.W.; at Seventh Ave., S.W.; at 103 W. 44th St.; 23rd St. & 4th Ave., S.W. & S.W.
- PHILADELPHIA, PA. 1006 North Franklin St., Cor. 11th and Market St., N.W. 40th St. and Girard Ave. 8th St. and Arch St. QUAKERTOWN, PA. ESER's Newsstand Front & West Broad St. BOSTON, MASS. Andelman's Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Felix), Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Sq. CAMBRIDGE, MASS. S.W.P., 41 Central Sq., Room 12 Sam's Corner, Olympia Square 8th St. and Ave. 2nd St. Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall) INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA Lyric Book Store, 113 N. Illinois St. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. Labor Book Store, 919 Marquette Building, Sixth & Hennepin. Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet. 410 Washington Blvd. ST. LOUIS, MO. Foster Book Company CLAYTON, MO. The Book Nook, 84 Meramec CLEVELAND, OHIO Rubin's Drug Store 1072 E. 10th St. Meriam Building, Room 214 5716 Euclid Avenue Schroeder's, 1624 Public Square YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO Nick's, Barnes & Commerce SAN FRANCISCO MacDonald's Bookstore, 65-66th St. Filmore Bookstore Sutter & Filmore Sts. Golden Gate News Agency, 21-44th St. Fitzgerald's News Agency, 37-3rd St. Portland Smoke Shop, 859 Mission St. Store 20, 3057 16th St. Mason Grocery, Mason & Pacific Sts. Ferry Building, 2nd & Market entr. Kolb's Stationery, 100 Filmore Room 2, 542 Valencia St. Ray's News Shop 120 Sutter LOS ANGELES 233 S. Broadway, Room 312 1541 E. Echo Park Ave. Smith News, 5th & Main St. Modern Book Shop, 508 W. Main St. Shoreline Shop, 2307 Brooklyn Candy Store, 2231 Brooklyn Ave. Candy Store, 2231 Brooklyn Ave. SAN DIEGO, CALIF. Universal News Co., 242 Broadway Sweet St., 225 Broadway AKRON, OHIO News Exchange, 51 S. Main St. Next cor. Barnes & Center OAKLAND, CALIF. 7th and Washington 12th, bet. B-way and Washington Andrew Williams Market Bookstore, north of DRETOIT, MICH. Special Appeal Club, 3515 Woodward Ave., Room 5 Cor. 42th & Market Sts., N.W.

Yankee Imperialism Is the Main Enemy in Latin America

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

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

American Totalitarianism

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

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

What They Mean by Democracy

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

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

The Right to Be Squeezed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Knows No Limit
 In squeezing the Latin American lemon, Wall Street piles contradiction upon contradiction. It obliges the tributary countries to buy only in the American markets, but at the same time drains into its own coffers the gold of these countries, demands prompt payment for old debts, the end of exchange control by the Latin American governments, and the immediate handing over of Wall Street credits now frozen in Latin American banks for lack of exchange. As if this were not enough, Wall Street tries to deprive these countries of their traditional markets for products which America also produces (wheat, cotton, sugar, etc.). The catalogue is not complete without referring to the reprisals and boycotts organized by Wall Street against any country which, like Mexico, dares to expropriate imperialist concessions. Wall Street cannot but strangle the goose that lays its golden eggs.

Fight Is Against Imperialism!

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

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

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

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

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

Fascist Danger Is At Home

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

economic vassals of the Northern colossus.

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

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

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

Rulers Cannot Fight Fascism

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

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

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

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

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

"Anti-Fascist" Illusions

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

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

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

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

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

Lackeys Do Not Speak For Us!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For the proletarian, socialist revolution in the United States!
For the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics of all the Americas!

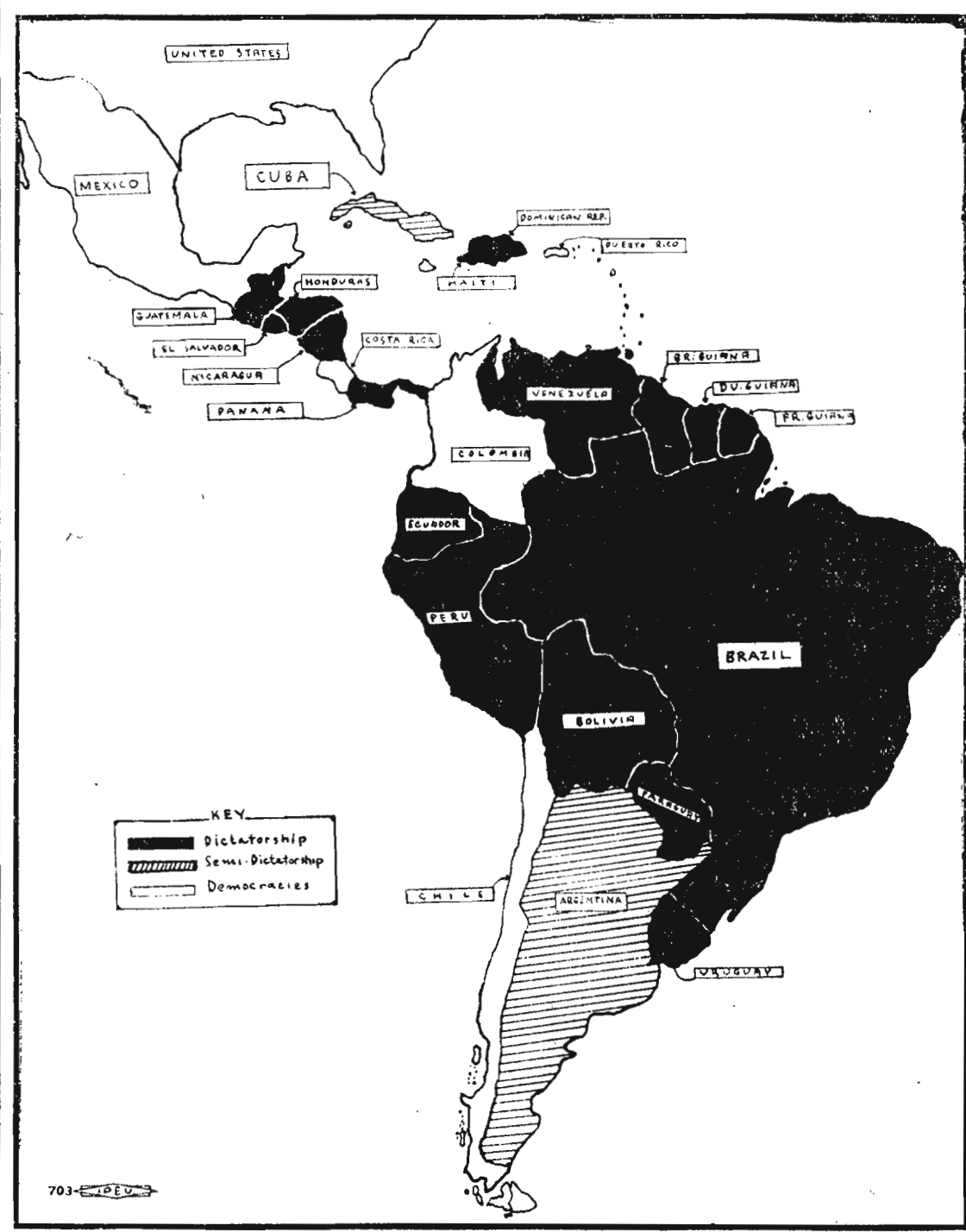
New York, December, 1938.

DRIVERS' LEADERS JAILED IN AKRON

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

Chet Smead, president of the Truck Drivers Joint Council, and T. C. Dethloff, president of Taxi Drivers local 345 were the leaders sentenced for protesting the issuance of the injunction against "all persons" aiding Drivers Local 348. Together with John Ellis and Sam Pollock, two other A.F. of L. union business agents, these unionists formed a "Civil Liberties Committee" to carry on picketing activities while Local 348 was under legal restraint. The last two named escaped sentences because the judge found "a reasonable doubt whether these two men had willfully violated the court order."

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



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

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

(Continued from page 1)
 tract the false confessions from the ten men who appeared as prosecution witnesses. The witnesses were limited to describing that G.P.U. officials "compelled" them to make the confessions. Ordinarily news out of Soviet Russia is limited to what emanates from Moscow officials and the Moscow press. Apparently Denny picked up the Kiev story independently of the official news sources. In view of his former uncritical attitude, Denny's underlining of the fact that the trial did not bring out the instrumentalities employed to secure confessions speaks volumes.

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

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

The ruling clique is therefore driven to find ways and means to reassure the people, or at least the millions of functionaries. In the past year, therefore, Soviet leaders have made various reassuring speeches. But these have not achieved their aim. Finally, in desperation, the bureaucracy has had to expose part of its own mechanism in the hope that this extraordinary step will create the necessary reassurance. But in the nature of the whole regime—ironical touch!—the scapegoats had to ape their own methods, convicting themselves in the Kiev trial by self-confessions.

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

The Kiev trial was attended by

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III—No. 1 Saturday, January 7, 1939

Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: National Office: Algonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign \$2.50 per year. Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937, at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN Editor

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

Musica and Business Secrets

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

How the Arms Program Works

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

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

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

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

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

Hitler Apes Stalin

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

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

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

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

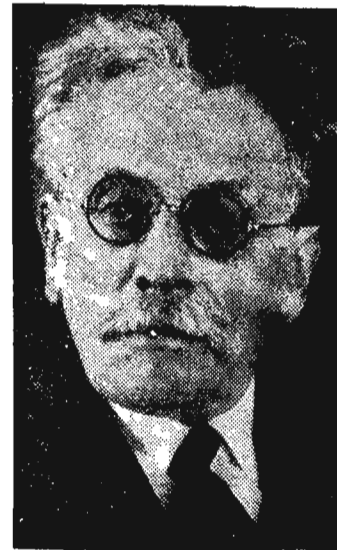
Socialist Party Comes to An End

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

PATCH UP A LITTLE MISUNDERSTANDING



NORMAN THOMAS



ABE CAHAN

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

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

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

Prediction Confirmed

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

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

The Dual Strategy

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

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

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

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

The Centrist Lament

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

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

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

Future for S.P. Militants

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

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

THEIR WAGE IS ONE CENT AN HOUR!

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

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

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

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

One Cent an Hour

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

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

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

Western Union "Wages"

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

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

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

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

Bill Does Not Effect All

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

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

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

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

Employer Evasion Begins

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

Act. They have already begun a campaign of firing and evasion. To-date 3,300 complaints have been registered by unions and groups of workers. In Puerto Rico 120,000 of the island's 420,000 workers are being laid off, bringing the number of unemployed there to 350,000. Saw mills in Arkansas and Mississippi have closed, 5,000 to 7,000 workers of the pecan shelling industry around San Antonio have been shown the gate. In the North, the Western Union Telegraph Company has threatened to dump 3,125 "boys" onto the street because the company is operating at a deficit (\$1,615,919 for the first ten months of 1938); yet R. B. White, president, and Newcomb Carlton, chairman, continue to draw \$76,770 and \$62,065 per year.

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

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

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

CORRECTION

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

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

BRENDA'S PARTY

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

She Needs Relaxation

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

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

But Here's A Point

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

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

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

Relieving Miss Frazier

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

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

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

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

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QUESTION BOX

(Conducted by the National Educational Department)

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

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

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

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

It is also noteworthy that out of a billion dollars spent on armaments, as against a billion dollars spent on (say) W.P.A., a smaller percentage of the former will end up in the hands of the needy workers themselves, because of the exorbitant profit-making which is rampant in the munition-making industry. It cannot be denied that the great armaments programs of other countries have resulted in propping up industrial activity, at least at first, and have created a kind of artificial prosperity, temporarily and on a limited scale. It acts as a shot-in-the-arm for capitalism, temporarily stimulating but leading eventually and shortly to an even greater relapse.

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

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

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

C. P. MISRULE IS EXPOSED IN TEACHERS UNION

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

Militants Fight C. P. Misrule

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

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

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



C. L. R. JAMES

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

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

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

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

New Haven: Tuesday, January 10, Fraternal Hall, 19 Elm Street, 8 p.m.: "The Twilight of the British Empire." Wednesday, January 11, Negro Community Center.

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

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

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

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

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tried to have him meet with the Browder and Hathaway, C. P. complete factional control which the Stalinists exercise over the union, plus the fact that they Childs resigned from the Loca-