

Twice-Weekly Fund Only \$200 Short of the Goal!

\$2,800 IS DRIVE TOTAL WITH ONE MORE WEEK LEFT

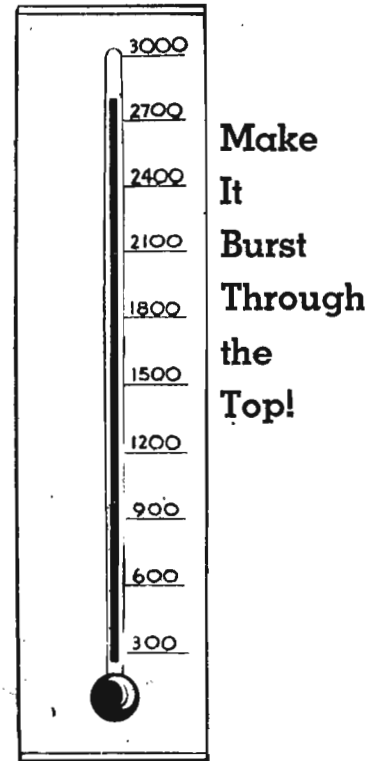
Drive Success Seen As It Enters Last Week

By ROSE KARSNER
Appeal Campaign Director
Total collected to date is \$2,800.
This puts us well on the way to the twice a week Appeal—the first step ON THE ROAD TO A DAILY!

Our organization has good reason to be proud of the results obtained thus far, but we must not rest until every branch and every member in it has fulfilled the quota 100%.

One final push, and we begin publishing twice a week. The last lap of any race is as a rule the most arduous. But we can make it. We have already given evidence of the mettle Fourth Internationalists are made of. So don't delay. Send in the balances.

Let's reach the \$3,000 goal, and then—go beyond it!
Remember, the Twice-a-Week Appeal is only the first step ON THE ROAD TO A DAILY. Our next steps are: building a successful distribution machinery; getting prompt bundle order payments.



FROM OUR READERS

What we need to keep the twice weekly going and improving, is an army of readers like Joe B. of Hiloopolis, Ill., who says: "My subscription to the Appeal expired, I am therefore enclosing \$2 with which to renew it. Soon I shall send you \$3 to cover the Stamps you sent me. I am desirous of helping the Appeal—I hope to be able to make a regular monthly contribution soon."

We welcome comrade E's action in starting a monthly Appeal Pledge Fund to help cover the deficit which every revolutionary publication operates on because it cannot secure advertising.
Who will apply for Appeal (Continued on Page 4)

SCORE BOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Kansas	10.00	\$ 20.00	200
Sacramento	10.00	20.00	200
St. Louis Local	50.00	60.00	120
Durham, N. H.	5.00	6.00	120
E. Chicago, Ind.	10.00	11.50	115
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	54.50	109
Boston, Mass.	200.00	205.25	103
Denver, Colo.	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit, Mich.	25.00	25.00	100
Fresno, Calif.	5.00	5.00	100
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	5.00	100
Houston, Tex.	10.00	10.00	100
Minneapolis	500.00	500.00	100
Marston Mills, Mass.	5.00	5.00	100
New Haven, Conn.	20.00	20.00	100
San Francisco	50.00	50.00	100
St. Paul, Minn.	100.00	100.00	100
Toledo, O.	20.00	20.00	100
Yellow Spgs., O.	5.00	5.00	100
Washington, D. C.	20.00	20.00	100
East Oakland	20.00	20.00	100
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	5.00	100
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	15.00	100
Plentywood, Mont.	5.00	4.50	90
New York City	1050.00	872.45	83
Los Angeles	200.00	150.00	75
Allentown, Pa.	25.00	18.00	72
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	7.00	70
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	3.50	70
Newark, N. J.	100.00	69.00	69
Philadelphia	50.00	33.60	67
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	16.50	66
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	6.00	60
Worcester, Mass.	10.00	6.00	60
Chicago	250.00	143.00	57
Fargo, N. D.	10.00	5.50	55
San Diego	10.00	5.50	55
South Bend	10.00	5.50	55
Cleveland	200.00	105.00	53
W. Oakland, Cal.	120.00	10.00	50
Youngstown	50.00	23.00	46
Gardner-Fitchburg	15.00	6.50	43
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	2.00	20
Akron, O.	50.00	8.00	16
Louisville, Ky.	10.00	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!

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SAVE THE AUTO UNION!

Barcelona Can Be A Second Madrid

The Workers Saved Madrid and They Can Still Save Barcelona; Negrin and Co. Prepare Their Exit

The siege of Barcelona has begun. In little more than a month, Franco's forces have traversed eighty miles of Catalonia and are at the doors of the biggest and industrially most important city of Spain.

To outflank inadequately equipped troops in the field is one thing, however, and to capture a city of two million people is a task of an entirely different order. Given any serious intent to struggle, the Loyalist leadership can retain Barcelona for many months, at least.

The siege of a great city is an enormous military undertaking, as was demonstrated by Franco's failure at Madrid in November, 1936-March, 1937. Air bombing and artillery have to this day not reduced a total of more than a fourth of Madrid's buildings to ruins. Barcelona, a more modern

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city, could withstand much more intensive attacks than those which Madrid have had to endure.

How Madrid Fought
In the siege of Madrid, the fascists were faced by a determined resistance. Even if they broke into the city, the workers and their wives were prepared for house to house fighting. The initiative of the masses was unleashed and gave results. Workers committees went through the streets, impressing all able-bodied men into building barricades and trenches.

House to house searches were made by workers committees for fascist suspects and arms. Over five hundred Assault Guards—police—were arrested and imprisoned as fascist suspects. As a result, no "fifth column" appeared in Madrid.

"Liberal" Traitors
A very different story unfolded when the fascists marched on the Northern cities, Bilbao, Gijon and Santander. The Basque bourgeoisie was in complete control, the workers were permitted no initiative, and the cities were scarcely approached by the fascists—they were not even besieged—when the Loyalists surrendered. Open treachery of high

officers was an important factor, and "fifth columns" were in the open long before fascist troops arrived.

Will Barcelona follow the path of Madrid or of Bilbao? Reports are already insisting that, like the Basque bourgeoisie, the Negrin government has already fled Barcelona. The terrific rate at which the fascists have advanced indicates more than military strength, resembling the disorganization and demoralization of the Loyalist lines during the Northern campaigns, which the Negrin government later admitted to have been due to treachery.

"Times" Hints
It is alarming to note the line indicated by the New York Times correspondent, H. L. Matthews, known to be close to government.

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JOBLESS PARLEY IN FIGHT AGAINST RELIEF SLASHES

Eastern Conference Plans Struggle For Jobs

By BILL MORGAN

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 22.—Sixteen delegates, representing more than 9,000 unemployed and W.P.A. workers, gathered here over the week-end, in an Eastern Conference to lay plans for a real struggle for jobs and increased relief for the unemployed.

Stressing the need for united action against the slashing of the relief appropriations by the Roosevelt administration in its cynical haste to build a monstrous war machine, delegate after delegate cited the miserable condition of the unemployed and relief workers who were betrayed by the Stalinist leadership of the Workers Alliance in every section of Pennsylvania, New York and everywhere the Communist party wreckers got control of unemployed organizations.

Adopt Program

The Conference listened to reports from delegates and then proceeded to draw up a program which would answer the needs of the workers. This program, based on the experiences of the many locals present, means action. Some of the demands are as follows: "All war funds to the unemployed!" "A job for every worker at trade union wages and hours with a \$30 minimum weekly wage guaranteed!" "Open the idle factories!" "Against the Means Test!"

A committee on organization was elected and it prepared plans for the united action of all the unemployed and W.P.A. workers against the relief cuts and buck passing of the responsibility from Federal Government to the States and counties. Delegates from the trade unions will be invited to assist in this struggle.

A representative committee of seven was elected to carry on the work of the conference. Lester Heckman, of Allentown, Pa., is the secretary of the committee which consists of Pat Brennan of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., John Justin of Harrisburg, Pa., John Monroe of Baltimore, Md., Rhoda Pearson and Henry Rourke of New York City and Mrs. Briggs of Wisconsin.

Auto Workers! Stop the Union-Wreckers

The present open crisis in the United Automobile Workers Union, which has already split the General Executive Board in two, brought about the naming of a dual president and the calling by the Stalinists of a stooze convention, threatens, literally and immediately, the destruction of the entire union movement in the industry.

Into the creation of this movement went some of the most magnificent chapters of United States labor history. Today this movement faces a prospect where it may be wiped out altogether.

Primary responsibility for the crisis rests upon the vicious gang of union-wreckers known and dishonored throughout the labor world as Stalinists.

Everything healthy in the labor movement withers under the touch of Stalinism.

The Stalinists, with not the slightest responsibility toward the unions, with no aim other than to swing the unions into line for their own counter-revolutionary and pro-war political ends, found obstacles in the U.A.W. to their plans.

As in innumerable other instances, the Stalinists in the U.A.W. set out to rule or ruin—to tie the strings of the union firmly to 13th Street and through it to the Foreign Office of the Kremlin, or to smash the union.

They have now taken their final step. Fearing with good reason to face a really democratic and representative convention of the rank and file of the entire union, they have forced a split in the executive board and called their stooze convention in Cleveland.

Whatever illusions part of the membership may have about the Cleveland gathering, whatever locals may in honest confusion send genuine militant delegates to it, it is guaranteed in advance that the Cleveland meeting will be a 100% Stalinist stooze assembly. Every move, every motion, every resolution, will be dictated by Earl Browder in exactly the same manner that he dictates the proceedings of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the I.W.O., or the conventions of the Communist party itself.

The future of the union movement in auto does not and cannot lie with the Cleveland puppet-show.

But Homer Martin carries also his share of responsibility for the disaster. His irresponsibility, his willingness to bloc up with anyone, however reactionary—including at the start the Stalinists themselves—for some immediate purpose, his failure to carry issues to the rank and file, his ineffectiveness in the organization drives planned for the last year, his secret meetings with Coughlin and Bennett, his dampening of the militancy of the locals in order to make the union "respectable" in the eyes of the bosses—all these factors have played into the hands of the Stalinist union-wreckers.

DON'T BE FOOLED BY F.D.R.'S SHAM "BATTLE" FOR RELIEF!

W.P.A. and unemployed workers are being called to parade in New York on January 28, in a leaflet issued by the "United Labor and Citizens Committee for Jobs and Recovery", under the slogan "Back up the President and the Mayor!"

The sole demand made by this committee—and others like it throughout the country—is "to go forward with Roosevelt by insisting that the Senate restores the cut voted by the House of Representatives" in the W.P.A. appropriation proposed by Roosevelt.

The C.I.O. national headquarters has declared itself in similar terms, asking that Congress accept Roosevelt's figure of \$875,000,000 instead of the House bill of \$725,000,000.

Not a word is said by these organizations about the meaning of Roosevelt's own figure. Yet, to "back up the President" means to back him in putting over a program of a billion dollars less for W.P.A. and relief for this year than was spent last year!

The issue is now one of life or death for the union. It will not be solved in a week or a month or at either of the projected March conventions; but if it is ever going to be solved, action will have to be really begun during the next week and month.

It is time for the militant and progressive rank and file of the U.A.W. to assert their own rights, to take over their own union in their own name. The locals must elect their delegates to the Detroit convention, not to submit to Martin but to re-establish the rule of the members over their own union.

They can do so only by an independent struggle of all genuine progressives on an independent program, subordinated to no faction of the warring cliques now composing the leadership.

If the members allow the present struggle to be a mere dog-fight over posts, the fate of the union is sealed.

The struggle in connection with the special convention must be utilized to advance a real program for at least the immediate future of the union, or else it will not make the slightest difference which clique wins out over the next two months.

What kind of program is needed? The minimum essentials are given by the situation in the union and the industry:

1. A 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly pay, throughout the industry.
2. A real organization drive to complete the unionization of the entire industry.
3. Organization, and negotiations with the bosses, backed up whenever and wherever necessary by the weapons that first built the union and got it everything it has ever won: by militant mass action, picketing, strikes, and sit-downs.
4. Rank and file control; full and genuine democracy within the union.
5. An end to the Hillman-Murray receivership. Autonomy for the union in running its own affairs.
6. Elimination of the influence of Stalinism in the union's leadership and policies.
7. Bona fide representation of the entire international at the Detroit convention, with an arrangement and credentials committee including all groups, and competent to guarantee the democratic rights of the locals in getting fair and proportional representation. Exposure of the projected Addes-Mortimer-Thomas convention at Cleveland as a Stalinist scheme to smash the union and certain to be run as a standard Stalinist stooze assembly directed from beginning to end by Browder and his gang of union-wreckers.
8. The genuine unification and consolidation of the U.A.W., which is possible only on the basis of a program of militant struggle and of democratic control of the union by the rank and file.

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Stalinists Move To Smash Organization

Martin Group Shares Blame for Crisis Which Is Imperiling Union's Existence

MEMBERS MUST INTERVENE

DETROIT, Jan. 23.—The United Automobile Workers of America, which fought and defeated the biggest monopolies in the country, is now being split wide open by two contenders for power.

Unless the rank and file speaks up, and speaks up soon, the union will be a smoking ruin, powerless to fight the corporations, unable to shield the interests of the unemployed. The entire labor movement will suffer a major disaster.

On the one side, is the "Executive Board Majority," consisting of the union-wrecking Communist party-Unity Group crowd in alliance with the reactionaries who formerly supported Martin. On the other side, is the Martin group, composed of a few bottom-heavy office holders and backed by a very smelly alliance of reactionaries and the Lovestoneites.

Wrecking the Union

Within a brief two-week period these cliques have inflicted a deeper wound on the U.A.W. than the motor barons with their billions of dollars and powerful propaganda machines were able to do in two years. They have disgraced the union in the eyes of the labor movement and the public at large, and all but crippled its magnificent fighting power. The Detroit capitalist press has been having a Roman holiday, its headline writers competing with another for the most comical description of a very tragic situation.

Compromise Abandoned

About ten days ago a compromise was reached for a joint convention. Now that compromise is ancient history, with two conventions planned, one by the Board in Cleveland, a supposed Communist party stronghold, on March 20, and another by Martin in Detroit, where he believes he has an edge on his opponents, on March 1.

Meanwhile the contending groups have been mobilizing their forces at a feverish pace and the last two weeks have witnessed a spectacle of shameful activity unparalleled in the annals of the labor movement.

The Board majority fired ten Martin supporters, among them a few Lovestoneites (the belly-crawling of this miserable clique has surpassed all records for calloused abdomens).

Martin countered by suspending 15 out of 24 Board members. The Board impeached Martin and appointed R. J. Thomas, president.

Both groups speedily dispatched their strong-arm squads, armed with ball bats, to take over the records at the Griswold Building, International office of the union, and then to the printshop to capture the union newspaper.

The funds of the International Union are tied up because checks must be signed jointly by George Addes, Board Secretary-Treasurer and Homer Martin, opposition president.

The whole business has now been taken into the courts.

Last night the strong-arm squads invaded a meeting of Plymouth Local 51 and broke it up by staging a battle royal which was ended when some 300 cops cleared the hall with nightsticks. Most of the workers present took no part in the conflict.

Passing the Buck

Charges are flying thick and fast, the capitalist press running columns of statements and counter-statements. Each side is seeking to throw responsibility on the other for rotten stewardship in the past year-and-a-half.

In this way they hope to capitalize on the rank and file's mounting indignation at leaders who abused the democratic rights of the membership, bent a humble knee to the corporations, failed at the job of organizing Ford's and the competitive parts plants, and wasted the treasury of the union.

Though the Stalinists bear chief responsibility for the debacle, Martin cannot escape his share.

The major accusation and the chief scandal of the present fight

(Continued on Page 3)

Senate Temporizes On Relief Slashes While Roosevelt Evades Responsibility

Goes Through Devious Maneuvers to Hamstring Protest Movement

Retreating slightly in the face of the threat of mass protests and the complaints of Governors and Mayors that their treasuries cannot stand any increases in local relief costs, the Senate Committee on Appropriations last week added temporizing amendments to the relief bill passed by the House of Representatives.

Though the Senate Committee fiscal year, it is possible that the House figure of \$725,000,000 as the total deficiency of the Senate will restore the President's suggested figure of \$875,000,000.

Roosevelt's own program means "gradually" firing seven hundred thousand W.P.A. workers during the next six months and that, without waiting for Congressional action, Roosevelt's orders are already being carried out, nearly 350,000 having already been fired.

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Intervention of Workers Needed To Save Auto Union

Stalinists Move To Smash United Auto Workers; Martin Made It Possible

(Continued from Page 1)

is the Ford drive, Martin charges the Stalinist-dominated Executive Board with squandering tens of thousands of dollars in a drive that produced little or no results. The charge is true. The drive was characterized mainly by the incompetence, ineptness and total lack of program.

But the Director of the Ford drive was Martin's chief henchman, then Assistant President of the U.A.W.—Richard T. Frankenstein. Frankenstein, though appointed to this post by Martin, after the August, 1937 Milwaukee convention, and remaining director for over six months, fell out with Martin and was gobbled up by the Stalinist caucus. Opportunities for the organization of the Ford workers were simply squandered.

"Conspiracy with Ford" Now the Board turns around and hurls at Martin the accusation of "conspiracy with the Ford Motor Co., through its agents, Harry Bennett and John Gillespie..." The entire course of the negotiations between Martin and Bennett is still obscure, for they have been conducted behind a brick wall of secrecy.

Then Ford's company union, the Liberty Legion, is dissolved at the hottest point of the faction fight, giving the unavoidable impression assiduously fostered by the Stalinists that Henry Ford was consciously throwing his weight behind the Martin forces in the union struggle. Bennett publishes a statement correcting the Liberty Legion attorney Culver: it was not he (Culver) who suggested dissolving the Legion but Martin.

Stalinists For Ford Deal Yet only a few days earlier, on January 19, with the stink not quite so strong, but still pretty bad, the Stalinized Board had put its seal of approval on Martin's negotiations with the Ford Motor Co. What they are really complaining about is not the character and content of the negotiations but the person who is doing the negotiating.

Then comes the charge that Martin worked in "collusion" with representatives of the employer... concealing the negotiations to the great detriment of the membership...

Stalinist "Democracy" What hypocrisy it is for the Executive Board to be the accuser! Did not Hall and Mortimer sign a supplementary agreement with General Motors in the Spring of 1937 without consulting the G.M. workers?

Did not the entire Executive Board, every last man, sign the letter to General Motors giving the corporation power to discipline union militants?

And didn't they unanimously send it to G.M. a second time after it had been unanimously rejected by a conference of G.M. workers?

R. J. Thomas' first statement on assuming the Board presidency was, not that they were going to fight the corporations for better conditions, but that their policy "will be that of responsible union organization." Martin makes those statements every day, and twice on Sunday.

Martin accuses the Board of inviting a C.I.O. dictatorship. The Board answers with the charge that Martin deprives local unions of their autonomy.

The entire Board with probably one exception voted for Martin's proposal to ban all autonomous local union newspapers about fifteen months ago. Martin's former colleagues, Pieper, Madden, et al., of the Board majority, were part of the Board dictatorship over the Flint, Pontiac and other U.A.W. locals.

These are the main points of controversy. The other charges, about wasting the union's money by interminable Board meetings, exorbitant expense accounts, and inefficient, useless organizers (somebody's friend), are actually charges against the leadership as a whole.

How Save the Union The main question now is: what shall be done to save the union which is being pushed headlong into a split? The plain sentiment of the majority of the U.A.W. members is a growing disgust with the present fight. Everywhere you hear the expression "a plague on both their houses." It would be fatal if this sentiment crystallized, as it will may, into simple anti-unionism.

The rank and file has its own fight to fight. And that fight is against the corporations. The tens of thousands of unemployed auto workers facing a permanent layoff are not interested in fighting to preserve the job of this or that Board member. They want to fight to return to their jobs with General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, or other parts plants.

The 20,000 W.P.A. workers in Detroit facing dismissal and starvation are interested in a different kind of fight than the one between the Board and Martin. They want action against the companies, not fratricidal warfare between union men.

Revolt Against C.P. The revolt against the Stalinist clique is already appearing and gathering strength and scope. The uprising against Stalinist leadership in the Plymouth local, formerly sold behind the Lamotte leadership, is a significant straw in the wind. Unfortunately, much of this opposition has been misdirected by reactionaries and red-baiters, Pat McCartney, a witness before the Dies Committee against the "Reds," seized the helm of this insurgent movement at Plymouth.

The Martin caucus is allowing red-baiting to be used as one of its weapons. Its program talks about "American Unionism." It is against "communism and all other isms." In yielding to this hysteria, it is not fighting progressive activity, but following the Communist party, but following in the footsteps of Bill Green and John Frey.

The bureaucratic rule-or-ruin policies of the Stalinists are directly responsible for this red-baiting and the support it is getting. Up to now the workers have mistakenly identified the yellow Communist party with radicalism and militant unionism. The result is that the Communist party has discredited the name of radicalism in the eyes of thousands. It has conducted its own red scares—and is still carrying them on—branding every worker who disagrees with them a "Trotskyist" or a "fascist" or both.

The solutions offered by the contending factions will lead only to a calamity for the union. The calling of two conventions must not put the touch of finality on the present split. It would carry the war from the Executive Board into the locals and then into the plants. Then the corporations will clean up on both sides.

The rank and file must act at once if the union is to be saved from the wreckers and the wreckage. While preparing its forces for the Detroit convention and rejecting the Stalinist stooge gathering in Cleveland, it must act independently, and not as a mere servant of Martin. It must constitute itself as an independent force that favors one convention and one union. It must stand four-square on a program of fighting for the interests of the workers, employed and unemployed, against the corporations. Only such a movement can bring order and militancy out of chaos.

HONOR THEIR MEMORY! Lenin, Liebknecht Luxemburg Rally Against Boss War! Songs, induction of new members, dramatic presentation. Speaker: NATHAN GOULD FRI. EVE, JAN. 27—8:00 P.M. WEBSTER MANOR 11th St., nr. 4th Ave. Auspices: Y.P.S.L. Adm. 15c

15 CONVICTED IN "LUBIN CASE" NEW YORK—Fifteen young unemployed workers were convicted of disorderly conduct this week in Brooklyn Magistrates Court because they demanded that Willy Lubin, a starving and homeless youth, be allowed to ask for home relief. Sentence will be set on Feb. 3. All fifteen were arrested last September when an unemployed union delegation went into the Williamsburg home relief bureau with Lubin and asked that the bureau officials listen to Lubin's story. For months before, Lubin had been given the run-around by bureau officials who refused to listen to his case. The relief officials replied to the union delegation by calling the cops who in turn slugged the unemployed and threw them in jail. In Magistrates Court the judge held the trial in his private cham-

Watch the Phoney! Above all, the workers must not be misled by false messiahs. Already Walter Reuther is rumored to be talking about some kind of "third group." But this "third group" can only be His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, created to divert resentment against both groups and gain new prestige for himself. Just another edition of the "peace group" that Reuther founded in the last episode of the faction fight, and which soon disappeared into the Stalinist caucus.

Strike Going Strong After Nineteen Weeks OMAHA, Nebr.—When an irresistible union meets an "immovable" boss group, then either the boss group moves, or goes broke. That's the way the cards lay on the table in the epic twenty-week battle between the Omaha General Drivers Union 554 (irresistible!) and the Omaha Business Men's Association.

Union Stands Solid Nebraska's labor-baiting boss tradition received a hammer-blow on January 19th when Omaha was treated to the spectacle of an entire union, meeting in session with the Area Negotiating Committee after nineteen weeks of every kind of strike-breaking tactics known to Nebraska, standing as solid as a rock for its original demands without a dissenting vote.

Majority of Bosses Sign Up At the present time, the non-union boss operators must face the fact that they no longer represent a majority of their own industry. The truth is that within the Omaha region, trucking employers representing 68 per cent of the over-the-road motor freight industry have signed up and are now operating in Omaha!

Inspires Labor Movement The significance of this strike would be difficult to overestimate. It opens up another inland empire to the entering wedge of militant union organization. That this significance is realized by unions throughout the entire eleven-state area is proved by the cash-on-the-line contributions as well as fraternal greetings to the besieged strikers which are pouring in.

Locally, a covert but growing atmosphere of resturgent hope now permeates the entire labor movement of the Middle West. Men who have been beaten down for years by a tradition of strike-smashing not exceeded anywhere in this country, now look with hopeful eyes at the amazing impact of the militant drivers upon this "impenetrable" scab center of Nebraska.

Strike Paper Hits Hard One of the hard-hitting instruments in the loss of good will to the hostile banks as well as the bosses, is the strike paper. The weekly strike extra has gone through five weekly issues to the tune of a 50,000 distribution; it sells itself at a nickle a copy in the immediate locality.

At the annual election of the Omaha Central Labor Union held on Friday, July 20, Malcolm Love of the Drivers Local 554 executive board was elected to the C.L.U. Executive Committee under the post of Sergeant-at-Arms. The C.L.U. is unequivocally on record in support of the militant drivers.

Will Last Until Won Almost for the first week since the strike began on September 9, there were no arrests this week. Practically every member of the union has been arrested or threatened with arrest since September. To quote Farrell Dobbs in the speech which gave the facts of the strike to the Central Labor Union of Omaha, "the strikers almost met themselves coming back into jail while they were on their way out."

This is the status of the Omaha strike on the eve of a new session of negotiations between the Omaha bosses and the Area Negotiating Committee. Whether the victory comes this week, or after nineteen more, this tradition-smashing strike of Omaha Drivers Union 554 will go on until it is won.

John Dewey Labor Research Fund Benefit Performance "WHAT A LIFE!" "Everyone interested in education should see this play."—John Dewey MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1939 Tickets \$3.30, \$2.20, \$1.65, \$1.10 and 50c JOHN DEWEY LABOR RESEARCH FUND 22 E. 17th St., N. Y. C.

OMAHA STRIKERS STAND FIRM AS BOSSES WEAKEN

Strike Going Strong After Nineteen Weeks

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This is the status of the Omaha strike on the eve of a new session of negotiations between the Omaha bosses and the Area Negotiating Committee. Whether the victory comes this week, or after nineteen more, this tradition-smashing strike of Omaha Drivers Union 554 will go on until it is won.

JAMES TOUR CONTINUES WITH STRIKING SUCCESS

BOSTON, Mass.—C. L. R. James addressed four meetings in Massachusetts last week. His lectures at Roxbury, Lynn and Harvard University, evoked the comment: "Now we understand as never before the basis of the war crisis and the role of the British Empire." Speaking for the Barbados Union in Boston, James reviewed the high points in the Negro struggle for liberation during the past 150 years. From beginning to end, he held the rapt attention of the audience. Editors of the "Boston Chronicle" and the "Boston Guardian," who helped promote the meeting, were in the audience.

Reports of James meetings have also come to the Socialist Appeal from Youngstown, Ohio, and Rochester, New York. The correspondents in both cases reported successes previously unexperienced in their cities. Invariably, they, add the hope that James will again lecture for them.

TEXTILE WORKERS WIN CONCESSIONS

T.W.O.C. Hits Fake Union at Peabody Bleachery

(Special to Socialist Appeal) PEABODY, Mass.—Local 74, affiliated with the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, C.I.O., last week scored a decisive victory at the Danvers Bleachery, employing 1,000 workers.

After a three-day strike, which began as a protest against the discriminatory discharge of .35 T.W.O.C. militants in violation of existing seniority rights, and which succeeded in closing down the plant, the company was forced to meet the demands of the union.

Working with T.W.O.C. field organizers, a mass picket line was organized by the North Shore Industrial Council, a delegate body of 14 local C.I.O. unions. The alertness and solidarity of the line smashed a back-to-work movement headed by Ferdinand (Bosses' stooge) Levesque, leader of a company union which had been bucking bona-fide unionism in the plant for some time.

Before the strike, Albert A. Tanguay, President and Business Agent of Local 74, had signed up 200 workers, despite Levesque and his followers. At the conclusion of the strike, Tanguay announced that a solid majority of the Bleachery workers had signed T.W.O.C. cards.

The bosses were forced to sign the following memorandum: 1. Immediate re-employment of 35 men who had been fired. 2. Restoration of all seniority rights. 3. Recognition of T.W.O.C. Local 74 as sole bargaining agent until labor board elections.

Crucial Period Ahead Despite the disheartening experiences of the Bleachery workers when Gorman headed an A. F. L. union in this area, the unity of action in this strike provides a fertile ground for reconstructing a new fighting textile union.

Local 74 faces a crucial period of activity. It must deliver a crushing defeat to Levesque's outfit in the labor board elections. With a strong contract embodying the restoration of a 10% wage cut, seniority, and other demands as a further goal, and with an extensive educational program for the Bleachery workers, Local 74 will become a strongly entrenched unit of the T.W.O.C.

PAINTERS REJECT WEINSTOCK PLAN ON MAINTENANCE

See Blow to Union in Union Chief's Proposition

NEW YORK—Last week marked another smashing defeat for the Stalinist machine in control of District Council No. 9 of the Painters Brotherhood. By a vote of 2102 against 1489, the membership voted down the proposal of the administration for the establishment of a "maintenance department" at lower scales of pay and with no limit to hours.

Following the defeat of the Stalinist-sponsored \$5 tax several months ago, this action indicates that the Weinstock machine is definitely on the downgrade. Organization of the unorganized is an objective that every progressive naturally favors. But the Stalinist plan called for as much as a 48 hour week and as little as a \$20 rate of pay, as against the 35 hour week at \$52.50 called for by the present contract. Undoubtedly, in order to organize unorganized painters, concessions to make organization possible and a special organization structure would have to be established. But the Stalinists' plan would have brought results disastrous for the already organized painters. What attraction would unionization then have for the unorganized maintenance men?

Ignored Union Needs Weinstock and his clique, opposition leaders contended, were interested mainly in getting a new base for their rule-or-ruin policy by an influx of new members into the union. To obtain such an influx, they rigged up this maintenance scheme without any regard as to how it would affect union conditions. As a matter of fact, the present agreement of the union, establishing the 35 hour week and the \$10.50 day after years of struggle, includes a clause to the effect that: "No more favorable conditions shall be granted to other employers than are provided for in this trade agreement."

By establishing a "maintenance department" with agreements calling for lower conditions of work, the Stalinist-Weinstock administration of the union would have left the door open for immediate reductions in wages and increases in hours by the Master Painters Association, on the charge of a violation of contract. Opposition leaders, organized into the Inter-Local Conference of Progressive Groups, warned against this danger. Instead of explaining to the membership how they would get around this clause, the Stalinists merely replied with slanders.

Concealed from Members To make matters worse, Weinstock concealed from the membership the fact that the Painters Association had warned the union by letter that they would "reserve the right to employ members of the Brotherhood on the same basis as provided in the maintenance plan, if and when District Council 9 approves this plan."

Three meetings of the Council were held after receipt of this letter on January 10. Not once did Weinstock or the other Stalinist stooges breathe a word about this impending threat to union conditions. They went about their business of campaigning for the "maintenance plan" with a cold-blooded disregard of the consequences for the rank and file which elected them.

Only after opposition leaders had ferreted out the contents of the letter was Weinstock forced to admit receiving it.

Membership Acts The indignation of the membership was expressed in the vote on the referendum. Eight out of the eleven locals affiliated with the council voted down the plan outright.

2102 out of 3591 painters voted against the Stalinist "maintenance" plan, nearly two-thirds of the painters voting! Such a defeat must be well deserved. Now, it is up to the progressives to clinch up on the obvious rebellion of the membership with a clear-cut, militant and positive program of action, that will turn the painters' disgust with the Stalinists into trust in their own future.

SPANISH FIESTA Spanish Folk Songs and Dances. Genuine Artists! Refreshments! Hot Tamales! Music and Dancing. An extraordinary, exotic and exciting evening is promised! PLACE: Upper West Side Branch Headquarters, 916 9th Ave. (Cor. 59th St.). TIME: Saturday, January 28th. BENEFIT: Latin-American Class War Prisoners. Adm. 50 cents.

APPEAL ARMY

FLINT LEADS BRANCHES AT WORK:

"Now that we have started a branch here with some active people besides ourselves, we can start selling the Appeal each week. Will you please increase our bundle order from 10 Appeals to 50 per week—or as often as it will be published? Also send us 100 more copies of this week's Appeal to sell at the James meeting."—Genora. Johnson of the Flint, Michigan branch. This makes the second increase in two weeks from this newly-formed branch!

"We are covering all meetings and forums now, though our total sale in this method so far has only increased slightly. We expect to sell more tonight. As this is our first attempt in this direction, we feel we are doing well."—M. Gandelman, literature-director of New Haven.

"We are having a neighborhood sale this week which is the reason for the large bundle-order. Hope to be able to send you the results in a few days (cash). We are also running an affair to pay off some of the back literature bills."—Carl Hartman, literature-agent of Philadelphia.

TIME TO SEND IN EXTRA ORDERS:

The 2-a-Week Fund Drive will close officially in another week. Then the time will be at hand for actually launching the semi-weekly Appeal with its host of new and fascinating features. In other words, it's high time for the branches to send in their increased bundle-orders! Many have done so already.

By now each and every branch should have made full preparations for distribution. We are printing Karl Shier's excellent and valuable article this week containing good, solid advice on how to organize a professional salesmen's squad.

In New York City the building of a local circulation department, under the complete charge of Abe Miller who intends to make it a full time job shortly, and the recruiting of people to serve as salesmen is proceeding rapidly. Party mobilization for mass sales on the streets could, however, be a lot more successful.

SECOND NEWSSTAND POSTER NOW OUT:

This week we are mailing out to branches the second in our series of posters for newsstands. This poster, produced by the Appeal Poster Shop which is under the capable direction of Comrades Abe Marcus and V. R., is—put it mildly—a knockout! Knowing how tempted many comrades will be to hang it up on their wall at home we hasten to advise them that it's intended for newsstands only!

ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEW YORK

FOR SOME RARE entertainment, come to the VALENTINE PARTY, Sunday, February 12, Irving Plaza, Irving Pl. and 15th St. An all-star program, with FELIX MORROW as a Singing Walter, and other features. If you have any talent you want to display get in touch with your branch social committee representative. Subscription 49c. Get your tickets at your branch meeting. Bring All Your Friends. Auspices: Local New York.

PHILADELPHIA

LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, Luxemburg Memorial Meeting, Friday, February 3rd at Beth Achim Hall, 11th & Spruce Sts. 8:30 P.M. Nationally Known Speakers. Showing of Film: S.S. POTEMKIN.

University Luncheonette

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

The Appeal Poster Shop is at ways at your service for mass production of posters, emblems, streamers, etc. Write to the manager of the Appeal for full information. Be sure to describe in detail what you want produced.

ON BUNDLE ORDER PAYMENTS:

Because of the fact that some branches have permitted the campaign for the 2-a-Week Fund to interfere with their regular payments to the Appeal we've run into some difficulty these past few weeks.

Each branch now has its monthly financial statement in its hands. We must have prompt response to this! Don't permit yourself to fall behind on these regular payments. On the contrary, every branch should aim at starting off the 2-a-Week paper on a clean footing, with nothing owing to the Appeal.

SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE FOR 1,000 NEWS SUBSCRIBERS:

Next week we shall publish quota lists, prizes, etc., on the 1,000 new subscribers campaign that opens up on February 1st.

Has your branch prepared for this campaign by following the instructions laid out in Appeal Army Bulletin No. 2? It's a cinch that in 60 days we can get 1,000 new readers to the Appeal!

Here's the list of subs that came in last week. From all indications, this coming week is going to be a good one too. Inidentally, Sol Thomas of Philadelphia has been doing fine work on his own hook by going out and getting a few batches of subs during the past few weeks:

NEW YORK CITY.....	11
Massachusetts.....	5
St. Paul.....	5
Maplewood, Mo.....	5
Chicago.....	5
Texas.....	3
California.....	3
Illinois.....	2
Cleveland.....	2
North Dakota.....	2
Nebraska.....	1
Pennsylvania.....	1
Total.....	44

IMPORTANT REMINDERS:

- (1) Order your Appeal newsboy aprons now. We promise that you'll like them—they're comfortable, keep both hands free, prevent your clothes from getting dirty—and damn attractive, too!
- (2) Bound volumes—1937 and 1938. Both now ready for immediate shipment. Don't forget we're offering handsome commissions on sales of three (3) volumes or more.
- (3) Send in payments on your Appeal account—NOW!
- (4) The 2-a-Week paper is almost here. Increase your branch bundle-order—also NOW.

Let's Have "Appeal Minute Men" Says Chicago Agent

By KARL SHIER Chicago Literature Agent

The Chicago section of the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young People's Socialist League hail with revolutionary enthusiasm the twice-weekly Socialist Appeal.

The practical tasks of distributing the semi-weekly Appeal in Chicago will be taken up at a special joint S.W.P.-Y.P.S.L. membership meeting in January.

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Chicago organization in adjusting themselves to efficiently distribute the semi-weekly are:

First, the organization must establish a group of activists who will be known as the Appeal Minute Men. Their tasks will be to come to the center when the Appeal arrives, to cover the newsstands in the loop, West, South and North sides of the city, to cover the Garment Center (Market Street) at noon, and to be ready on a day's notice for covering big meetings, forums, trade union mass meetings, etc.

The Appeal Minute Men will be an honorary society, only real activists will be allowed to participate. The Minute Men will meet every two weeks to discuss ways and means for increasing the circulation in Chicago.

The branches and units will have the following tasks: covering the neighborhood with street sales, trade unions, etc., and checking the sub list for expired subs.

The sub drive in Chicago will begin February 10th. The campaign will get off to a head-start with the lectures of C. L. R. James in Chicago. Every mass meeting in Chicago will be given over to a short speech about the Appeal and a plea for subscriptions.

Our comrades will be constantly reminded that the revolutionary press lives on its bundle order, and on its subscriptions. If the national subscription drive gives Chicago the quota of obtaining 500 new subscribers the Chicago membership must go out and get 500 new readers. To just sit back and say it's swell to have a twice-weekly will not work. Every comrade must go out the day the twice-weekly appears with the perspective of gaining five new readers for our press.

FORWARD TO A DAILY SOCIALIST APPEAL!



SOMETHING NEW FOR APPEAL AGENTS! Newsboy Aprons! Made from tough, brown canvas! Neatly lettered, heavily stitched, pouch for holding change, section for holding papers comfortably. ORDER NOW! ONLY 50 cents

La Guardia Chisels On Housing Funds

Little Flower Talks Big But Curries Favor of Landlords by Whittling Down Proposed Expenditures

By GRACE SAUNDERS
NEW YORK—Mayor La Guardia, he of White House hopes, has given another striking example of the system by which he expects to realize his political ambitions. Its simplicity recommends it, plus the fact that it has worked many times in the past. Briefly, it is: talk liberal and humanitarian; act conservative and reactionary. The workers and the unemployed, who represent a sizeable bloc of votes, will (he hopes) be taken in by his words; the moneyed interests, whom an astute politician must also consider, will judge him not so much by what he says, but by what he does.

In a speech last Saturday, dripping with compassion, the Little Flower told 1,200 W.P.A. workers what a fine job they had done in New York City under most difficult conditions, and warned Congress of the dire consequences to the health and "spirit" of the unemployed if the representatives and senators persisted in cutting \$150,000,000 from the already inadequate extra W.P.A. appropriation requested by President Roosevelt. Plans such as these are expedient, cheap, and safe, for the question of W.P.A. funds is something on which Congress, and not the mayor, has to act.

Mayor Whittles Housing Fund
When we consider the housing problem, on which definite action is demanded of the mayor and his henchmen, we get another picture of the would-be humanitarian.

Only five days before his W.P.A. speech, and immediately upon his return to New York from Washington where he likewise urged larger W.P.A. appropriations on Congress, La Guardia said that two bills embodying the provisions of his Committee on Housing Legislation were being sent to the State Legislature.

The bills ask for \$120,000,000 for housing for all of New York State, of which \$100,000,000 would be allocated to New York City. But a full 10 per cent of this amount would be set aside for parks and recreational features, leaving only \$90,000,000 to be spent on housing.

The voters of New York State last November overwhelmingly

endorsed an appropriation of \$300,000,000 for re-housing. Even the use of this entire amount would not begin to solve the tremendous housing problem of the city and state. Why, in his bills, does the mayor whittle down this sum to only a little over a third of the total the voters advocated? Perhaps he is unaware that filthy, crowded tenements are just as injurious to the health and morale of slum-dwellers as is reduced income.

Curries Favor with Landlords
But chiselling on the amount of the appropriation requested is not the only way in which the people's friend hopes to curry favor with the landlords and banks.

The mayor's bills likewise provide that cities be permitted to make rehabilitation loans to multiple-dwelling owners (a helping hand to the struggling slum-landlords!), and that limited dividend companies which engage in erecting semi-low rent buildings are to be aided by tax exemption.

Chiselling down the housing appropriation, aid to landlords, assistance to prospective landlords—these provisions are of direct benefit not to the slum dwellers, but to the slum owners and the financial interests which back them.

Workers Need Maximum
Commenting on the housing bills, the liberal New York Post ascribes what it terms the mayor's "timidity" to his over-weening fear of the Republican legislature at Albany. The Post may not be taken in by the Little Flower's public lamentations and wringing of hands, but it lets on that it is.

But the workers and the unemployed who are the victims of what the mayor does, in contradiction to what he says, cannot afford to let themselves be duped.

The citizens of this state have expressed themselves unequivocally in favor of the maximum, not the minimum, of new housing. Mayor La Guardia, the humanitarian, has no intention of carrying out this mandate.

Pressure from workers and unemployed alone is the only means by which the mayor and his henchmen and the president and his co-workers will be made to realize that workers, too, judge by deeds and not words.

New Leader Promises Nice War If We Are All Good Patriots

By MAX SHACHTMAN

So revolting and complete has been the reversal by the Stalinists of the traditional revolutionary attitude towards capitalist armaments and war, that attention is often concentrated upon it to the exclusion of the no less vicious position taken in what was once the opposite camp—the social democracy.

Some former radicals have taken advantage of the widespread indignation at the crudely pro-war position of Browder and Co., and covered their retreat to the social-democratic camp under a barrage of indignant denunciation against the Stalinists. Of that particular brand of renegade, there has lately been more than one representative.

The current "New Leader" (Jan. 21), organ of the Social Democratic Federation, offers us more evidence—if more were needed—that quitting Stalinism for "democratic" socialism is like leaving one recruiting sergeant to enlist with another.

Under the fitting headline, "U. S. Must Arm or Join Appeasement," Mr. William E. Bohn, spokesman for the S.D.F. and one of the "New Leader's" feature stars, takes the floor with an endorsement of the Roosevelt war program as enthusiastic as any you can read in the "Daily Worker." Let our readers hold their nostrils while we present a few samples of Mr. Bohn's garbage:

"Civilization, decency, culture, liberty are at stake. No one should make his decision lightly or on the basis of old catch-words. If war is worse than fascism, then we are lost, for war we shall probably have whether we arm or not. But I don't believe anything else is as bad as fascism."

Maybe not. But nothing could be more sickening than the social democracy which showed its impotence by not lifting a finger to stop Hitler from coming to power and keeping it to this day, and now asks the capitalist class to do that job for it. As we recall, Woodrow Wilson once forced us into the trenches to do a similar job on the Rhine and Prussian militarism—and a thorough job it was.

"The minute war necessarily means fascism is pure bunk." There we have it, on the solemn word of honor of "Bohn. And the proof is given by history, which our Democratic Socialist is as much a slave as he will be tomorrow in a behind-the-scenes uniform.

"The minute war [the Civil War and the World War] was over, our men shed the hated military uniforms and went to extremes in demanding the return to normalcy."

Normalcy: the American Legion mob that lynched Wesley Everest in Centralia, Wash. Normalcy: the breaking-up of socialist meetings and headquarters. Normalcy: the suppression of the Communist and Communist Labor parties. Normalcy: the "red raids" and the mass deporta-

tions of radicals. Normalcy: the breaking of strikes from one end of the country to the other. Sergeant Bohn's memory is phenomenal.

"In Great Britain, the World War marked a great advance in democratic controls." Yes, especially for the 743,702 fallen Britons (not counting the colonial dead) who were buried democratically in common war graves and who were, consequently, unable to enjoy the spectacle of such democratic controls as were exercised in the notorious "Defense of the Realm Act," the murderous suppression of the Irish Republicans, and the forcible crushing of strikes.

"War is just like peace in one respect. In both ways of life, the biggest capitalists take advantage of the citizenry. But it need not be so. The capitalists are our capitalists; the armament plants are our plants. We, through our government, can do with them what we like."

Ugh! what sickening, stinking drivel! Mr. Bohn, says an advertisement of the Rand School, is to lecture there on "Isms in the American Labor Movement." We suggest that he specialize on the subject: "Toadyism to the Imperialist War-mongers and How to Practise It." And we suggest further that in view of the approaching union between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation, Mr. Norman Thomas, as a gesture of good will and appeasement of old rancors, nominate Sergeant Bohn as Director of Anti-War Propaganda of the united organization.

Associated with him—we continue our free suggestions—should be Madame Tony Sender, as Director of Anti-War Work Among Women. The qualifications of this former social-democratic Reichstag deputy are revealed in full by one sentence in her article printed in the same issue of the "New Leader," right next to Bohn's:

"Certainly, no mother wants to sacrifice her son on the battle-field. But does she prefer to have him sent to a concentration camp? The sooner we stop the march of fascism, the better this nation is served."

Madame Sender gave plenty of proof of her ability to stop the march of fascism when Hitler's gangsters were allowed to walk quietly into power without meeting the slightest semblance of resistance from her and her fellow-party leaders. But lest we appear to doubt her prowess, we hasten to add that we are quite sure she will prove to be far more energetic in getting mothers to sacrifice their sons on the battlefield in Roosevelt's sacred and ever so democratic war against fascism.

She didn't do so well in that war when it started in Germany several years ago, but then she only had about fifteen million workers to back her up. Now, she's guaranteed to do better, for with Wall Street by her side nothing can stop her.

Not even the sacrifice of every conscripted mother's son.

Stalinists Kowtow To Greek Dictator

Signing "individual declarations of repentance," several hundred Stalinists have capitulated to General Metaxas, whose bloody regime has hounded the labor movement ever since he came into power in 1936. All the prominent Stalinist leaders—Sclavainas, Manoleas and others—have "recognized their errors."

Already inoculated with Stalinist patriotism, it was an easy jump for these cynical functionaries to the "better" patriotism of Metaxas. Their conversion followed the visit of King George II to England, and the weakening of Metaxas' friendship for Germany following the Munich Pact.

ROCHESTER UNION FIGHTS BOSS WAR

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Declaring its firm opposition to any war launched by the United States government, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Lodge 99, passed a resolution last week condemning the gigantic program of naval and military expansion proposed by the Roosevelt administration.

The resolution further states that wars are not fought for "democracy," but that the slogan of "democracy" is used to dupe the workers and farmers of this country to "protect and expand imperialist interests."

All War Funds to Unemployed
Warning the workers that the government's preparations for war are a threat to organized labor as already revealed in the M-day plans and the Sheppard-May bill which provides for the prohibition of strikes, punitive discipline of unions and labor leaders, and the government control of press and radio, the resolution declares that the pacifist, non-working class opposition to war has already collapsed and that only firm working class opposition can stop war.

The union further stated its unalterable opposition to all war preparations and demanded that the military and naval budget funds be transferred to the relief of the unemployed. It also demanded that the United States immediately withdraw its armed forces from foreign shores because only "big business" and not labor have financial interests abroad that need "protection."

The firemen and engineers expressed their desire to join together with all forces in the labor movement who share these views and called for the consolidation of all of labor's forces to resist every move of the war mongers.

Demand Popular Referendum
Another resolution passed by Lodge 99 of the Brotherhood asks for a popular referendum before any war can be declared by the government. The union stated that workmen are constantly forced to fight wars for imperialist robbers, but they are never given the democratic right to vote on whether or not they want to fight for "democracy." Since 18-year old boys will fight the resolution also demands that all persons over the age of 18 be permitted to vote on the question of war. The union stands: old enough to fight, old enough to vote.

And millions of unemployed and W.P.A. workers are being called upon to parade on January 28 to "back up the President." The whole thing's a fraud. Not the "Tories," but the shrewdest and most coldblooded political leader the capitalist class of this country has had in a century, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, is condemning millions of youth to permanent joblessness, is condemning to slow starvation tens of millions of men, women and children.

If these millions could see Roosevelt and his system of hypocrisy and deceit for just what it is, a monstrous device for keeping us all in subjection, they would put an end to that system. Let us concentrate on helping them open their eyes: then they will really be able to fight for bread—and for socialism.

The letter from Harrison, whom the New Dealers have just appointed Public Relations Counsel to the United States Housing authority in Washington, announces his intention to sue the editors for libel. Gathering wind as he sails along, Mr. Harrison demands nothing less than a public retraction by the editors and a public apology by the authors.

In the article, the authors had made some pointed references to what Harrison himself calls his "career in low-rent public housing" and his no less low attacks on revolutionary Marxism and Trotskyism, from which he bombastically "dissociated" himself, in the pages of the social-democratic patriots' organ, the "New Leader."

Mr. Harrison's letter will appear in full, it is announced, in the February issue of the "New International," so that its readers may get the full measure. Appended to it will be a brief reply by Burnham and Shachtman.

At the end of the meeting, the pickets entered the building and astounded the assembled guests with their singing of the "International."

Times Leads Pack Attacking Mexico

Press Barrage Presages Sharpened U. S. Demands; Kluckhohn Is Kicked Out

Paving the way for stiff demands by the U.S. government upon Mexico, the New York "Times" is leading the American capitalist press in a systematic campaign of vicious propaganda to justify in advance armed intervention against the Mexican people.

Its own hireling, Frank Kluckhohn, having finally been ousted from Mexico for deliberate falsifications, the "Times" has established him at the border town of Brownsville, Texas, from which he continues to write as copiously as ever, since honest observation never was the basis of his reporting.

"Anti-fascist" Racket
Deep moral indignation at the fact that Mexico is selling to Italy and Germany oil produced from expropriated British and American wells, and the plain implication that this means a process of political identification between Mexico and the fascist countries, is the main theme of this unscrupulous campaign.

Truth Untold
That Mexico would be only too glad to sell its oil to the democratic countries, but is prevented from doing so by a boycott imposed by British and American oil companies backed by their governments—of this neither the New York "Times" nor the rest of the kept press says anything. American imperialism has established a new "definition" of anti-fascism. Any ruling clique of gangsters who agree to serve American financiers and capitalists—such as the Batista mob which murdered thousands of trade unionists in Cuba, the Vargas camarilla which rules by the sword in Brazil, etc.—is christened "democratic."

But the Mexican government, which is attempting to free Mexico from the grip of imperialism, expropriated big foreign oil and land holdings—that the American kept press has the effrontery to link with fascism!

Armed Intervention Demanded
A campaign for use of "our

whole armed might" to "bring about restoration of American properties in Mexico and the elimination of Nazism from that State" is prominently displayed in the "Times" on January 22.

To bolster up the case for pure idealism of the gentleman inaugurating the campaign, Roy P. Monahan, a Wall Street attorney, the "Times" gravely adds that "Mr. Monahan was the complainant against the German-American Settlement League, six officers of which were recently tried for violation of the State Civil Rights Law." In other words, the "Times" vouches for Monahan's pure "anti-fascist" motives: his cheap gesture against a fascist organization is employed to justify a holy "anti-fascist" war against Mexico.

Atrocity Stories
Shots at the home of a consular employe in Mexico City, American businessmen who "are afraid to make public complaints," information which "cannot be sent in detail by American correspondents" and similar atrocity items figure largely in Kluckhohn's concoctions. Mr. Kluckhohn has no imagination: the same items are being employed by Nazi Germany in preparing to make stiff demands upon Holland. Refuting his assertions about secrecy and suppression, Associated Press dispatches from Mexico City have carried the details about Mexican trade with Germany.

Mexican trade with Germany can be ended by the American imperialists and their government very easily: all they have to do is put an end to the boycott they have been waging against Mexican oil and other products!

Senate Stalls On Relief As F.D.R. Evades Responsibility

(Continued from Page 1)
maximum of 1,950,000 by the end of June: that is, more than 1,000,000 workers will be thrown on the street.

Nor would the picture be basically altered by the increase of \$150,000,000 in accordance with Roosevelt's recommendation. Colonel Harrington's statistics, placed before the Senate Committee, show that a \$75,000,000 appropriation would require a reduction of the rolls at least to 2,650,000 (370,000 under the current total) by June 30th, and in all probability more than this.

In actuality, Roosevelt's present battle with Congress is a sham, designed only to paralyze an independent fight by the labor movement and the unemployed for adequate relief provisions. Roosevelt is just as determined as Congress to carry through the smashing drive against the unemployed, which started under his auspices during the week following the November elections. He differs with Congress only as to the ways and means of handling it and of dealing with opposition from the workers.

Unemployed Can Rely Only On Themselves
Roosevelt's maneuver has already succeeded in swinging John L. Lewis, David Lasser and Mayor La Guardia into line behind him. These three have dropped their own plans without a murmur, and are now merely pleading tearfully for Congress to "stand behind the President": in other words, they have become the spokesmen for Roosevelt's own drive against the unemployed, which dropped 350,000 from the W.P.A. rolls during November and December, plans a further drop of 370,000 by June.

Blackwell Will Speak at Meeting
Russell Negrette Blackwell, just returned from Spain where he was held as a prisoner by the Spanish G.P.U. in Barcelona, will speak at a meeting on February 10th, 8 P.M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, Second Avenue, at Ninth Street.

Blackwell was held on charges of high treason after participating in the armed resistance of the Barcelona workers to attempts to disarm them. The pressure of labor groups in America upon the Department of State once secured his release only to board the vessel that was to take him home.

The meeting is under the auspices of the Blackwell Defense Committee.

QUESTIONS

- Why doesn't the Soviet government open its doors to the refugees from Fascism?
- Why doesn't Stalin's government invite the Jews to settle in Biro-Bidjan, the Jewish Autonomous Territory in Soviet Siberia?
- What has happened there since its leaders were executed? Why hasn't Stalin uttered a syllable in protest against the persecution of the Jews by Hitler?
- Why hasn't the Stalin government taken at least one hundred children of Jewish refugees if England has accepted 2,000?
- Why has the "Socialist Fatherland" refused to give visas even to Czechoslovakian and German communists?
- Why don't the American Stalinists, like the Socialist Workers Party, fight for the admission of political and religious refugees into this country?
- What is happening inside the Soviet Union and its ruling circles that can explain such things?

Progressives Win In Firemen Vote

SAN FRANCISCO—The progressive slate made a clean sweep in the annual election of the Marine Firemen's Union, cleaning out the last Stalinist.

It was a straight contest between the Stalinists and the progressives who had rallied fifteen months ago against Stalinist domination of this key union.

Defeat Stack
Walter Stack, the one Stalinist who had managed to be elected last year, due to a split vote among the progressives, was defeated for the post of San Francisco patrolman by Joe Golden, who polled 1,568 votes against 1,009.

V. J. Malone, unopposed for re-election as secretary, polled 2,337. Joe Helke, treasurer, and Jimmy Greathouse, Seattle patrolman, were re-elected by four-to-one votes. In every case a progressive won by a decisive majority.

Once a plighting of the union wreckers, the Marine Firemen have rebuilt their union. Here is an example for the C.I.O. longshoremen, the furriers, the New York painters, and other unions wrecked by the disease of Stalinist leadership!

ARTISTS UNION CONSIDERS RESOLUTION ON REFUGEES
CHICAGO, Ill.—A resolution calling for the open door for ref-

DON'T BE FOOLED BY F.D.R.'S SHAM BATTLE FOR RELIEF

(Continued from Page 1)
Is there any possible justification for Roosevelt's orders to cut down relief? On the contrary, unemployment is as widespread as ever. Even the New York Times business index reveals the frightful situation: it dropped three points this week and stands at the same level as in June, 1933!

In June, 1933, Roosevelt sought to revive American capitalism by "priming the pump." Four million unemployed were hired under C.W.A. and W.P.A.; their wages were to increase purchasing power and start industry going again. That "spending program" helped the business index rise from 90 in June 1933 to 110 in August, 1937. At no time, however, were there less than ten million unemployed who were not given W.P.A. jobs.

Now Roosevelt has abandoned "pump priming." He and the rest of the "executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole"—that's what the government is—have launched upon the most gigantic armament program ever proposed in peacetime America. They are preparing to revive American capitalism by a world war for the re-division of the world.

A billion dollars less for relief, a billion dollars more for armament—that's the first fruit of Roosevelt's war plans. Bullets instead of bread!

Had Roosevelt's proposed appropriation been adopted by Congress immediately, it would have been plain that he was responsible for the real cuts. Just for

Chicago Party, Y.P.S.L. Picket Dinner for Fascist

By AL LIEBECK
CHICAGO, Ill.—A mass picket line of 75 S. W. P. and Y. P. S. L. members and sympathizers surrounded the entrance of the University of Chicago's International House on January 22, in protest against a dinner and meeting for Prof. Bruno Roselli, a representative of fascist Italy. Quentin Ogren, a member of the Y. P. S. L., was bodily evicted from the hall when he rose to protest against allowing a fascist to speak.

Y. C. L. Sabotages Line
The picket line was greeted after a half-hour by twelve Young Communist League members who tried to sabotage the line instead of joining it. The twelve timid individuals carried such burning slogans as "Roselli Here Today—Gone Tomorrow." In contrast Fourth Internationalists carried banners which read: "Smash Fascism Wherever It Raises Its Head!"

From a loud-speaker which they had with them, the 12 Stalinists concentrated their attack on the militant line—whenever they could be heard above the shouted slogans of the picket. While the newspapers and photographers were copying and photographing the slogans of the national-

"Help! Police!"

A threat to call the cops against revolutionists is contained in a letter to the editors of the "New International" by Charles Yale Harrison, whose recent break with Marxism was condemned in an article by James Burnham and Max Shachtman appearing in the current issue of that magazine.

The letter from Harrison, whom the New Dealers have just appointed Public Relations Counsel to the United States Housing authority in Washington, announces his intention to sue the editors for libel. Gathering wind as he sails along, Mr. Harrison demands nothing less than a public retraction by the editors and a public apology by the authors.

In the article, the authors had made some pointed references to what Harrison himself calls his "career in low-rent public housing" and his no less low attacks on revolutionary Marxism and Trotskyism, from which he bombastically "dissociated" himself, in the pages of the social-democratic patriots' organ, the "New Leader."

Mr. Harrison's letter will appear in full, it is announced, in the February issue of the "New International," so that its readers may get the full measure. Appended to it will be a brief reply by Burnham and Shachtman.

At the end of the meeting, the pickets entered the building and astounded the assembled guests with their singing of the "International."

OHIO ACTIVISTS DISCUSS WORK

(Special to Socialist Appeal)
AKRON, Ohio—Despite a hazardous snowstorm, more than 80 people came from a radius of 300 miles to attend the second annual Ohio-Michigan district convention and active workers' conference of the Socialist Workers Party, held here last Sunday.

A 20% increase in party membership was reported for this district during the past year.

B. J. Widick, National Labor Secretary, reported for the National Committee on party progress and perspectives. Special reports on the transitional program and its application to this heavy industrial section were made. Reporters were Art Preis, Ted Selander, Bert Cochran and Blake Lear. Helen March, of the Y.P.S.L. District Council, spoke on the problems of the youth organization.

Adoption of special programs for a national unemployment campaign and a concentrated drive in key industries here featured the convention conference.

The newly-organized branch in Flint was welcomed into the district. It was well represented at the conference.

After considerable discussion, proposals for a district organization with a committee of six and an executive secretary were adopted.

Art Preis was elected district secretary. The former district secretary, R. Ferguson, was unable to attend because of sickness and his report on the work of the past year was read to the convention.

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HAROLD ROBERTS **FELIX MORROW**
 Associate Editors
S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Spain's Friends

Wherever workers congregate, the anguished cry irresistibly arises: why don't the democratic powers and the Soviet Union provide the Spanish Loyalists with arms? Give the peasants and workers a fighting chance, and not all the forces of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler could prevail against them: hopelessly outclassed in armament, the anti-fascist masses have nevertheless fought back with sheer manpower for two and a half years.

The spokesmen of the Second and Third Internationals are attempting to clear their skirts of responsibility for the unarmed condition of the Loyalists. In the French Chamber of Deputies they are going through the motions of demanding that the Spanish frontier be opened. But the Rightist spokesman, Deputy Vallat, a Franco partisan, taunts the Stalinists and Socialists: "I am of the same opinion as was Leon Blum when he was in power. He decided then against intervention. He resisted those who demanded planes and guns for Spain."

During most of the Spanish civil war, Popular Front governments, twice with Blum as premier, were at the helm in France. Those governments existed only thanks to the Stalinist-Socialist bloc, which supported them and closed its eyes to their strangling of the Loyalists.

Spokesmen of the British Labour Party while about their government's refusal to help Spain. But it is their government by the decisive criterion that the Labour leaders vote for its military budgets . . . to fight fascism!

President Roosevelt solemnly announces that government lawyers are investigating to determine whether he has the legal power to lift the arms embargo against Spain. The arrogant hypocrisy of that statement is obvious. At any time during the last two and a half years, Roosevelt could have determined that fact and, if he didn't have the legal power, could have appealed to Congress to lift the embargo. Instead he has systematically prevented the Loyalist from securing arms on this continent. Closing their eyes to all this, the Stalinists hail him as savior of the world and, a little more urbanely, the Social Democrats vote for him with both hands.

When it served Stalin's purpose of smothering the revolutionary elements in Spain as proof that he deserved a military alliance with France and England, he sent some airplanes and guns to Spain. Now that the revolutionary elements are crushed and Stalin no longer needs to bribe the Anarchist and Socialist leadership to give his assassins a free hand, he sends no more arms to Spain. Just as he remains silent about the Hitler pogroms and keeps the doors of his regime closed against anti-fascist refugees, so he is silent about Spain: his policy of making peace with capitalism has led him toward rapprochement with Hitler, and he will do nothing which may offend Hitler.

This is the record of the "friends" of Loyalist Spain whose "realism" has so often been contrasted with the "unrealistic" program of the revolutionists for irreconcilable class struggle. This is the dead-end of the road of reformism. Every honest anti-fascist must now seriously turn to the only other real alternative: the road of the socialist revolution.

Recruiting Sergeants

Six months ago the Stalinists were virtuously denying that they would ever support Roosevelt in an armament building program. A month ago the Stalinist Fuehrer, Earl Browder, came out for armament, but if only by bad grammar refrained from making his "Yes" entirely unconditional.

Now he has gone the whole hog. In a radio

Varied Content In Feb. "New International"

- 1. Is Austria a Nation?—by Charles Crompton, pen-name of an Austrian writer of competence.
- 2. The Farmers and the Recent Elections—by Dave Cowles.
- 3. A Survey of the Political and Labor Movement in Australia—by Stan. Ballard, of Sydney, Australia. This is the first time an exhaustive article on Aus-

address (*Daily Worker*, Jan. 20) he pictures the "warmaking" nations which are trying to gobble up innocent little America and denounces as fascists those who "deny those dangers which are forcing our country, for the first time with such unanimous popular support that even includes the Communists, to unprecedented armaments for defense."

The Stalinists and their Social Democrat allies persuaded the Czechoslovak workers to vote for military budgets to fight fascism; the guns they voted for are now at Hitler's service. The same tale was told to justify Stalinists and Socialists in voting for the huge military budget and for a military loan to Poland: Daladier used the guns to crush the general strike and seek an alliance with Hitler, while the Polish anti-Semitic government is using that loan to wipe out the Jews and the radical labor movement.

Doesn't Browder know all this? Of course. But like any hireling who troubles himself not at all about the future consequences of his deeds, he does the bidding of his master. And his master, the Ghengis-Khan of the Kremlin, gambling for Roosevelt's favor, plays with the lives of tens of millions of American workers as if they were so many poker chips. Neither he nor Browder worry about what will happen to the chips.

The Irish Bombings

The newspapers have recently featured a series of bombings in England and Ireland, on the Ulster border. Presumably, the explosives were set off by the Irish Republican Army which, though silent for several years, again came to public life last Sunday morning with a fiery proclamation posted everywhere in the streets of Dublin and Belfast.

"While Scotland Yard busied itself with ferreting out the responsible persons, the boss press has yiped in horror at the 'outrages.' For our part, while we deplore the methods of the I.R.A. as ineffective, and consequently as wrong, we do not share the anguish of those who were never horrified by British oppression of the Irish masses.

The I.R.A. has held its forces together admirably, training and drilling its recruits illegally, "up in the hills." Unfortunately, it is unguided by a revolutionary, Marxian program; hence its resort to the dangerous and feeble methods of terror. But the charge (which has been prominently made in the press) that the movement itself is today inspired by Nazis is a bald calumny.

"England's crisis is Ireland's opportunity" has for long been the slogan of the Irish revolutionists. It is one to which we give full support. The Irish masses must at every opportunity seize upon England's crisis, small or big, to advance their own revolutionary aims.

Sabotage, explosions, will not, however, serve the purpose. That will only be served by a serious, carefully thought out campaign of mass resistance and offense.

We repeat, only the masses, guided by a revolutionary party and policy, will be able to convert England's crisis into Ireland's revolutionary opportunity.

"Improving" Guam

Chief of the "defense" measures to come before Congress this week and last, is the proposed "improvement" of Guam into a major naval base. Already "as much as a part of the navy as the fleet," the little island of 22,000 inhabitants lies on the direct route between Japan and her mandated islands. The proposal sharpens the significance of Roosevelt's studied disavowal of any "thought of taking part in another war on European soil," instead of the more usual phrase, *foreign soil*, in his hypocritical "defense" message.

Guam, a rocky island of slight economic importance, is 5,100 miles from San Francisco and 3,400 miles from Honolulu. It does not lie in the path between the U.S. mainland and Japan. It is however only 1,400 miles south of Yokohama; and more important, it is right next to sixteen other Mariana Islands, mandated to Japan by the League of Nations.

Therein is the key to Roosevelt's intent. Defensively of no importance—assuming the fantastic prospect that Japan would sail 5,000 miles to attack the U.S. coast—it is a vital offensive position in a war with Japan, Guam could not block a mythical raid of Japanese ships and planes on San Francisco. It could, however, serve as a base of operations against the Japanese mandates (not to liberate them, but to continue their exploitation), and even the Japanese mainland.

Discovered by Magellan in 1521, Guam was originally called Island of Thieves. And hypocrites and jingoists too, it should be added!

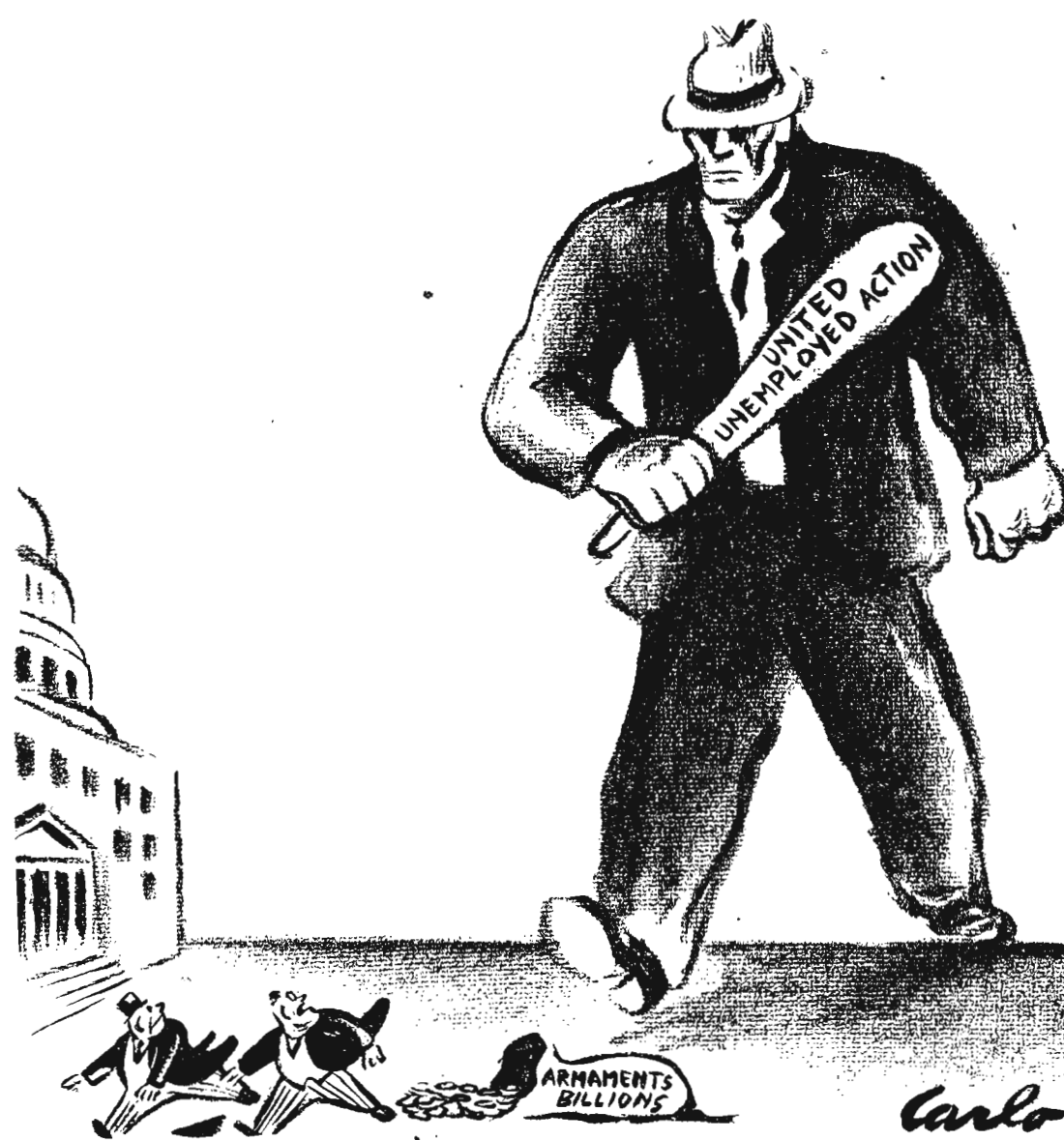
The management of "The New International" also states that this announcement serves as official announcement to all Socialist Workers Party, Y.P.S.L., and all other "New International" agents that any agent in arrears with payments on the magazine will not receive the February issue, and requests that settlement of accounts be made immediately.

The January issue is still available to those desiring to obtain copies. Price per copy: 20c; Subscription: \$2.00 per year.

The New International 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

American City
 A Rank and File History of Minneapolis and the Teamsters Strike of 1934.
 By C. R. WALKER
 Our Price 75c—Originally \$2.50
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Let Us Arm Ourselves, Too!



Socialist Party - Old Guard Fusion Nears Ratification

The shattered remnants of the Norman Thomas-Socialist Party are being secretly maneuvered into fusion with the "Old Guard" Social Democratic Federation in the course of negotiations that have been going on between the leaders of the two groups. Decisive measures to consummate the reunion will be taken, it is indicated, at the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the S.P. scheduled to open in Chicago on Feb. 3. The measures will complete the process of liquidating the Socialist party, which has been in a state of rapid disintegration for the past two years.

Membership in Dark
 Despite repeated attempts by rank and file left-wingers in the S. P. to have the party officials render a report of the negotiations begun without asking the membership's approval or getting it in any form, no report has been forthcoming.

In fact, so exceptionally cautious has the Thomas-Altman-Laidler clique been in its discussions with the corrupt "Old Guard" group that not even one single member of the Zam-Tyler faction of pink centrists has been permitted to take part in the work of the negotiating committee. Everything is carefully con-

What Does S.P. Say On Rourke?

A contemptible document has recently been exposed and has provoked considerable discussion—not only in the ranks of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, in whose name the document was issued—but also in the ranks of the Socialist Party.

It appears, after investigation, that one Henry V. Rourke, an official of the U.P.W.U. and a member of the Socialist Party, issued a statement in the name of the U.P.W.U. without consulting either the Executive Committee or the City Central body of the organization. That in itself is bad enough, but an examination of the statement, which was mailed to members of Congress by Rourke, brings to light some of the craftiest red-baiting we have yet seen. Also, it is evident, that the statement was intended as a personal bid for recognition from either reactionary Congressmen or the Dies Committee.

The City Central body of the U.P.W.U. is to be commended for its prompt action in repudiating the document and censuring its author. Evidently the workers of the U.P.W.U. are on guard against the personal ambitions of any "leader" and also against red-baiting in any form. The rule or ruin tactics of the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance and the cheap betrayal of the rank and file by David Lasser are lessons well learned by these workers who broke once and for all with both the Stalinists and Lasser. We wonder what the Socialist Party will do in this case. We remember the cases of Lasser and Lash.

centrated in the hands of the extreme right wing of the party.

In addition, these "democratic" socialists who are cooking up a shoddy deal behind the backs of the members, are seeing to it that a minimum of publicity is given in the press even to the fact of the unity negotiations, much less to the details.

Nevertheless, all the indications are that the unity will be achieved on the basis already provided by the program of the reformist Old Guard which broke away from the party some three years ago. Indeed, the reformists are not even bothering to conceal the fact that the union is to be marked by a capitulation to their point of view all along the line.

Writing in the Jan. 14, 1939 issue of the organ of the S.D.F., the "New Leader," the prominent right-wing socialist, Adolph Warshaw, points out that the Thomas group has degenerated politically to the point where unity is now desirable and possible:

"Whatever ideological differences existed at the time of the split have since almost completely disappeared. Those who now constitute the membership of the Socialist Party have by their actions, as well as by specific resolutions passed at their conventions in 1937 and 1938, discarded the Detroit declaration and have adopted as their basic policy the attainment of socialism by democratic means.

"They no longer speak of democracy as 'bogus' and have emphatically repudiated the notorious 'Road to Power' resolution. They are now entirely at one with us in their opposition to Stalinism. Finally, their present position on the united front, the trade union movement, and the Labor Party is essentially the same as ours. Our apparent differences on collective security and the approach to the New Deal are no longer so violent as to prove an insuperable barrier if a genuine desire for unity permeates the deliberations of the committees who are soon to discuss the question."

The coming fusion will eliminate all the remaining pretensions of the present Socialist Party to a revolutionary or left wing position—which was, in fact, given up more than a year ago at the time of the bureaucratic mass expulsion of the militant socialists who subsequently formed the Socialist Workers Party.

Like the S. P., the Social Democratic Federation, kept alive by the rotten Jewish "Daily Forward" machine, is an "educational" sect led by doddering old has-beens who long ago abandoned socialism in the hopes of living comfortably from the crumbs thrown them by the trade union bureaucracy and the capitalist parties they support in and out of elections.

The Federation and its party are vicious red-baiting institutions and their editor, a typical "democratic socialist," has called repeatedly for government suppression and outlawing of all Stalinist, communist, revolution-

ary socialist and all other organizations which stand for or support "dictatorship of any kind."

Patriotic Partner
 The "New Leader," Federation organ, is the stamping ground for avowed "patriots" who call for a super-armament program in the United States and for a "democratic" war against fascism, and in general for an extension of that support to Roosevelt and the New Deal fraud which the Federation has backed from the beginning.

It will be interesting to watch the attempts of the Thomas leadership to ram down the throats of the remaining membership the proposal to unite with an unappetizing gang of social-patriots as is to be found in the Second International—which is saying a good deal.

Thomas, however, is not standing on any such ceremonies as getting the preliminary approval of his membership before committing his organization irrevocably. He feels the need of a broader field for his talents and hopes—in vain, as he will learn—that unity with the S.D.F. will provide it. In any case, it has become obvious to him and his colleagues that the heart-sickening job of trying to breathe life into the S. P. is more than they bargained for.

The S. P. showing in the last elections was a first-class calamity, especially in the last of its two traditional strongholds, New York, where it was dropped from the ballot for lack of enough votes. A pathetic party press has continued in a comatose state, barely breathing despite repeated injections of adrenalin and digitalis. A last desperate effort has just been made to keep the party's former weekly and now fortnightly organ alive by moving it to the graveyard of American socialism, Milwaukee. In that city, furthermore, the once socialist "Milwaukee Leader" has just announced its demise in favor of its successor, the "Milwaukee Post" which, on its appearance, declared that "it will not be a party organ" or own "allegiance to any one organization or group of organizations."

S. P. Collapsing
 The party membership, it was reported at the last meeting of the S. P.'s Executive Committee in Baltimore, is at the lowest figure in decades. Whole state and city organizations have simply collapsed, including, most recently, the once substantial up-state New York party. In New York State as a whole, the party has recently been officially dissolved as an independent political organization by the decision of the right wing to liquidate into the American Labor party.

With the party purged some time ago of almost everyone who took revolutionary socialism seriously, the final step of re-union with the "Old Guard," who were denounced by Thomas and Co. a few short years ago in terms which would now bring the blush of embarrassment to their faces, will mark the fitting culmination of the decay to which Thomas, Altman, Zam and Tyler doomed the S. P. by virtue of their unprincipled reformist course.

QUESTION BOX

(Conducted by the National Educational Department)

QUESTION: What does the term "democratic centralism" mean?—D. B., San Diego, Cal.

ANSWER: The Declaration of Principles of the S.W.P. puts it as follows: "The organizational structure of the revolutionary party, enabling the party to carry through its historic task, rests upon the principle of democratic centralism. This means the fullest inner-party democracy combined with centralized direction and rigid discipline in action. Inner-party democracy guarantees full and free discussion of all party problems, and freedom of criticism both of policies and of the leadership. The leadership, up to and including the highest bodies, is freely and democratically elected by the membership, and subject to its control and removal. The administration of the party is centralized, with lower units subordinate to the higher units. In public and in action, all members are required to carry out the discipline of the party."

Notice that the term "democratic centralism" combines two ideas: democracy in internal party life, and centralized discipline in the external and public activities of party members and units. These two things are supplementary to each other, like the two sides of a coin. We believe that the most effective means of insuring disciplined action of the members themselves have first determined what policies the party should put forward and who its leaders should be.

Once this has been decided by the majority of the party, after a discussion in which all participate with complete freedom of expression, any who disagree are expected to abide by the decision which they have themselves participated in making. Even then, the question can be re-opened when the next discussion period previous to a party convention comes around.

In Other Parties
 It is worthwhile comparing this to the state of affairs that exists inside the Communist

Party and the Socialist Party. In the Communist Party, the most fundamental policies are adopted or changed at will by the top committee alone, without any discussion and decision by the party ranks. The decision is then handed down to the party members at the same time that it is made public and put into practice. After all this, the leadership then begins a "discussion"—which is limited to explanations by the leaders of why the line is correct, and "discussion" by the members of how the line can best be applied—no more. The attitude of the Stalinist bureaucrats toward the membership is: "Their's not to reason why."

The opposite extreme was true of the Socialist Party some years ago. There was comparatively a high degree of democracy internally—discussion of policies, right to disagree with the leadership, etc. But at the same time, there was no thoroughgoing discipline required of the membership nor centralization in the actions of the Party. S. P. members in the trade unions openly pursued anti-Socialist or anti-progressive policies, and nothing was done about it. The state organization "enjoyed" state's rights" and to a large extent were not subject to the control of the national organization, so that the S. P. in different states could and did follow diametrically opposite policies.

Left Wing "Disciplined"
 In more recent years, with the growth of the left-wing movement in the S. P., more and more restrictions were imposed by the right-wing leadership in order to curb the revolutionary sentiment of the membership; and correspondingly, disciplinary control was exercised more and more strictly over the left-wingers while the right-wingers continued to act independently of party control.

A party that is organized on democratic-centralized lines is the only one that can really overthrow the centralized, tightly-knit capitalist state, and at the same time, faithfully reflect the wishes and interests of the advanced workers upon whom the party is based.

Best Labor Paper Our Goal

By B. J. WIDICK

The best labor paper in America. It is this prospect for the twice-a-week *Appeal* that makes the present campaign so vital to every trade unionist in and near the Party. Already the *Socialist Appeal* has made its mark in the union movement with lively articles on burning issues before the labor movement. Now, we have the possibility of becoming a powerful influence through the medium of our twice-a-week *Appeal*.

Nothing succeeds like success. Our Party can and will make, I am confident, an impressive record in the labor movement, especially through the expansion of our press. It signifies a giant step forward in building a mass base in the working class. It means that the "Trotskyites" are not only "here to stay" but are on the march. In this period of confusion, indecision, and "muddling through" by the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. top leaderships, our steady advance on the road of revolutionary socialism will serve to draw all advanced union militants in our direction.

The twice-a-week *Appeal* with spot news on strikes, on general labor developments, on the national and international issues that face the workers today, can become the best-read labor paper in America. It must become indispensable to every union militant. And when we hear the unionists say, "I don't agree with all the policies, but the *Socialist Appeal* certainly has the inside information and facts on everything, that's why I read it," then we know we will have broken through the ice and will be well on the road to a genuine mass proletarian party.

Build the Party in the unions through the twice-a-week *Appeal!*

\$2,800 IS DRIVE TOTAL WITH ONE MORE WEEK LEFT

(Continued from Page 1)
 Pledge Fund card No. 27

Another reader, W.C. of New York writes: "Enclosed find check for \$2. I hope to see the *Socialist Appeal* a daily paper soon, with pride that will never disappoint us. May I call your attention to the need of a publication, in Yiddish and open forums in the same language?" Comrade C. will be glad to learn that a Jewish group is already in the process of organization. He will hear more about it.

The following sent in their individual contributions: Eddie Grey, N.Y.C., \$15; Abraham S. Coney Island, \$3; David A. N.Y.C., \$2; Samuel F., Smartville, Calif., \$1; Matt S., Waukegan, \$3; Bob R., Yonkers, 50c; B. H., Weylsey, Mass., \$2; Gates, Kansas, 50c; M. E. B., Cottekill, N.Y., \$5; A Friend, N.Y.C., \$1.20; Jersey City Group, \$5.

FROM OUR BRANCHES
 Ken of Houston, Texas, writes: "Our next unit meeting is going to be devoted entirely to discussing ways and means of selling the *Appeal*." Discussions of this character should be on the agenda of all branches. Distribution of the twice a week *Appeal* raises new problems.

John Brucker of Allentown, Pa.: "Enclosed find money order on our *Appeal* quota. We will make our final payment before the 27th so get the big banner

ready for our branch. We are only a few members and most of them are unemployed."

Louis S. of Quakertown, Pa., sends a check to complete the quota and says: "This does not end our efforts and if funds are raised the amount will be forwarded."

M. Hess of Youngstown, Ohio: "Enclosed is another payment. I'm still quite certain that we shall have our quota fulfilled by February 1st."

Mark Knight of Los Angeles: "Am enclosing a money order to apply to our *Appeal* quota. We are still plugging away. We may be a few days late in fulfilling it but we'll get there."

Letters to the Editor

To the *Socialist Appeal*:
 I send you herewith a copy of a letter that I sent to the "Workers Age," organ of the Independent Labor League (Lovestonites).

Sir:
 In a recent issue of "Workers Age" it was announced that I am to be among the speakers in a series of lectures to be given at the Independent Labor Institute. To keep the record straight, I'd like to state that actually I had told the Institute several weeks before that I could not give a talk there, for various reasons. Apparently, there was some sort of misunderstanding.

Sincerely,
 DWIGHT MACDONALD