

Appeal Fund Nearly \$2,500! Two More Weeks To Go!

DRIVE SPURTS; PARTY SPEEDS DOWN STRETCH

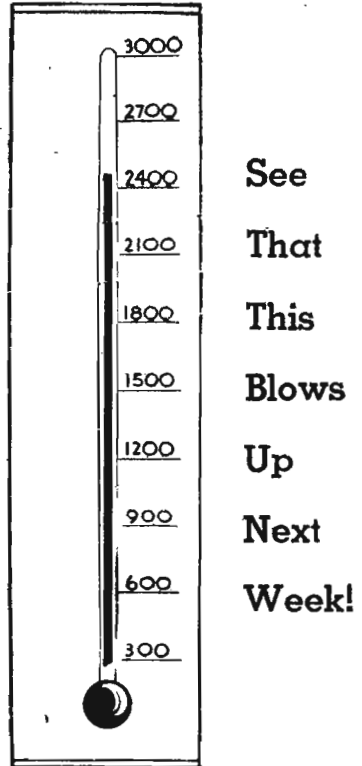
Response Indicates
Thermometer Will
Spill Over

By ROSE KARSNER
Appeal Campaign Director

We're on our way to bursting through the top of the barometer! The total is \$2,442.80.

The branches, for the greater part, are doing nobly, though a few are lagging and we still have some zeros to record. On the whole, however, the march is toward greater effort to fulfill the quotas 100%. That is a testimony to the vitality of our organization and an evidence of a REAL membership on a national scale, ready to make sacrifices when called upon.

JOIN THE MARCH. COME IN WITH YOUR 100%. LET'S BREAK THE THERMOMETER WIDE OPEN!



From Our Readers

We cannot boast big returns on our national circularization of individual friends and sympathizers for support in this campaign. A few have come in and we hope for many more in the coming days. Thus far the following have responded (the branches will get credit for these in the final count):

New York City: Marjorie Ballamuth, \$2.50 plus \$5 previously reported; Lavanberg House, \$1.00; Anonymous, \$5.00; Eddie Grey, \$2.00; A sympathizer, \$2.00; Nathan M., Bronx, \$1.00; S. B., \$1.00; Dr. L., Bronx, \$2.00; A Friend, \$2.00; A Sympathizer, \$2.00; Na-Sympathizer, \$1.00; Novy, \$5.00; Dwight McDonald, \$10.00.

Y.P.S.L.: Upper E Side Circle, \$3.00; Leon Sedov Circle, \$1.00.

Chicago: H. H., 50c; Carl P., \$1.00; J. H., \$1.00; Frank S., \$5.00.

Miscellaneous: Sol T., Miami Beach, \$2.00; A Friend, Harris- (Continued on page 2)

Open the Doors
To Europe's
Refugees!

Socialist Appeal

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

All War
Funds To the
Unemployed!

VOL. III—No 3

Saturday, January 21, 1939

375

5¢ per copy

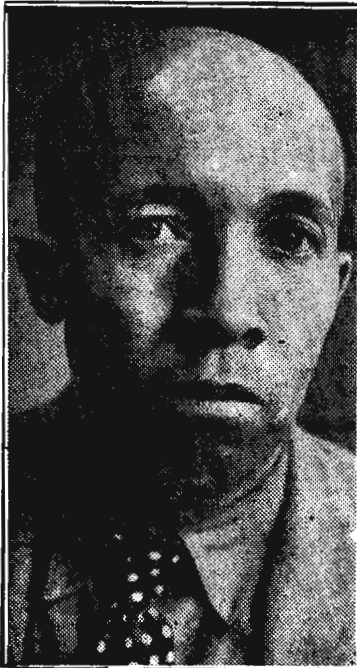
1,000,000 CUT FROM WPA

CROPPER MISERY DRAMATIZED ON MISSOURI ROAD

Police Start Drive
To Break Up
Sitdown

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SIKESTON, Mo., Jan. 14.—The State police proceeded today to break the demonstration of the Southeast Missouri sharecroppers, who have camped along U. S. Highway 60 and 61 since Tuesday, by forcing them to return to the farms from which they came.

Charging that the 13 camps established by the 1,500 croppers and their families constitute "a



OWEN H. WHITFIELD

menace to public health," the police took the action in agreement with the landowners but without consulting the croppers. The fact that the filth and poverty in which the latter live on the farms produce death-rates from malaria, typhoid, pneumonia and tuberculosis many, many times greater than the rates in the State as a (Continued on Page 4)

Fight Roosevelt's War Program!

AN EDITORIAL

President Roosevelt has delivered his special message to Congress on "national defense" in an attempt to justify the criminal budget which calls for cutting one billion dollars from the hide of the unemployed and adding one billion dollars to the already huge armament program.

The Roosevelt "defense" program is part of an elaborate, vicious, hypocritical scheme for plunging the American masses into a new imperialist war.

"It would be unwise for any of us to yield to any form of hysteria," says the President piously.

But all his actions, especially in the past year, have been calculated to create a state of hysterical chauvinism among the people of this country, under cover of which he can put over the biggest and most costly war program ever known in the peacetime history of this country.

A moment's thought will show that the Roosevelt program is not for the "defense of peace" but for offensive war on behalf of American imperialist interests.

Roosevelt has cunningly exploited the indignation of the American people at the crimes of the fascist barbarians for the purpose of inflaming a pro-armaments frenzy—and nothing else. For, if he were really interested in putting a stop to racial or national minority persecution, he has ample work cut out for him right here—in the lynch-ridden, Jim-Crow South.

Roosevelt showed his real position on Democracy vs. Dictatorship by what Cordell Hull-Alford Landon did at the Lima Conference. Under the hypocritical cloak of a "continental democratic front" Roosevelt tried to line up Latin America for American trade and investment, as against its competitors from Germany and Japan. In the line-up, he had no hesitation in including every reactionary military dictatorship that devastates present-day Latin America.

Just before he presented his super-armaments program to Congress, he staged another war scare to serve as background. He sent his Ambassadors Kennedy and Bullitt to testify secretly before a Senate Committee that war is due in the Spring and that everybody is prepared but the United States. So "secret" was their phoney testimony that it was splashed sensationally over the front page of every newspaper in the country the following morning—which was Roosevelt's aim in the first place.

Now he delivers his special message to Congress, a lie and a deception from beginning to end.

Does he demand the unprecedented sum of two billion dollars for armaments in order to fight a war? Not at all—he just wants to prepare for attacks.

"Calling attention to these facts," he adds, "does not remotely intimate that the Congress or the President have any thought of taking part in another war in European soil..."

Why didn't Roosevelt use the phrase "on foreign soil," the phrase all our great statesmen have been using up to now? Why is European soil alone excluded? Does it mean that the President and Congress are thinking of taking part in another war on Asiatic soil, or Latin American soil? The restriction of the phrase to "European" soil is most eloquent. It shows again that the armaments budget is nothing but a preparation for war to defend and extend the imperialist interests of American capitalism.

Even the details of the expenditures proposed by Roosevelt furnish clear proof of this fact.

We do not support any armaments program of American capitalism, or of any capitalist country, be it "democratic" or fascist. For why should the working class defend its classic enemy—the capitalists, their property, their government?

But even if one assumes that the United States needs "defense from a foreign attack"—the danger of which is denied by scores of the most authoritative military and naval experts—the Roosevelt program is distinctly not "defensive." One single example reveals this in striking fashion. Among the "critical items" Roosevelt proposes in his message are tanks and anti-tank guns.

Against what invader are tanks to be used, and against whose invading tanks are the anti-tank guns to be used? Are the guns to be used against the new Italian amphibian tanks which will sail the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and land at the Battery? Are they to be used against the tanks which Germany will bring over here in the fuselage of her new airplanes? Or against the tanks which Japan will land in San Diego from aboard her tuna-fishing boats? Or against the tanks which Canada will send to recapture up-state New York, or Mexico to retake the Alamo in Texas?

As a "defense" program, the whole Roosevelt armaments budget is a first-class imperialist fraud. It is meant to prepare American capitalism for war—for sending millions of American workers and farmers to protect American investments in the four corners of the globe. And it is meant for the "enemy at home"—the militant working class which demands the right of a job for every man at a decent living wage.

Labor! Smash the Roosevelt war program with your protests and action!

Demand that all war funds go to the unemployed!
Change the super-armaments program into a super-public works and home-building program for the masses!

Let 'Em Eat Bullets!



MUNIZ FACES HIS GPU INQUISITORS AS TRIAL NEARS

4th Internationalist
Proudly Affirms
His Stand

Manuel Fernandez Grandizo Muniz and Adolfo Carlini, leaders of the Spanish Bolshevik Leninists (Fourth International) are still awaiting trial at the hands of the Loyalist-G.P.U. inquisition in Barcelona.

Charged originally with the "murder" of an army captain, these courageous militants are now more frankly accused of trying to form a workers' united front in Spain to fight capitalist reaction behind the sagging Loyalist lines.

From the text of the indictment and a summary of the preliminary investigation, the heroic conduct of Comrade Muniz emerges with inspiring clarity.

To the inquisitors who have brought from Moscow to Barcelona the technique of framed-up (Continued on page 3)

Barcelona Workers Face Supreme Test

Boss Reaction in Loyalist Rear Makes
Franco Advance Easier by
Hamstringing Workers

By FELIX MORROW

Can Barcelona withstand a siege? This is the question which workers everywhere are asking themselves as Franco's forces, having broken into Barcelona Province, advance upon the chief city of Spain from three sides. On the fourth side lies the Mediterranean, which Franco's fleet commands.

A million proletarian men and women are prepared to lay down their lives in defense of Barcelona. They are the very flower of Spain's working class. Madrid has been primarily the administrative center of the country, with few important factories, but Barcelona is the industrial heart of the country as it is its chief seaport. The Barcelona masses on July 19,

1936 initiated the struggle against the fascist coup d'etat, with bare hands wrestling arms from the revolting troops.

If Barcelona's fate rested with these heroic workers, we could say with certainty: despite superior armament, despite the aid of Hitler and Mussolini, Franco will never march into Barcelona.

Workers Are Shackled. Unfortunately, however, the (Continued on page 3)

ROOSEVELT ALIBIS WHILE CONGRESS HACKS AT FUNDS

Militant Struggle
Alone Can Check
Deep Cuts

FIGHT THE SLASH!

Following the lead given by the President, and carrying the process a step farther, Congress last week got down to serious work in the drive to slash W.P.A.

Nation-wide applause filled the columns of the boss press while the House of Representatives passed a Deficiency Bill allotting a maximum total of \$725,000,000 to cover W.P.A. during the last five months (February 1st to June 30th) of the current fiscal year. After a few hours of dispirited debate, the bill was carried with only a bare 30 votes in opposition.

Since the funds appropriated at the last session, and now being spent at the rate of about \$200,000,000 a month, will be exhausted by the end of this month, and since the provisions of the new Bill compel pro-ration of the \$725,000,000 evenly over the five month period (e.g., at the rate of \$145,000,000 per month), the immediate effect of the new Bill would have to be the firing of 1,000,000 W.P.A. workers. There is no getting around this conclusion, which is simply applied arithmetic. This cut is threatened at a time when doubling the present rolls (now 3,000,000) would not take care of the need.

White House Plays the Game
After days of silence, during which the House passed the cut, the White House finally uttered a peep of protest.

The truth is that the President and Congress are cooperating perfectly in shoving the W.P.A. cut down the throats of the unemployed. The apparently higher sum asked by the President (\$875,000,000) was deceptive: \$125,000,000 of it was scheduled as a "re- (Continued on Page 2)

WORKERS IN OHIO FIGHT WPA CUTS

Unemployed Union
Leads Militant
Struggle

(Special to Socialist Appeal)
CLEVELAND.—Several hundred members of the C.I.O.-W.P.A. Industrial Union protested last Saturday against the "guns not butter" program of the New Deal in a colorful and militant demonstration before the district W.P.A. headquarters.

Forming a picket line three deep about the W.P.A. building, fired W.P.A. workers, including more than 100 widowed mothers laid off sewing projects, cried "Stop the lay-off!" and "We demand jobs!"

This was the first mass action undertaken by the new union, whose activities have been constantly hampered and sabotaged by Stalinist influence in the local C.I.O. Despite the fact that the organization had scarcely any funds, and but a few days to publicize and prepare the demonstration, the turn-out in cold and high-piled snow indicates the readiness of the W.P.A. workers to respond to a fighting program.

W.A. Tries Sneak Play
An attempt by the Stalinists to "capture" the demonstration for the benefit of the Workers Alliance was completely squelched. The Stalinists in the Cleveland Industrial Council rigged up a "united front" for the demonstra- (Continued on page 2)

Faction Fight Flares Again In U. A. W. Executive Board

DETROIT.—It took exactly three months to blow up the fictitious peace engineered in the United Automobile Workers of America by the bigwigs of the C.I.O. After continual rumblings and minor eruptions, the factional fight between Martin and the Mortimer crowd has again flared up into the open and will now rapidly spread, like a prairie fire, throughout the union.

This time, it appears, it is a fight to the finish, with both gangs realizing that they have pretty near exhausted their whole bag of tricks and that the membership is in no mood to tolerate further scandals at the expense of the union. Both factions see the only way out of the blind (Continued on page 3)

ally in the convocation of an early convention. Each side is hopeful that it can swing a majority of the votes, take over the administration of the union and wipe out the opposition.

The Record
What has either gang to say to the membership at the coming convention in Toledo? What explanations have they to offer for the tragic decline of the U.A.W.? Let us glance over the record since the Milwaukee convention one and a half years ago.

Suicidal Policy Continued
Despite all the bitter lessons of two and a half years of civil war, the Negrin government continues to place all its hopes on Anglo-French aid. Alvarez del Vayo, Spain's foreign minister, spent the crucial days of the week at Geneva, making speeches in the League of Nations Council beseeching the "democratic countries" to permit the Loyalists to purchase arms and ammunition. The same speech has been made by governmental leaders ever (Continued on page 3)

SCORE BOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Sacramento, Calif.	10.00	\$ 20.00	200
Kansas	10.00	20.00	200
Durham, N. H.	5.00	6.00	120
E. Chicago, Ind.	10.00	10.50	105
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. Louis Local	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
Pleasantwood, Mont.	5.00	4.50	90
East Oakland, Cal.	20.00	17.50	87
New York Local	1050.00	757.70	72
Boston Local	200.00	142.25	71
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	34.50	69
Philadelphia	50.00	33.60	67
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	3.00	60
Worcester, Mass.	10.00	6.00	60
Newark, N. J.	100.00	58.25	58
Chicago Local	250.00	143.00	57
Los Angeles, Cal.	200.00	109.50	55
San Diego, Cal.	10.00	5.50	55
Cleveland	200.00	105.00	53
Quakertown	15.00	8.00	53
West Oakland, Calif.	20.00	10.00	50
Allentown, Pa.	25.00	10.00	40
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	8.00	32
Youngstown, O.	50.00	13.00	26
South Bend, Ind.	10.00	2.50	25
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	5.50	22
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	2.00	20
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	2.00	20
Akron, O.	50.00	8.00	16
Gardner-Fitchburg	15.00	2.00	13
Louisville, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Austin, Minn.	25.00	0	0
Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Olivia, Minn.	10.00	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	0	0
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0

ST. LOUIS MOTHERS HIT BY RELIEF CUT

1,000 of the Neediest and Most Helpless of Dependents and Their Children Face Starvation

By DAVID T. BURBANK (Special to Socialist Appeal)

ST. LOUIS—A new relief crisis has made its appearance in St. Louis, and more than 1,000 mothers with dependent children are the first victims.

The women were dropped from W.P.A., on which, according to official sources, they received an average of \$43 a month, on the grounds that they were eligible for relief under the Aid For Dependent Children Act.

Some 200 of these mothers demonstrated in front of the headquarters of the City Social Security Commission.

Last August, the social workers and clerks employed by the St. Louis Social Security Commission were cut from over 200 to less than 50.

The aid to dependent children is much lower even than W.P.A.; it amounts to \$18 a month for the first child under 16, and \$12 a month additional for each child up to that age.

The father is suffering from a handicap which makes him unacceptable for a W.P.A. job.

The W.P.A. union bore a huge sign with its name and headquarters, and a call to the W.P.A. workers to join its ranks.

Friends and admirers of the noted American educator and liberal, John Dewey, who have formed a John Dewey Research Fund, announce their sponsoring of an evening's performance of the comedy on education now playing at the Mansfield Theatre.

The special performance for the Fund will be given at the theatre, 256 W. 47th Street, New York City, on February 6, 1939 and tickets, at prices ranging from \$3.30 to 55 cents are already available at the office of the Fund, Room 914, 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

Dewey Will Speak During the intermission in this highly entertaining play, Dr. Dewey will bring a message to the audience. Not only those who agree with Dr. Dewey, but also all those who followed with admiration the courageous stand he took in the work of establishing the truth about the Moscow Trials, are urged to avail themselves of this special opportunity to see the play which has been widely praised.

employable. Many of the women are widows.

A revealing light is thrown on the situation by the statement of the W.P.A. district director that the dismissal of the women began early in December.

This sit-down has been the first real sign of life from the C.I.O. Project Workers Union since it was formed about ten months ago and the already moribund Workers Alliance dissolved into it.

Sporadic attempts to organize some of the projects met with little success and the general attitude of the leaders of the union was not such as to encourage its growth or awaken the interest of the mass of W.P.A. workers.

WORKERS IN OHIO FIGHT WPA CUTS

(Continued from Page 1)

tion to drag in the discredited and feeble Workers Alliance. The plan was to have the C.I.O. members to build the picket line, but let the Workers Alliance sneak in the organizational banners.

The Alliance attempted a "sneak-play" by putting on their own picket-line of about 60 people a half hour before the scheduled time for the demonstration to begin.

Last August, the social workers and clerks employed by the St. Louis Social Security Commission were cut from over 200 to less than 50.

However, the C.I.O.-W.P.A. Union did not permit its identity to be submerged. Several hundred strong, its members, each wearing a white and red armband bearing the organization's name, with disciplined organization directed by picket captains with special red armbands and the traditional U.A.W. service caps, first paraded through the down-town area, before picketing the W.P.A. headquarters.

W.P.A. Union Dominates

The W.P.A. union bore a huge sign with its name and headquarters, and a call to the W.P.A. workers to join its ranks.

When the C.I.O. union picket-line was established all the Workers Alliance rank and file began asking for C.I.O. union armbands, and the Workers Alliance was completely submerged.

The Stalinists went about trying feebly to explain to the workers that this was a "friendly demonstration." But the tone of the widowed mothers and their defiant shouts showed that they considered the needs of their children a lot more than the bullets and battalions of the Roosevelt regime is offering them.

STILL AVAILABLE Leon Trotsky's essay, "THEIR MORALS AND OURS," is still obtainable. Price: 20c per copy.

C. L. R. James on Successful Tour

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—C. L. R. James, author and labor lecturer, addressed two well-attended meetings in this city. In both cases, the audiences responded with admiration and interest to James' forceful and informed presentation.

Jamaica Unemployed League Meetings Illustrate New York Relief Situation

By BILL MORGAN

One visit to a meeting of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union will do more to expose the relief situation in New York than all the figures and case histories ever presented. Here the workers come with their grievances and reports of investigations.

The headquarters of the local is situated in the very heart of the workers district in Jamaica and at the meeting we find various nationalities and races represented. Italians, Greeks, Irish, Swedes, and many others sit side by side with Negroes and whites.

Discuss Weekly Task Otto Popovitch, president of the local, opens the meeting by greeting the newcomers and explaining the purpose of the organization.

Many workers who are experienced in unemployed work are daily leaving the Workers Alliance where the needs of the unemployed are subordinated to the Stalinist policy of cooperating with the Relief Bureau and LaGuardia.

Experienced Grievance Committee The membership of the Jamaica grievance committee deserves special mention. It is composed of the most experienced men in

describe the results. The committee reports what happened to each case and prepares to either fight for more adequate treatment or to re-open the case by increased pressure.

Typical Cases

Some of the cases are typical of the situation in Jamaica. One woman worker reports that the light and gas has been discontinued by the E.R.B. without any explanation.

The chairman of the grievance committee then explains the procedure to be followed in each case and cites examples of previous cases and how the matter was settled.

New cases are called for and time out is allowed to discuss each particular grievance. All the facts are recorded on a specially prepared form.

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Experienced Grievance Committee The membership of the Jamaica grievance committee deserves special mention. It is composed of the most experienced men in

the local, men who are thoroughly familiar with all the ways and means used by the petty officials to evade action on grievances.

After a case has been settled it is reported back to the local and the lessons of the struggle fully explained to the membership.

Sing Workers Songs

The meeting of the Jamaica local is not all work, however, and the old and battered piano in the corner is heard for blocks as the workers sing the latest tunes and the workers own songs such as "Solidarity Forever" and "Casey Jones."

This local is growing and getting stronger every week. The activities of the U.P.W.U. are brought to the attention of the neighborhood in the many fine leaflets written and printed on a foot-press by the executive committee.

Many workers who are experienced in unemployed work are daily leaving the Workers Alliance where the needs of the unemployed are subordinated to the Stalinist policy of cooperating with the Relief Bureau and LaGuardia.

MICHIGAN LABOR ATTACKED IN NEW GOVERNOR'S PLAN

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT—Governor Frank Fitzgerald of Michigan has come out openly with a vicious anti-labor program clearly designed to put the militant labor movement of the state beyond the law.

In his message to the legislature, Fitzgerald asked for legislation providing "prohibition of sit-down strikes and prevention of strikes without ten days' notice to the state commission. Employees of firms rendering essential services such as utility, dairy, food and delivery services would be compelled to give 40 days notice."

Picketing Limited It is well-known that auto strikes often require mobilization of workers from many plants to make a strike effective at any plant.

Another proposal of Fitzgerald was that "stiff penalties would be provided for persons attempting to force workers to join a union." Since it is notorious that courts can always discover "coercion," this means that the work of union organization would be carried on under constant threat of jail sentences.

Means Denied Naturally Fitzgerald sugar-coated his program with the usual phrases about "the right to collective bargaining."

Fortunately, the governor has to deal with the auto workers, as militant a group as the American working class can boast. Even though he controls both houses of the legislature, he may find that law-making body having the jitters before they concretize his proposals into law.

Michigan labor must be mobilized in its mighty battalions to stop Fitzgerald even before he gets started.

DRIVE SPURTS; PARTY SPEEDS DOWN STRETCH

(Continued from Page 1) burg, Pa., \$1.00; Fred Brinkman, \$1.00; A Friend, Cantonoga, Tenn., \$3.00; Josiah B. Mankato, Minn., \$3.00; Herman J. Milwaukee, \$1.00; Eileen, Cold Springs Harbor, \$2.00; James M., St. Louis, \$1.00; Sara M., St. Paul, Minn., \$1.00; A Sympathizer, Washington, D. C., \$1.00.

All through the weeks of the campaign, Minneapolis didn't seem to be in the run. But the comrades there plugged away quietly—they don't talk much about results; they deliver. And so, on January 14th the mail brought a check for the balance of their quota and a letter claiming "one of those banners for our headquarters."

In the same mail we got a letter from Henrietta Geller of St. Paul: "The quota is reached with this check! Sorry we couldn't make it sooner—but whee! we got there."

J. M. Collier of Cleveland is very insistent, and justifiably so. He says: "On the banner... We hope we are in the running. You're in better position to judge results comparatively, from the standpoint of all conditions. All we ask is that you consider Cleveland's problems and efforts." And we do! Cleveland is definitely in the running and if this branch fulfills its quota by the end of the drive, they get the banner.

East Chicago, Ind. is a small branch with a splendid group of comrades, proud of their headquarters. Herbert Martin writes: "Having the finest headquarters of any of the smaller cities, one of the banners just naturally belongs on our wall."

BOSS PLUMBERS HIT LABOR RATES INN. Y. LOCKOUT

(Continued from Page 1)

NEW YORK—A struggle involving the wages and working conditions of all building trades workers in New York broke out Monday, when the membership of Local 463, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters, A.F.L., were locked out by the bosses' Master Plumbers Association of Manhattan and the Bronx.

In defiance of an existing agreement which does not expire until April 30, 1939, the bosses had notified the union that plumbers would not be permitted to work after January 16, except at greatly reduced wages and increased hours.

Under the agreement, the men worked a 6-hour day, with mechanics receiving \$2 per hour and helpers \$1.16 2/3 per hour. The bosses demand an 8 hour day with mechanics to receive \$1.50 and helpers 87 1/2 cents. A union membership meeting, January 11, voted unanimously not to submit to the bosses' ultimatum, and work ceased Monday. All plumbing work on new construction is tied up throughout Manhattan and the Bronx and will shortly cause cessation of all work, involving over 150,000 building trades workers.

The bosses' move is the beginning of a general attack on wage and hour standards of all building workers. The 6-hour day is indispensable to the workers because of the terrific unemployment in the industry which is eased only partially by the shorter work-week.

6-Hour Day Imperative

The Stalinists went about trying feebly to explain to the workers that this was a "friendly demonstration." But the tone of the widowed mothers and their defiant shouts showed that they considered the needs of their children a lot more than the bullets and battalions of the Roosevelt regime is offering them.

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ROOSEVELT ALIBIS WHILE CONGRESS HACKS AT FUNDS

(Continued from Page 1)

serve" against the new fiscal year. And in any case, \$875,000,000 is simply ludicrous in comparison with what is actually needed.

By posing (not too aggressively) in public as asking for a slightly higher sum, the President is aiming to draw the teeth out of any effective opposition which can proceed only from a one hundred percent different basis from that of both the President and Congress, and their Wall Street masters.

The problem of unemployment has, for the unemployed, got beyond the stage of haggling over a hundred or so million dollars. The bankers and their boys in Congress can always win out at that game, and it gets nowhere even if they didn't. The unemployed have got to propose a complete and drastic change—beginning with the general demand for W.P.A. jobs at union wages with precise adding up of financial accounts coming after not before human needs are met.

The new bill, passed by the House at the same time that Committee preparations for the two billion dollar armament program are going forward with no serious Congressional protest, puts liberal starvation only a month away for hundreds of thousands of workers and their families. The unemployed are not going to stop it by waiting for a present from Roosevelt or by sending polite telegrams with David Lasser. Congress and the White House will sit up and take notice when they see the workers going forward to militant mass action in the streets, and not until then.

FLINT C. L. R. JAMES will speak on the Spanish Artistic Front in "The Empire" on Tuesday, Jan. 24. Place: 223 Fingelley Bldg. Time: 8:00 P.M.

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Increased bundle-orders have come in from the following agents during the week: (1) Harvey Dawes, new agent for Youngstown, Ohio, has added a total of 15 each week to his regular order. (2) Otto Rohadoff, new agent of Syracuse begins with an increase of 5, making a total of 10 per week for the Syracuse Y.P.S.L. unit. (3) The Houston, Texas branch is now taking 7 copies per week.

Don't neglect sending in your increased orders on the 2-a-week Appeal!

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This week's all-time record sub list proves that the job of getting new subscribers is really an easy one. Here's the list for the week, with special credit due to St. Paul, New York City (still leading the list) and Chicago—all of which have inaugurated sub-drives on their own initiative:

Table with 2 columns: City and Subscribers. Includes St. Paul, New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Michigan, Jersey City, N.J., Montana, Minneapolis, Illinois, California, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Foreign, and Total.

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A VISIT TO GERMANY Masses Show Their Hatred of Fascism Despite Hitler's Reign of Terror

By PAUL FIELDING

[Comrade Paul Fielding and his wife have just returned from a trip through Germany. He gives his impressions in the following article.]

We travelled hundreds of miles through Germany and talked with dozens of people, workers, soldiers, sailors, petty bourgeois and even Nazis. The conclusion is inescapable: Fascism, despite its imposing facade, has not succeeded in creating a totalitarian state. And, far from accomplishing its goal of complete regimentation, it is falling more conspicuously each day.

WORKERS FIND WAY TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES

You only meet a few outspoken critics of Nazism: the risk of talking with a stranger is too great. But you meet many who by inference and innuendo and by their actions show their dissatisfaction.

And considering the extreme penalties for the most mild dissatisfaction or expression of displeasure, this is amazing.

To distribute anti-Fascist literature may mean the executioner's block; to participate in an illegal workers' meeting may mean 20 to 40 years imprisonment.

Those who witnessed the most recent Jewish pogroms and expressed dissatisfaction were snatched from the crowds, and sentenced to several months in Dachau concentration camp.

A worker who was heard whistling "The International" was put in jail for several weeks. We walked into a crowded cafe in Dusseldorf one night, and found a table. Later, six Nazis came in, and sat opposite us.

When they found we were foreigners and after asking the inevitable question—"How do you like Germany?"—they began repeating the phrases they had memorized from "Der Stuermer," the brownshirt paper, about the Jews and communists in America.

Several beers later, they forgot the swastikas on their lapels, and confided they didn't believe that baloney either. When someone brought up the question of our Aryanism, the others told him to shut up. A storm trooper stopped at our table, and demanded that we give something to the winter relief fund. They told him to beat it.

"WE'RE NOT SATISFIED IN GERMANY"

"You work with your brains," one of them told me for some strange reason, "and we work with our hands, but we're both workers. And we've got the interests of all the workers of the world at heart."

In a saloon along the waterfront in Hamburg, we heard similar stories. The bartender shrugged his shoulders, and said:

"Well, we're not satisfied in Germany, but I guess no one in the world is either."

The conversation stopped short when a uniform walked in.

In Stuttgart, a soldier, not then in uniform, openly admitted his opposition to Fascism, and explained to us how guns shot both ways.

In a Berlin railway station, a girl, who was a member of the Labor Front, denounced anti-Semitism so openly and loudly we warned her to lower her voice.

On the train going through Schleswig-Holstein, we started a conversation with a sailor who ridiculed the innumerable uniforms which abound in Germany today.

"This is my uniform," he said, pointing to the clothes he had on. "It's the uniform of all of us who are citizens of the world."

On that same trip, we encountered a cattle farmer, who laughed at everyone who repeated what was in the papers about the Jews.

"There are a lot of white Jews, too," he said. These and similar things we heard and observed everywhere we went. Despite signs in every public place saying that now every one says "Heil Hitler" instead of "Good Day," the people only salute and say it to those in uniform.

Similarly, they only wear Nazi insignia when they leave their homes or neighborhood.

OFTEN USE NAZIS OWN METHODS

Equally important is the agitation under the regime. Forced to use whatever methods they can, the workers utilize Nazi demagoguery to improve their conditions. Employers are often presented with a demagogic statement of Goering which they have not fulfilled.

The extent to which dissatisfaction has penetrated the ranks of the Nazi Party itself can be judged from this leaflet which was circulated among the Brownshirts in Trier, who were forced to go from house to house to collect relief money and scraps of iron and metal for Goering's four-year plan.

"What have we come to nowadays in the Third Reich? We are rubbish collectors and beggars!" it reads.

"What good has the Third Reich done for us? . . . All that we, the Old Guard, get to do is to rattle the collection-box and to take poor people's pennies out of their pockets."

That Hitler can no longer fully depend upon the Brownshirts or the Black Corps is evident in the formation of a special "inner guard," composed of the most trusted elements of both groups, under Heinrich Himmler, chief of the Gestapo.

DAY OF RECKONING IS UNPOSTPONABLE

After Munich, the report circulated that British secret service informed Chamberlain before the Berchtesgaden conference that Goering and the Reichswehr general staff advised Hitler against going to war, because the soldiers could not be counted upon.

The new state buildings, the banners, the bands, uniforms and parades, the diplomatic victories of Hitler make German Fascism superficially formidable.

But Nazism can no more postpone the day of reckoning than can the rest of the capitalist world. And all things reveal that the victory of the working class is not as far off as the prophets of gloom have predicted. London, Dec. 30.

MUNIZ FACES HIS GPU INQUISITORS AS TRIAL NEARS

(Continued from page 1)

accusations and "confessions." Muniz gave a demonstration how a real Trotskyist militant conducts himself before the class enemy.

Proudly Admits Connections with 4th International
Muniz proudly and boldly told his inquisitors that he "considers himself the principal comrade responsible for the activity in Spain of the Bolshevik Leninists, section of the Fourth International, from which he received directives for work; that the work of this organization was directed by himself as secretary general, by Adolfo Carlini and Kieleso, leading members."

At the trial, therefore, Muniz will stand in the prisoner's dock as the proud and militant representative of the Fourth International, openly avowing the program of his organization for revolutionary struggle in Spain against Fascism.

G. P. U. Case Punctured
The indictment makes the false and stupid charge that the Fourth International instructed Muniz to "use terrorist tactics, to stage individual attacks and provoke armed strikes." This piece of forgery is used to bolster the charge that Muniz and Carlini murdered the missing Capt. Narvitch. The one witness, Zanon, who originally claimed to have been present at the murder, has publicly retracted his statements, thus puncturing the entire G.P.U. case.

In the preliminary investigation Muniz patiently explained to his inquisitors the revolutionary Marxist attitude against individual terrorism and outlined to them the Bolshevik-Leninist program which repudiates such tactics as futile and injurious to the workers' cause.

In the whole dossier of documents produced by the prosecution there is not a single positive, concrete piece of evidence against either Muniz or Carlini, both of whom have open and shut evidence of their whereabouts at the time of the supposed murder.

Free Muniz and Carlini!
This frame-up will collapse just like the frame-up against the leaders of the P.O.U.M. in November, when the charge of espionage against Nin (murdered by the Stalinists), Andrade and the others collapsed in the midst of their trial.

Demand the immediate liberation of Muniz and Carlini! Demand an open trial—which has been promised—and the right of foreign workers' organizations to be represented. Send wires and resolutions of protest to your local Spanish consulates and to Premier Negrin at Barcelona.

SUPREME TEST FACES BARCELONA

(Continued from page 1)

since July, 1938, and to no effect. Seeking to curry favor with England and France, the Loyalist government has ruthlessly crushed the initiative of the Spanish workers and peasants. The factories which they seized in July, 1938, have been wrested from them and returned to the status of private property, likewise armed forces have been employed to curb peasant movements—notably in Catalonia and Aragon—for collectivizing the land.

To enforce this counter-revolutionary policy, the workers' militias which originally sprang up to smash the fascists were "reorganized" and the old military

CONVENTION CALLED AS U.A.W. FIGHT FLARES

(Continued from Page 1)

Parts plants organization? Zero! No drive has ever been attempted. Everybody in the international office was too busy playing shoestring politics.

Status of General Motors, the largest and most important sector of the union? Worse contract than at the time of the Milwaukee convention, a shameful "disciplinary" letter unannouncedly signed and submitted to the General Motors corporation by ALL members of the International Executive Board; present negotiations completely bogged down with absolutely no reported progress after two months of meetings with the management.

Internal Regime
Internal administration of the union? Growing more dictatorial every day with rank and file constantly edged out from all important decisions. Every regional director, barring none, is displaced in his own locality. Not one of them can point to any real progress achieved in his own local-

Hitler Strikes Blow At 4th International

Spanish Bolsheviks Call For Aid to Comrade Muniz

Following are excerpts from a letter from the Bolshevik-Leninist organization in Spain, forwarded by the Secretariat of the Fourth International, concerning the forthcoming trial of Muniz and Carlini, originally set for December, but now apparently put off to an indefinite date:

"It is certain that the Stalinists are going to carry on a calumny campaign against the accused, against the Bolshevik-Leninist group of Spain, and through it against the Fourth International. . . . Staging this trial is more difficult for the G.P.U. in Barcelona than at Moscow. Here it involves not human wrecks reduced to impotence but eminent representatives of the Fourth International who will profit from the public trial to develop before the court the international program of the Bolshevik Leninists.

"The justice of Stalin Negrin & Co. will have to deal with tested militants, tempered in the fires of the civil war against fascism and in the struggle at the front and in the rear against Stalinist repression. We can have full confidence in the moral strength of the accused in the face of the hostile court and the pogrom campaign in the press.

It is obvious that this is the same hand that organized the bloody repression after May, 1937, at Barcelona, which carried out the assassination of Erwin Wolf, of Moulin (a leader of the Spanish Fourth Internationalists—Ed.), of Nin and Landau; who caused the deaths of Leon Sedov and Rudolf Klement—this is the same hand that is organizing the trial of Muniz-Carlini. It may perhaps be the same hand in the most literal sense. Its mark is present. Forgeries are fabricated, false declarations are extorted, statements against comrades and against the international organization are dictated in order to charge them with crimes conceived of only in the heads of the G.P.U. provocateurs.

"The Bolshevik-Leninist group of Spain has been dealt terrible blows and its weakness hampers it in organizing a broad campaign here. Some of its members, like Faucenet, Antonio Vidal . . . and others have been killed at the front. Cid fell during the Barcelona days at the barricades; Moulin and Wolf were assassinated by the Stalinists. . . .

"But despite the difficulties the Bolshevik-Leninists of Spain have intervened and are intervening to spread the slogans of the international organization among all the workers' organizations. 'Come to the aid of Muniz and Carlini! . . .

bureaucracy and carefully selected bourgeois and Stalinist officers were given complete command of the armed struggle.

The Result

The result has been a series of disastrous military defeats and outright betrayals. During the period when the Loyalist navy was still superior to Franco's, it was bottled up in Cartagena harbor because England and France feared that naval activity might drive Hitler and Mussolini to open warfare. Thereby Franco was enabled to transport troops from Morocco at will. Malaga was betrayed to the fascists by the treacherous high command. The only front where successes occurred, the P.O.U.M.-C.N.T. manned Aragon front, was deliberately deprived of arms until the C.N.T. capitulated politically. The Basque "democratic" bourgeoisie, left in complete control in the North, surrendered without a siege, one after another, Bilbao, Gijon, Santander, until the entire north was in fascist hands. After a murderous purge of the Aragon front, executing revolutionaries and imprisoning thousands of C.N.T. soldiers, that front was turned over to the Stalinist ally, General Sebastian Pozas—who promptly opened the front to the Franco forces during their offensive last Spring.

Not military victory, but the "embrace of Vergara"—treacherous conciliation between the contending ruling camps—remains the main danger to anti-fascist Spain. Grooved in the Anglo-French policy of "appeasement," the much-touted "13 point" program of the government, based on the thesis that Spain is fighting not a civil war but a war between "Spain" and invaders, is at bottom of perspective of conciliation with the main elements in Franco's ruling circles. The Negro governmental forces are prepared to join with the Franco forces in a military dictatorship, whose first task of consolidation would be extermination of the intransigent workers and peasants.

Jewish Leader Condemns Roosevelt's Refugee Plan

A sharp criticism of Roosevelt's proposal to Mussolini to send Jewish refugees to Ethiopia was voiced on Monday at a meeting of the administrative committee of the World Jewish Congress in Paris.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the committee, criticized "stupid solutions like the colonizing of Abyssinia, since no Jew would be foolish enough to invest his capital in a country where tomorrow he would be at the mercy of confiscation measures by Mussolini."

"I do not think I was as much hurt by Hitler's measures as by the attitude of the Washington Foreign Office and those of other democratic countries that our situation was one calling only for philanthropy. We want equality, not treatment as second or third-class citizens."

Goldmann's declaration was the first plain speaking by a Jewish spokesman on Roosevelt's hypocritical proposal.

Democrats Reject Open Door
Discussions by George Rublee of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees with Hitler's deputies dragged out this week, with no indication that a serious plan for evacuating refugees would eventuate.

Hitler's banditry is being employed as an alibi by the "great democracies" for their refusal to open their doors to the victims of Nazi terror in Germany and anti-Semitic regimes in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland. If immigration restrictions were immediately lifted, quite apart from any negotiations with Hitler, funds could easily be made available for immediately transporting considerable numbers of those now living in terror of physical extermination. With cheap demagoguery, Secre-

German Trotskyites Given Severe Prison Sentences

Hitler Strikes at Revolutionists Who Have Been Slandered by G.P.U. as "Gestapo Agents"

Details of brutal sentences meted out to German working class militants who were members of the Trotskyist organization, have just been received in New York from comrades still conducting revolutionary work illegally under the Hitler regime.

The trial against our Magdeburg and Berlin comrades took place on November 25 to 27 in Magdeburg, under the jurisdiction of the Fifth Punitive Senate of the Berlin Court Chamber. Among those who were sentenced to imprisonment in penitentiaries for their revolutionary activity are the following:

- Kurt Noak: 3 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.
- Alfred Schirmer: 3 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.
- Alfred Rakalejnik: 3 years and 3 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.
- Hilde Berger: 2 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.
- Hilde Herz: 2 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.
- Walter Hoffmann: 2 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.

years loss of civil rights.

Other Sentences

Supplementary sentences meted out to our comrades in the trial before the People's Court in Berlin in the middle of October, 1937: Alfred Berger: 12 years imprisonment and 12 years loss of civil rights. Werner Mueller: 7 years imprisonment and 7 years loss of civil rights. A number of other sentences imposed in the same trial are not yet available to us.

Answers Stalinist Slander

The savage persecution and imprisonment of our comrades by the beasts of Hitler gives the lie once more to the abominable slander disseminated against our movement and its militants by the kept press of Stalinism. The above is only a partial list of the German Trotskyist fighters who have been thrown into concentration camps or tried and imprisoned by the Nazi gangsters.

Despite the calumnies of the Stalinists, despite the enormous difficulties of continuing the work of revolutionary organization in Hitlerite Germany, our comrades have stuck tenaciously and heroically to their task and will continue to do so.

Our warmest greetings to the fearless fighters of the Fourth International! Let us not forget for a moment their cause and their needs.

HOPE FOR BEAL RELEASE MOUNTS

Hope for the early release from prison of Fred E. Beal was expressed by the Beal Defense Committee upon the return from North Carolina of the committee's attorney, Louis Waldman, who announced that a formal application for a pardon will be filed soon with Governor Clyde R. Hoey.

Beal, leader of the famous Gastonia textile strike of 1929, is now serving a 17 to 20 years' prison term in North Carolina, on framed-up charges arising out of the death of a police officer following an attack on union headquarters which was calculated to break the strike. Although Beal was not charged with doing the shooting, he was held as technically responsible, and convicted by a jury inflamed by the red-baiting, patriotic rhetoric of the prosecutor.

The Beal case was complicated by the fact that the Stalinist party and its defense organization deliberately deserted him because, after his return from the Soviet Union, he wrote a book criticizing the Stalinist regime. Numerous labor and liberal leaders, however, joined to work for his early release after he had voluntarily surrendered to the North Carolina authorities.

Revolutionists Demand Open Door
The plight of the refugees is desperate, indeed. Nothing less than victorious socialist revolution in a major country, unleashing the consequent smashing of fascism and revolutionary victories in other countries, can solve the plight of the refugees. Meanwhile, however, asylum must be found for as many as possible. But it is not accidental that it is mainly the revolutionists in every democratic country who have initiated and who press the demand for opening the doors to the refugees.

TWO LABOR PRISONERS -- TWO LABOR LEADERS

Mooney's Present Conduct Brings to Mind What Debs Stood For

By MAX SHACHTMAN

A thrill of exultation is felt upon reading reports of the magnificent and enthusiastic demonstrations organized by California's workers to greet Tom Mooney. How imposing and invincible the proletariat looks, and is, when its battalions assemble! How easily it could sweep aside like pebbles all the obstacles in its path if it were conscious of its tremendous power and its historic goal!

Almost exactly 43 years ago, the workers poured into the streets of Chicago to welcome from prison another great labor martyr who preceded Tom Mooney.

Yet there is a difference between the two great labor leaders, Tom Mooney and Eugene V. Debs, a difference we record with regret.

When Debs, leader of the American Railway Union, went into Woodstock prison, he was a Democrat, a follower of William Jennings Bryan. When Mooney, equally a militant trade union leader, entered prison, he was a socialist, who only five years earlier had accompanied Debs around the country in the famous "Red Special" of the 1912 presidential campaign.

When Debs came out of Woodstock, he proclaimed himself a convinced socialist. Two and a half years later, on June 21, 1897, he and his comrades organized what was to become the first important independent working class party in the United States, the Social Democratic Party. "The Chicago jail sentences," he wrote several years afterward, "were followed by six months at Woodstock and it was here that socialism gradually laid hold of me in its own irresistible fashion."

And Tom Mooney? The reports from California say—one rubs his eyes in stunned disbelief!—that one of Mooney's first acts upon reaching San Francisco was to register as a member of the Democratic party.

It is "high time," wrote Debs while still in Woodstock, "that allegiance to parties who make laws for the protection of capitalists and the subjugation of labor should be abandoned and that men should be found to enact and administer laws for the equal protection of labor which creates the capital and carries forward all the industries of the world."

Forty-three years later, when this declaration is trebly true, Mooney takes his place in the ranks of one of these capitalist parties. It is a tragic step backward for the old militant, but no class-conscious worker will follow him in taking it.

Doesn't Tom Mooney know that the reason why American labor failed for more than 20 years to force his release from prison was that it did not act as an independent class force, because it was tied hand and foot, because it was mentally subjugated to the two capitalist parties?

Doesn't he remember what was written in the famous pamphlet published by his Defense Committee in 1931, "Labor Leaders Betray Tom Mooney," in which the labor lieutenants of capitalism were so thoroughly exposed and excoriated for their cynical knavishness and treachery? Mooney endorsed the pamphlet which said: "The Mooney-Billings case has always been and must always be, a vital part of the general struggle between the workers and the employers. Mooney was saved from the hangman's noose only through the mass protests and pressure of the workers of Russia and the rest of the world." Does Mooney now think that the "general struggle between the workers and the employers" can be promoted under the auspices of the party of Roosevelt, Farley, Hague, Garner, Cotton Ed Smith and their ilk?

Seven years ago, Mooney approved the statement that: "The underlying principles back of the real causes of hard times and unemployment must be carried to the people, and the hypocritical palvering and meaningless platitudes of subsidized capitalist apologists—the labor leaders—must be exposed. Liberals must become radicals and radicals must grow revolutionary as capitalism develops to its climax. Education and organization of the workers must proceed continuously, relentlessly and without fail until the collapse of capitalism gives the signal for the final forward march of the new social order."

"Our struggle for freedom," he reminded Billings in a letter of January 5, 1931, "is inextricably bound up with the whole question of the future of the American workers."

That was true then, and it remains true. The future of the American workers is not bound up with the Democratic party. Its future, if it is to mean a movement forward, is bound up with its Declaration of Independence from the parties of American capitalism. Its future can be safeguarded only if it takes the road marked out by Eugene Debs 40 years ago, by all class-conscious workers before and since—and not the road now taken by Mooney. Its future lies in the formation of an independent political party—of, for and by the working class, with a fighting working class program.

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HEAR
Max Shachtman
Editor, SOCIALIST APPEAL

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III—No. 3 Saturday, January 21, 1939

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

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

All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.
Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937, at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Militarizing the W.P.A.

Many new changes have been quietly taking place in the relief and W.P.A. administration which, added up, reveal the intention of the Roosevelt administration to place the unemployed and relief workers in a military straight-jacket.

In New York, workers have been ordered to appear for fingerprinting or they will be considered not interested in their jobs. On some projects, organized protests have held up this attempt to prepare a convenient blacklist for the generals. The Stalinist-controlled Workers' Alliance, as usual, is cooperating with the government in this foul business.

Another step is the preparation of uniforms for the 5,000 recreation teachers in New York City. Colonel Somerville, W.P.A. head explains: "We believe a uniform will give the worker more authority . . . and increase the worker's pride in his job."

More and more Army officials are being placed in charge of relief and W.P.A. administration. Governors Island, military base in New York, has been drained of captains, colonels, and generals who replace civilian supervisors in the relief and W.P.A. bureaus.

Pressure is now being applied to enlist relief workers into the army and navy. Recruiting sergeants and attractive posters advertise the fact that in the army or navy there is "continuous employment, regular meals, sturdy clothing and adventure!"

Roosevelt, it is clear, looks upon the unemployed as the first source of cannon-fodder. Capitalism has no other use for them.

Who Are the Murderers?

There are five young boys in the Sing Sing death-house, waiting to walk to the electric chair. Raised in the dirt and disease and ignorance and poverty of New York's worst slums, they were driven by their environment into one jam after another; and finally, trying to shoot their way out of one of them, they killed a man. When it is pointed out that the society which breeds those slums and that poverty and disease are responsible for that killing, the boss press in New York State raises its pious hands and preaches about "the sanctity of human life" and how these "monsters" must "pay the supreme penalty."

In the South Wing of the Capitol last week, 400-odd men passed the WPA Deficiency Bill. Three-fourths of these men were lawyers, the rest doctors, journalists, merchants, bankers. They draw down ten grand a year plus expenses from the Federal Government, added to many thousands they have time to pick up on the side. Practically all of them went to college, they all go to church, none ever goes without a meal or a new suit of clothes when he wants it.

The Bill they passed, if it becomes law through Senate action and Presidential signature, means that 600,000 to 800,000 WPA workers lose their jobs next month. This in turn means several hundred despairing suicides, thousands of babies getting rickets and skin diseases and bad teeth and pellagra because their fathers can't buy decent food, thousands of children and adults dying in the cold weather from pneumonia and diphtheria and tuberculosis because they can't pay for medical care, hundreds of thousands suffering permanent injury in health and morale.

The boss press calls the men who passed this Bill "saviors of the American system," "true and independent statesmen."

Who are the murderers?

Socialist Pontius Pilates

Belgium has a "socialist" Premier named Paul Henri Spaak and a number of cabinet members of the same party.

Loyalist Spain also has a "socialist" Premier named Juan Negrin and a number of cabinet members of the same party.

All of them are members and leaders of the Second International—that is, they are not only friends and comrades and socialists but internationalists.

M. Spaak, however, shocked the members of his own party by his proposal a short time ago in the Belgian Parliament to send a representative to General Franco's government in Burgos—the government that is now engaged in a drive to slaughter all of Spaak's socialist comrades in Spain. Since this was too much even from a social-democratic Premier, the members of his party rose up in arms against him.

At a special Congress of the Belgian Labor (socialist) Party early last December, ringing with the cry "We shall not go to Burgos!" the delegates voted decisively against sending a representative to Franco's government.

When the reporter for the Resolutions Committee, A. Wauters, was asked point-blank just what the decision meant, he replied, "It seems to me to have been clear enough. We adopted our decision with all the responsibilities that it implied for the [socialist] ministers, that is, that they would have to resign."

Magnificent, isn't it? It shows how firm the leaders of the Second International are when socialist principles are to be protected, when solidarity with their Spanish colleagues is to be asserted? Hold on a minute.

Tuesday, December 6, the Belgian Chamber of Deputies met and in violation of the party congress decision, 18 "socialist" deputies voted for the government, several abstained and still others sneaked out of the hall in order to duck responsibility.

Wednesday, December 7, the General Council of the party met to consider the situation. The parliamentary group, led by Spaak, met at the same time. It threatened the party leadership . . . but it didn't really have to, for the General Council capitulated to these open traitors without a word.

Expel the traitors from the party? Nostalgic! The only ones expelled from the Second International, in Belgium as well as in the United States, are the left wing militants who mean it when they speak of working-class solidarity and socialism. Franco's friends, however, must be kept in the party for the sake of—unity!

Finally, a January 15 cable to the press from Brussels reads: "The Belgian Socialist Party today adopted a resolution denouncing the government's decision to send a representative to Insurgent Spain but admitting that it was necessary for Premier Paul Henri Spaak and other socialist cabinet members to remain in their positions for the present at least."

That is how the "socialist" Pontius Pilates wash their hands of the blood of their Spanish brothers. And these people have the unmitigated effrontery to talk of us, revolutionary socialists, as enemies of the struggle against fascism!

What about M. Spaak's good comrades here, Norman Thomas and James Oneal. Like him, they are members of the Second International. They have papers to write in. But they haven't had a single word to say in comment or in condemnation of Spaak's treachery. By their silence they make themselves accomplices of this un-speakable scoundrel.

Yet, may be they just haven't the time to write about him. After all, they are so busy explaining that Leninism and fascism are the same thing that they can't be bothered with the friends of fascism at work in their own camp!

Traitors At the Helm

General Jose Asensio has been appointed military attaché to the Spanish Embassy in Washington, we learn from a Barcelona dispatch to the New York Times of January 17.

Asensio, chief in command of the Loyalist armies, was arrested by the government on February 21, 1937, and, together with Villalba, commander of Malaga, was charged with treason for betraying Malaga to the Fascists. That Malaga was betrayed, not even the Stalinists denied. When, directly implicated in the betrayal, the Stalinists tried to smear others, the C.N.T., on August 26, 1937, revealed that the Stalinist War Commissar, Bolivar, had joined Villalba in abandoning headquarters, and Antonio Guerra, Stalinist representative in the Military Command of Malaga, had stayed behind and gone over to the fascists.

The day Gijon fell, on October 21, 1937, eight months after his arrest, the Negrin government announced that Asensio, and his chief of staff, Cabrera, were about to be tried. Now we learn that he is not only released, but is appointed to an important official post! Why? Because he is blood-brother to the government which has thus honored him. Prison and shooting are only for proletarian militants in Loyalist Spain!

Traitors at the helm—such is the tragedy of the Spanish people.

A Free Press

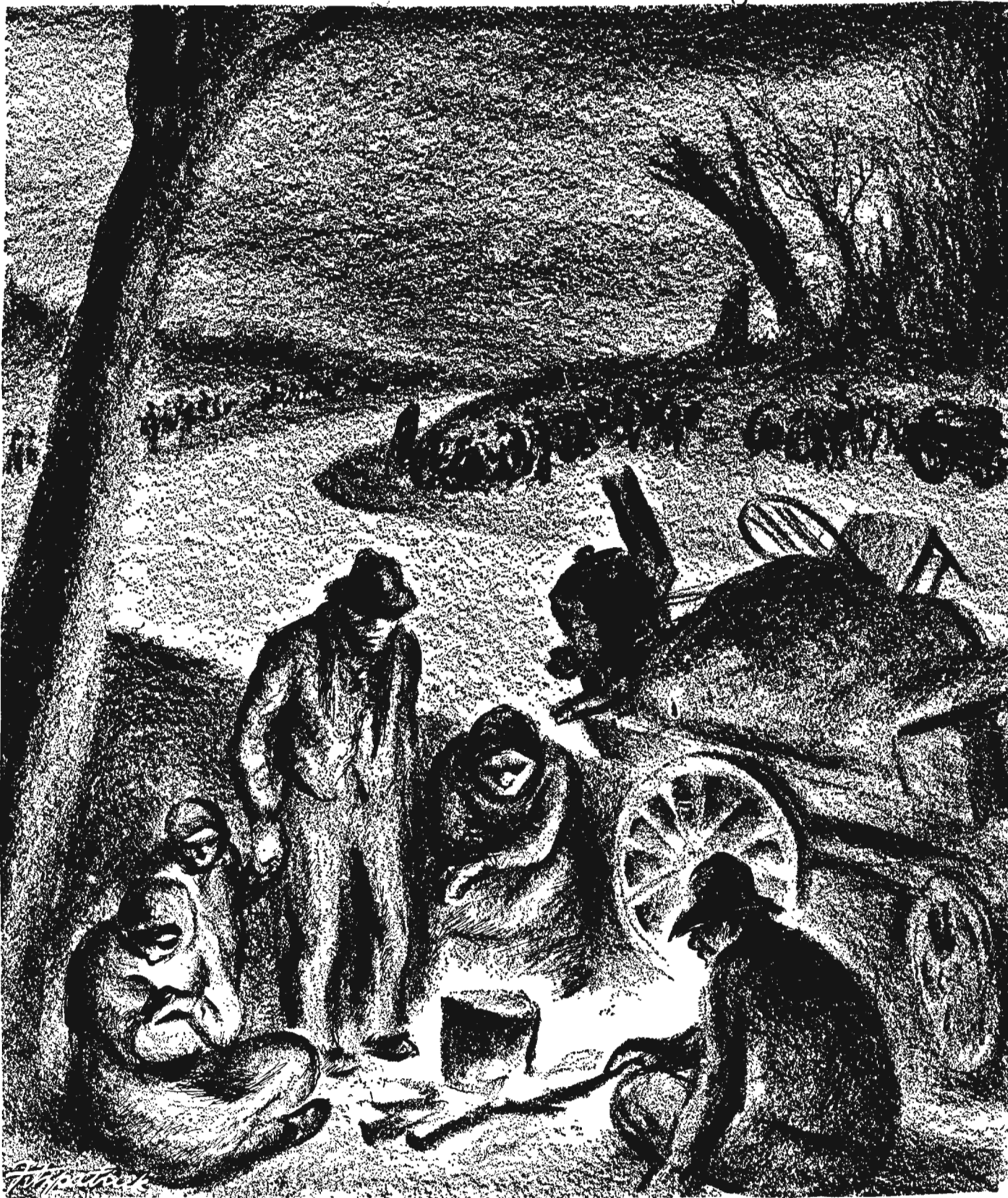
Secretary of the Interior Ickes went to town on the kept press, in a radio debate last week with Frank Gannett, head of the Gannett Newspapers.

Ickes was able to demonstrate that the powerful financial and industrial interests control America's newspapers. The few examples he gave of anti-labor policies of the "free" press could be added to by the thousands by trade unionists everywhere.

Ickes was telling nothing new. The most interesting question in connection with the kept press is—what can we do about it? And on that question, Ickes was cheek by jowl with Gannett. For Ickes declared that it was "up to the publishers to tell us how to free our press." That was an answer which Gannett liked; Gannett blandly declared that the press was free, and since Ickes himself had made Gannett and his kind the masters of the decision, the debate was over.

Smarter at Gannett's attacks on the New Deal, Ickes was saying: "If you keep this up, we'll tell the truth about you." But Ickes and the Roosevelt crowd haven't the slightest intention of freeing the press from the control of finance capital. For to free the press would require wresting it from the control of the capitalists by wiping out their economic power. That is a task in which not only Ickes not join, but which he bends his every energy to prevent. He is for capitalism and all its works. He grumbles occasionally, but only like a faithful servant who disapproves of the excesses of his master. Freeing the press will be a job for the workers. The press will be free when the workers themselves are free and not before.

In Missouri—America's Own Refugees



Reprinted through the courtesy of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Sharecroppers Dramatize Their Plight In Sitdown On Missouri's Tobacco Road

(Continued from page 1)
whole is of little concern to the health authorities.

Sheer Desperation
It was in sheer desperation that the croppers camped on the highways to bring their plight to public attention. Evicted from their miserable shacks when they refused to accept a change in status to that of day-laborers, which would eliminate their one-half share of the government cotton reduction parity payment, or a reduction of their share of the crop from one half of the yearly produce to two-thirds, the croppers are now being compelled to accept the masters' terms.

Last year the parity payments amounted to about \$100 for a cropper, about one-third of his income. The laborer received from 75 cents to \$1 a day for 100 to 120 days and no advanced credit from the planter to which the cropper is entitled. An increase in day laborers would bring the day rate down to as low as 40 cents for 10, 12, and 14 hours.

"Already living on a level below that of the city slum dweller, the croppers revolted in such large numbers that the planters were taken off guard. Hundreds of families were unable to reach the highways for lack of trucks in which to haul their meagre

belongings. The 1,500 who camped on the highways had nothing more than old, worn and tattered blankets and roadside fires to protect them from the snow and the freezing weather. Not a single regular tent could be found in all 13 camps. The scanty food which they had taken with them from the farms was consumed before the end of the first day. The two-score or more children, some no more than 5 months old, had to go without milk for several days. Children, old folks, men and women all were deliberately permitted to grow cold and hungry so that they would submit to even more wretched conditions of servitude than they experienced last year.

Promises of Relief
Governor Stark promised relief in the form of tents and foods but found one pretext after another for not supplying it. Tents could not be given without the "approval of the army." The Red Cross found that they could do nothing since these homeless, starving people were not "in their field." The federal authorities in control of the seven surplus commodity warehouses in this region refused to recognize the croppers' committees and insisted that each applicant make a personal appearance and reply to a detailed and complicated questionnaire. It was several days before they gave meagre hand-outs to the croppers. The St. Louis Industrial Union Council sent much-needed truck loads of food on the third day of the demonstration.

The morale of the croppers could not be broken by the efforts of the state and federal authorities and the landowners. The landowners, who at first scoffed at reports of the croppers' revolt, were soon painfully astounded by the response and organized their reactionary campaign against the movement. At Charleston yesterday (Thursday) they adopted a resolution which stated "that the government relief and charitable agencies [should] refrain from encouraging this movement by giving aid and assistance." State Senator James C. McDowell, a local landowner, blamed "agitators" for the "damnable scheme" and called for an investigation. A similar resolution was adopted on the same day by a meeting of landowners in New Madrid.

Whitfield Threatened
Threats of violence against

Owen H. Whitfield, local leader of the croppers and vice-president of the Southern Tenants' Farmers Union, were made by the planters. He left the field and is now in St. Louis seeking assistance for the croppers. Today, when J. R. Butler, president of the Union sought to advise the sharecroppers, he was "escorted" by the state police to the Missouri-Arkansas border. At present the croppers are without any leadership.

The landowners, insurance companies and individuals, however, prefer that the croppers produce profits for them while they are stricken with starvation and disease by malnutrition and unsanitary conditions. The landowners have received some benefits from the cotton-reduction plan of the Roosevelt administration. The law which provides for a reduction of cotton-crop acreage and government payments neither provides for the croppers and laborers who are thus thrown out of work, nor contains a safeguard against the conversion of croppers to laborers, that is, against depriving the croppers of their share of the parity payment.

Press for Action
The evicted croppers here expected that the federal authorities, witnessing their plight, would establish rehabilitation projects for them similar to the one existing near here, at La Forge. There, 100 families have been settled on about 67 acres of land and a loan of \$7,000 each and have cooperative stores and community cultural life. Plenty of land is available for such projects. However, the government will make no move unless compelled to by the organized efforts of the labor movement and the tenants, croppers and day-laborers.

The trade unions, particularly the C.I.O., must be aroused in support of these downtrodden people. Direct relief must be extended. The St. Louis Industrial Union Council must be supported in its relief work. At the same time the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League should demand of Congress immediate appropriations for the relief of the croppers and laborers and the establishment of cooperative farms for the 20,000 croppers and laborers of Southeast Missouri and the more than 700,000 croppers in the cotton belt of the South.

THE CAT SNEAKS OUT OF THE BAG

John T. Flynn, financial commentator for the Scripps-Howard press chain, in a recent article uncovered a damning indictment of the imperialist designs of the Wall Street-New Deal government at the expense of America's unemployed millions.

His article first exposes the fact that up to the close of the year only \$68,000,000 of the one billion dollars appropriated by Congress for the past year for PWA has been spent. Flynn further points out, that WPA funds during the past year were purposely kept down with the impression being given that a great outpouring of Public Works funds would take the load off the WPA.

An enormous campaign of propaganda was fostered, beginning last June, for several months. Almost daily announcements were made of new PWA allocations. Finally, the announcement was given out that all the money was allocated and nothing was left.

In Flynn's words, "The impression got around that a vast pouring out of public funds into public works, instead of WPA, was to be the administration's final bid for recovery."

"But now WPA funds are practically exhausted and WPA is still far from being under way. For 68 million dollars in six months is only about 11 million a month, hardly as much as the Government spends in the most prosperous periods." (Our emphasis.)

Flynn does not stop short at this point. His article makes abundantly clear the reason for the foisting of this gigantic fraud on the unemployed.

A Deliberate Move
Says Flynn, in the very next paragraph, "Rumors have got around that PWA funds are being purposely held back in order to have them available for military construction when Congress meets. The argument will be strong that the armament plan will thus cost very little more than the funds already provided." (Our emphasis.)

Flynn then proceeds to expose the hypocrisy behind the New Deal campaign last summer when the PWA appropriations were made in favor of more adequate WPA appropriations. He asks, and answers, "But in the meantime, what becomes of Government expenditures for relief and work relief? If there is any validity in the claim that public works expenditures will produce recovery, then is it not plain that any plan which tends to divert them into war expenditures will postpone their expenditure and postpone recovery?" (Our emphasis.)

F.D.R. and Housing
The workers dwelling in decrepit, disease-ridden slums can now reflect on Flynn's further comment on the government's low-cost housing program. "Six years ago the President, when the first PWA money was appropriated, was urged to go into low cost housing. This he refused to do. Here and there a few housing projects have been built at costs and at rental rates which put them completely beyond the reach of the low income groups."

Thus another one of the "liberal" phases of the New Deal program is exposed for the cheap demagogic vote-catching stunts it really is.

Flynn's revelations were published December 24, before the convening of the latest Congressional gab-fest. His analysis, which has gone completely undisputed, called the turn on Roosevelt's real program as presented to Congress.

In Roosevelt's proposed budget for the next fiscal period, one billion dollars have been lopped off the previous year's budget for all forms of unemployed relief. One billion dollars have been added to the previous year's armament's budget.

Flynn's final sentence conforms to the letter what the Socialist Workers Party has always predicted to be the real program of the New Deal.

"Now," says Flynn, "we are to have battleships instead of houses."

CHICAGO MASS MEETINGS
C. L. R. JAMES
will speak on:
"THE TWILIGHT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE"
Friday, January 27—8:00 P.M.
Capitol Building
159 N. State St. Adm. 25c
"SOCIALISM AND THE NEGRO"
Sunday, January 29—3:00 P.M.
Abraham Lincoln Center
700 Oakwood Blvd. Adm. 50c
Unemployed Free