

Unions Organize Jobless for Showdown With New Deal

Our Press, Organizer and Educator; Twice Weekly!

By MARTIN ABERN

The Twice-a-week APPEAL will soon be here—a fact, and not just a hope and ambition. The requirements of the day make this a certainty. Tremendous events are unrolling before all our eyes. The revolutionary press is essential to reflect these stirring and decisive developments, affecting all lives; but more important, to help to direct them in the interests of the working class and exploited peoples everywhere.

A truism, but fundamental: the revolutionary press is the major educator and organizer of the labor and revolutionary movement. Trade union and political organization of the working masses needs enormously to be speeded up. The revolutionary Party, the Socialist Workers Party, needs to be geared to meet the needs of the hour on the labor and political fronts, in the United States and Internationally.

The APPEAL is a decisive instrument in this work. The members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party are rallying and will rally more strongly to our press and its needs. THE TWICE-A-WEEK APPEAL IS NOW A NECESSITY. BECAUSE IT MUST, IT WILL BE! HAIL THE TWICE-A-WEEK APPEAL! On the road to a DAILY APPEAL!

CLEVELAND UAW LAUNCHES WPA UNION SET-UP

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tremendously potential size and power.

A plan for an intensive organization drive will be underway shortly, in which every agency of propaganda will be used, the public press, hand-bills, radio, sound-cars, etc.

Every preparation is being pushed for a show-down fight with the W.P.A. administration against the mass lay-offs which have started and will undoubtedly be in full swing by January.

Indicating the awareness of the workers to the imperialist war policies of the Roosevelt regime, among the slogans employed by the Cleveland organization is "Bread Not Bullets."

The organization is putting insistent pressure upon the national officers of the C.I.O. for the granting of an industrial union charter, and are supporting the establishment of similar bodies throughout the nation.

THERE ARE NO JOBS! Factory Wheels Turn But Unemployed Do Not Return to their Former Jobs

By DAVID COWLES

Claiming that economic recovery is making private industry more capable of solving the unemployment problem, Roosevelt and Hopkins have already begun layoffs on W.P.A. in a move that may turn into an attack upon the whole practice of work relief.

That the claim of recovery is only a smokescreen for making the unemployed bear the brunt of the huge armaments program becomes clear the moment we face the unemployment problem squarely.

If private industry is to solve the problem of unemployment, it would have to give a job to every person who is able and willing to work. Can it?

Population Grows, Jobs Decline

Every year, depression or no depression, the population of the United States increases. In 1930 it was 122,775,000. In each year after that it increased about one million. As a result, today there are about 131,000,000 persons in the country.

Just as the population increases year after year, so does the number of persons looking for work.

In 1930, there was 48,800,000. Each year since, there has been over a half million job seekers added. Children who have graduated school, youths who have not graduated but who have been compelled to leave school in order to help support the family, old men and married women who have had to look for part-time or full-time employment in order to make up for the low wages of those who are working in the family—all these have combined to make the present number of persons who are either working or looking for work equal to about 53,000,000.

Among this number are millions of persons in agricultural areas who are virtually praying for work at a living wage. In the South, three-and-a-half to seven million workers must migrate the old Cotton South region, where they now live in conditions that date back to the Civil War and where the chaos in the world cotton market drives them down

still further. Along the Appalachian Plateau live coal miners displaced by machinery, textile workers laid off by the mills, and others who have returned from the cities to a poverty-stricken existence on a poverty-stricken soil. And in the middle west farm regions are hundreds of thousands of farmers grubbing out subsistence on submarginal soil.

Can Industry Provide Jobs? All of them want a decent job with decent pay. But can industry give it? What are the facts?

The facts are plain and unmistakably clear: Industry by itself, and run under the profit system cannot give jobs to the jobless. It cannot give enough jobs to the working population of 1929, much less jobs to the millions of new workers who have come into the market or to the many millions in the farm areas.

Even during the period of prosperity following 1929, industry declined as a field of employment and offered less jobs. In that year, 30.8 per cent of all jobs were supplied by industry. Ten years later, the percentage had fallen to 28.9, due to displacement of workers by mechanization, by speed-up systems, and by operating plants at full capacity in order to lay out goods for orders and then to shut up the plants completely. New industries have not sprung up to give jobs to the displaced workers, nor, despite the propaganda of the Duponts and the Sloans, is it likely that they will.

Less Jobs Since 1929

This story of falling jobs in private industry was especially true in the years following 1929. It was true in transportation, which employed 3,200,000 in 1929 and displaced with over 20 per cent of the jobs by 1936; in construction, which employed 1,600,000 in 1929 and gave out almost half that number of jobs in 1936; in trade, which gave out 6,500,000 jobs in 1929 and 10 per cent less in 1936; and in agriculture, which gave employment to 2 per cent more persons but which was and is so unprofitable that 50 per cent of the farmers cannot support either workers or the owners.

This is the true picture of private industry. On one side is an ever growing horde of workers looking for jobs. On the other side is a declining capitalism, which is continuously diminishing in its ability to supply jobs. That is the crux of unemployment.

In 1933, the number of unemployed were conservatively estimated at 15,000,000. In 1937, the peak of prosperity following that crisis, the number of jobless were conservatively estimated at 9,000,000.

Production today is nowhere near that of 1937. Those who had been thrown into unemployment by the recent recession have not yet gotten back their jobs in private industry. The fact becomes clear that private industry cannot even guarantee to its old workers a chance to work. It certainly cannot give jobs to the youth and the new workers.

Capitalism Impotent

This impotence has been admitted by more than one capitalist economist. Among them has been J. G. Frederick, an outstanding Wall Street financial writer who writes "The problem of unemployment is beyond industry; it is—and will remain—a social, governmental problem."

On one side private industry is not giving jobs to all the unemployed. On the other side, Roosevelt and his man Hopkins are cutting down government work relief. On both sides, they are exerting pressure against the lives and living standards of the unemployed, degrading and starving them.

The answer of the unemployed should be a militant fight against lay-offs and for a vast increase in W.P.A. jobs to give jobs to all jobless at trade union wages. The answer of the workers should be a fight for the thirty hour week without any cut in wages. The answer of both workers and unemployed should be a united struggle not only for these immediate demands, but also for the overthrow of the whole rotten system that cannot even give a job and a decent living.

APPEAL ARMY

READERS:

I have been reading the Socialist Appeal constantly and completely. I must say I appreciate its outspoken straightforward presentation. In times such as these pussyfooting is inexcusable and I find the Appeal a very stimulating organ of information and opinion.—P. T. Albany, New York.

BRANCHES GET DOWN TO BUSINESS:

From Cleveland, Ohio: "Our branch is starting an extensive plan to gain a large sale of APPEALS before factories and in proletarian neighborhoods. In order to advertise the APPEAL we intend to give complimentary copies at each place for one week, enclosing announcements to the effect that the APPEAL will be on sale at the same place each week following. This plan to sell the APPEAL will be centered around automobile body and parts factories."

And Cleveland is following up its plan with action, too. They have ordered 300 extra copies of this week's issue as a start. Ruth Querio's advice on selling at factory gates is having results!

Chicago, Illinois: Here too there seems to have been a healthy revival in Appeal activity led by Karl Shier. More papers than ever before are being sold and distributed. Serious attention is given to the problem of a large debt accumulated by the Chicago local and plans are under way for its liquidation in the near future.

Karl, incidentally, has thought up a brilliant plan for getting renewed subscriptions at the New Year's Eve affair being run by his local. With a complete list of expired subs in one hand, a pencil and sub-blanks in his other Karl will button-hole all ex-subscribers who turn up—and if we know Karl, champion individual sub-getter of America, he'll get them too!

San Francisco, Calif.: The

"Frisco local is making a determined effort to pull itself out of a long literature slump. Under the direction of Glen Trimble and a new literature agent the branch is concentrating on newsstand sales. "Enclosed are sample copies of our 'Assignment Blank' and of our 'Tip-in.' The assignment blank encourages serious attention to meeting coverage. We now regularly cover: S.U.P., M.F.O.W., Miscellaneous Employees Unions, and Painters' Union."

Subscriptions are still going strong and everything points to a record month in this field. New York City still leads the way with Minneapolis second:

NEW YORK CITY	14
California	5
Minneapolis	7
Ohio	4
Cleveland	3
New York State	3
Detroit	3
Chicago	1
Pennsylvania	1
Florida	1
Montana	1
New Jersey	1
St. Paul	1
Total	45

The Bronx branch of New York City again turned in a whole batch of subscriptions. . . . Bundle order increases last week came from:

- (1) San Francisco, which is once again taking a total of 100 per week.
- (2) East Chicago, Indiana, has raised its order to 12 per week.
- (3) Karolyne Kerry of Oakland, Calif., now takes 35 papers, an increase of 10 per week.

REMINDERS FOR X-MAS AND NEW YEARS.

- 1. Each literature-agent now has the regular monthly statement in his hands. Action is the thing needed on this!
- 2. Subs are easy to get. Remember, 104 issues for \$2.00!

P.S. ORDER NOW! REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR FOR 1939!

Branch Competition Keen For Twice-Weekly Prizes

Competition for the Fourth International Banner, to be given as a prize to the three branches making the best showing in this drive, is stiffening.

We now have four Twice-a-week Appeal Agents determined to win the prize. They are Jules Geller of St. Paul, Fred Valle of Detroit, Glen Trimble of San Francisco and Abe Miller of New York. This competition has evoked a good deal of subjectivity in the National Campaign Committee for the twice-a-week fund.

Rose Karsner seems to be rooting for St. Paul while Mary Green, assisted by George Clarke of the editorial staff, is all for Detroit. S. Stanley is putting his bet on far-away San Francisco and Jack Wasserman is partial to New York. We say, may they all win.

This week's mail was heavy with enthusiasm, promises, plans for raising the local quotas and some cash—but not enough to send the barometer shooting up as we would like to see it. Let's step on it!

From Our Branches

John Kinsley of Parkers, Pa.: "I wish to advise that comrade Howard Stump has been elected twice-a-week Appeal agent. Quotas have been assigned to our members and plans are being made to collect them, hold small affairs, etc. I feel certain we shall go over the top with our quota in a short time."

John Niemeyer of Rochester: Our local is making plans for raising money for the \$3,000 fund. We will not have it before January, but you can count on at least \$25—that much is guaranteed."

Herbert Martin, East Chicago, Ind.: "This is only the beginning of our efforts. You can be assured much more money is going to be received from our branch. We are out to surpass our quota! The national slogan should be: 'Beat the \$3,000 quota.'"

Allentown, Pa.: "Johnny Brucker, in charge of the local drive seems too modest to boost his own plans, but members of the branch write that with Johnny in charge, we can expect the best possible results, because he is a most dynamic and conscientious worker for the party."

Glen Trimble, San Francisco: "I took over the responsibility of the quota for our branch on the twice-a-week Appeal drive and will work in co-operation with Eloise Booth. I enclose first installment. More will follow pronto. What information I have from the other California locals indicate that they will all make their quotas."

P. T., Worcester, Mass.: "We accept our quota and will send in part of it next week. It is a little high for us, but we will manage it."

Karl Shier, Chicago: "Enclosed find \$30. I hope that another remittance this week-end will bring us up to 35%. From all indications we will reach our goal (100 percent Karl?) by January 1st. We are not planning any city-wide affair, but the branches are. The South Side Branch, for instance is having a gala concert on January 7th, with our comrade Irving Kaplan as the featured pianist. The North Side and the West Side branches are also planning affairs for the twice-a-week fund."

Fred Valle, Detroit: "I hope to be sending another remittance very soon. Wrap up that Fourth International Banner and send it to the above address without further preliminaries."

Murphy, Los Angeles: "We are doing all right in raising money for the twice weeker. Though I am not on the committee I function with it at times and know that money will be coming to you soon."

Abe Miller, New York: "Two organizations it would seem are working here to win the banner. Not only are the members of Local New York plugging to reach their quota but members of the Communist Party are doing their bit. This week we received a donation of \$15 from a group of C.P. members."

LOCAL 544 TO FIGHT WPA CUTS

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS. — The WPA and relief workers' organization of this city, Federal Workers Section of Local 544, backed by the rest of the organized labor movement here, has launched a determined drive against government attempts to cut the WPA quota. Despite newspaper propaganda about increased employment, heavy Christmas buying, etc., the present relief load is heavier than it has been for many months. Telegrams from Washington, seen by Federal Workers Section officials, have ordered that the Minnesota quota of 69,000 WPA jobs be cut to 64,000 during December. Although the local WPA authorities assert that lay-offs to cut the quota have not yet started, the fact is that hundreds of Minneapolis workers have received "403's"—dismissal slips. Men efficiently handling jobs for three years have been dismissed on the pretext of inefficiency.

Fifteen hundred members of the Federal Workers Section, at a membership meeting December 9, endorsed a program proposed by the Executive Board. A monster mass meeting at the Auditorium held jointly with the trade unions; demands upon the national WPA to institute the thirty-hour week at union wages; an immediate local housing construction program to build homes for WPA and relief workers, and establishment of local housing authorities; and a five to ten year public works and housing construction program, are among the points in the program.

Announcements

DETROIT, Mich

CLASS in the "History of the International Labor Movement" begins Dec. 23, 8 p. m. at Socialist Appeal Headquarters, 3513 Woodward, Room 5. Bert Cochran, instructor.

SOCIAL on Saturday evening.

Jan. 6. Promising finest entertainment ever given in Detroit labor circles. Featuring short play on class war prisoners, burlesque, song and dance numbers, etc. At Socialist Appeal Club, 3513 Woodward, Room 5.

NEW YORK

MEDICAL FRACTION discussion on the 3-cents-a-day Hospitalization Plan on Monday, Dec. 26, 8 p. m. At 5 Washington Sq. Cocktails and sandwiches will be served. Admission free. Proceeds to the French Fund.

HOW SHALL WE FIGHT Anti-Semites? —Speaker, Felix Morrow. At Manhattan Opera House, 34th St. and 8th Ave. Wednesday, Jan. 4, 6:30 p. m. Admission 10 cents. Antiques: Needle Trades Branch, S.W.P.

Combination

The Black Jacobins—by C. L. R. James.....\$3.75
A History of Negro Revolts—by C. L. R. James .25
Both for \$3.00

Special

Bonaparte—by Eugene Tarle. The standard Marxist work on Napoleon and his times. 400 pages. Regular price, \$4.00. Our price, \$1.25. Additional 3c per book for postage.

LABOR BOOK SHOP
28 EAST 12TH STREET
New York City
(Open 10 A.M. to 8 P.M. from Monday to Saturday)

Stage Six-Day Sit-in In New York Relief Bureaus

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Barely three months old, the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, demonstrated its determination to carry on a militant fight for higher relief standards for the unemployed by conducting a six day sit-in strike in two of the main bureaus of the Relief Administration here.

In Jamaica, L. I., more than 150 workers under the leadership of Otto Popovitch took over the offices of the E.R.B. without a hitch early on the morning of December 12th while 80 members of Local 4 in Manhattan did the same at the West 17th Street bureau. Women and children joined with their husbands in the strike and others assisted in organizing the picket lines outside the bureaus.

"Cash for Clothing" Shouting their demands, "Cash for clothing!" and "Rescind the coal allowance cut!", the pickets cheered the workers inside and drew the attention of many workers and sympathizers in the neighborhoods. Children demanding winter clothing paraded in front of Mayor LaGuardia's home and before the City Hall. The police handled them roughly and even arrested some but were not able to prevent the picketing. The children refused to go home or to school unless the Relief officials came across with winter coats.

In an attempt to demoralize the sit-in strikers, the LaGuardia administration shut off the heat, turned off the water, and closed the fire exits in order to prevent food from reaching the strikers. However, this only served to draw the workers closer together. Through their inexhaustible resourcefulness the workers were able to out-manuever the police and the Relief flunkies. Despite the fact that iron bars were placed in every window and the buildings heavily guarded, food was continually received on the inside.

New Interest In Kids In Jamaica, where children were taking part in the sit-in, the Board of Education, the Children's Protective Society and other children's shelter organizations, all suddenly becoming aware at the same time, of the plight of working class children, tried to break the strike by de-

manding the children. But the children held fast. Barricades were built and they remained in the bureau for several days. Finally the children were turned over to the City Shelter where the cost of feeding a child is six times the amount allowed by the relief administration.

On the outside leaflets were distributed to all workers who came to the bureau with grievances. These workers were told the reasons for the strike and asked to join the picket line. This they did and the Jamaica workers thus showed their solidarity with the newly-formed organization. These leaflets appeared every day in Jamaica. They carried the same story—"we demand the immediate consideration of the Mayor and the relief officials on the problem of winter clothing for children."

The heroic efforts of the unemployed to get a hearing for their demands before Commissioner Hodson or Mayor LaGuardia were extended when after three days they declared a hunger strike in the 17th Street Bureau. For three days they refused to eat and were ready to carry on the strike when some of LaGuardia's police tricked them into leaving by arresting everyone and then releasing them on the sidewalk outside the bureau.

In Jamaica the organization left the bureau after a promise by relief officials that an audience and a consideration of all demands would be granted. The Stalinists showed their contempt for the unemployed and their cynicism when they contributed 9 cents for food in the 17th Street bureau. Investigators who are members of the Workers Alliance laughed when asked to support this action for clothes and higher relief. This is merely an indication of the attitude of the Stalinists who are running shoulder to shoulder with the assorted rats who support the administration of "Sales-tax" LaGuardia in New York and Franklyn ("I Hate War") Roosevelt in Washington.

STRIKE THREAT WINS GAINS ON DETROIT WPA

(Continued from Page 1)

DETROIT, Mich.—A threatened general strike on all W.P.A. projects in Wayne County by the W.P.A. Division of the United Automobile Workers forced the State W.P.A. administration to adjust many of the grievances and abuses on the projects. The major issue, however, of re-employing men on W.P.A. who were forced off the projects while receiving unemployment compensation, is still unsettled.

The strike vote was taken at a meeting of 300 project stewards on December 1, after the W.P.A. Administration had failed to adjust grievances which included unjustified pay cuts and discrimination against union men. The next day 2,000 W.P.A. workers picketed the G.A.R. building, which houses the Administration, and followed it by a sit-down. The action was ended when Max Barton, W.P.A. director for Detroit and Wayne County, assured Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W., that negotiations demanded by project workers would begin immediately.

Wins Concessions

After a sixteen hour session, the union committee succeeded in forcing various concessions from the W.P.A. administrations which covered the following points:

- 1. The five shop stewards fired for union activity to be reinstated;
- 2. Project supervisors no longer to have power to fire stewards;
- 3. Two supervisors fired for union activity to be reinstated;
- 4. An investigation of anti-union practices on W.P.A. to be launched.

However, the principle grievance in dispute was merely met by a statement that the W.P.A. administration favors modification of the stoppage of intake ordered by Washington, according to which men returning from Unemployment Compensation are not reassigned to W.P.A. projects.

To date the issue, on which the strike vote was taken, remains solved only by a telegram to Harry Hopkins and it is unlikely that any further steps will be taken unless backed by strong militant action on the part of the union.

Charter WPA Workers: Major Task Before C.I.O.

(Continued from Page 1)

who worked two days a week work four now, and production is more than doubled. The totally unemployed must look to relief or government relief jobs as a permanent source of mere subsistence.

Production Up—More WPA!

A striking illustration of this fact was given several weeks ago, by the District WPA Director, William E. Schmuhl, in Toledo, Ohio, in a conference with the representatives of the C.I.O.—WPA Joint Action Committee. He stated that if production in Toledo industry were to rise to the peak of the 1937 boom, a minimum of 8,000 more WPA jobs would still be required now over the 7,000 actually provided previously during the production peak.

Included in the hundreds of thousands, rising production will fail to call back to private employment is a high percentage of young, militant union members, particularly in the C.I.O., who possess insufficient seniority. They had a taste of wages in unionized plants back in '36 and '37. They do not relish, as a permanent livelihood, WPA with its \$10-\$14 per week wages.

But despite the almost 100 per cent political support given by organized labor in the past to the New Deal, that agency is proceeding with its now time-hallowed practice of withdrawing unemployed benefits, rather than expanding them and raising the standards.

Up to the present, the organized labor movement has failed to recognize the true character of present unemployment. The jobless worker who looked to his union for help, received little more than the encouragement of occasional resolutions and the sporadic aid of hastily formed, and most often, poorly informed, grievance committees.

In addition, the C.I.O. in many instances, especially where the Stalinists had any foothold or influence, simply told its members to join the Workers Alliance. Sad to relate, this organization was not merely numerically weak, but was so interlinked with the New Deal politicians and so anxious to gain the favors of the WPA officials as a "respectable" organization, that it has long since degenerated into its own unique form of company-unionism.

Throughout the entire period of the Roosevelt depression, it spent its time fawning before the government officials. Its leaders, like David Lasser and Herbert Benja-

min, cooled their heels in the anti-rooms of the WPA headquarters in Washington, the legislators offices, or the back-gates of the White House, rushing eagerly into print to expand each factory official hand-shake or smile into another major victory for the unemployed. Such concessions are cheap, and the politicians bestowed them lavishly.

The specter of 10 to 14 millions of permanently disemployed hangs over organized labor. Hundreds of thousands of union men are jobless. The trade union leaders cannot and dare not permit these workers to continue either disorganized or divorced from the organized employed worker. Such a policy means only a gigantic breeding ground for the doctrines of the Father Coughlins, the Gerald K. Smiths, and all their fascist ilk, who spread the gospel that the unions only want the money of the workers, that the unions by their "excessive demands" are creating unemployment, etc.

The only answer organized labor can give to such demagoguery, is a national program of organization of the unemployed and WPA workers.

More is needed than wordy resolutions or the intercessions of individual labor leaders. Just as the auto workers themselves, in open battle with the industrialists, won concessions, so the WPA workers and jobless are themselves the key to the solution of their problems.

The pressure from the ranks of the WPA workers in particular have forced the C.I.O. in cities like Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit to set up unions for the WPA workers. In this, they have begun to follow the splendid example of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and the General Drivers Union which has followed this practice for four years and won outstanding benefits for the jobless of their community.

This move, still in its beginnings, is being bitterly fought by the reactionary elements within the labor movement, particularly the Stalinists, who fear the growth of fighting organizations directed against the New Deal politicians and the government which they so ardently woo.

Such elements must and will be brushed aside. The important thing right now is a nationwide demand by every honest, militant unionist: "Charter the WPA workers!" and "Build the WPA Industrial Unions!"

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