

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

Vol. III—No. 2 Saturday, January 14, 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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**Welcome Back, Tom Mooney**

The Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Appeal, echoing the joyous feeling of every working man and woman throughout the world, cordially welcome Tom Mooney back into the ranks of the labor movement. His captors were never able to break his spirit, or to take his mind and heart out of the movement; and now they have been forced to let him return, physically, to the great cause to which his whole life has been dedicated.

We are proud to recall, in welcoming Tom Mooney, that he was saved from the hangman's noose by the independent class action of the labor militants of Russia and the United States. It was that kind of action that kept the Mooney case alive, that prevented it from sinking into the oblivion which his persecutors hoped would also hide their unspeakable crime. And, at bottom, it was that kind of action that finally forced the ruling class, which planned his judicial assassination, to relinquish its prey.

The working class is satisfied in the knowledge that it owes no gratitude to "condescending saviors" for its own persistence in snatching Mooney from slow death behind prison walls. Its own class solidarity made that victory possible. The same solidarity and militant action will speed the day when Warren Billings, too, is freed. That's the next step!

**A Clear Warning**

The American capitalists are thinking seriously in terms of turning to Fascism as a way out of their economic difficulties. President Roosevelt admitted this implicitly in his message to Congress last week. That message was a war message. It was also a double-edged message of warning to the workers that they would face fascism if they did not agree to the "unity" needed to allow Yankee imperialism to go to war.

"The first duty of our statesmanship (Roosevelt said) is to bring capital and manpower together. Dictatorships do this by main force. By using main force they apparently succeed at it—for the moment. However we abhor their methods, we are compelled to admit that they have obtained substantial utilization of all their material and human resources. Like it or not, they have solved, for a time at least, the problem of idle men and idle capital. Can we compete with them . . . and at the same time remain . . . within the Bill of Rights. . . ?"

In another passage Roosevelt significantly said:  
"I hear some people (which people?) say: . . . There are certain advantages in a dictatorship. It gets rid of labor trouble, of unemployment, of wasted motion, and of having to do our own thinking. . . ."

Roosevelt warned the capitalists in reply to this that they would either have to take the "voluntary risk" of their capital and try out the Roosevelt program, or pay "the cost of seeing our capital confiscated"—i.e. regimented by main force—under a Fascist regime.  
These revealing passages in Roosevelt's message we must take as a warning of just how

close the danger is. The bosses are thinking of fascism. So is Roosevelt. That is their alternative and that is the alternative the workers cannot and will not accept. If capitalism in crisis can offer us only war and fascism as its way out of its dilemma it is time and more than time for us to say: An end to capitalism! Let the workers take over and reorganize the whole works on the basis of social ownership, not of private profit. That's the way we'll put an end to wars and to fascism.

**The C. P. And Roosevelt**

Roosevelt's attempted mobilization of the Western Hemisphere at Lima for a "war for democracy," his delegates' speeches there, his jingo speech opening Congress, his message calling for a billion-dollar cut in W.P.A. appropriations, in a word his campaign for American imperialist hegemony of the world, has been hailed with incredibly sycophantic praise by the American Stalinists. Last week's "Daily Worker" devoted more space to Roosevelt adulation than that sheet has ever, to our recollection, devoted in a similar period of time to praise even of Stalin.

Nor is this entirely at the bidding of the Kremlin. The bended knee to Roosevelt was, of course, first assumed at a nod from Stalin, but in the process of remaining in that posture, the Stalinists have learned to love it quite apart from Stalin's instructions. In carrying out the "People's Front" line of integrating themselves into the New Deal and the trade union bureaucracy, the Stalinists have become part and parcel of the apparatus ruled by Roosevelt and John L. Lewis. When Lewis and Roosevelt move in a direction different from Stalin's, the Stalinist hirelings will follow their new masters rather than the old. Lewis and Roosevelt are right here and all-powerful, and the pay is certain every week, whereas Stalin has suffered too many blows and who knows when his foreign exchange will peter out?

With Stalin or without him, the American Stalinists are inextricably linked to the imperialist war machine. They will serve it, they are already serving it, as recruiting sergeants. Even without the face-saving device of a "People's Front" in which they formally participate, they have already come out in support of Roosevelt's armament program. The same goes for —

**The Social Democrats**

The Social Democratic Federation of James Oneal and Abe Cahans holds a position identical with the Stalinists on collective security. Even before fusing organizationally with the Old Guard's section of the Second International, Norman Thomas' section has been indicating its blood-brotherhood with the Abe Cahans by an ever-more shameful policy on the war issue. The latest "peace program" of its Keep America Out of War Committee, adopted in conjunction with a group of bourgeois-"pacifist" organizations, marks a new stage in the march of the Norman Thomases toward fusion with the war-mongers. We need quote but one plank:

"The American people accept the necessity of armaments for defense, but they want to know that the armaments they are to pay for are for defense only and not for foreign adventures." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 2)

By its signature to this statement, the "Socialist Party" leadership abandons definitely the principle which all socialists adhered to before the World War: no support to any and all armament appropriations. The socialist movement then, and the revolutionary socialist movement now, has made clear why it is inadmissible to distinguish between offensive and defensive armament appropriations: all armament constitutes offensive weapons in the hands of the capitalist state directed against the working class. We weigh our words carefully and we say: in adopting the social-patriotic standpoint of conceding the justice of defense appropriations, Norman Thomas and those who follow him have passed to the other side of the barricades just as surely as have the Browners, the Oneals and Abe Cahans.

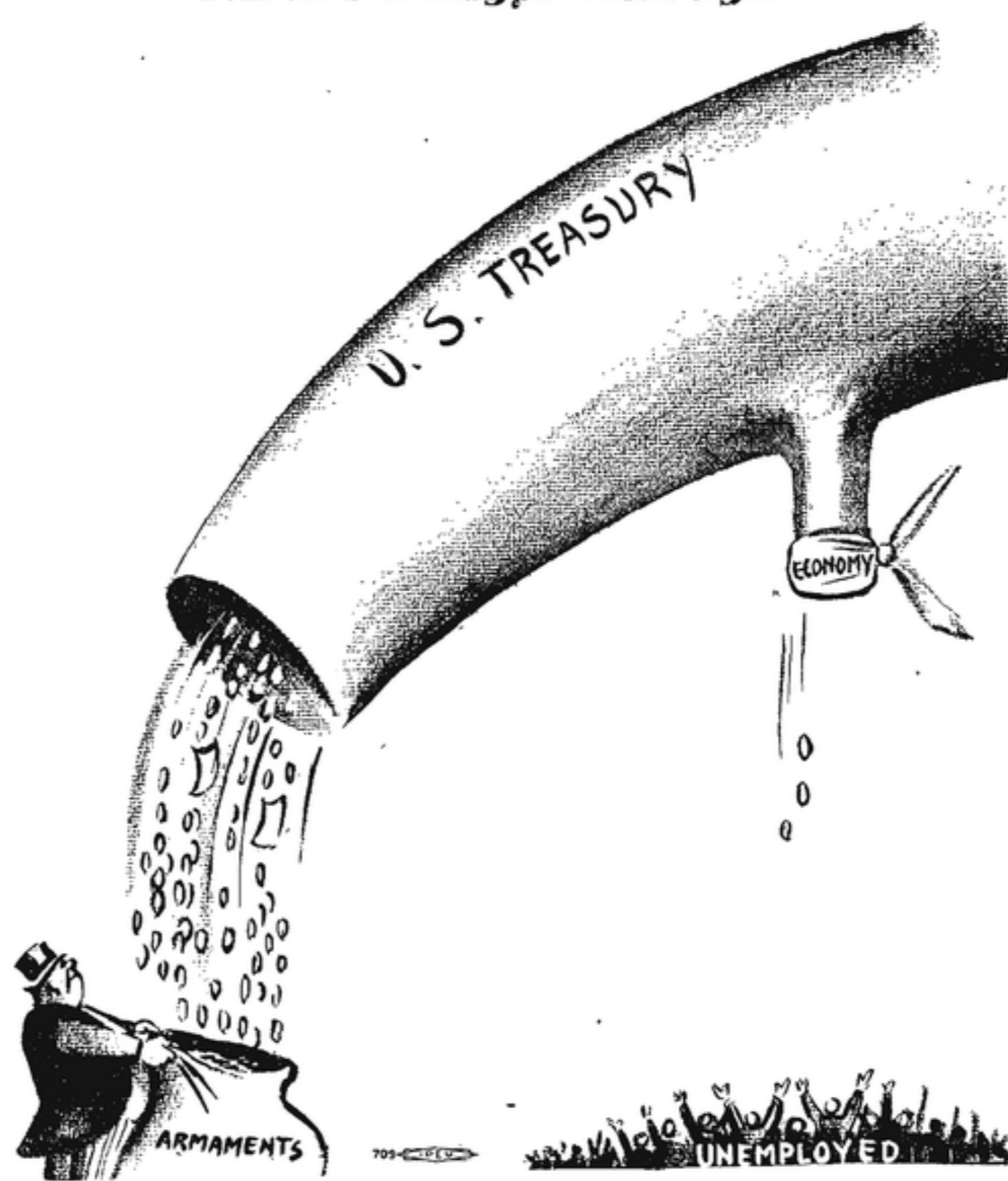
"Rich Land-Poor People." U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, Region III, Jan. 1938.)

Significant is the prevalence of large individual and corporate land ownership. In 1935, there were 6,000 owner-operators and 27,000 tenants, sharecroppers and laborers. In two counties almost 90% of the farmers were tenants, and in a third county more than 80% were tenants.

**Insurance Cos. Hold Land**  
Insurance companies own more than 200,000 acres of the 1,800,000 acres of farm land in the seven counties; two insurance companies owning more than 40,000 acres each. Twenty-five percent of the farm land is held by owners of 1,000 acres or more. More than half the acreage is owned by holders of 200 acres or more each. There are also individual holdings of 3 and 4,000 acres each.

**Living Standards Low**  
The 20,000 cropper and laborer families are living on the lowest standards to be found anywhere in the country. A government report on southeast Missouri finds that:  
"The fertile soils produce abundant crops but the level of living of the people who till the soil is lower than that of families living in the slum districts of our large American cities."

**F.D.R.'s Budget Message!**



**Relief For Horses But Not For Men—That's the Law!**

By **BILL MORGAN**

It was eleven-thirty p.m. on upper Fifth Avenue one cool evening, and Officer Smith could hardly believe his eyes. There, on the sidewalk, walking along and peering into each garbage pail they passed, were two large horses.

Said one horse to the other, "It's only two days now but it seems a week."

"Yes," said the other, "If I don't eat something soon there'll be only one of us left."

At this point the cop stepped up and demanded to know what the horses were doing. Walking around like that. . . . The horses then explained they used to work for Jones & Co., but what with the depression and hard times and all, well, Mr. Jones had been forced to fire them both. And there they were, hungry and tired.

Officer Smith grunted. "Come along with me and no funny business now." At the home of Mr. Jones he stopped and knocked on the door. When Jones appeared the policeman shouted, "Don't ya know the law? Ya gotta take care of these here horses or the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals will have ya run in and I'm the man to do it! Ya gotta take in these plugs and feed 'em and keep 'em decent—see?" **BUT, Unemployed Are Not . . .**

**Horses**

When this was done some unemployed workers—fired by the same Mr. Jones—overhearing the above conversation, immediately walked up and knocked on the door. When Jones answered the knock the men explained their case—no place to sleep—nothing to eat.

"What!" shouted the boss, "Get out of here before I call a cop. WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU ARE? HORSES?"

Indeed, men are not horses. If we examine the records of the Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City, we will see the difference when it comes to providing unemployed workers and their children with food and enough clothing to cover them in winter. Horses are lucky.

Children remain away from school because they have no shoes. Fathers and brothers cannot look for work because winter overcoats are considered a "luxury" by the E.R.B. And, if, on the hottest days of summer, we see mother or sister wearing an overcoat while she walks to the bureau, the reason is clear. She wears a heavy coat in July because she has not one single decent dress to wear in public. . . . Freeze in winter—sweat in summer.

The total clothing allowance for the month of November, 1938 came to \$2,175. This amount was to be equally divided among all applicants. The average number of relief cases per month in New York comes to about 165,000. The clothing budget, therefore, means that an average of 13c per person was provided for the month when winter is well under way! Novem-

ber—the month of colds, flu, and other usual working-class illnesses.

**Organized Pressure Gets Results**

Out in Jamaica, Long Island, (a part of New York City) the request for clothing was answered by an over supply of mattresses and pillow-cases! Some workers threatened to wrap the pillow-cases around their feet and wear them for shoes and then picket the Relief Bureau! Others said they would make holes in the mattresses and wear them for overcoats on the same picket line.

After months of continual stalling by the officials, the workers marched into the bureau in a body and refused to leave until clothes were provided for their children to wear to school. After a six-day seige in which the workers' children took active part, the officials finally gave in and granted shoes, coats, dresses, etc. The result of the sit-in strike is a lesson the Jamaica workers will not soon forget. They realize now that organized pressure by the workers can bring results.

And what about medical care for the workers who are without jobs in the land of plenty? It should be an easy task to provide the proper and necessary medical assistance in America, where medical science has made such rapid advances in recent years. We have in America so many fine hospitals, thousands of doctors, hundreds of clinics and so many "free medical centers" for the workers who cannot afford to pay.

It would be to the bosses' advantage to keep workers in good condition. The machines are always kept oiled and in running condition even when not in use. But, here, too, an inspection of the medical records of the E.R.B. shows us that today there are hundreds of thousands of workers who are too sick to work and others who will not be able to return to their trades because of illnesses contracted while unemployed.

**Poverty Breeds Disease**

In New York City, for example, the record shows that in a single month (Nov. 1938) more than 3,400 unemployed workers applied for medical diagnoses in order to be eligible for special diets. The types of illnesses are interesting. Anemia, 136 cases; Cardiac (heart trouble), 164 cases; Tuberculosis, 636 cases; Nose and throat infections, 40 cases; Stomach and intestinal, 336 cases; Diabetes, 383 cases; Malnutrition, 1,266 cases; and 486 cases classed as "other" illnesses.

A quick glance at the list shows that five of the above are caused directly or indirectly by lack of proper food or simply by lack of enough food!!!

These are the totals for only one month! If November is an average month, the total number of such reported cases would amount to over 40,000 a year. And keep in mind the nature of the sicknesses. Unless the very best care is administered in most cases there will be no cure. Malnutrition,

which is the most frequently reported, can only be treated by insuring the patient plenty of rest, fresh air, and an abundance of good meat, fresh eggs and milk, and fresh fruit and vegetables.

The "special diet" allowed for illness is a grim joke to the thousands of underfed workers. At meetings of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, how many mothers have reported that they must put the children to sleep by feeding them warm water and sugar! How many workers have been forced to use "special diet" money to make up the rent so the landlord won't throw them out into the street? How many tubercular children are working at home on artificial flowers, lamp shades, etc?

**Leaflet Lists Rights**

This is only a part of the picture. The allowances for food, clothing, coal, rent, and medical care are small enough. But a new aspect of the whole situation is becoming clearer every day. The investigators and the bureau officials often "forget" to inform the worker who has waited patiently for weeks, filled out dozens of forms, answered scores of questions, and put up with the insolence of petty officials, that he is entitled to any specific amount for each of these important items! The workers are often gyped. A leaflet issued by the U.P.W.U. in Jamaica makes clear to the workers' this despicable practice:

"Fellow Starvationists!!! Was your case rejected? Do you need supplementary relief? Do you need clothing? Do you need a special diet? Do you get your full food allowance? Do you get your full coal allowance? Do you get your shoes repaired? Do you get curfare to go to the clinic?"

"If you need any of the above items and are not getting them you are being chiselled."

"The only way to beat this chiselling is to organize and fight. We, the members of the Unemployed and Relief Workers League, are doing this. We have a fighting, militant Union. None of our members are gyped. Come to our next meeting and explain your case. WE WILL LISTEN AND ACT!"

"We meet every Wednesday night at 8 p.m. at 146-37 South St. Right on the corner of Waltham St., Jamaica, L.I."

The plight of the unemployed becomes more and more desperate with each passing day. Unemployment is on the upgrade, relief and W.P.A. are being cut to the bone and the Stalinist leadership of the Workers Alliance blackmail the unemployed and relief workers by taxing them three and sometimes four dollars before taking up grievances. And when one sees how many investigators belong to the Stalinist gang, the problem of living becomes increasingly difficult for the unemployed.

The Unemployed and Project Workers Union has made an heroic

**Drive Slows Up; Branches Must Speed Fund Action**

By **ROSE KARSNER**  
Appeal Campaign Director

Total collected \$1597.10 and only two more weeks to go! We get many enthusiastic letters and promises. But without the remittances to be recorded on the Score Board, these letters remain just so many words on paper.

Collections must be speeded. Comrades must strain every effort to pay up on their quotas and get them in to the office before the end of the campaign. No time to lose!

Eleven branches are still in the zero column. Of these Lexington, Evansville and Portland have definitely promised to send in their quotas in full before February 1. What about the others?

As the campaign nears an end, competition for the Fourth International banner is increasing. James M. Collier of Cleveland branch writes: "Why don't you extend date for winning the banner until February 1 so that more branches will have a chance to compete for it? More money will be coming in from more branches from now on." If Cleveland branch completes its quota by February 1 it will certainly be entitled to one of the banners. Its quota is pretty stiff. So go to it, Collier.

Herbert Martin of the East Chicago branch says: "We have a nice bare wall in our headquarters already reserved for the red banner so you might as well hold one for us. We are positively determined to get it."

Then there is the very determined Fred Valle of Detroit who came in with 100% last week. He says "we decided on the exact spot in our headquarters for that banner. So please oblige." Yes, it looks like Detroit gets one of the banners for sure.

San Francisco too will get one of the prizes. Remember there are autographed books to be given as well as banners.

The final competition for banners is now between Cleveland and St. Paul branches. If our guess is correct, Henrietta Geller is sure to fulfill the St. Paul quota in the next few days. Which means that we may have to make up an extra banner for Cleveland.

**SCORE BOARD**

	Quota	Paid	Percent
Kansas	\$ 10.00	\$ 20.00	200
Sacramento	10.00	12.00	120
Durham, N. H.	5.00	6.00	120
Denver	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	25.00	25.00	100
Marston Mills	5.00	5.00	100
San Francisco	50.00	50.00	100
Toledo	20.00	20.00	100
Yellow Springs, O.	5.00	5.00	100
Houston, Texas	10.00	10.00	100
East Oakland	20.00	17.50	87
E. Chicago, Ind.	10.00	7.50	75
St. Louis Local	50.00	36.75	74
Punta Gorda, Fla.	5.00	3.00	60
Worcester, Mass.	10.00	6.00	60
New York Local	1050.00	700.85	67
Newark, N. J.	100.00	58.25	58
Philadelphia, Pa.	50.00	28.00	56
Boston	200.00	108.25	54
Quakertown, Pa.	15.00	8.00	53
West Oakland, Cal.	20.00	10.00	50
Fresno, Cal.	5.00	2.50	50
Los Angeles	200.00	101.50	50
Lynn, Mass.	50.00	25.00	50
Chicago Local	250.00	110.00	44
St. Paul	100.00	41.00	41
Allentown, Pa.	25.00	10.00	40
Hartford, Conn.	5.00	2.00	40
Pleantywood, Mont.	10.00	3.50	35
Rochester, N. Y.	25.00	8.00	32
Cleveland	200.00	61.00	31
San Diego, Cal.	10.00	3.00	30
Youngstown	50.00	13.00	26
South Bend, Ind.	10.00	2.50	25
Fargo, N. D.	25.00	5.50	22
Gardner-Fitchburg	15.00	2.00	13
Akron, Ohio	75.00	8.00	11
Minneapolis	500.00	15.00	3
Austin, Minn.	25.00	0	0
New Haven	20.00	0	0
Washington, D. C.	20.00	0	0
Baltimore, Md.	10.00	0	0
Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	10.00	0	0
Olivia, Minn.	10.00	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	10.00	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	5.00	0	0
Flaxton, N. D.	5.00	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5.00	0	0

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

A critique of a whole series of radical intellectual circles of Bolshevism forms the subject of a lengthy analysis by James Burnham and Max Shachtman, editors of the New International, in the January issue of that magazine which is now off the press.  
Such questions as "one-party dictatorship," the relations between Stalinism, Leninism, "Trotskyism" and fascism, the inevitability of socialism and the inevitability of Thermidor, collaboration with the social-democratic press, dialectical materialism, and numerous other problems which have been dealt with recently in

the writings of Sidney Hook, Max Eastman, Ben Stolberg, Charles Yale Harrison, Eugene Lyons and others, are subjected to an exhaustive analysis by the authors of the article, which is called "Intellectuals in Retreat."

The authors point out that the critics of Bolshevism referred to above have been moving away from a revolutionary Marxist position and towards the views of social reformism. All indications are that the article will arouse the liveliest interest—and a no less lively polemic.

Among the other features, special attention is called to an article from Shanghai by Li Fu-jen, which throws a revealing spotlight on the conduct of the war by Chiang Kai-shek and his Stalinist adherents.  
Orders for the January issue may be placed with the Manager at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

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