

# ALL OUT MAY DAY!

## SOCIALIST CALL

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States

Twenty-one Railroad Brotherhoods Support Referendum on War—Story on Page 3.

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FOR SOCIALISM

FOR DEMOCRACY

### Socialist Party May Day Manifesto

#### Workers of America:

Whether we come from factories, mines, fields or offices—whether we work in city or country, on land or sea—May First is OUR DAY.

It was first dedicated to the cause of labor by organized workers here in the United States during their heroic struggle for the 8-hour day. It was consecrated by the blood of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs in the '80s. It has since become the Labor Day of the international working class.

MAY DAY symbolizes our hopes and our aims for a world free of poverty and unemployment, fascism and war.

In the past year much has occurred to throw terror into the hearts of millions in every land. Fascism has marched along the road of capitalist nationalism to enslave new millions, robbing them of their liberties, whipping them with the lashes of tyranny and starvation.

Despite its brutality, however, fascism has been unable to quench the flames of working-class revolt. In Germany, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and blood-drenched Spain today, the revolutionary workers are continuing their underground struggle for the restoration of their liberties and the establishment of a workers' world. Spurning all forms of totalitarianism—whether "right" or "left"—they are the true heroes of democracy and humanity.

Demonstrate on May Day against fascism! For workers' democracy! For a workers' world!

#### Civil Liberties

During the past year we have witnessed new assaults on democracy—suppressions of freedom of speech, press and assembly in Jersey City in the very shadow of the Statue of Liberty, the unleashing of physical attacks on workers, the attempt to crush the growth of unionism by injunction, the insidious cultivation of the seeds of anti-Semitism, continued persecution of class-war prisoners. These are but a few examples of the methods by which democracy is threatened.

Demonstrate on May Day against the suppression of civil liberties and workers' rights! For the preservation of democratic working-class institutions!

#### Trade Unionism

In spite of division, we now have in this country the strongest organized labor movement in our history. Millions of workers, skilled and unskilled, men and women, white-collared and technical workers who have never been organized before, have been brought recently into the ranks of organized labor.

With this movement united on a basis that can serve the needs of the entire working class, we could look forward in confidence to the future. For by our organized strength we can make this future what we will. We can be free men and women living in a land of plenty and security for all, instead

of in a world of unemployment, fascism and war.

our problems, we have 12,000,000 unemployed and many more millions facing insecurity and want. The brief "recovery" of 1928 showed us the most dangerous aspect of this problem, for while production returned almost to normal, that is, to pre-depression standards, we still had nine and 10 million unemployed. What does

"recovery" mean under such circumstances? Even a "prosperous" capitalism can find no place for millions of our workers. Now more than ever it is essential that workers demonstrate both for the maintenance of relief standards and the increasing of federal appropriations for WPA. Demonstrate against the reactionary assaults on relief! For bread instead of battleships! For Socialism as the only hope of ending unemployment and the capitalist crime of want in the midst of plenty.

War. With the government now striking people from relief rolls, it

class could have said to its bosses and politicians in all countries: "This is not OUR war; we will not fight it. If you want war, go dig your own trenches and butcher each other. We will not rain bombs upon our fellow workers in other lands. We will not drive bayonets into their bodies. We are not ENEMIES. French, English, German, Russian, American workers—we are all COMRADES, BROTHERS.

"It is YOU—the French, English, German, Russian, American exploiters of labor—YOU, who suck away our life-blood in the form of profit, who would bend us forth to kill to protect your loans and investments—it is YOU who are the ENEMY."

As a class, the workers of 1914-17 failed to say this. They allowed themselves to be stamped by fine phrases about "democracy." They fought, maimed, killed and were killed. And those who survived—no matter on which side of the lines—LOST. There was no victory except for the munition makers and war profiteers who stayed at home.

We must never again repeat that tragic mistake. On this, of all days, let us dedicate ourselves to the struggle against the wars of the imperialists, which means the struggle against capitalism itself, both "democratic" and Fascist.

At this moment in history, the political democracies of capitalism control most of the world's wealth and resources. That is why they can pose as "peace loving" nations. The Fascist capitalist states, which did not share the spoils of the last war, are now trying to grab some of that wealth. That is why they are acting like "aggressor" nations. But all are aggressors against the workers. Whichever group of bandits controls the wealth and resources of the world, the workers will not share it.

Fascism is an international danger to the working class which must be combatted. But we cannot destroy Fascism by going to war to save capitalism, for it is capitalism which breeds Fascism. If we go to war, we will get Fascism in every "democratic" country because modern wars can only be waged effectively on a totalitarian basis.

Already, France is ruled by a dictator—in the name of "democracy" and national defense. If war comes the only desperate hope of democracy will be general defeat and social revolution in France and England as well as in Germany and Italy.

We loath Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and all that they stand for. We oppose totalitarianism of every brand—whether German, Italian or Russian. But we will not be tricked into the illusion that fascism can be wiped out under capitalism—the very system which breeds it.

It will not be Hitler, Mussolini, Franco or the Emperor of Japan whom we would face across No Man's Land in the next World War—any more than we faced the Kaiser in the last. It would be the WORKERS of Germany, Italy, Spain and Japan. Their job and ours is to fight Fascism AT HOME. We can aid, financially and morally, those heroic underground labor and Socialist movements in the Fascist countries where this fight is going on.

The WORKERS in the Fascist countries are our brothers and THEY, TOO, WANT PEACE. Through international solidarity, no, through international slaughter—we are going to help them get it.

Our big job, like theirs, is in our own country—to fight the forces of reaction at home.

WORKERS OF AMERICA AND OF THE WORLD, MARCH ONWARD! FOR WORKERS' DEMOCRACY! FOR PEACE! FOR SOCIALISM!

### WORLD WORKERS' REFERENDUM



#### IDEAS

Ideas plus organization have Killed the microbe and conquered disease Harnessed the lightning, the wind and the tides Wrested minerals from the earth for a machine age Annihilated space and time by plane and radio Made seas the highway of commerce Linked the coasts of continents Rolled tyrants in the dust Changed the old order to make place for new. But frontiers yet remain. Poverty, slums, waste, want and war Challenge the dynamic liberating power of new ideas. The modern pioneers call us to high adventure. We, too, can forge ideas and union power To alter, assist, improve America.

pours billions into unproductive armaments. In the name of "peace" it prepares for war. Once before, within our own memory, we workers were called upon first to prepare and then to go to war "to make the world safe for democracy." That war and the insane "peace" treaties which followed brought fascism to half of Europe. In its wake came a whole series of new wars which again threaten to engulf the world.

Not Our War In 1914-17 there was one force which could have stopped the international slaughter and prevented the disastrous chain of events which followed. That was the working class of the world. This

AGAINST

# IMPERIALIST WAR

# 250,000 Students Join Strike Against War

## 250 Colleges Hold Demonstrations For Peace

CHICAGO—A resounding answer to President Roosevelt's threats and flat-shaking in the direction of the dictator nations was registered on American campuses April 20, when over 250,000 students in about 200 colleges, universities and high schools participated in the annual student strike against war.

Called this year under the leadership of seven organizations, including the Young People's Socialist League, the strike met with the opposition not only of the militarists and conservative college administrations, but also with the active competition for student loyalty of the American Student Union, which held "peace meetings" urging making the United States a "force" for peace.

Demanding the right of the people to vote on thousands of signatures were obtained to petition for the war referendum amendment at strike meetings. Another point of focus was the support for the Nye-Bone-Clark neutrality amendment, which strengthens the mandatory features of the present neutrality law.

**Send Protests**

Since strikes occurred in the midst of hearings on neutrality legislation, telegrams and letters were sent by many meetings to Washington representatives. An increasing number of campuses, the strike was a direct demonstration of opposition to impending increases in ROTC or to institution of "civilian" aviation training.

Outstanding among the strikes called under the sponsorship of the Youth Committee was that at the University of California at Berkeley, where historic Sather gate was the scene of the fourth consecutive strike in which thousands of students have taken part.

At University of Kentucky classes were dismissed for the first time, when students gathered after a spectacular campaign of publicity which included planting of crosses on the campus "Reserved for Joe College."

Thomas Speaks

Brown University's Peace Week reached a climax when Norman Thomas addressed the strike meeting. In a whirlwind tour through New England, Thomas spoke before thousands of students at Mt. Holyoke, Amherst, Massachusetts State College, and Dartmouth. Boston Community was the scene of one of the largest meetings in the country, in which students from a dozen colleges in the Boston area participated.

**Nye Speaks Chicago U.**

In Chicago, Senator Gerald P. Nye and Tucker Smith addressed students at the University of Chicago strike sponsored by the Youth Committee Against War. Here, as at other places where they had organized groups, the American Student Union and the Trotskyites also held demonstrations.

While deploring the lack of unity in the observance this year, the Young People's Socialist League pointed out in this strike leaflets that this was a dress rehearsal, and that these organizations were likely to play the same role in a more acute war crisis—liberals and Socialists in the Y. C. A. W. fighting directly and unitedly against the war machine; Trotskyists insisting on their autonomous actions even though on the same program as the Y. C. A. W. strikers; Communists and the American

# May Day In Mexico

BY CLARENCE SENIOR

Over 100,000 workers and peasants will march on May Day in the capital city of Mexico. In addition to the ranks of the Mexican Confederation of Workers and the National Peasant Confederation, some 10,000 school children will parade with red sashes and flags.

Many Mexican workers still remember the first May Day parade, called by the Casa del Obrero Mundial, the socialist-syndicalist pioneer of the Mexican labor movement in defiance of the U. S.-backed Victoriano Huerta, assassin of President Francisco I. Madero, the unions marched on May 1, 1913. The march was followed by the repression of the unions and the deportation of all their foreign-born leadership.

**Support Cardenas**

This year, the unions are marching to celebrate the acts of a president who has given more aid to the peasants than all his revolutionary predecessors, since the social revolution started in 1915. They are serving notice on the world that they are backing up the man who took over the greatest imperialist properties, the oil industry, who nationalized the railway system and turned its administration over to the workers.

The slogans carried by the unionists, both men and women, will hail the recent expulsion of the three leading Franco representatives in Mexico, and the dissolution of the Spanish Fascist Falange.

They will welcome the large numbers of Loyalist refugees to whom Mexico is extending asylum. In addition, the parade will be the Mexican volunteers from the International Brigade.

**Depend on U. S. Workers**

As they parade, many of the workers will wonder how soon the "great democracies," the British and U. S. Empires, will allow Mexico to resume its normal trade and cease its dependence upon the Fascist powers for important goods denied it by British and U. S. interests.

Some of them will wonder when U. S. workers are going to force their government to crack down on the oil companies' private war against the attempt to turn Mexico into an independent nation.

Many will wonder also what the coming presidential election will mean to them and to their organizations. At a time when the Stalinists, who rule the thinking of many of the labor leaders, are talking about the necessity of "consolidating the revolution," they are wondering if the highly conservative candidate whom the C. P. is backing (although he has slapped them in the face) will know the difference between "consolidation" and retreat from the gains which the revolution has made. Already, the campaign has caused the disruption of some of the unions.

Mexican labor will march, proud of the gains that have been made in its program of building "a workers' democracy," proud of the amount of understanding reached with the peasants, but wondering what the future will bring. Whatever it is, the May Day march will demonstrate that it will not be a return to the slave and serf conditions from which the labor and peasant movements have freed their members.



"Have Some Candy, Lil' Boy!"

# AFL Chiefs Disagree on Wagner Act

Opposition to the AFL sponsored amendments to the Wagner act is reliably reported to be strong within the AFL executive council. According to a trustworthy source of information the opponents of the amendments came within two votes at the last council meeting a few weeks ago of reversing the stand taken by President William Green and the AFL attorney, Joseph P. Kamp.

Daniel J. Tobin of the Teamsters, George Harrison of the Railway Clerks, and Arthur Wharton of the Machinists are reported to have spoken against the amendments. Wharton has been a sharp critic of the National Labor Relations board, but his union has also been an important beneficiary of its work. Dan Tracy of the Electrical Workers is also reported to have urged caution in tinkering with the Wagner act.

Leaders of the fight to amend the act were reported to have been Matthew Woll of the Photo Engravers, William Hutchinson of the Carpenters, Thomas Rickert of the United Garment Workers, and Green.

# Mexico Expels Spanish Fascists

MEXICO, D. F.—The Inspector-General of the Spanish Falange in Latin-America and two of his lieutenants were summarily expelled from Mexico last week after the Falange had held a celebration of the Franco victory. The German and Italian ministers, and Japanese, Portuguese and Guatemalan legation representatives attended. The Fascist salute was given freely and Franco songs were sung.

Following charges by the labor movement that the Falange was intimidating democratically-inclined members of the Spanish colony and forcing Spanish merchants to contribute to an anti-Cardenas campaign fund, the government ordered the expulsion of the three ring-leaders. Two days later they were on the high seas bound for Spain.

Striking bread workers in Mexico City, charging that the Falangists were behind the refusal of the bakery shop owners, largely Spanish, to keep their union agreement, stormed the Falangist headquarters, breaking all the windows and causing the few "blue shirts" to take refuge behind the bar in the saloon.

# Dane Editor Greet U. S. Socialists

Comrade Ernst Christiansen, a member of the editorial staff of the Copenhagen, Denmark, Socialist-Demokrat, delivered his May Day greeting to the SOCIALIST CALL and the party in person. In our office he dictated the following message to American Socialists:

"I have been in the United States six weeks and I have already observed the tremendous difference between the United States and Denmark. Denmark is only a small country with 3,600,000 people, but we are fortunate in having a great Socialist and labor party.

"For 10 years our labor government has effected vast social reforms, and now we are building for a still greater democracy by revamping our constitution. The Danish people support us in majority. In the national elections held several weeks ago our party polled 730,000 votes.

"American Socialists have a more difficult job to perform. You have a vast country and powerful political opposition. Nevertheless, you build a true party of democracy and I am confident you can build an United States movement of working people as we have in Denmark. I hold the hope that the Socialist party of the United States will grow to develop a strong democratic workers and farmers' government.

"On this May Day I extend to American Socialists and their friends the felicitations of my co-workers in the Danish Social-Democratic party."

what the future will bring. Whatever it is, the May Day march will demonstrate that it will not be a return to the slave and serf conditions from which the labor and peasant movements have freed their members.

# WAA Leader Spikes CP Falsehood

CLEVELAND, Ohio—Lee Morgan, state secretary of the Ohio Workers' Alliance for the last three years, last week exposed the lie campaign being waged against the Socialist party by the Communist leadership of the Workers Alliance of America.

The WAA paper, "Work," Willis Morgan and Herbert Benjamin, Communist spokesmen in the Workers Alliance nationally, have all charged that the Socialist party was attempting to split the alliance, but that Lee Morgan chairman of the Socialist party's unemployment committee, was against the policy being pursued by his party.

**Morgan's Reply**

Lee Morgan promptly wired the Socialist party national office as follows:

"Neither Willis Morgan nor Herbert Benjamin have been authorized to use my name in any way to defend their position in the dispute within the Workers Alliance.

"I have participated in the discussions of the Socialist party policy in the alliance and have helped formulate that policy. I am in agreement with that policy and will continue to put it in effect."

The Communist party clique controlling the Workers Alliance nationally had been attempting desperately to stop the revolt from those local and state sections of the alliance who resented the destruction of the independence of their organization. These locals oppose the national organization's policy of uncritically supporting every action of the New Deal administration instead of fighting for the interests of the unemployed and relief workers.

As a smokescreen to hide their present difficulties, the Communist leaders of the WAA accused the Socialist party of "splitting the Workers Alliance." When this failed, they claimed that Lee Morgan supported them in their attempts to disrupt and destroy local and state organizations opposed to their rule. This lie has also been nipped in the bud.

# Greetings from London Daily Herald

The Editor and Staff of the Daily Herald send cordial greetings to the Socialist Party of the United States. We are certain your May Day issue will appeal to a wide circle of Socialists in your great freedom loving country.

In Great Britain we watch with intense interest the activities of the Labour Movement in U.S.A. Every attempt to foster a greater understanding between our people and our own must lead to a feeling of greater security throughout the world.

—FRANCIS WILLIAMS, Editor.

# Books With Which To Fight Haguism

Morris Milgram, New Jersey secretary of the Workers Defense League, issued an appeal last week to Socialists and friends asking them to contribute books and pictures for the WDL bazaar which will be held to raise funds for the fight against Haguism in New Jersey.

Milgram reports that Authors John M. Work, Harry W. Laidler, McAllister Coleman, Norman Thomas and non-Socialist authors have already made gifts for this purpose.

CALL readers who desire to make book or picture gifts for this cause are urged to mail them at once to Morris Milgram, Secretary, Workers Defense League of N. J., 133 Baldwin Ave., Jersey City, N. J.

# Socialist Executives Answer Social Democratic Leaders

## Press for United Action Against War, Fascism

The following are the full texts of the additional points submitted by the S. P. for a program for organic unity with the S. D. F., a letter from the S. D. F., the S. P.'s reply and the resolution adopted by the national executive committee of the Socialist party on the questions of future negotiations.

**Additional Points**

The danger to democracy in the world today is inherent in the decay of capitalism. Capitalist political reaction through fascism and other dictatorial forms can only be reversed through the organized strength of the working class in a direct struggle against the capitalist class, its parties and its state machinery.

In line with its purpose of defending and extending democracy in the political and industrial life of the nation, the Socialist party proposes:

(1) The creation of an independent party of labor, rejecting support of any and all capitalist parties and capitalist political groups.

(a) Socialists may affiliate themselves under party direction with labor parties or other labor political groupings;

(b) In such bodies, Socialists shall consistently put forward a program to run independent candidates in every post in opposition to all the capitalist party candidates;

(c) Socialists shall indicate the policy of conciling with so-called democratic capitalist parties or political groups against fascism cannot thwart or defeat fascism.

(2) Consistent opposition to all capitalist wars, including those fought by capitalist democracies against capitalist totalitarian states. This means specifically:

(a) Non-support of and organized opposition to any war fought by the U. S., including such a war against the fascist powers;

(b) Opposition to all military alliances or simple diplomatic alliances of capitalist nations to apply sanctions against other capitalist powers;

(c) Opposition to all increased armaments in the capitalist countries;

(d) A campaign to win for the American people the right to decide by referendum the question of a war declaration;

(e) Opposition to governmental preparations for war-time economic regimentation;

(f) Propaganda to prepare unions to resist the danger of fascism attendant upon war through militant strike opposition to compulsory arbitration.

(3) In the light of these political tasks, a Socialist party must orient itself in the direction of organized mass work. The party cannot consider itself solely an electoral or educational organization; it must initiate proposals of action and programs for mass organizations (unions, labor parties, farm organizations, youth organizations, etc.) through organized and disciplined groups of Socialists in these organizations, operating under the

## Socialists' Reply

Socialist Party Conference Committee, New York City. Comrades:

We wish to acknowledge your recent letter dealing with our statement of additional points transmitted to you in the course of unity negotiations. We are sorry to hear that you consider this statement "altogether unacceptable."

We appreciate your frankness in making it clear that it is not the exact wording of our statement in which you object but to matters of party organization, direct party control of the press and other party institutions and work in the trade unions. The Socialist party in its statement regarding the need for cooperation among Socialists within trade unions would not, by any fair interpretation, be regarded as sanctioning the planting of "cells" in trade unions in pursuit of power politics.

We consider the matters you mention of vital importance. But what is particularly surprising is your failure even to mention the questions of war and independent political action which received the major emphasis in our statement.

We agree with you that "an organizational merger with elements who hold basically different views" is undesirable. If your silence on those subjects means that you would not stand with us in our opposition to all capitalist wars and for independent working-class political action, then such a basic difference does exist.

We regret the categorical nature of your rejection of our position "even as a basis for further discussion." In view of the possibility, however, that your action may have been hasty and ill-advised and that it is really not the desire of the SDF to terminate discussion, we are continuing a committee of five, composed of Comrades Norman Thomas, Davis Felix, Paul Porter, Gus Tyler, and Harry W. Laidler, to resume discussion with your committee at any time you may desire.

Fraternally yours,  
National Executive Committee  
Socialist Party, U. S. A.  
Norman Thomas, Chairman  
Arthur G. McDowell, Act. Sec'y.

## S. D. F.'s Letter

We find an unexplainable contradiction between the acceptance by your N.E.C. of the "statement on purpose and democracy, the New Deal and its significance for Socialism, the Socialist work in the trade unions, as an adequate contribution to a basis for unity" and the "additional points" which followed.

You will observe that we are not speaking about mere matters of detail nor about difference on minor questions. The contradiction to which we refer is between fundamentally different conceptions of Socialist thought and action.

The S.D.F. is sincerely desirous of unity among all who hold the principles of democratic Socialism. There is no room for doubt as to what we mean by those words. Our conception of democratic Socialism is a matter of public record, and was clearly stated when the conference committees began their work.

The S.D.F. on the other hand, does not at all desire an organizational merger with elements who hold basically different views. Such a pseudo-unity would merely serve the disunion between organized factions which characterized the S.P. from Detroit on.

It is of course your function and ours to determine which of the two conceptions the S.P. really holds, or whether it is still divided on the subject. Until we are apprised of this it would seem to us futile to go on with joint conferences.

Awaiting information as to your further intentions, we are

Fraternally yours,  
Algeron Lee  
Louis P. Goldberg  
I. Minkoff  
S.D.F. Executive Committee.  
P.S. This letter will be supplied

# How We Escaped From Stalin's Prison

## Explanation

The following article by Julien Gorkin, leader of the Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (P. O. U. M.), was written shortly after his escape from a Stalinist prison in Barcelona. Gorkin and a number of his fellow Marxists were framed after the May Day, 1937, Barcelona uprising which was provoked by Stalin's OGPU, the Russian secret service police, which is now operating within the labor movement throughout the world.

Gorkin and his fellow defendants were sentenced to 30 year terms at hard labor by a Stalinist controlled court. In the following story he tells how he and his group made their escape from Barcelona on the eve of the Fascists' capture of the city.

(Reprinted from the Bruen New Leader)

Before the outbreak of the civil war Carreia de U. Mata, Barcelona, was a convent. After July 19, 1936, it became a barracks for the Anarchist militia. This it was turned by the Negrin government into a state prison.

It is a big building—capable of holding 400 prisoners. In the center is a large courtyard with four palm trees and two pines, overlooked by a large terrace. In this courtyard the Fascist prisoners (some of them condemned to death) and the International Brigade prisoners have their daily walk.

On the terrace the "important" prisoners: a few soldiers of

## Tuesday, Jan. 24

The Fascists are advancing very quickly after the fall of Tarragona.

Our nerves are all on edge. The Fascists, and above all those condemned to death, have a challenging look. We read hatred in their eyes — and perhaps a death sentence for ourselves.

Lucia and the reactionary deputies are ill at ease. Will the Anarchists cut their throats before the fall of Barcelona?

And us? Why doesn't the government set us at liberty? Will it allow us to be assassinated here in the prison when the Fascists arrive?

10 p. m. An uneasy silence reigns in the prison. Not one warden is at his post. Have they fled already? The gates are locked. We feel like beasts in a cage.

Suddenly I hear the gate of our gallery swing open and I see a shaft of light through my cell door. A moment or two later the door opens to admit Aznar, the prison manager, carrying a lantern.

"The city is being evacuated," he says. "You must leave for Cadagues in an hour."

He is very pale and his voice trembles. He goes away and leaves us with his lantern. We set about packing.

**Wednesday, Jan. 25**

Towards one o'clock a warden comes for us. There are 24 of us, and we demand the inclusion of several comrades who, though not in our party, are real anti-Fascists.

"They will leave this afternoon in another lorry," he assures us. In the yard a lorry is waiting, but it is occupied by wardens and their baggage. They all want to

## Thursday, Jan. 26

Cadagues is a fishing village in Gerona province. We are shut up in an old factory for making sandals.

We find the governor and the chief warden here. They treat us as comrades, as do the wardens, taking us to the same risk.

The most terrifying rumors reach us. Barcelona has fallen and the Fascists, not stopping for breath, are advancing on Gerona. If these rumors are true, we shall

## Friday, Jan. 27

be isolated with no way of escape but the sea.

2 p. m. We have an unexpected visitor, the brother of the military commandant. In the name of the commandant he makes an unexpected proposal to us: the commandant will facilitate our escape to France on condition that we guarantee him a job in France! We promise him this.

3 p. m. We have another visitor — the corporal in charge of the prison. He speaks to us in the name of the soldiers, who feel a strong sympathy with us as victims of an unjust prosecution. They mistrust the commandant. At any moment they will be ready to accompany us if we give the word.

So we, the prisoners, are masters of the situation.

4 p. m. I learn of the arrival of Vicente SSI, Republican deputy and governor-general of prisons. I ask for see him, and he arranges an interview at 10 o'clock.

10 p. m. Sol is a rather big man with gray hair. He speaks to me as a friend, saying sadly: "The end is near." I ask him to release us, but he regrets that without an injunction from the minister of justice he cannot do it. But, where is the Minister?

I gave him 24 hours to arrange our departure: otherwise we go on foot to the frontier. He gives his word.

**Saturday, Jan. 28**

At six in the evening we leave Cadagues. In two lorries we are transporting all that is left of the State Prison of the Republic: the governor, chief warden, doctor (arrived this morning), and 23 wardens—all of them attached to 24 political prisoners of the P. O. U. M.

We arrive just before 10 o'clock at Cagmany, but the commandant refuses to accept us. We must go elsewhere. Where? The commandant shrugs his shoulders. The lorries start off for La Jun-

## Sunday, Jan. 29

the last Spanish village before the frontier. I shall never forget that terrible night. We are hungry and tired, and shiver with cold under a pitiless rain.

On the main roads we can scarcely move forward. In front of us, behind us, there are thousands of cars, lorries, carts, vehicles of all kinds. On both sides of the road a double file of people — women, children and old people — push on through the mud beneath the icy rain.

At a crossing two kilometers from La Junquera a soldier shouts with an authoritative voice: "Left!" Our driver objects, but the soldier lifts his rifle and shouts even louder: "Left!" The lorry turns. Where are we going?

Towards midnight we approach a village. The rain continues, and we decide to get out. The lorry is now off empty. We wait some 10 minutes on the side of the road, but the other lorry doesn't come.

We enter the village. I recognize it, for I have lectured here several times. It is La Agullada. Four years ago the municipal council belonged entirely to our party. We knock at the door of a bourgeois house. An elegantly dressed gentleman opens to us and says: "You cannot come in here—this is the Soviet embassy." Obviously we cannot stay here; we must find a prison somewhere.

I send two comrades to look for a deserted house. They come back in half an hour; they have a new prison for us. Until yesterday Garcia Mocalles, a Republican priest, had lived in this house. We quietly install ourselves. Once again the republic has a state prison—thanks to the prisoners.

The next thing is food. Two comrades go off and return with a sheep and two large loaves. We, the prisoners of the republic, feed the officials and staff of the state prison.

In the afternoon we learn that the president of the republic, the prime minister, the minister for national defense, the general staff, and most of the foreign ambassadors are established in this small village. It has become the capital of Republican Spain.

This does not cheer us. No doubt

## Tuesday, Jan. 31

the village will soon be bombed by the Fascist airplanes. Then there are the Stalinists. They are in control at the general staff, surrounded Negrin and Alvarez del Vayo. There is also the Soviet embassy and behind it the drenched OGPU.

10 p. m. The state prison is concentrated in one room. We have closed the door and the window, lit a candle and stuck it in an empty bottle.

We want to leave at three in the morning and cross the frontier at dawn. The chief warden and doctor are ready to come with us, but the governor is very unwilling. "Unless I have instructions from the minister of justice..." he says.

In the end he proposes a solution! He will go and sleep somewhere else with a friend he has met in the town. His attaché case is downstairs with his official documents. He will forget it. Then... So he goes. I seize the attaché case and find some 20 pieces of paper bearing an official seal which reads:

**SPANISH REPUBLIC**  
Ministry of Justice  
National Administration of Prisons

I proclaim myself governor-general of the state prisons and order the liberty of all my comrades and myself. I sign an order from the governor-general for the discharge of the chief warden, doctor and four wardens, who insist on accompanying us! They are more pleased with this document than with all their official papers.

**Wednesday, Feb. 1**

3 a. m. We have just heard the clock strike from the church in La Agullada. Everyone is all ready to go? Yes, everyone is all ready. We are full of emotion. This is

## By Julien Gorkin

General Secretary, P. O. U. M.

the decisive moment—the moment of our liberation, after 15 months of prison, after experiences in a score of dungeons in Madrid, Valencia and Catalonia, under the constant threat of a death sentence.

We are careful to make no noise as we leave the house... A cool crowd and others follow. There's a state of confusion in Spain. They haven't all been eaten! A few dogs begin barking as we pass. Are they going to denounce us just as we are getting away? At last we reach the outskirts of the village; but suddenly the headlights of a car beat down on us. We throw ourselves on the grass on both sides of the road; and we go past.

We take a narrow trackway which, rising towards the mountains, towards La Canigou, is covered and surrounded by clouds. If we are not seen, we can reach the frontier as half-past five.

We make a long detour, across the mountains, cross mountain streams with water over our knees fall more than once heading for the mud. Then... then, at the end of a hill, between two enormous rocks, we see the boundary with the number 562 on it.

We halt on the stone with shouting. On the left is Spain and on the right is France. We leap last yard—and are in France.

(On Dec. 17, 1937) in Moscow, Stalin's official mouthpiece, Pravda, openly proclaimed that the purge in Catalonia, already begun, would be conducted with the same energy with which it was conducted in the Soviet Union... Gen. W. G. Krivitsky, former chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, in the Sunday Evening Post.

# 21 Brotherhoods Support Referendum On War

## Propose to Give War Power to American Masses

Bill Introduced by 12 Senators Backed by 1,000,000 R. R. Workers

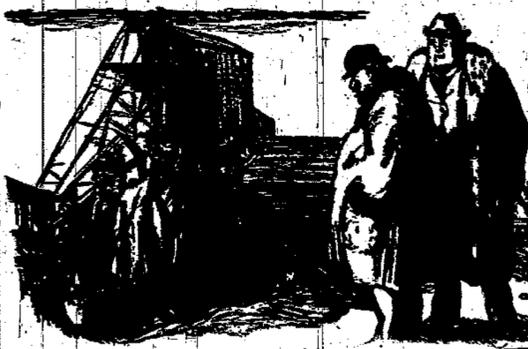
WASHINGTON, D. C.—The railway labor executives' association, composed of 21 railroad labor organizations and representing over 1,000,000 workers, believes the fathers and mothers of Americans should have a chance to express themselves before their boys are sent away to fight another war on foreign soil.

### Thomas on War: Heads-You Lose Tails-The Same

WASHINGTON—Democracy will not be saved nor will any good come of a European war, regardless of which group of nations wins, Norman Thomas told the House foreign affairs committee here, adding that "if Europe's good sense could not keep it out of war, nothing that America can or will do will serve either to deter Europe from war or to bring about a victory of righteousness."

Offering his opinions on proposals for revising the neutrality law, the Socialist leader recommended a peace film, an arms trade ban and munitions, including also scrap iron and some other raw materials needed in war. Thomas dismissed arguments that America was in danger of attack by asserting that "any force which Germany could sneak across the Atlantic and land on Long Island could be taken in hand by the New York police." Like myself, the Germans would probably get lost in the outskirts of Brooklyn. "It should be set down as fundamental in American foreign policy today," he concluded, "that we have no right to plan for economic warfare unless we expect military warfare."

- 19 WSDBF Locals Ask Governor to Free Five Miners**
- GILLESPIE, Ill.—Officers representing 19 branches comprising 5,000 members of the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit fund in southern Illinois forwarded a resolution to Gov. Henry Horner and the state board of pardons and paroles asking that they pardon the five Dr. Quinn, Illinois, miners and prison terms at Menard.
- The resolution expressed the belief that the "boys are victims of circumstances growing out of and relating to special conditions in the coal industry," and it also pointed out that the father of the victim who was accidentally slain, Laverne Miller, as well as many other organizations, had also made pleas for a pardon.
- The resolution was signed by Joseph Burrell, president; Fred Krenz, vice president; Charles Bartolini, recording secretary; John Steed, treasurer, and Howard J. Skelton, financial secretary.
- Propaganda Expert Says Socialist Leader Was Right on War Question**
- CHICAGO, Ill.—The man whose testimony in the World War days was instrumental in imprisoning Eugene Victor Debs has recanted.
- His name is Clyde R. Miller, New York City, a staff member of the Columbia university. Now an expert on propaganda analysis, Miller cites his own experience as "a reason for approaching the whole problem of propaganda with humility."
- Debs, a founder of the railroad brotherhoods and four times the nominee of the Socialist party for the presidency of the United States, was speaking at Canton, Ohio, June 16, 1918, when Miller, as a newspaper correspondent, covered the meeting for a Cleveland newspaper.
- He heard Debs say: "This is not a war to make the world safe for democracy. This is a war in which millions of boys and innocent young men who are doing the actual fighting are pawns of selfish groups in the various nations. They are taking in vain the names of God and of patriotism to place a blessing upon a war that ought to be cursed. I shall do all I can to oppose this war, to oppose our young men going over to fight in this war."
- Chief Witness**
- After he heard Debs make this statement, the newspaper correspondent considered it his "patriotic duty" to telephone the district attorney and asked that the Socialist leader be indicted as a violator of the espionage law.
- On Sept. 3, 1918, Miller was called as a chief witness in Debs' trial. His testimony helped convict him and the Socialist leader was sentenced to Atlanta for 10 years.
- The patriotic informer claims that Debs did not personally begrudge his testimony and quotes Debs as saying to him "son, I want you to know that I respect you for your sincerity and honesty. I want to thank you for the testimony you gave. It was as accurate an account of what I said as if I had said it myself. And don't feel badly about this. You have acted honestly in the light of your own conclusions."
- Debs also recalls that Debs had told him that "perhaps in 20 years you will think differently about this matter."
- In serving with the American Expeditionary Forces, Miller says, and in talking with correspondents, general and statesmen, he decided Debs was more right than wrong.
- Miller was among tens of thousands of Americans who appealed to President Harding to release Debs. Debs was released from the penitentiary on Christmas Day 1921 after a presidential pardon had been granted. He had served 2 years and 9 months of his 10 year sentence.



Miners: "If it's fight you're looking for, crawl on!"

## Travers Clement Named National Secretary of S. P.

N. E. C. Meeting Reports Increase in Socialist Sentiment

DETROIT, Mich.—The national executive committee of the Socialist party, U. S. A., meeting in Detroit, April 15, 16, 17, received reports of growth in Socialist sentiment and organization throughout the country, created a new district organization of the party, made up of the thirteen southern states, set tentative date for the 1940 national convention, and elected Travers Clement of California, a member of the national executive committee, as national secretary to fill the vacancy occasioned by the recent resignation of Roy E. Burr.

The national executive committee further unanimously confirmed in their positions Arthur G. McDowell as national labor secretary of the party and Gerry Allard as editor of the Socialist Call.

**New Secretary**

Travers Clement of Los Gatos, Calif., was elected to the national executive committee of the Socialist party at the Kenosha convention in 1938.

He has been an active member of the Newspaper Guild and the Sailors' union.

The new national secretary was national publicity director for the American Civil Liberties union in 1928-9, was secretary of the National Money-Billings committee established in 1929, and has been an active member of the executive board, San Francisco, American Civil Liberties Union committee.

He is co-author with Lillian Symes of "Rebel America," was one of the chief aids to Angelica Balaban in the writing of her biography, "My Life as a Rebel" in English, and has written pamphlets for the American Civil Liberties union on the Mooney-Billings case and for the west coast maritime union on their strike and dispute of several years ago.

He is also a contributor to the "New Republic" and the "Nation" and has held various offices for



Photo by Harry Fleischman. Travers Clement

the Socialist party of California and San Francisco.

The new national secretary will take office on May 13.

**Name Control Commission**

The national executive committee of the Socialist party spent most of its time on a consideration of its organization and finances and set up a finance control commission to particularly regulate party expenditures within budgeted receipts.

In view of the possible lateness of the decision as to name of the candidate for president to be supported in 1940, the 1940 National convention of the party was set for the period between February 1 and April 1, but not later than April 1 of 1940. This convention will dispose of organization and platform

**Can't Deport Strecker, Says Supreme Court**

WASHINGTON—In an important decision which virtually blocked demands for deportation of West Coast CIO Leader Harry Bridges, the Supreme Court ruled that the Labor Department erred in its interpretation of the statute under which Joseph Strecker, alleged alien Communist, was ordered deported, and authorized his release from custody.

With two dissenting votes, the court held that the 1918 law providing for deportation of non-naturalized aliens belonging to organizations advocating violent overthrow of the government was intended to apply only to those who belonged to such organizations when they entered the country or to those who belonged when deportation proceedings were instituted.

**Thomas on Radio Program April 27**

Norman Thomas will debate General Hugh Johnson on the subject "Referendum on War." The broadcast may be heard on the Town Meeting of the Air program, NBC Thursday, April 27, 8:30 p. m. (CST).

## United Mine Workers Set May 5 as Date For National Strike

Non-Union Forces Conspire Against Labor Movement—Lewis

While 350,000 striking members of the United Mine Workers of America in the Appalachian field tightened their belts for a long siege, international officers of the union declared last week that they had notified 250,000 other miners who remain at work in Eastern Pennsylvania, the mid-west, southwest and the Rocky Mountain regions to prepare for a general strike by May 5.

The instructions to all members of the UMWA served as an ultimatum to the National Coal Operators' association. John L. Lewis, international UMWA president, charged the association with conspiring to weaken the American labor movement by attempting to undermine its most powerful section.

A complete shutdown of the nation's bituminous coal industry loomed as the coal diggers set the deadline for settlement of their grievance which now boils down to the elimination of the automatic penalty clause.

**Outlawed Wildcat**

The clause, established in miner operator wage agreements 20 years ago, grants the coal bosses the right to fine the workers \$1 to \$2 a day for wildcat or other illegal strikes.

The anthracite wage agreement between the UMWA and the hard coal operators expires April 30; 300,000 miners are employed in Pennsylvania's districts 1, 7 and 9. If they are needed to augment the strike lines, there is no doubt that they will join the walkout.

**Miners Strongly United**

The union leaders and membership faced the sharpening struggle with confidence. Although the strike is the first test of union strength since the UMWA re-established itself as a national force, the miners hold the upper hand. Factors favoring the miners are:

1. Complete organization among 600,000 mine workers.
2. Jurisdiction in the Canadian coalfields which could easily be used to prevent the exportation of coal to the United States.
3. The powerful backing of more than 30 CIO national and international unions who are eager to reciprocate the solidarity the miners have given them in recent years.

## Youth and May Day

BY JUDAH DROB, National Secretary, Young People's Socialist League

With a determination that reflects the unusual tenseness of the world, Young Socialists affirm today their loyalty and devotion to the cause of the working class the world over.

May day emphasizes that only the united strength of all the toilers of all the world can conquer the dread powers that are oppressing us and are preparing new horrors for the masses.

In the gathering of this strength the youth play a significant part. For while we cannot accomplish the task alone, we can do much to bolster the strength of our older comrades. In us is the enthusiasm, the spirit, the daring that are so necessary for a successful outcome to the struggle.

**Fight in Peace or War**

Together with the organized workers, the working farmers and the colonial peoples of the world, we can play a major part in the overthrow of the system that exploits, enslaves and murders us all.

We are determined to do our share in the struggle against the imposition upon workers everywhere of the bondage that today weighs down our comrades and fellow workers in fascist lands.

**In Peace Time and in War**

We will fight with utmost vigor against the encroachments upon labor's right to organize, to demand better conditions of work, to strike, to meet, to speak. Only the continual prosecution of this struggle can guarantee to us the victory that we need to end capitalism.

**For a Determined Struggle**

We are determined to fight for the removal of the bonds that today enslave the peoples of colonial nations. We will oppose in the future, as we do today, the arming of the imperialist nations—directed as that arming is to the subjugation of peoples and the suppression of colonial revolt.

**We will seek the removal of the oppressed nations of the earth as the means of their enslavement.**

We are determined to assist our comrades in fascist lands who are carrying on under the most difficult of circumstances the struggle which we can still wage openly.

**We shall do all we can to give them the material assistance with which they can carry on, preparing themselves for the day when they can lead their people in assault upon the murderous fascist regimes. We pledge that we shall do all we can to make impossible the intervention of our capitalist government to prevent them from achieving success.**

**Rights of Youth**

That requires that we carry on active opposition to the war plans of our government, to any war it may conduct, and to any aid that it may offer to the reactionary capitalist forces in fascist lands.

We are determined to fight for the rights of youth to decent living, to jobs, to education and to

## Keep America Out of War, Says Salvemini

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Although there is no more bitter enemy of Fascism in the world than he, Prof. Gaetano Salvemini, exiled Italian, strongly urges the United States to stay out of the war against the dictators when and if it breaks out.

Especially does a call to "fight for democracy" seem ridiculous in view of the records of Daladier and Chamberlain, said Salvemini.

England, no less than Hitler and Mussolini, has been responsible for reducing the League of Nations to a shell. However, for the nation's leaders to declare that the country will not go to war would also be the go-ahead signal for the fascist dictators. Make the decision, but never let them know it, is his suggestion for policy.

Salvemini said that his English and French friends are ashamed of their leaders and are too honest to expect the United States to come to their aid as long as they are governed by "politicians who have fouled the nest of democracy."

**Spring in the Coalfields**

BY LOREN NORMAN

Spring trips back with roguish eye,  
Woos us slyly, one by one,  
Clouds go marching through the sky,  
Dogs are basking in the sun.

The girls in gingham cut their capers,  
The rich man drives his motor car,  
And ads for beer adorn the papers,  
And stocks are puffed as hearing par.

While bobolinks on brier and weed  
Are singing madly down the days,  
Our miners—with their kids to feed—  
Are turned out on the fields to graze!

## Your World And Mine

By Norman Thomas

Mussolini, with Hitler's approval, conquered little Albania in the new fascist style. (But the Albanians fought). Why did he look this trouble when he controlled Albania anyhow is hard to see. Probably he wanted these things: (1) "Glory" and a chance to strut; (2) A demonstration of power to impress and terrify the Balkans; (3) A military point of vantage against the "encirclement" which the dictators profess to fear. Anyway he took a brave but backward little country which England promised Italy as a price of joining the first world war!

There is nothing at all in the confused developments in Europe or in America to encourage any faith that the United States ought to take part in any so-called anti-aggression bloc by war, or that it can take effective part in such a bloc without war, or that the triumph of such an anti-aggression bloc would change the conditions which produce fascism and war itself. Remember that today's fascism and war are the response to the triumph of the so-called democratic powers and the peace which they made in Versailles.

**Britain Turns to Russia**

Chamberlain himself has repudiated the notion that the lineup is concerned with ideology. He wants to stop aggression. He and the French have at last decided that they have more to fear from further aggrandizement of Germany and Italy than from Russia. They have probably concluded correctly that in its latest developments fascist economics aren't, after all, so very different from Stalin's economics. In both cases it is the state which is the power and, in differing degree, the exploiter. At present, at least at present, Russia is not threatening the British or the French empire as is Germany and Italy.

It is ridiculous to say that governments are concerned for preserving democracy in Europe who let Czechoslovakia be destroyed, only to try to preserve Poland, corridor and all.

**Keep U. S. Out of War**

The one chance to preserve democracy and to let it conquer its own world is to keep America, the greatest of democracies, out of war. That is the principle that ought to guide us in thinking about neutrality. There is no one perfect law or perfect formula free from taint of all possible evil.

In general, however, it is perfectly clear that a big war trade is not a step short of war, but a long march toward war. The rule should be that we want none of the trade which leads to war; and that we do not want the president to have discretionary power to determine with whom we shall trade. That is too dangerous a power for any man. In a sense, the better a man is, the more dangerous is such power in his hands, because it is good men who get messianic complexes.

Incidentally, the drive of the profit makers for profit out of war is not out of the trade is just the same, no matter what the cause of the war is alleged to be.

**W.P.A. Investigation**

It is still true that one chief factor which makes it likely that America will get into war is the paralysis of effort to wage successful war here at home against unemployment and poverty. It is all right to congress to investigate WPA if it's the right kind of constructive investigation.

It's not all right for congress to cut already inadequate relief funds; it will not bring prosperity. But even if congress acceded to the present request for WPA and more, nothing would be solved. Any form of subsidy to cotton growers, however necessary it may seem to be politically and economically at the moment, is no solution of the problem.

**Railroad Problem**

There is no solution proposed for the railroad problem, and so on down the long list. This is the most serious factor in the American situation. No war against fascism which consists just of words or of military acts will be successful until democracy can be more aggressive against the insecurity which nurtures fascism. Here is a challenge, to all opportunity for, Socialism.

**Franco's Recognition**

Since Franco has conquered Spain with the aid of the dictators, and England, sooner or later the American government would have had to recognize the fact that he ruled Spain, but the haste with which he was recognized was almost indecent and lessened the chance for quiet but effective pressure on him to curb his brutality in hope of American recognition.

To lift the embargo on the butcher of Spain probably doesn't mean much just now by way of arms, but as a bit of symbolism it was all wrong. In the same week that the president took this action, the United Automobile Workers ungrudgingly indorsed with qualification his foreign policy. Labor's blindness on this subject is quinine.

**Auto Workers Convention**

The convention of the United Automobile Workers was in some respects encouraging and we are proud of the part played by Reuther and others. But the Communists seem to have emerged with a dangerous power in the Union. Our objection is not to what the Communists may believe in social and economic affairs; our objection is to their role in the tactics.

These tactics have been defeated by able and aggressive work in the Southern Tenant Farmers union, but it was a struggle, and the struggle still goes on to build the union—a task to which all Socialists should give every possible aid; not because Socialists want to run a union, but because they want to advance Socialist principles, which are the best principles for the workers. In this connection, let me hail the Southern Socialist conference in Rochdale, Miss., and express my deep regret for the circumstances that kept me away.

**New Books**

This can't be a book review column, but I want to call attention to certain very useful books. I should head the list with World Communism by F. Borkenau (W. W. Norton & Co., New York). The information in this book is invaluable and gives more food for thought than any single book which I have recently read.

I do not think that the author's conclusions are equally convincing although they are provocative. I agree with him that the history of Communism—and for that matter of Socialism, and the labor movement—at the points where it is disappointing is not to be explained in terms of the betrayal of leaders. The causes go deeper. I am not persuaded that the role of the working class must necessarily be as opportunistic as he seems to think.

There is an important crop of books dealing with the war situation. Perhaps the best is Stuart Chase's The New Western Front (Harcourt Brace & Co., New York), written in his own inimitable style. Breezy page, pretty nearly, has an argument we can use to keep America out of war.

If the book has a fault, it is its failure to emphasize the fact that our participation in war wouldn't help Europe. Chase's book is a whole lot better than Lewis Mumford's Men Must Act (Harcourt Brace & Co., New York), published at the same time. Its indignation is more adequate than its analysis of the true nature of capitalist war and the reasons why the nations will fight it. His treatment of steps short of war is unrealistic. I do not agree with his treatment of the issue of civil liberty.

Quincy Howe's Blood Is Cheaper Than Water (Simon & Schuster, New York) is a bit of realistic even cynical debunking which leads the reader to the conclusion that the United States will almost certainly fight a war and that if it is a frank war for its own empire rather than a general war for democracy—which will mean for the British and French empires—it will be less harmful! This book also gives plenty of food for thought.

So, too, does Pierre van Paassen in Days of Our Years (Hillman, New York, Inc., New York). It's the best of the crop of autobiographical books by foreign correspondents, and that's saying a lot. While not so much an anti-war book, its incidental information on war and the statesmen who make war—yes, and the armament makers—is invaluable.

I should like to lift my voice in the chorus of appreciation of John Chamberlain's book The Grapes of Wrath (Viking Press). Here is a realistic study of dispossessed Oklahoma sharecroppers driven by a combination of dust storms and the change to large scale farming into a migration toward California. But John Steinbeck shows how the women out of ugliness, suffering and squalor can nevertheless create beauty, strength and hope.

# Enthusiastic Parley Maps Socialist Work For Southern States

BY FRANK McCALLISTER  
ROCHDALE, Miss. — Southern Socialists met here in a conference recently and laid solid foundations for building a growing Socialist movement in the south.

## BULLETIN

A Southern States Socialist League was set up with a Resident committee in Memphis, Tenn., continuing the work of the conference. Members of the Resident committee are: Evelyn Smith (secretary), H. L. Mitchell, A. E. Brooks, and Blaine Treadway of Rochdale, Miss.; and Mike and Margaret Yarrow of Oxford, Miss.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party meeting in Detroit approved the creation of the Southern States Socialist League as the southern district organization with headquarters at Memphis, Tenn., and with 13 states as members. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. All recommendations of the Southern conference were approved except that dealing with political tactics which was referred to the next N. E. C. meeting for action based upon a state to state study and poll of conditions and Socialist sentiment.

Three persons were nominated by the conference for submission to the NEC of the Socialist party as possibilities for southern secretary.

The conference had reports on the following topics: Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Anti-War Work; Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; TWOC; SWOC; ILGWU and other unions; Report of Washington, D. C. Local; Delta Cooperative Farm; Cooperative Stores; Negro Work; Workers' Defense League; Workers' Education; Unemployed Work, and Youth Work.

Arthur G. McDowell, acting executive secretary of the Socialist party, represented the national office and suggested the organizational basis for continuing southern work.

Judah Drob, YPSL secretary, represented the YPSL and participated in planning for youth work in the south.

At the conclusion of the conference attended by Socialists and sympathizers, 14 persons joined the party, which represented nearly everyone present who was not already a member.

These persons were very enthusiastic about the possibilities of building a significant movement in the south. Many of them traveled hundreds of miles to be present at the first south-wide Socialist conference held in nearly three years. The most important work done by the conference dealt with the political orientation of the movement.

H. L. Mitchell, secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, gave an analysis of the social forces operating in the south with a prediction that someone was going to organize a mass political movement among the workers and the farmers in the south in the immediate future and feared that some fascist demagogue would capture these hungry people unless Socialists gave leadership to their deepest needs and aspirations. Mitchell pleaded for the conference to sponsor the formation of a Farmer-Labor federation in the south to work by necessity in the Democratic primary. The motion on this question which passed with only two dissenting votes (Peyton and Mendell of Louisville), is as follows:

Recommendations  
"That this conference recognizes that the Democratic primary is to all intents and purposes the general election in most southern states. We believe that there is an opportunity for the building of a mass organization for political action by southern farmers and workers, using the democratic primary as a means of advancing a program of immediate objectives with the ultimate program of Socialism and the building of a new Socialist order devoted to production for use and not for profit. Therefore the Southern Socialist conference recommends:

1. That the Socialist party take immediate steps to aid in the formation of a movement based on the following principles:

- A. Recruited from the bottom among farmers and workers of the south.
- B. Cohesive in the limited sense of being a class organization and of exercising discipline over its candidates.
- C. Working for immediate progressive political action and for ultimate Socialist objectives.
- D. Organized with the intention of aiding the activities of economic organizations of farmers and workers in improving their conditions.
- E. Working whenever desirable and necessary within the democratic party primary for the purpose of electing candidates sponsored by the group and thoroughly committed to its program.

2. That the Socialist party work

within this organization as a disciplined unit to achieve the above objectives in a democratic fashion.

"We make these recommendations with the understanding that although the Socialist party must devote a large part of its activity in the South to such a movement, if the movement is to achieve the above objectives, the Socialist party in the South is to continue to function as a part of the Socialist Party of the U. S. A."

The conference endorsed the work of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and urged members to work with it when possible but to concentrate on sounder economic organizations and not consider it a basic organization through which to work.

The work of the Keep America Out of War Congress was approved and members urged to build local committees where possible.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union was declared to be the main instrument in the agricultural field through which Socialists could work. The Cooperative Farms at Delta and Providence were endorsed and members were urged to give all aid and support possible to these significant experiments.

A motion was passed that the Southern conference set up specific machinery for the development of consumers' cooperatives and credit unions in the southern states.

The Resident committee was instructed to collaborate with the subcommittee on Negro work of the SPUSA and arrange for cooperation in their national program. Members were urged to work as closely as possible with the branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in their communities.

A statement was adopted, "That we see in the race relations existing in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union a type that we desire to promote in the south."

Plan Defense Work  
The Workers' Defense League was endorsed by the meeting and efforts are to be made to place an organizer in the Kentucky-Tennessee area. The national secretary-treasurer of the Workers' Defense League, David L. Clendenin, said that consideration would be given to this request.

The field is to be surveyed for possibilities of setting up a training school somewhere in the south to fill a basic need long recognized for training personnel for Socialist and general working class movement.

The conference voted to raise an initial budget of \$250 which is to last for a period of six weeks while the program outlined by the conference gets under way.

A committee of correspondence with representatives from each state and each functioning local in the south was set up to keep the Resident committee informed of conditions in each area.

The delegates at the conference stayed in the homes of the Delta Cooperative Farm members, thus having a unique opportunity to meet these pioneers in the struggle for a solution to the southern agricultural problems. A resolution thanked the staff and members of the Delta Cooperative Farm for their wonderful cooperation, with special gratitude to Miss Dorothy Mae Fisher who handled the conference arrangements at the farm.

NOTE—Socialist Call subscribers interested should communicate with E. Smith, provisional secretary-treasurer Southern States Socialist League, P. O. Box 5145, Memphis, Tenn. All dues, contributions and communications from the 13 states should be addressed to this Memphis office.



# Loyalist Vet Describes Fight Against Fascism

By SAMUEL ROMER  
(Samuel Romer, formerly managing editor of the Socialist Call, spent 17 months in Spain as a soldier in the Spanish Loyalist Army. After 10 months in the front lines, he was captured and served seven more months in a fascist concentration camp before he was released in an exchange for Italian soldiers captured by the Loyalists. The editors of the Call asked him to write for the May Day issue on the subject: The Fight Against Fascism.)

If I were asked where lay the greatest danger of Fascism to America today, I would take out a map of the world and point to one of the greatest democracies. I would say: "In this democracy, you have millions of people who are ready for a fascist leader. The economic system has sloughed them off as unwanted; they exist hopeless and penniless, barely existing as they pray for a decent life. The first demagogue with a capacity for organization can enroll these people into a powerful Fascist movement which would sweep the country before them and we would know a period of misery and black reaction which today is inconceivable."

And if I were asked where lay the greatest hope of freedom for America today, I would point to the same democracy on the map of the world. I would say: "If Socialists could but reach these people with the message of constructive organization, if we could wake them out of their ignorance and sleep and make them realize the power that is theirs for their own emancipation, we can use the wealth and industry of this country for the benefit of mankind and in so doing abolish forever the danger of Fascism and war!"

New Vistas Opened  
The country, of course, is our own United States of America and the people I was talking about were the sharecroppers. How impoverished, how ignorant have we kept these feudal serfs! Here is 16-year-old Alma Mardis of Booneville, Tenn., a typical daughter of the cotton soil. Alma is naturally intelligent but she has never been to school except for abrupt periods. She cannot read or write. As a child of 6, she began work in

the cotton fields. Until she came to Memphis in April, she had never seen a lighted electric light. She didn't know what an elevator was. She never heard of a trolley car. She had never listened to a radio. She had never seen a movie. After she toured the city, she remarked: "I have to pinch myself to be sure I'm alive. But I know it couldn't be a dream, because I never dreamed about anything as wonderful as this."

How They Work  
Poor Alma, daughter of America, and the 10,000,000 like you. Won't your heart stir and your pulse quicken when unscrupulous agitators and demagogues, preying upon your ignorance, carry the torch of fascism high through the South and beguile you with stories of a new world where you would just obey, with absolute obedience, with some measure of security and happiness? Isn't that a wonderful dream? They will tell you, Alma, that it's just the Jew who is to blame for the present mess, that it's the foreigner, perhaps the Catholic. And if your skin is white, they will tell you we must "cane" your brothers with a darker skin. And you will listen, Alma, and the 10,000,000 like you, and swear allegiance to the American fascist leader. And you will don a colored shirt and "Jill" will call upon your brother and your father to wreak a terrible vengeance upon the Jew and the foreigner and perhaps the Catholic and, if you are white, upon the Negro.

I said that Alma is but one of 10,000,000. In the South today, 10,000,000 sharecroppers and cotton field hands are being forced off the soil, evicted out of their miserable shacks, denied even the right of their miserable existence. The march of machinery, the tractor and the cotton picker and

the cotton chopper — this means that even those sharecroppers who considered themselves fortunate, if they earned a \$50 income during the year have lost even that. And these 10,000,000 are ready for the conflagration of fascism, the cause of the hopeless. Hundreds of thousands are scattered through the bays and swamps of the Mississippi and its tributaries, living off the produce of the wilds. In tremendous numbers they have swarmed into the cities, already teeming with capitalism's unemployed, there to live off the refuse of the garbage dumps, a huge reservoir today for strikebreaking agencies, tomorrow for fascism.

STFU the Answer  
What is to be done? Are they lost forever to the cause of freedom and progress? The answer lies in their own organization where, restored to their status as men and women, they have banded together to fight for their rights and to build a world based upon knowledge and not ignorance. Thirty-five thousand sharecroppers and cotton pickers of the Southwest, Alma's brothers, are marching toward progress under the banners of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. What a pitiful figure, you say! Less than four-tenths of 1 per cent. But it is in this four-tenths of 1 per cent that America must find its hope. And this four-tenths of 1 per cent can double and double again and again until it shall include all of the 10,000,000, include Alma and everybody like her.

For this job, the job of defending America against fascism, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union must have the support of every working man in America to whom freedom is precious and worth fighting for. Two years ago I volunteered to travel 2,000 miles across an ocean to enlist in an army that was fighting fascism on the battlefield; today I seek enlistment in another army, that of the supporters of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. How many will join me?

# Labor and War

By NORMAN THOMAS

Every war since labor became an articulate force has had to be sold to the workers as in some degree their war, different from who ever wins, they lose. Thus, the last war was "to protect the Fatherland" or "to end war and make the world safe for democracy." The next war will be sold to the American workers as a war to end fascism even although in the act of fighting if they will fall at once under the dominion of a military fascism.

Actually, the workers are already paying a terrible price for the expectation of war here in America. Unquestionably it is a factor in the cut in the appropriation for WPA and the virtual collapse of any forward campaign against unemployment and economic insecurity. The money that should have been spent on such a campaign has been diverted into armament economics; that is, into a waste of energy and resources for that which creates for us and our children no useful things at all—except as war may give a dreadful use to the bombers and battleships which we build instead of schools and houses. All this winter I have been impressed by the fact that expectation of war kept American workers from vigorous thinking about their own problems at home. It gave the government, or rather the whole capitalist system, a partial escape for its failure to provide us with security or abundance.

Of course, in war the situation will be infinitely worse. If the god of war would speak truth to us he would warn us somewhat thus: "Mr. Worker: At my command you and your brothers between the ages of 18 and 55 (if the struggle is long continued) will be subject to conscription.

"Even in the factories you will be soldiers; your bosses officers. To strike will be sedition. Your money wages may rise; your taxes, money that should have been spent on such a campaign has been diverted into armament economics; that is, into a waste of energy and resources for that which creates for us and our children no useful things at all—except as war may give a dreadful use to the bombers and battleships which we build instead of schools and houses. All this winter I have been impressed by the fact that expectation of war kept American workers from vigorous thinking about their own problems at home. It gave the government, or rather the whole capitalist system, a partial escape for its failure to provide us with security or abundance.

"You will find your country without free speech or free press. Spying will become a mania; personal grudges, masked as patriotism, will make neighbor invoke sedition laws against neighbor. To criticize the war or to urge peace will invite the prison doors to swing open for you—and shut behind you. Remember Gene Debs! In the new world war, more even than in the first, liberty and truth will be the first casualties.

"But, suppose, you, Mr. Worker, are young and strong. Then the draft will take you to fight. Perhaps it will be your lot to be an aviator. You yourself may exult in your personal power to participate in the conquest of the air, of which men for long generations dreamed in vain, but you will use the magnificent power you have to become a killer of women and children. It will still be your function to strike terror to the heart of sleeping cities. There is no way of carrying on aerial warfare without this use of it, and in it you will participate.

"Or perhaps you will fight by sea or by land. It will be the old warfare with new horror, thanks to new methods of destruction added to those with which man has long been familiar. For you, doubtless, will be the mingled boredom and brutality of the trenches. For you will be the hand to hand fighting with brother workers, who like you,

workable eyes by the rulers of fascist states! Remember American boys died in Arabia after the Armistice to restore order in a revolutionary land. "Perhaps you will not be asked to restore order in Berlin or Rome but in Ebbell, India; or in some Moslem city, where the dwellers under the British and French banners seek freedom. And this will be the end of your crusade for democracy.

"Nor will democracy be restored again when at last the guns are temporarily stilled. It is all likely that in any long war the only victors will be chaos and death. If one side wins triumphantly it will impose another peace of vengeance. If there is general conscription, dictators will gradually reorganize society. There is no reason whatever to think that the world will stand another great war and come through even as well as it came through the first world war. The cumulative effects will be worse. I, the God of War, shall be the victor. And my blood for blood will not long be asked.

That is why Socialists appeal to the workers to keep America out of war. We also hate fascism; we also want to see a federation of cooperative commonwealths of freedom, peace and plenty, but we know that an America in war will neither save Europe nor Asia, but will itself lose its liberty, destroy the last island of sanity, the last place where democracy can be tried under favorable conditions of peace.

"Workers of America, you will unite with your brothers the better to break your chains and those of your country is kept at peace!"

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**MAY DAY GREETINGS**  
Joint Board, Dressmakers  
**I. L. G. W. U.**  
NEW YORK CITY

**If May Day Means Anything to You, Read This!**  
A Socialist Refugee Writes from Paris:  
"Yes, here in Paris, is the capital of freedom, where everybody is free to starve. I belong to those who live in eternal uncertainty from one day to the next. Sometimes, by some miracle, I find some work which is just enough to save me from starving. My health, too, is broken. I have only two comforts in my lamentable situation: good books and classical music. If I am listening to a concert of Beethoven, Bach or Mozart, I feel re-born. Dear Comrade Loeb, don't consider me sentimental if I think so, but it is necessary to have something beautiful in the present damned world."  
There are thousands in the same situation, from Spain, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary. They are the heroes of the working-class. THEY ARE OUR REFUGEES! Will Socialists and progressive workers in America allow this May Day to pass by without a concrete thought for their brothers across the sea, victims of a ruthless fascist imperialism?  
Give meaning to this May Day! Extend the hand of solidarity and brotherhood. Send your contribution NOW to James Loeb, Executive Secretary,  
The Committee for International Labor Solidarity of the Socialist Party, 348 Third Ave., New York, N. Y.

# Building For Democracy In The South

## Unions, Socialism Gaining

FRANK McALLISTER



FRANK McALLISTER

Some time ago in an issue of the Socialist Call the writer had an article titled "The Myth of Democracy in the South" which outlined the picture in the South as the Nation's new known as the Nation's Problem No. 1. This article will attempt to present some of the factors working toward democracy in the south.

striking leaflet distribution in Griffin, Ga.

Socialist Training School

Turpentine operators and cotton plantation owners are dealing more warily with their enslaved workers as a result of several peonage convictions won by the Workers' Defense League.

Plans are under way to establish a Socialist training school in the south, probably on a cooperative farm, to train union leaders and party functionaries. This has long been recognized as a basic need which it now appears possible to meet.

The south is the main theater in the future drama of America where our course for generations is decided. The threat of fascism is not waiting in the wings but is openly holding the stage parts of the south. The southern workers are militant and class-conscious as proved by their courageous strike actions in past struggles. When the curtain is drawn for the final act Socialists will be in the vanguard leading enlightened southern workers to their emancipation.

## Milgrim Scores Plan to Name Hague Judge

JERSEY CITY—In the name of "New Jersey citizens who have been fighting for democracy here," Morris Milgram, State Secretary of the Workers' Defense League of New Jersey, has asked President Roosevelt by telegram to deny Senator Smathers' statement indicating appointment of a federal judge in New Jersey acceptable to himself and Mayor Hague.

Milgram's telegram follows: "Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt, The White House, Washington, D. C.

Senator Smathers speaking before Senate Judiciary Subcommittee indicated that a federal judge acceptable to both Mayor Hague and himself would be appointed shortly to fill vacancy due to promotion of Judge Clark. Surely you will not appoint a judge friendly to Boss Hague, who has already been indicted by public opinion through-out United States for violations of fundamental civil rights and is at present involved in litigation on that subject in Federal courts. New Jersey citizens who have been fighting for democracy here urge you to deny Senator Smathers' statement by appointing a judge who has demonstrated support of civil rights."

Political Progress

There have been made even in the field of political action by the more sections men like Representative Cox (Georgia) are sent to Congress by a vote of less than one out of the population, there is a steady trend toward greater participation by the workers and farmers.

This is partly due to the passage of the law requiring the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. This action has been taken by many southern states not because of a sudden conversion to liberalism but because the Democratic party has adopted the policy of allowing delegates to the national convention on the basis of one vote per capita.

Local groups are beginning to take an active part in political campaigns. Thus far, this has been restricted to working for the election of New Deal candidates as opposed to conservative Democrats who are in motion and can be swung further to the left by proper leadership.

Many communities Negroes are registering to vote but not in the Democratic primary, which is the decisive election in the South. In St. Petersburg, Fla., the writer there, a quiet campaign among Negroes has resulted in 600 registrations for the primary election which is non-partisan.

Defence League Active

A conference of southern Socialists held at Rockdale, Miss., April 27, decided to initiate a Farmers' League in order to work as an independent force in the Democratic Party. This action was deemed necessary to insure socialist leadership in the political arena.

Some sections of the workers' movement are being "closed towns" are being set up to union work by per-secuting the Workers' Defense League in cooperation with the local union leaders. As a case in point, Clyde Mills, regional director of the Clothing Workers, was recently run out of town, Tenn., when he started a membership campaign. Protests to the newly formed Civil Liberties League of the department which will conduct an investigation which will result in a cessation of the illegal tactics of terror instituted by the local authorities.

Leaflet distribution is possible in the southern mill towns as a result of the supreme court decision in a case involving the Defense League of an ordinance re-

## Terror in Arkansas 3 S. T. F. U. Organizers Brutally Beaten

MEMPHIS—Crittenden County, Arkansas, was again the scene of an outbreak of planter violence against the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union on the afternoon of April 15 when D. A. Griffin, E. G. Creasey and L. H. Van Ryan, organizers, were taken into custody in Crawfordsville, Arkansas, by Town Marshal Jim Thompson, and a group of local planters, brutally beaten and released with threats of death if they returned to the community.

The three men, who were returning from an organizing trip, stopped in Crawfordsville for the purpose of buying groceries and parked their car on the main street of the town. L. H. Van Ryan, Negro organizer, stepped into a store to make his purchases. D. A. Griffin crossed the street and entered a hamburger stand and Creasey remained in the car. He had been there only a few minutes before the left the car and started to enter the grocery store to buy some matches when Jim Thompson, town marshal, and a Mr. O'Neal, manager of a local whiskey store, drove hurriedly up and, with abusive language ordered Creasey to enter their car. About this time Van Ryan who had completed his purchases came out of the store and deposited his groceries in Griffin's car. He was also ordered to enter the marshal's car. He was asked by Thompson what he was doing traveling with white men and before he could reply O'Neal struck him in the left eye, with his fist and Thompson struck him on the body with a black jack.

Law Into Themselves

Then Griffin returned to the car and asked what was going on he was told by the marshal that he would learn in due time and was also asked to get into the car. Griffin asked whether he was arrested and if so upon what charge, and was told by Thompson that the people of Crawfordsville were not interested in state or federal laws but were a law unto themselves and the charges would be arranged later.

They were then driven to Mayor Mosby's office where they were assured by the mayor that the officials and people of Crawfordsville had no respect whatever for state or federal laws and that they were concerned solely with the law of their own community. According to Griffin, Mayor Mosby told them that they had violated no written law and that he knew that they could not be held on any charge, but that they could and would be beaten up and if they returned would be killed and their bodies thrown in the bayou. While they were in the mayor's office the men were searched and all union literature, membership books and credentials, taken from them. Each man had with him a list of the union locals he had been assigned to visit and these were also seized with the threat that now they would be cleaned out. Van Ryan was forced by threat of death to reveal the names of some of the union members.

Beaten Unmercifully

Thompson and several planters then put the mayor out of his own office, and with him Van Ryan and Griffin, but kept Creasey inside where they proceeded to beat and kick him unmercifully. Seven planters remained in the office

with the Marshal and Creasey. According to Creasey, D. K. Springfield, local planter, snatched up a heavy local seal and with the words "I'll bust your God damned brains out and scatter them all over the office," struck at Creasey who threw up his left arm and received the blow on his left shoulder. Thompson then struck a blow from the front with a black jack which Creasey warded off, and received on his forearm. J. C. Williams, another planter, then began striking Creasey right and left in the face and Thompson struck Creasey a severe blow on the back of his head with a black jack which felled him to the floor. Thompson then hit him several blows about the head and face while the other men proceeded to kick and beat him brutally.

White Creasey was being beaten both Griffin and the mayor tried to reenter the mayor's office, but they were met at the door by Thompson who menaced both of them with his gun and refused them admittance.

The mayor told Thompson that he had called Howard Curlin, the county sheriff, and that Curlin had ordered them to release the men. Thompson then released Creasey, threatening the three men with certain death if they returned and possible lynching before they could get out of the county. The men drove to Memphis where Creasey received medical attention and a report was made to the union's national office.

Mayor in Dark

Later in the evening, J. R. Butler, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, called Sheriff Curlin by long distance to check on the mayor's alleged call. He was told by Curlin that Mayor Mosby had called him and stated further that he knew nothing of the outbreak of violence on the part of the sworn peace officers of Crawfordsville and the landowners of the community.

Griffin reported to union headquarters that in the course of the abuse being heaped upon the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Marshal Thompson stated that he did not wish anything derogatory said about E. B. McKinney, Negro recently expelled from the S. T. F. U. and leader of a dual organization attempting to organize members of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, CIO International Union from which the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union recently withdrew. He stated that McKinney was working with him and would hold a meeting there the following day. J. R. Butler, upon receiving this information, stated that it was obvious that E. B. McKinney is working hand and glove with the planters in Crawfordsville, and that they, having no fear of the success of the UCAFAWA in effectively organizing the workers, are using it as a weapon against the S.T.F.U. which they do fear.

J. R. Butler stated that an investigation is being made into the possibility of legal action against the men who attacked the organizers. He also stated that he will call upon Governor Bailey, along with the victims of the attack, early next week to protest the crime against these men and to ask his cooperation in bringing the attackers to justice and improving the law enforcing agencies of the state of Arkansas.

## Krueger, Daniels To Speak in Chi On May Day Eve

CHICAGO—Franz Daniels, former Socialist NEC member and director of the Southern textile workers' organizing campaign, and Maynard Krueger, University of Chicago professor, will be the guest speakers at the May Day Eve Dinner, sponsored by the Cook County Socialist Party, Sunday, April 30 at 8 p. m. at Kaplan Hall, 26th and Springfield.

The dinner will be prepared by the Bohemian Women's Branch of the Party and a special May Day program of songs and skits will be presented. Comrades are urged to phone in reservations for themselves and friends immediately to Harry Fleischman, State 3250. Reservations must be made by Thursday, April 27. Price per plate is 40 cents.

## REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS

THE SOCIALIST CALL

May It Continue to Serve the Cause of American Labor and International Socialism in Peace or in War.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO SOCIALIST PARTY

## Strikebusting Burns' Scabs On Way Out

BY SAMUEL ROMER

NEW YORK—The Burns Detective Agency, which turned strikebreaking into one of America's largest and most profitable industries, is on its way out! Once labor unions burned when they heard that Burns had been hired to break their strikes; this week the Burns smarted as they appeared before Abraham S. Wechsler, New York State Director of Licenses, with their license to act as a private detective agency at stake.

The case against Burns was sealed air-tight according to observers when Mr. Wechsler overruled the continual objections of Burns' attorneys and admitted into evidence testimony before the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee that the Burns Agency had supplied strike-breakers and lists of union members to employers and had provided armed guards, tear gas and munitions for use against strikers.

The hearing had been called when the Workers' Defense League filed objections with Wechsler against the renewal of a state license held by the Burns agency. Robert Halpern, attorney for the league, charged that the Burns agency "has shown itself not to have the good character, competency and integrity" required for holders of private detective agency licenses. Halpern further accused the Burns people "interfered with and coerced employees in the exercise of their right to form or join a labor organization of their own choice," in violation of the National Labor Relations Act.

Present at the hearing while this evidence that will mark the end of their profitable anti-labor career was introduced into the record were Raymond J. Burns, president, and William S. Burns, secretary-treasurer of the agency. Wechsler adjourned the hearing until May 15 to allow the agency to prepare a defense against the charges.

A similar complaint by the Workers' Defense League against the Railway Audit and Inspection Company, another of the giant strike-breaking outfits, resulted in the denial of their application for a license.

United May Day Rally Planned In Chicago

CHICAGO—Unions, Socialist and labor fraternal organizations have all combined to celebrate May Day here with a rally at the Workmen's Circle Lyceum, Ogden and Kedzie, on Monday, May 1, at 8 p. m.

A United Labor and Socialist May Day Conference on April 16 was attended by 121 delegates from 54 organizations. Among the organizations participating in the United May Day Celebration are

the Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, United Auto Workers' Local 453, Workmen's Circle, Socialist Party, Social-Democratic Federation, Poale Zion, Jewish National Workers' Alliance, Left Poale Zion, Illinois Workers' Alliance locals, Young Peoples Socialist League, Young Circle League and many others.

L. M. Polin of the Workmen's Circle is chairman of the conference, and Harry Cohen, ISDF, and Harry Fleischman, SP, are secretaries.

Mark Your Calendar! Chicago Ex-Coal Miners' Club Invite You to Their ANNIVERSARY DANCE

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## For Militant Socialism in Theory and Action

Local Baltimore, Md.

Jerome Tucker, Corresponding Secretary Irwin Fox, Financial Secretary

## May Day Greetings

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## May Day Greetings

to the Socialist Call

For Independent Workers' Action Against War and Fascism! For World Socialism!

## Cook County Socialist Party

Arthur G. McDowell, Chairman Ina M. White, Secretary Harry Fleischman, Organizer

5th Ward Branch North Side Branch Peter Svreck John Barnett

7th Congressional Branch 2nd Ward Branch Marianne Barnett John Barnett, Jr.

# THIS WORD "DEMOCRACY"

By MALISTER COLEMAN

"Democracy." The word is on strange lips these days. Labor-baiters and Stalinists, D. A. R.'s and the American League for Peace and Democracy, union disruptionists and panicky intellectuals—one and all mouth it with suspicious gusto. Nowhere in the personal or public performances of individuals and organizations now hurrying to get on the democratic band-wagon is there any evidence of the slightest concern for the preservation or extension of the democratic processes in America.

To be sure, to serve their ends, Stalinists will become lyrical over the Bill of Rights and take cover under the aegis of the American Civil Liberties Union. In addition to the second verse of "The Star Spangled Banner" Earl Browder has now learned the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, and the commy small fry are being taught the salute to the flag in place of the clenched fist of other days. But such posturings are so palpably phoney that even the innocents are leaving the "United Front" and just the other day dear old Heywood Brown, urging the Pope to call a peace conference, ran off the collective security reservation.

I mention Heywood merely as an example of a good man fallen among "agitprops" (I suppose they still call them that in the secret "plenums"). He is certainly traveling with some strange fellows these confused days and because I still have a profound personal affection for him, I can't help

grieving over his jitterish decline. His case, however, is typical of the rest of the browderized intellectuals who are now urging a holy war on behalf of the democracies of the Cliveden gang, the 200 families of France and Jo Beck's proletarian Poland. Even their hero Walter Duranty, writing in that Bible of the New Democrats, The New York Times, pokes sly fun at the aberrations of these high-brows. For Duranty knows darn well that there is no more democracy in Russia than there is sincerity in a Stalinist speech and he is daily telling the world that to drag ideologies into an imperialist dog-fight over colonies is to make confusion worse confounded.

In the meantime it is the Socialist job to give content and meaning to such democracy as we have over here, and to see to it that democracy is extended into every field of collective activity. To fight with all the energy that is in us this sinister defeatism that says, "We'll get into the next war, sure as shooting." To hold high the torch of Socialism in what may well be the last refuge for war-torn humanity.

On this May Day we may well echo the closing words of the speech of Eugene Victor Debs at Canton on June 16, 1918, the speech that led to his torture in Atlanta:

"And now for all of us to do our duty. The call is ringing in your ears. Do not worry over the charge of treason to your masters, but be concerned about the treason that involves yourself. . . . We Socialists are the builders of the world that is to be."

May Day Greetings

Suitcase Workers' Union New York City

GREETINGS.

Sam Shever

Mobile, Ala.

May Day Greetings

to the Socialist Call

A Workers' Newspaper on a Workers' Holiday

Socialist Party

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# SOME OF THE NEWS IS NOT FIT TO PRINT

HENRY HASKELL

It has been suggested that President Roosevelt does not run for a third term, or if he is defeated, he might accept the editorship of the New York Times. It is significant of the importance of the Times that no one would consider this suggestion incongruous, or the editorship of this newspaper as a terrific comedown for the former president of the United States.

To say that the Times plays an important part in the affairs of this country is commonplace. This is particularly true in respect to foreign affairs, where its influence could even be compared to that of our state department.

The Times has a coverage which is the envy and despair of every newspaper in the country. It sets the tone of thousands of other papers, and its influence is felt wherever men discuss the affairs of this nation.

Spokesman of Capital. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that we keep tab on this newspaper, and that we watch it with particular care as it maneuvers to defend the interests of American capital, whose spokesman it is. It is a commonplace in America today to say that the economic and social viewpoint of the owners of a paper determine the slant of the news stories as well as of the editorials of the paper.

The SOCIALIST CALL, therefore, defends the interests of the working class, and its news stories are frankly written with the hope of strengthening and helping the workers. The New York Times is owned by capitalists and conducted so as to strengthen and help capital—but not, frankly, the workers. The Times pretends it is impartial, pretends to serve the interests of the workers equally with those of capital. That is what makes it a dangerous and deceptive organ, for the wolf is more dangerous in sheepskin than when running openly with the pack.

Capitalist Bias. This bias is especially evident in the dispatches from abroad, for the writers seem to feel free to exhibit their prejudices from a distance. They also shield themselves with such excuses as censorship, keeping the goodwill of the people from whom they must get their news, etc. As a matter of fact, these men are probably chosen by the Times because they are good reporters with a capitalist bias. Naturally, the picture is not all one-sided, for if it were, the hypocrisy of the pretense that the paper is impartial would be exposed too easily. This explains the presence of such admirable reporters as Geyde in Central Europe, Byas in Japan, Matthews and Fernsworth in Spain (they are there no longer), Xbarra in Central and South America, and others.

Even those with the clearest bias rarely tell actual untruths. Their prejudice is shown more often by emphasizing the speeches and points of view of the reactionaries in the countries which they are reporting, and more rarely, in semi-editorial remarks incorporated in the body of what are supposed to be objective news stories.

Favors Collective Security. The New York Times urges collective security as the proper foreign policy for the United States. In recent weeks it has shown some impatience with Chamberlain's appeasement policy, but has consistently approved Daladier's policy which is hardly distinguishable from the former.

In Spain, the Times has never shared come out squarely for Franco, and is humanitarian enough to emphasize his excesses. But it is significant that as correspondents to Spain, the notorious Carney and fascist if there ever was one, did the reporting from Franco's side, while Matthews, newly decorated by Mussolini for his reporting of the rape of Abyssinia, was appointed to report from the Loyalist territory.

Matthews fooled the editors of the Times by adopting a tone favorable to the Loyalists. His reporting was of such unusual excellence that they could not withdraw him, but they placed numerous obstacles in his path, and blue-penciled his dispatches freely.

Mexican Oil Problem. Another outstanding example was Kluckhohn, recently expelled by the Mexican government for his biased reporting for the Times in that country. Liberals and radicals in this country who constantly outraged by the uniformly reactionary, anti-Cardenas tone of his dispatches, and were pleased by the prospects of getting less biased news from his successor. Instead the Times appointed Raymond Daniel, who has since revealed himself as the spokesman for the predatory American oil and land interests in Mexico. But of him more later.

To document these charges, I have gone through the Times for the last half of February, 1939. The bias criticized above is evident throughout. Let us consider, for example, the dispatches of P. J. Philip, reporting from France.

Mr. Philip prophesied and all but

# Dubinsky Raps CP Policies

NEW YORK — Praising the healthy condition of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, ILGWU, Pres. David Dubinsky of the International hailed the reelection of Manager Louis Nelson and his associates as an indication of the membership's will to ban outside political domination of the Local.

Dubinsky, who spoke at the recent installation meeting, said: "I have full confidence in Louis Nelson's honesty, efficiency, and economy in administering the affairs of Local 155 and I congratulate you upon his reelection. The attacks on Nelson, I am satisfied, are purely political. The only reason for these attacks is that Nelson has opposed a 'united front' with certain political elements in Local 155. It is because these people still retain the outlook that labor unions must be dominated by those connected with their political party, irrespective of ability, that Nelson has been so systematically attacked by them."

"For my part, let me say: anyone who does not lend encouragement to the attempts of a political group to dominate unions, but discourages such attempts, contributes a real constructive service to the labor movement. The only concern of the Communist element is this: 'Does he label or not? If he does, then it matters not how incompetent he may be, we'll support him. And if he is not of our political persuasion, no matter how loyal, capable and devoted to the Union he may be, he must be removed.'"

"This policy, however, has never before succeeded in our Union and never will. The Communists, in former years, used to call their opponents all kinds of names. When I was manager of Local 10, I was a betrayer of the working class and an enemy of the people, according to them. Now, they have stopped calling ugly names. Their methods have changed, but the policy has remained the same. Their aim is still to capture and to control labor unions."

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Get Munitions in U. S. A. The present situation may easily be traced to the doors of WORLD MUNITIONS CAPITAL. This clique, which makes its profits out of world slaughter, steps at nothing to gain its ends. During the world war, munitions makers reaped heavy profits by supplying munitions to the Allies and their enemies, likewise at this crucial period they supplied Hitler with ammunition.

The Skoda munitions works in

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# To Stop War Stop Sale of Munitions To War Makers

BY ROSE PESOTTA, Vice President, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

Recent events in Europe, Spain, and China have shocked the entire civilized world. The Nazis of Germany, under the leadership of a group of MANIACS, who are more fit to be inmates of an insane asylum than leaders, whose abnormalities are common knowledge, are now trampling under their heels every vestige of freedom and democracy.

Hordes of ruthless, crazed men were let loose upon defenseless people, making them homeless, crushing and maiming their bodies and souls. Jews, Czechs, Slovaks, Austrians, Spaniards, and many others are now roaming through the wilderness, cut off from their place of birth, where they have been rooted for centuries. In China, Japanese soldiers are sent to die and gain death upon a peaceful country.

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into instruments of destruction. To stop the destruction of man stop the sale of munitions to the war makers.

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**Workmen's Circle**  
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**CENTRAL BRANCH**  
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From the  
**Socialist Teachers of New York**

# Economic Plenty And May Day

HARRY W. LAIDLER

Throughout the ages prophets and seers have foretold the time when poverty for the masses would be a thing of the past, and when security and abundance would be the heritage of all.

But, despite all of these prophecies, the masses, in practically every land, have been for ages victims of abject poverty. This was due partly to the ruthless exploitation of the toilers by economic and political rulers; but also to the fact that man worked with simple and primitive tools and, try as he may, was able to produce with these tools little more than was necessary to keep him and his family alive.

The last century, following the Industrial Revolution, changed all this. Steam, electricity, mammoth machines, mass production, giant corporations, world markets, soon put an end to the horse and buggy stage. The power of man to produce multiplied beyond the dreams of former generations.

**America's Capacity**

In the United States, with this development, production increased from decade to decade, the national income reaching in 1929 the unprecedented sum of over 80 billion dollars. And yet, this amount by no means represented possibilities. Bookings Institution claimed that there was no reason why, even without a change in the national income system, this 80 billion dollars could not be increased to one hundred billion. (See America's Capacity to Produce.)

The Columbia University Commission on Economic Reconstruction expressed the opinion that production could be increased from 80 per cent to 90 per cent if equipment and management were brought up to the level of the best current standard. "It is clear," declared this commission, which consisted of some of the foremost economists in the country, "that if our society could continuously utilize to the full the productive capacity which is actually available, it could thereby overcome the evils of poverty and unemployment, assuring an equitable distribution of national income. Clearly it is not a physical obstacle, nor the niggardliness of nature, nor the lack of inventive capacity or industry on the part of man, which stands in the way of a much higher and much less precarious standard of living than any people has yet enjoyed." (Economic Reconstruction, p. 8.)

**\$4,370 a Year Possible**

A third study on economic abundance—the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity, the most extensive of them all—declared that in 1929 there existed 84.8 per cent of excess capacity in the industries of America and that a national income of 125 billion dollars in this country was easily possible, an income which, if equitably distributed, would insure the average family of 4.1 members an income of \$4,370 a year.

If society eliminated many of the wasteful wastes of competition and itself wholly to the creation of useful goods—granted a just distribution of the products of industry—a life of plenty in this machine and electrical age would be within the reach of all willing and able to do their part in the industrial and social life of the nation.

But, in spite of these possibilities, 80 per cent of the families in the United States in the so-called prosperous year of 1929 were receiving an income of less than \$2,000 a year, though \$2,000 per family was that year considered by students to be necessary to provide a standard of health and decency.

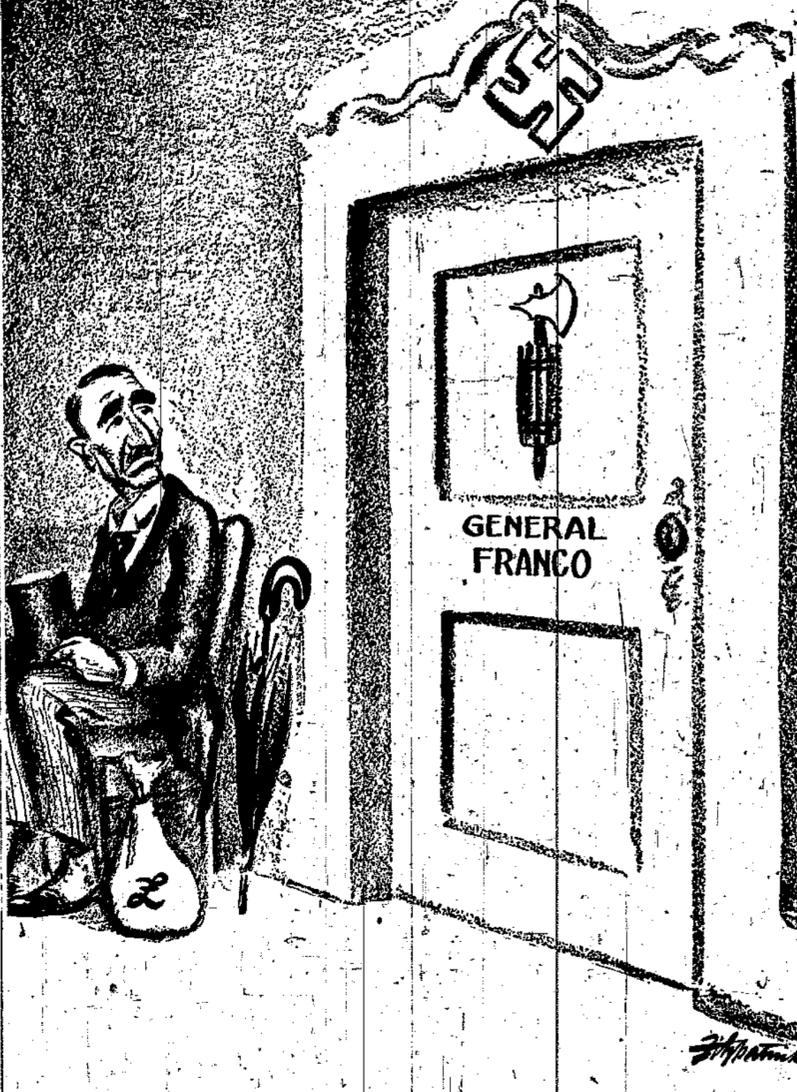
**Ten Years Depression**

Since those days, as all know, the situation has become infinitely worse than during the late twenties. The country is now in the tenth year of the worst depression in the history of the United States. From 1929 to 1938, there was a total loss in national income during these eight years of 133 billion dollars as compared with that at the end of the twenties, and a loss to the nation of 200 billion dollars, if one compares the decreases in income with the normal increases which might have been expected from year to year as the thirties advanced.

This latter sum equals four times the money lost (\$0 billion dollars) to American participation in the World War; four times the cost of erecting 55,000 homes for 10,000 of our nation's families.

**Crisis Worsens**

With the industrial crisis becoming worse and worse, individual as well as national incomes greatly decreased and poverty, tragic beyond all description, prevailed in dozens of communities. In 1933-5, the National Resources Board disclosed that one-third of American families and individual consumers had incomes of less than \$780 a



CHAMBERLAIN: AFTER ALL I DID FOR HIM! (Patrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

## What May Day Means to Intellectuals . . . The Struggle for a New Society

BY ALBERT S. COOLIDGE

It has just been my privilege to take part, both as guest and as host, in a remarkably significant gathering—the third annual conference of the Massachusetts Federation of Teachers, held on the campus and in the buildings of Harvard university, and attended by many of the more thoughtful members of the faculty who are not (or not yet) members of the union, with a substantial delegation from the newly organized Association of Scientific Workers.

As I listened to messages of greeting from President Conant and President Green, and saw how easily and naturally my faculty colleagues and my union brothers and party comrades mingled and found common ground, I realized with supreme satisfaction that the old barriers of misunderstanding and distrust are rapidly crumbling away and permitting fruitful cooperation between these groups, which need each other so imperatively if either is to realize its aspirations.

**Scholars and Labor**

Do scholars hope to dedicate themselves to the advancement of learning and wisdom? They can do so only in a stable society, free from such injustices and economic contradictions as under capitalism constantly threaten to overwhelm us with wars, crises, and social cataclysms, and in such a society they must justify their existence by constant proof that their precious "culture" is no isolated monopoly product, but is made always available to enrich and broaden the lives of the whole people.

Do workers strive to emancipate themselves from the tyranny of low wages and long hours at mechanical labor, fit for a robot but degrading for an intelligent man? In their struggle they have need for the services of every bit of superior talent and special training whose loyal help they can command.

**What Is Culture?**

I speak of "culture" as though it were a crop produced only within university walls; but this is not my intention—it simply resulted from the example which I chose as text.

I don't know what culture is, but I suppose we may take it in a general way as all the things that we do or make not because we have to but because we want to—we find them worth while in themselves.

It is one of the most terrible indictments of capitalism that it deprives most people of the chance to live their culture; if they have any chance at all to do anything intrinsically worth while—anything giving scope to their creative or imaginative or receptive or intellectual faculties—it is not as a real part of their lives, but as an escape from an intolerable reality.

**Some Escape, Some Don't**

But there are, even under capitalism, some few fortunate individuals who escape this fate, and who are able to devote themselves to their occupation or profession by choice rather than necessity; and who find therein a major part of the meaning and satisfaction in their lives.

Not unworshipful saints starving in

garrets, but ordinary wholesome men and women, with the normal capacities and desires, both to produce and to consume, who have been lucky enough to be able to strike a normal balance between these capacities. (What does May Day mean to these people?)

Traditionally it has meant little. Partly just from habit, professional people move in different or-

work must command his best time and effort, and must not be exposed to interruption and delay through strikes, demonstrations, union meetings, and the like.

**Class Struggle Intensifies**

Many of these reasons have rapidly lost their cogency in the flux of events since the Great Depression. It has become abundantly clear that the Priests of Culture are not going to be regarded with any special tenderness by the economic forces generated in a period of intensified class struggle, and indeed that, if these forces take the direction of Fascism, not only priests but temples as well will be swept into the sea.

Therefore it behooves the priests quickly to make common cause with all those groups which have the will and the power to stop the drift toward Fascism, and the center of gravity of these groups must of necessity be the organized labor movement.

But it will not suffice merely to oppose Fascism; there can be no safety for priests or temples until the forces have been guided into constructive paths and the tensions created by them have been resolved in the creation of new society in which the private ownership of the means of production shall no longer stand between men and their opportunities for creative labor.

**Toward a New Society**

So when scholars and teachers take the day off to participate in a conference organized by a section of the American Federation of Labor, they are not shirking their proper work; they are making a definite contribution, though perhaps at long range, to the things which they most value.

There may be some difficulties still; the old distrust and suspicion will not vanish overnight. But one thing is sure—the old order is doomed, and it can no longer protect us. In the new order which must arise from its ruins, our security and our opportunities for service will be in direct ratio to our loyal cooperation in the process of reconstruction.

**Reasons For Indifference**

And indeed, for a few decades it did so maintain him. Partly from distrust of mass pressure and propaganda as methods of solving problems. Partly from lack of sympathy with some of the traditional labor objectives, as jurisdictional disputes, which have no great appeal to people whose work is a source of satisfaction in itself.

Partly because in many cases professional workers are employed not by capitalists whose only motive is profit, but in public or cooperative enterprises (hospitals, schools, symphony orchestras) where there is no direct economic or class conflict between workers and management, but on the contrary a genuine basis for collaboration in furtherance of the work in which all concerned have a genuine interest.

And finally, largely because the professional has been too busy, his

# Eight Years After Five Scottsboro Boys Still in Prison

BY MORRIS SHAPIRO, Secretary Scottsboro Defense Committee

April 6 to 9 marked the eighth year of what has now become known as the Scottsboro case. On those three days in 1931 nine Negro boys singly and in groups, were tried in the county courthouse at Scottsboro, Ala., in an atmosphere which the supreme court of the United States later characterized as marked by threats of mob violence.

In those original trials eight of the boys were sentenced to death in the electric chair on the charge of "raping" two white women. In the case of the ninth boy—Roy Wright—who was then 13 years old, the jury disagreed. One juror urged "mercy" and recommended life imprisonment. A mistrial was declared in his case.

**Eleven Trials**

During the eight years which have passed since April, 1931, the Scottsboro case has come before Alabama courts on appeal three times. In the first two appeals before the high court, death sentences were reversed and new trials ordered.

The first supreme court decision in November, 1932, ordered a new trial on the grounds that the Negro boys had not been adequately represented by counsel. The second reversal, in April, 1933, was handed down in the historic decision which stated that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the juries before which the Scottsboro case had been brought in violation of the constitution of the United States.

**Witness Admits Perjury**

In 1933, when the cases were tried for the second time, one of the white women whom they were accused of assaulting, Ruby Bates, took the witness stand for the defense and denounced her original testimony as a lie. In June of that same year, Judge James E. Horton of Decatur, Ala., who had sentenced Haywood Patterson to death for the second time, reversed his own decision and rendered an opinion which stated that the evidence "preponderated greatly in favor of the defendants."

The present status of the Scottsboro case is that four of the nine original defendants are free. The charge of "rape" against five of the boys—Ozie Powell, Roy Wright, Eugene Williams, Willie Roberson and Olen Montgomery—were dropped in July, 1937, and, except for Ozie Powell, these boys were unconditionally freed when the state of Alabama officially admitted that the evidence against them was doubtful.

Up to Governor Yet at this same time, the state of Alabama meted out sentences

against the remaining boys, on the same evidence (now reduced to the unsupported testimony of one woman of doubtful character) that outraged public opinion throughout the South and in Alabama itself as well as in the whole country.

Clarence Norris was sentenced to death (this sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by former Gov. Bibb Graves on July 5, 1933), Haywood Patterson to 75 years, Charlie Weems to 75 years and Andy Wright to 99 years, Ozie Powell was given 30 years on a charge of "assault" committed upon a sheriff who shot him in January, 1936, while the boys were being transferred from Decatur to Birmingham.

Entering its ninth year, justice in the Scottsboro case is now in the hands of Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama. All recourse to the courts has been exhausted. The boys can now be freed only by a pardon from the governor.

**Appeal to People**

We appeal on this anniversary to the conscience of the American people to help wipe out a crime against justice which has been justifiably called the "shame of America." The innocence of the Scottsboro boys has been repeatedly proven before the entire world.

The state of Alabama, by freeing four of the boys, removed the last possible doubt as to their innocence. And yet eight years after their original trial five of them are still in prison, serving cruel sentences for a crime they never committed.

The Scottsboro Defense committee, which is composed of the American Civil Liberties Union, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Church League for Industrial Democracy, Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Labor Defense, League for Industrial Democracy, Methodist Federation of Social Service, National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, reaffirms its complete belief in the innocence of all the

defendants and its determination to continue unceasingly the work for their unconditional release. It has recently issued new pardon petitions addressed to Governor Dixon of Alabama which all friends of justice are urged to sign.

Petitions may be obtained at 112 E. Nineteenth st., New York city.

**FORWARDED**

NEW YORK (F.P.)—If apartment house occupants are inconvenienced by a strike this spring, they will know whom to blame. Local 332 B of the Building Service Employees' International Union (A.F.L.) has made sure by advertising its case in the New York papers—in advance.

**ASSIST REFUGEES**

STOCKHOLM (F.P.)—Both houses of parliament voted by large majorities to grant an appropriation of \$125,000 to assist in retraining Jewish refugees in Sweden.

## May Day Greetings to the Call

JOHN H. and BLANCHE H. MEYER Milwaukee, Wis.

SAMUEL S. WHITE Kansas City, Mo.

SOCIALIST PARTY of PORTLAND, ORE.

John Ephriam Morgan Portsmouth, O.

PAUL A. OLKER Chicago, Ill.

Workmen's Circle Branch 176 I. J. Adland Chicago, Ill.

JOHN PEARSON Redgranite, Wis. WALTER and FLORENCE DAVIS Hamden, Conn. GREETINGS

To all comrades and workers of the world. United, you have to lose but your chains. Socialist Party of New Mexico. John Williams, State Sec. Clovis, N. M.

## Toward a Workers' World With the CALL

Ten Members of the Cooperative Fellowship New York City

## MAY DAY GREETINGS

From the Germantown-Olney Branch Germantown, Pa.

## MAY DAY GREETINGS

From the Workmen's Circle New York

## Branch 1001

## Branch 401

## Branch 111

## Branch 156

## Branch 209

## Branch 48

## Branch 153

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Mussolini's Past and Present By Angelica Balabanoff

EDITORIALS—BOOK REVIEWS

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## Heroes of 1917

BY JOHN T. FLYNN

On a statement issued April 6, on the occasion of the New York Keep America Out of War meeting and the anniversary of the United States' entry into the World War.

The object of this meeting is to summon Americans to a higher kind of courage which they may soon need. There is a large share of bravery in almost all men, so that when war comes, it is easy to get millions of young men to march off to give up their lives for their country.

When the whole nation is moving to war it takes merely the ordinary kind of courage to move with it, but when that nation is moving to war it takes a very high kind of courage to move against it. America was in the throes of a war hysteria in 1917, and the 16 men and one woman, Miss Jeanette Rankin, who had the spiritual stamina to stand in the congress against that overwhelming mass of patriotic fervor and vote NO against going to war showed the kind of courage which men should never cease to honor.

Today a great effort is under way originating in the same sources as in 1917 to drive this country toward cooperation with certain European powers. This drive will end in a clamor for American participation in the war if war should come to Europe. All the agencies of propaganda will be at work.

It will all be done under the pretense that we are saving the democracies. It will take men and women of the highest courage to stand against this new danger to our own security and democracy. In honoring these 56 congressmen who faced the fire in 1917 we hope we may encourage others to stand fast today.



# Auto Union Settles to Tackle Job Problems

## Rank and File Protects Union Democracy

DETROIT — Tens of thousands of auto workers in this area feel vastly relieved since their union's convention in Cleveland. It is too early to say that factionalism in the United Automobile Workers of America is dead. But factionalism is at least substantially reduced. The center of the union's attention is no longer factionalism; it is the fight against the employers.

As ever, General Motors offers the major problem. In key plants such as Chevrolet in Flint, the management refuses to bargain as long as Martin's dual union and the UAWA both claim bargaining rights. The management uses different methods in different plants but in all cases they disregard the union's rights increasingly.

With the Cleveland convention over, however, the forces of the UAWA are preparing themselves for a fight to rebuild their organization. GM workers are ready to regain their power. Good leadership and aggressive policy will soon find the union stronger than ever in GM plants.

**Chrysler Local United**  
In Chrysler plants, the union is fairly well united and the vicious factionalism of the Martin group has not succeeded in splitting the union to any extent. The Chrysler contract which expired March 31 was extended for 30 days. Negotiations must be started very soon. Unquestionably the company will try to utilize the internal troubles which have beset the union to make inroads in the new contract.

The Ford drive plans are not public and no doubt will not be made public. A vigorous campaign to inform the autoworkers and the public of conditions in the Ford plants is planned. Such a campaign would form the basis of the Ford boycott drive. The success of any Ford drive at this time will depend in large measure on the ability of the UAW to consolidate its forces in General Motors and once more place the union on the aggressive.

**Competitive Shop Problems**  
The most difficult and pressing need of the union is a successful drive to organize competitive plants. These plants, scattered

throughout the nation, threaten union conditions in the organized parts plants. Here, too, if the union can pull together in organized centers the competitive shop drive will be made much easier.

While these constitute the pressing problems, there is a less dramatic situation facing the union. The UAWA has been in the forefront in organizing WPA workers, especially auto workers who go on WPA after being laid off.

The WPA workers and the unemployed not on WPA, must be kept within the fold of the union to prepare for the fall production season. When these WPA workers get back into the shop their loyalty to the union is needed.

**Aircraft Industry**  
A major problem not directly connected with the auto industry but very much connected with the UAWA is aircraft. The aircraft industry is one of the most prosperous in the country. It is working at capacity. There is real need for organization, but past mistakes hinder organization. One of the important UAW projects in the next few months will be aircraft organization. The personnel to direct the drive has not yet been disclosed.

These questions constitute the major problem, but there are still others. Economy in UAW operation is essential in view of past extravagances. A revitalization of the education work of the union is needed. Renewed political education and more vigorous political action are necessary, but may not come until organization tasks have been handled.

**Martin Moves to AFL**  
The union's difficulties would be much greater if Homer Martin had not chosen to negotiate with the American Federation of Labor. There can be no doubt that after the Cleveland convention there was resentment against the election of Richard T. Frankenstein to the executive board. Stories of "red control" caused some confusion, even though auto workers have become very skeptical of reported "Communist domination." They have heard the story too often and have seen it disproved in action.

However, whatever effects could have resulted from some of the Cleveland actions were offset the day after the convention by Martin's announcement of a conference with William Green to discuss possible affiliation of his group

with the American Federation of Labor. In such key centers as Detroit and Flint, this announcement has caused increasingly disintegration in the Martin forces.

**Communist Problems**  
If there were actual Communist control of the UAWA, there is no doubt that the union would suffer, not only because of what Communist leadership would do but also because of the certain reaction against a Communist leadership among rank and file elements.

Actually the news reports are greatly exaggerated. While CP influence on the executive board does exist, it is not dominant at all. The dominant influence is the CIO and the progressive non-political union forces, many of which in the past have worked with Communist elements in the fight against Homer Martin.

Proof of this is expected when the general executive board holds its first meeting in Detroit, April 24.

Danger of CIO dictatorship over the UAWA is not very great. The CIO has been an influence against political domination of the UAW and for a unified, constructive policy. These two needs have been very great in the organization. The danger of destroying UAW democracy is not great.

**Auto Workers for Democracy**  
The Cleveland convention proved that the auto workers know the meaning of democracy and the need for democracy. It will not be easy for anyone to destroy the determination of the auto workers that their organization be democratic. The new constitution affords ample protection to the rank and file. It is unquestionably the most democratic constitution in any important union in the country.

An unfortunate result of the long period of factionalism in the UAWA is the growth of an anti-political sentiment. The experiences of the auto workers with the various Communist organizations, Stalinite, Lovestoneite, Trotskyite, has produced an anti-political sentiment which also affects Socialists. At the Cleveland convention Socialists proved their non-Communist methods of functioning. Avoiding deals and opportunistic policies, Socialist auto workers cooperated with elements who were interested in ending factionalism and creating a progressive constructive leadership and program. This policy, while not always successful, proved Socialist integrity. It proved that Socialists were not interested in "capturing" but rather in building and unifying.

# So. Illinois Mine Workers Greet May Day

BY JOHN FISHER  
Vice-Chairman, Socialist Party, U. S. A.

The following article expresses the thoughts of the Socialist and other, left wing forces among the Southern Illinois coal miners. John Fisher is a miner employed at Gillespie, Ill. and he is known nationally for his progressive trade union work of many years standing.—The Editor.

May Day 1939 finds the Socialist and labor forces in a world gone mad with the fever of war and destruction. All the so-called Christian nations are desperately arming for the coming conflict.

The propaganda mills are working night and day preparing the people for the slaughter. Justifying their position by "non-intervention," "appeasement" and "Hitler" slogans, the false "Defenders of Democracy," like the fascists, are waging war against the working class. Behold Chamberlain and Daladier's governments!

In America we are told we are arming for national defense, but boiled down to cold facts the privileged classes are getting ready to wage war in defense of their own imperialist aims and possessions.

**Labor Only Hope**  
In this particular situation the only hope of maintaining peace is in the Socialist and labor movement.

Wars and crises will occur and become more desperate for all of us so long as we are willing to believe and recognize the capitalist "right" of private exploitation, and the suppression and denial of our rightful claims to the full social value of our production.

When we have access to consume all we create and live on a level comparable to our own productive ability, when all who are able to work can work and consume freely without artificial restrictions, then the danger of war and economic depressions will disappear.

**Socialism Will Triumph**  
At this time only labor can stop or delay war. On May, 1939, we appeal to all who labor to actively join the ranks of working class organizations. To build a labor movement united in action. To conduct educational programs for the enlightenment of ourselves and our fellow workers. To prepare NOW for the day when we can usher in the brotherhood of man: where all shall be equal, all shall be free from hunger, no one shall be denied work and security for all shall be assured.

These are some of the tasks of the workers of America on May Day, 1939. As Socialists and class conscious workers and as union men we greet the labor world. We are confident that labor and Socialism will ultimately triumph.

# Greetings

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to the Workers of America

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to the

## SOCIALIST WORLD

ON MAY DAY

1939

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- M. Glantz

**The Menace of Fascism**

BY FRANK NEWTON

On this day of international labor solidarity it is good to look back over the ground we have traveled, and to prepare for the struggles ahead. A sober summary of the post-war labor movement must indicate that in these two decades labor has met a series of political defeats which largely cancel out its otherwise slow, steady unionist gains.

We have witnessed the tragedy of labor in Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain and Czech-Slovakia—a tragedy deepened by the brutal successes of capitalism's latest spawn: Fascism.

Several writers, recently, for example Geoffrey Crowther of the London Economist and Frank C. Hanighen of Merchants of Death, have been trying to make out a case against Fascism on the ground of its anti-capitalist nature.

Fascism is Capitalism

To be sure Fascism as an economy interferes with free, competitive, laissez-faire capitalism; but its substitute, state capitalism, more and more hastens the normal development of capitalism itself. Thus Fascism while limiting the operations of capitalist economy, continues thereby to guarantee its institutional existence. This guaranteed existence is bought at the expense of the laboring masses whose standard of living is inexorably lowered in the Fascist states.

Fascism abroad or at home in the U. S. A. establishes and maintains a reign of terror against the working class and its allies; sanctifies the property-relations of capitalist society by new invigilations of guaranteed profits; debases living conditions for all who toil; prepares a militarized nation for new imperialist wars.

Much will be said and written for May Day designed to prepare the still free labor movement in the non-Fascist countries for its historic duty: to wage ceaseless struggle against war, against Fascism, against capitalism, the source of both war and Fascism.

Our task in this connection in the United States becomes even more important as the onrushing foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration leads the country towards war. And in the event of war, toward Fascism at home.

The menace of Fascism in the United States—except for the eventualities when war comes—is still small. But it is a real menace which must be fought back now. It must be recognized now for what it truly is.

American Fascists

Fascism in the United States will not come from the avowedly Fascist, almost invariably anti-Semitic organizations mushrooming here. The Pelleys, the Edmondsons, the Trues, the General Moseleys, the Coughlins and their Nazi Bund associates and racketeer imitators, though sympathetic of existing problems in America, will not bring Fascism to America.

Be there eight or 800 such organizations in the United States, these organizations and their leaders are "boils on the neck," vicious, filled with infective pus, revealing an unhealthy condition in the blood stream but nonetheless susceptible to surface as well as internal elimination.

All normally decent citizens, conservative, liberal or radical, willingly disassociate themselves from the anti-Semitic, Nazi fifth poured out by voice and print from these openly Fascist sympathizers. Thus far, too, the self-confessed Fascists "intellectuals" such as Lawrence Dennis, Professor Hoffman of

Fordham university, Professor Scott of Western Reserve, and their imitators have made little headway.

No, Fascism if it comes to the United States, will not come via the use of word, fascism, or via individuals and groups who are avowedly Fascist. Fascism if it comes, will be called by another name, it may come under the guise of Americanism and 100 per cent patriotism. But most surely it will come from a new war; most surely it will come, if it does, from the action of industry, from the decision of the courts and reactionary legislative bodies.

Peonage in the South is incipient Fascism; the collaboration of Mayor Kelly—supported by the liberals and the Communists in the recently concluded Chicago mayoral election—the collaboration of Mayor Kelly and the police in the Chicago Memorial Day Massacre is incipient Fascism; the role of the Associated Farmers in the bestial treatment of 300,000 homeless, migratory farm workers on the West coast is Fascism in the making; the appalling, uncontroverted record revealed in the thousands of pages of testimony by the La Follette senatorial investigating committee creates the foundations of Fascism.

All this, and more, exposes the menace of Fascism: a Fascist society rumbling in the old womb of capitalist society unable and unwilling to provide food and shelter and clothing for all its 30,000,000 families.

Perhaps the most significant events in the making of this Fascist society have been two recent court decisions. Far too little attention has been given to the supreme court's 5:2 Fansteel case, and to the Apex Hosiery Workers case.

Readers of the SOCIALIST CALL may remember the account of the North Chicago Fansteel strike (S. C. March 6, 1937). The company refused to bargain with the union, secured the cooperation of Governor Horner and the Lake county, Illinois, police, succeeded in driving the men from the plant after a series of labor disputes in the United States.

The national labor relations board held hearings. It found that the company was guilty of labor spying, union busting, thuggery and refusal to abide by the collective bargaining provisions of the Wagner act. The strike, in other words, was caused and provoked by the bosses.

The supreme court majority concurred in the findings of the national labor relations board. It, in other words, agreed that the bosses were the cause of the labor trouble. But because the workers used the sit-down in their efforts to protect themselves and their rights to their jobs, the court held that they violated the sanction of property.

This alleged violation coming only as a response to the labor-baiting, labor-breaking tactics of

**Socialists Ban CP United Front May 1**

CHICAGO—A statement released by Harry Fieischman, organizer of Local Cook County, Socialist Party, this week stated that Socialists would not march in the Communist organized and dominated "United May Day Parade" this year.

Although Chicago Socialists have marched in united demonstrations with Communist as well as other elements in 1937 and 1938, Socialists here, as well as in New York and other cities, are abandoning this practice this year.

"We refuse," said Fieischman, "to be part of a demonstration dominated by totalitarian elements in the labor movement who have identified themselves with open war-mongering and ruthless suppression of all opposition elements wherever Stalinists are in control."

"In 1939 we are joining with these sections of the labor and Socialist movement that believe in and practice democratic procedures and international working class solidarity."

"We will participate in the united labor and Socialist May Day celebration on Monday, May 1, at 8 p. m. at the Workmen's Circle Lyceum, Ogden and Kedzie. This rally is sponsored by the Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, United Auto Workers' Union, Workmen's Circle, Socialist Party, Social Democratic Federation, Poale Zion, Jewish National Workers' Alliance, Left Poale Zion, Illinois (Independent) Workers' Alliance locals, Young People's Socialist League, Young Circle League and many others."

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of the  
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**Marcus Graham Case Up For Trial May 8**  
LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Marcus Graham, editor of MAN, will again appear before Federal Judge Leon R. Yankwich, May 8, in defense of his rights to remain in the United States.  
Graham, alleged to be foreign born, has waged a twenty year struggle to remain in the United States in the face of persecution by the U. S. Department of Labor.  
He is the author of "An Anthropology of Revolutionary Poetry."

**May Day Greetings From**  
Israel Knox  
Louis Yagoda  
William Stern  
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**GREETINGS FROM THE United Cloak, Suit, Infants' & Children's Coat Operators & Sample Makers' Union**  
LOCAL No. 117, I. L. G. W. U.  
Louis Levy, Manager  
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**MAY DAY GREETINGS TO THE SOCIALIST CALL**  
From Members of  
Knit Goods Workers' Union, Local 155, I. L. G. W. U.  
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**Socialist Greetings**

**To the Call and the Labor World**  
**Socialist Party**  
Cleveland, Ohio

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Not a Cent, Not a Gun, Not a Man for War!

THE SOCIALIST POSITION

What we are witnessing in Europe is the breakdown of the old order. But not, as yet, the birth of something better. The Socialist insistence that the good society cannot be based on the loyalties and institutions of capitalism and absolute nationalism is being dramatically verified.

The Peace of Versailles created an impossible disorganization of Central Europe. It could only have been maintained by British and French guns. France rejected the birth rate and Britain the conscription necessary to perpetuate Anglo-French hegemony on the continent.

The Socialist and labor movement temporarily failed to bring about an economic union of Socialist states or co-operative commonwealths. It was virtually inevitable then, that Russia or Germany would assert its will to reorganize Central Europe. Germany is doing it under the ruthless, cruel and intolerant Nazi code.

An Alliance for Empires

It now appears that Italian demands on France, plus Hitler's threats to Poland following his absorption of Bohemia and Moravia, and his trade treaty with Rumania, have stiffened Great Britain and France to the point of forming, or trying to form, a definite alliance against Nazi aggression.

It should be observed that this is no alliance for democracy; it is an alliance for the safety of the empires which already have about all they want in the way of territory. There is no devotion to democracy on the part of great powers who saw democratic Czechoslovakia destroyed only to try to save semi-fascist Poland and Rumania.

The Russian Attitude

How strong that alliance will be is not yet certain. Probably the U.S.S.R. will be brought in, in spite of Polish fear of Russia. Chamberlain seems to have decided that his empire and his class have more to fear from Hitler than from Stalin. Stalin himself seems lukewarm on how far Great Britain and France will really go in opposing the dictators.

He himself has made a deal with Mussolini to supply Italy with oil; he is taking virtually no refugees; he is keeping his ambassador at Berlin and, if anything, went out of his way in his speech to the Russian Communist party to preserve a conciliatory tone toward Hitler.

In like manner it is not clear how many of the smaller nations will commit themselves irrevocably to an anti-aggression block. They, also, may doubt the firmness of the great powers and wonder if Chamberlain and Daladier will not yet make further concessions at other people's expense for the sake of their own peace.

Germany at the Brenner Pass

On the other hand, Italy has no cause to love or trust Germany with German soldiers standing at Brenner Pass and unredeemed German nationals living in the Italian Tyrol. The lineup in Europe is still far from definite and its shifts are based always on national advantage.

This situation presents no clear cut ideological controversy; for or against fascism or for or against democracy. It is still primarily a conflict between the satisfied and the dissatisfied powers. In world politics Britain and France are empires first; democracies afterwards. Since Versailles they have never worked for democracy or fair play even when it could have been done without war. Let Manchuria, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia and Spain bear witness!

It is entirely possible that France may go fascist for the sake of national security and better efficiency in war. Hitler will not love her more; nor will war thereby be averted or the lineup changed. Individuals may die happier in some dreadful no man's land because they think it is for democracy or the end of war, but European alliances will be in the old terms of power and profit.

Capitalism Breeds Fascism

New war may indeed destroy the present dictators, but it is more likely than not also to destroy Europe. In any event, with or without America, if the so-called democracies are victorious they will perpetuate the capitalist-nationalist organizations out of which fascism and wars are born. The peace will be Versailles over again and worse.

Only the masses of the people, the workers and farmers, inspired by Socialist principles can remake disorganized Europe into a union of cooperative commonwealths and this end will not be served by the participation of capitalist America in war.

Capitalist America will not go to war for democracy or even to stop aggression except as that aggression is thought to be directed at American capitalist interests. Such war is made more likely, by our failure to deal adequately with unemployment and our drift toward the dreadful "prosperity" of armament economics. The president's speeches have not altered

the fact that his administration imposed an unneutral embargo on Loyalist Spain, did not apply the neutrality law against Germany and Italy, ignored it on the Far East, supported the Anglo-American boycott on Mexican oil which drove Cardenas into the trade with Hitler, and in general encouraged a war trade with fascist powers which could have been prevented without war, and without all-inclusive official embargoes against fascist nations of a sort likely to lead to war or to fan war passions.

Under the circumstances to talk of any collective security of capitalist powers including the United States for democracy is a tragic farce. There may be military alliances for empire. And these America should avoid.

War Will Destroy Production

It is almost equally vain to believe that American armament or American threats will scare the dictators. Hitler and Mussolini will avoid a war which they do not expect to win by aerial supremacy before the United States can make its power effective.

Without the United States, in a long war the preponderance of European power is against them. If Britain, France and Russia are internally weakened by a decay of democracy or—in Russia—by hatred of Stalin, the conscription of our sons will not cure these internal ills. It is significant that American armament and the president's speeches did not check Hitler's final aggression of Czechoslovakia nor essentially change the self-centered Anglo-French policy.

It is yet possible—rather than probable—that general war may be averted in Europe because of universal fear of aerial warfare and capitalist conviction (as Willi Schlamm argues in the April issue of Common Sense), that it will destroy not only men but the whole productive apparatus.

It is more possible that by intelligent effort the United States can be kept out of war. We are in no near danger of attack on our own shores. That fact is well proved by Oswald Garrison Villard in the April Harper's Magazine.

Lessons of 1917

We have amply provided for reasonable defense even by military standards—unless defense is to be construed as defense of trade, profit, and national interest all over the world. And that jingoistic definition of defense has been given in the House of Representatives by Chairman Vinson of the House Naval Affairs committee!

To fight because we blundered into war in pursuit of the profit of war trade would be sheer madness. Nothing can be more dangerous than the notion sometimes heard that in a new world war the United States would only keep the seas open and supplies going across. That same idea proved false in 1917; it will be doubly false in a new war.

After terrible suffering America would probably land armies in Asia as well as Europe. A totalitarian war would require a totalitarian state, an American military fascism, a dictatorship not easily shaken off when the war is ended. The war department has all its plans for such dictatorship. It would be more complete than in the last war and that was bad enough.

What to Do

Since Debs was imprisoned for speaking for peace, the whole world has learned much of the arts of regimentation, and has grown callous to cruelty. It is our major concern, therefore, to keep America out of a war whose only certain result would be the loss of democracy on this continent.

To keep out of war, the government must be kept out of the things that logically lead to war. That requires plans for— Housing and war on unemployment, not armament economics.

Peace trade at home and abroad, not war trade.

A curb on presidential power to put us in war.

Clearly the neutrality law should be strengthened, not weakened, and presidential discretion lessened, not increased. Because Nazism is bad, American trade in arms for profit will not be holy, nor will it be less likely in the next war than in the last to lead to war.

Granting that no neutrality law is perfect or is likely to be perfectly enforced under the profit system, everything possible should be done to lessen the pull of trade toward war. Under any conceivable situation Great Britain and France will have an enormous advantage anyhow over Germany and Italy as long as they have mastery of the seas. That is not a reason for repeating the history of loans and trade which led us into war in 1917.

In the name of democracy and peace the people should be given a right to vote on the wars they choose to fight. Modern conditions make such a vote practicable provided the radio law is changed to prevent the president from taking over all broadcasting by proclaiming an emergency. A popular vote is no panacea for

Stanzas to the Stubborn 56

BY WALTER LUDWIG

"I was here in 1917, and what I saw then is going on in Congress right now. This stuff is headed for war; it is the same hysteria—the same things are being said. Honest to God, I could crawl in a corner and cry when I see them doing what they are doing now."—Congressman Harold Knutson of Minnesota.

I could crawl right into a corner At the way they plot and scheme; Honest to God, they are sharpening the prod That they wielded in '17.

They shrieked in our ears like madmen From morn till the set of sun— "Ain't you fellows got principles? We gotta stop the hum!"

They cracked the whip in their lobbies To make us go through our tricks; But after the voting was over We numbered 56.

We stood up, only a handful, Out there on the Congress floor And said we would be damned in hell Before we'd declare for war.

They had money and might behind them And the nation fought their war; But after the shooting was over We were worse off than before.

The statesmen went into a huddle And did funny things to the map; In Democracy's name they now "Shame!" Yet their war bred this Hitler sap.

While one third of the nation is living In slums too far gone for delousing; The machinery of war can pay off the With low-cost pre-fabricated housing.

If consumers and markets are needed To turn the tide of recession Let's throw open the doors and hail to shores The victims of Nazi oppression.

It is an ancient American tradition To honor pioneering obscurity; If we isolate war we can build here at A brand new collective security.

The American people have spoken "Foreign wars and Democracy do not mix" Their cry smites the walls of Congress halls From a million times 56.

Little Essays In Socialism

BY JOHN H. WORK

May Day means brotherhood. It symbolizes the spirit of solidarity. The hearts of Socialists, the world over, draw together in mutual faith and purpose to attain the goal.

The world-wide Socialist movement is the greatest liberating movement of all the ages. It will set the human spirit free at last. It is a matter of pride to be a member of it, and in the future it will be a matter of great pride to look back upon membership in it. Every honest and liberty-loving man and woman who is not a member should join it now.

In the long run, if the human race continues its upward evolution, nothing can stand in the way of this great movement. It can be temporarily obstructed, but in the end it is irresistible because it marches side by side with industrial evolution.

When this movement was in its infancy, the reactionaries confidently expected to lay it in its grave speedily by means of shrewd maneuvers. But it did not respond to the usual tactics. It was a law unto itself. Capitalistic weapons, hurled against it, rebounded with their points turned. War slowed it down for a while, but the reaction from war increased its potency. Fascism slows it down but eventually will be the prelude to its triumph.

The Socialist movement has its faults, and we members of it have our faults, but at least it is not an organization of mere vague wishers hazy as to what they want. It is made up of men and women who understand the meaning of history, who understand the signs of the times, who understand the development of industry. When they say that Socialism is to be the ultimate result of industrial evolution, they are not guessing. Neither is the wish the father to the thought, even though they ardently wish it. They are simply giving voice to a conclusion to which the whole course of human history points.

A lie has nine lives. In the long run you can kill it by attacking it and showing that it is a lie. The truth is immortal and cannot be killed. Reactionaries can make trouble for individual Socialists. They can break up some parts of the Socialist organization. Yet every attack upon the truth sows the seed from which future millions of Socialists will spring.

This is just as true in the darkest hour before dawn as it is in happier times.

Yes, Socialism will sweep the world and bring human brotherhood. It is only a question of time and the self-sacrificing labor of love. If you have not joined this great movement, open your soul to receive the spirit of May Day, and join it.

peace; it is a democratic check on presidential dictatorship and war. Agitation for it will do much to restrain the administration.

In addition to these things, the United States must renounce imperialism, give independence to the Philippines and accumulate certain reserves of raw materials, trade in which would be interrupted by other nations' wars.

This Socialist program for keeping America out of war is not a program of indifference to fascism or an indorsement of isolation in an interdependent world.

Socialists positively urge greater hospitality to refugees; they pledge themselves and seek from others all possible help to underground movements in fascist lands against war and fascism. In their development is the world's greatest hope.

Socialists insist that the American government make known its willingness at the earliest practicable moment to share in international conferences for disarmament and for economic arrangements not to bribe dictators but to remove these economic grievances of the peoples which the fascists have capitalized.

Above all, we Socialists pledge ourselves and summon our fellow citizens to join with us in the most essential part of the war against fascism; namely, the struggle to make democracy work in the war against poverty, insecurity and racial intolerance here in America, in the protection of non fascist lands and democracies. Success in America will summon peoples of the world to new faith in it and struggle for it throughout the world.

The Forum

A Reply to a Milwaukee YCAW

To the Editor of the Call:

As an answer to a challenge in a letter sent to SOCIALIST CALL by a reader who signs himself YCAW, I should like to say the following things.

First of all, YCAW disagrees with Mr. B's statement that the Roman Catholic church is in the freedom of thought and hostile to labor. The church is definitely opposed to freedom of thought. Document known as the "Syllabus of Errors," issued 1864 by Pope Pius IX, stated (1) that it is wrong to believe that every man should be free to embrace the religion he shall believe true, guided by light of reason. (2) It is wrong to believe the church should be separated from the state. (3) Wrong to believe that education should not be controlled by the church. (4) It is an error to believe that children of all classes should be able to attend school. (5) It is wrong to teach youth science and social problems when these subjects are not being taught to them by the Roman Catholic church. (6) An error to believe that the Roman Pontiff ought to be elected himself with progress, liberalism, and civilization lately introduced (!!!).

These are only a few of the "errors" of our time presented by Pius IX, but they are enough to show that the Roman Catholic church believes in freedom of thought.

We must not forget that in 1870 the Vatican decided that the pope is infallible when he speaks on matters of faith and morals, which he stretched to include anything. Is the Roman Catholic church hostile to freedom of thought? I wonder!

YCAW says that the Church is not hostile to labor. In any encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, the Roman Catholic Church stated that to suffer and endure is the lot of man. Let men try as they may, no effort can ever be made to banish from human life the ills which beset it. Rich and the poor are created to help each other. Christianity upholds the dignity of labor. If Christianity upholds the dignity of labor, why does the Church "bless" the poor? Is there dignity in poverty? He complains that the Catholics are not doing enough to help the poor. He says that the Catholics support public schools. No one makes the Catholics support public schools if they have the desire to do so. The American section of the Roman Catholic Church is the richest section in the world, and it can well afford to be taxed.

I don't believe that every priest is hostile to labor, but I do know that the archbishop is a powerful force making for the rich. When the NEW YORK TIMES has a picture of a child in Philadelphia, together with Evans, Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, it is for American anti-fascists to beware. In fact, anti-fascist Catholics beware, or it will prove a very boomerang.

ALEXANDER MANN HOLLY, MILWAUKEE

Soreng Replies

To the Editor of the Call:

This is a reply to "A YCAW." I am not a believer in the supernatural. The affairs of this world interest me. I hate fascism, I hate the church, I note the fact that the Catholic religion occupies a large part of the European continent, and I note that Europe, while the democracies are free and free thinking to a great extent.

Freedom of thought was suppressed in Italy, Spain and in other countries where it was established. In Spain in 1909 Francisco Ferrer was martyred because he had established modern schools for the children could be thought to be established. Church property in this country should be exempted from taxation. Let the parochial schools stand on their own feet. The American people should be supported by all citizens. There is no state religion in this country. This is a secular state and we are guaranteed religious freedom by the constitution of the United States—to worship or not to worship as one sees fit. That is the meaning of religious freedom. We need no dictatorship of the supernatural world but the enlightenment of this hocus-pocus state agents of the supernatural.

Let now be the age of reason and liberty, of labor and abundance for all.

ANDERS A. SORENG WOLF CREEK, WIS.

Takes Issue With Porter

To the Editor of the Call:

The American armaments policy advocated by Porter in his discussion of Socialist Unity is curious. Accept the argument that we approach a national defense as may be necessary, though to "a large and wasteful armament program," a logical answer can we make to the military that the best defense is an offense? Once the use of necessary armaments is accepted, then the only way to come from piling up more weapons than a silly competitor. Don't Socialists rely on international solidarity of labor and a better foreign domestic policy as their defense?

However, getting on to the issue of Socialist Party division on whether or not to have American intervention in the struggle for an Asiatic domination function effectively? Party adopts any position at all to realize the minority will either have to keep quiet, or views outside Party channels, or resign. A major internal conflict, with all the canals that would most probably result on our anti-war unity was achieved at this time.

Let's avoid such disaster. Instead, let's unite action between the S. P. and the S. P. issues where agreement exists, such as public ownership, labor protective legislation, liberties. WINSTON DAVIS BROOKLYN

American Democracy Under Fire

The force of events are sobering the thinking of many American workers. And it isn't solely the events in Europe which are relieving Joe Worker from his state of apathy or making him unload from his spree on the New Deal handwagon.

The United States is presently in the throes of severe reaction. It is not on its way—it is already here and its political forms are clearly shaping for all to see. Most sinister of all is a recent bill passed in congress which reduces some 4,000,000 foreign born workers into last class citizenship. Known as the Dempsey bill it proposes to deport any alien who advocates "any change" in the American form of government.

As the conservative New York Herald Tribune pointed out, the bill would subject foreign born non-citizens to deportation if they favored modifications or changes in existing laws even of a conservative character. This vicious bill was passed by a highly nationalistic congress without a dissenting vote and without debate.

The supreme court's decision in the Fansteel strike is still fresh on our minds. It outlawed the sitdown strike and sent workers who had been jipped, beaten and terrorized by the employers' hirelings to prison.

Wisconsin, whose tradition for liberal legislation gained for it national fame, is in the grasp of reactionaries who are making hay at the expense of labor. An anti-labor bill recently passed in Wisconsin prohibits the closed shop unless 75 per cent of the workers approve it by secret ballot; the checkoff of dues is outlawed except for individual workers; it prohibits solidarity demonstration of workers other than those directly involved in a specific labor dispute, and it also outlaws the sitdown strike tactic. Thirty years of steady, progressive social reforms are in danger of being wiped out in one sweep.

Many other state legislatures are considering legislation aimed at curbing labor's rights. Reactionary forces in the deep South and on the west coast are renewing their bestial treatment of hundreds of thousands of sharecroppers, migratory workers and other farm laborers.

The Apex Hosiery decision placed a \$750,000 fine on the hosiery workers' union. This precedent is taking hold in other centers. The New England Truckers' association is following suit by claiming \$900,000 damages against striking teamsters.

The conspiracy against the miners' union aims to destroy that organization. Six hundred thousand members of the United Mine Workers of America are preparing a nation-wide strike to defend their organization.

While "liberal" and "progressive" capitalist politicians move America's frontiers to the suburbs of Berlin and Tokio the reactionaries are preparing labor for a thorough going-over.

While the New Deal government whoops it up for a holy war for democracy in foreign lands, a democracy which is almost extinct in the whole of Europe, democratic and labor rights in America are systematically being scuttled.

All which leads us to the conclusions we have entertained consistently: The fight for democracy does not begin in Europe, it begins in the United States, verily, in our back yards.

Support the Seamen!

Organized labor of the United States considers the policy of establishing hiring halls separate from the regular union halls by the U. S. Maritime Commission a direct threat to and constitutes an attempt to destroy collective bargaining by American seamen.

The similar action of the U. S. Shipping Board in 1921 resulted in a nation-wide strike, the practical destruction of maritime unions, the lowering of living and working conditions to a point which constituted a disgrace to civilized standards of living.

The defeat of unionism further resulted in making dead letters of most laws and regulations seeking to maintain safety-at-sea both for seamen and passengers. Without the vigilance of active unions neither the workers nor the public were aware of maritime conditions. The American merchant marine became the victim of financial manipulators who had not the slightest interest in the welfare of the shipping industry.

In spite of federal financial aid, a coolie wage scale and living quarters on board ships among the worst in the world, American shipping decreased and deteriorated until it threatened to disappear from the high seas. Emphatically, the anti-labor role of the U. S. Shipping Board did not build up the American Merchant Marine.

And rob American seafaring men of the right to collective bargaining, lowered their wages, reduced the quality of their food, and on many ships permitted living quarters so insanitary and crowded that to find anything analogous to the crowded tiers of bunks in many castles, the investigators would be compelled to view the cage on top of cage used to confine guinea pigs in an experimental laboratory.

The Socialist Party of the U. S. A. protests the attack on maritime unions and in particular the threat against the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, which is bearing the brunt of the battle to maintain unionism of the sea. We protest for the further reason that the attempt to create a personnel with the status of that of the U. S. naval men, and who in event of war, will be regulated and regimented as conscripts of war. We protest that this policy by the President's appointed Commissioners is a betrayal of his announced policy which guarantees American workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.

We therefore ask labor to use its influence to have the Act of 1923 repealed, amended, or so interpreted that the seamen of America may bargain through their elected representatives and dispatch their men through their own hiring halls. We ask your aid that the Maritime Commission is not to be used as an instrument of the shipowners who in this way hope to create the open-shop.

The Press

Moscow claims that Communism has made great advances in the United States. It is true that there is less expression of hostility to Soviet propaganda than formerly, because by the time we get through reacting to Nazism and Fascism we have pretty well used up the dictionary.

But that does not mean that we embrace one vice to escape from others. American Communists have shifted their ideology and have professed vast respect for democratic ideals, for Washington and Lincoln. They have busted into the parade. They may drop out at the first corner, but meanwhile they march. And while they march they claim it is their parade. While they keep step to the K. K. by us.

But it should not be forgotten that the "advances" Communism has made in the United States are precisely in the degree to which Communism has professed to recognize democratic principles.—San Francisco Chronicle, March 21, 1939.