

Raise The Embargo From Workers Spain

All party branches, all other labor organizations—trade unions, fraternal, Workers Alliance, etc.—and other progressive groups and individuals must wire or write at once to Washington, demanding of the Administration and Congress an immediate lifting of the embargo against Spain—the loyalist Spain against which it only is applied.

This fact cannot be stressed too often, even though every child may already know it. The fascist butcher Franco can get all the arms, ammunition and other war materials he wants from this country through Germany, Italy and Portugal; in fact it is known that American-made bombs have rained on Barcelona and other Loyalist cities, spreading death and destruction upon a most courageous people in its undaunted fight for freedom.

Yet it is the great "democratic" governments of England, France and the U.S.A. that have held, since the fascist uprising, the government of Spain against the wall through their "non-intervention" and outright embargoes. By this action the great "democracies" are directly and indirectly aiding Mussolini, Hitler and Franco in their damnable butchering of the Spanish masses and in their foisting of fascism on the Iberian Peninsula.

In this crime against humanity and civilization, our puritanically imperialist government, the so-called "New Deal" Administration, has been adroitly and diligently cooperating with the London, Paris and outright fascist imperialists against whom it periodically rages to smoke-screen its war preparations.

Nye's Resolution
It is unfortunate that the campaign of friends of the Spanish Loyalists against this iniquitous and sinister embargo in behalf of fascism has not yet succeeded in removing it.

The CALL has been informed from Washington that there is a real possibility for the passage of Senator Nye's resolution repealing this embargo against Spain, provided sufficient pressure is immediately brought upon President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Senator Key Pittman and other members of the senate foreign relations committee, as well as on senators and congressmen generally.

Act immediately. Get your organizations and individuals to wire or write Washington, demanding an immediate lifting of the embargo. This action may yet save the brave and heroic Spanish workers by giving them the first opportunity to secure greatly needed arms and other war material.

TO ACTION, COMRADES, FOR VICTORY OF THE SPANISH WORKERS!

Hoan Calls For Spanish Aid

Milwaukee, Wis.
Senator Key Pittman Foreign Relations Committee Washington, D. C.
STRONGLY URGE PASSAGE OF MEASURES LIFTING EMBARGO OF SPANISH GOVERNMENT
Daniel W. Hoan

Socialist Call

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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HAGUE'S RULE SHAKES AS THOMAS CHARGES KIDNAP

HITLERISM COMES TO JERSEY



Flanked by Jersey City police, Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist Party, was "escorted" to a New York bound ferry after he was stopped from making a May Day anti-war speech. Between the officers, left to right, are: Dr. Evan Thomas (brother of Norman Thomas), Mrs. Thomas, and Norman Thomas. Following his abduction and forcible "deportation," Thomas returned to Jersey City by tube and was ousted

again. Subsequently he filed charges against the hirings of Mayor Hitler Hague of Jersey City, national vice-chairman of the Democratic Party, charging him with violation of the Lindbergh Kidnaping Law. Newspapers described Hague's jitters on the day when Thomas and Hague were both at the Jersey City Federal Building on official business.

The case of Frank Hague versus Norman Thomas has become in the last week the case of Frank Hague versus the aroused press and people of the country. Spread in every paper throughout the land, receiving front page comment day after day in most prominent feature of many newspapers, radio feature news item, the kidnaping of Thomas in Jersey City on the eve of May-Day has become the most important news item of many a day.

Charges have been filed against Jersey City police officials, charging violation of the Lindbergh Kidnaping law and Norman Thomas has filed application for a permit for a meeting there on May 17.

Salesmen of the Socialist Call in Journal Square last Saturday night were mercilessly beaten by a mob, while police watched without intervening.

An abortive attempt of the Communists to take advantage of the publicity given to Thomas and the Socialists fell flat when an announced meeting, to be addressed by Congressman Jerry O'Connell and John T. Bernard, was cancelled. The meeting had been arranged without consulting the Hudson County Labor and Civil Liberties Conference. Vito Marcantonio, president of the I. L. D. announced he had decided not to have the congressmen speak.

Arthur T. Vanderbilt, prominent New Jersey lawyer, who has won more civil liberties cases in New Jersey than any other lawyer, is acting as Thomas' counsel.

At the same time that Thomas was taking action in New Jersey, Garry Allard, editor of the Socialist Call was attempting to secure the return of the 500 copies of the Call that had been stolen by Hague police on the evening when Thomas was kidnaped. Allard wrote to Hague, to "Jersey City, New Jersey, United States of America, not Germany" demanding return of the papers or payment of their full value. He reminded Hague of the recent Supreme Court decision which ruled that freedom of the press is still inviolate in this country.

It is clear that the reaction of the nation's press has had a serious effect on Hitler (I-am-the-law) Hague. When Thomas was in the Federal Court building in Newark, N. J. and Hague nearly bumped into him, Hague gave a very good imitation of a man with the jitters. He shouted at the reporters, bawled at the deputy marshalls and had a thoroughly uncomfortable time.

Charges against Hague and his police officials include the kidnaping of Mrs. Thomas, and the violation of Thomas' civil liberties. No attempt is being made to arrest any of the police because it is intended to get to the real instigator of the action—Hague and his machine.

Unions Rally To Anti-War Movement As National Meet At Washington Approaches

Special to the CALL

WASHINGTON—"The fight for peace begins at home!"

With that slogan, the KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE has reached into all sections of the country and secured the co-operation in its work of leaders of labor, farm, unemployed, church, peace, women's and cooperative and many other groups.

The National Anti-War Congress, announced on April 6, begins to assume shape as credentials come to the office of the Congress at 1707 H St., N. W., by every mail.

New local committees are announced, plans for local meetings are received, names of new adherents to the Committee of 1000 arrive each time the postman makes his visit.

The Religious committee announces that more than 1000 pulpits will ring with the Keep America Out of War message on Sunday, May 29, as the Congress meets. Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, John Haynes Holmes, Charles S. MacFarland, general secretary emeritus of the Federal Council of Churches, Edward L. Israel, Daniel de Sola Pool, Harold Fey, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and many others are active in this work.

Labor Section

Credentials are being received from such divergent groups as the P. M. A. and the I. L. G. W. U., while the labor section has added the names of Jacob Baker, president, United Federal Workers of America; Clarence Blewett, editor

Montana Labor News; Miss Jennie D. Carlin, president, Women's auxiliary, Amalgamated Lithographers, N. Y.; Elizabeth Christman, national secretary, Women's Trade Union League; Martin D. Dillman, editor, St. Louis Labor Advocate; John G. Garis, President, Easton, Pa., Trades Union Council, and G. B. Goble, vice grand president, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks.

Frederick S. Gram, editor, Racine Day; Lillian Herstein, famous Chicago teacher's union leader; Roy Horn, general president, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; Justus Ebert, editor, Lithographers Journal; Mark Kilcoyne, vice-president, No. 103; United Electrical and Radio Workers; W. Jett Lauck, Consulting labor economist, and James W. Miller, chairman, Div. 611, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

W. O. Murphy, general secretary-treasurer, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors; Paul Porter, editor, Kenosha; Rose Pesotta, vice-president, I. L. G. W. U.; James R. Robinson, International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers union; Joel Seidman, vice-president, American Federation of Teachers; C. W. Vance, leg. rep., Order of Railway Conductors, and N. A. Zonrich, int. president, Aluminum Workers of America, CIO, and others.

Eleven heads of international unions, both AFI and CIO, have

signed the Call of the Congress.

Farm Leaders

Farm organizations and their leaders have also sent enthusiastic responses; state presidents of Farmers unions in Illinois, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Oklahoma have joined with the heads of the Maryland and Missouri state granges and dozens of leaders of grange and union workers in all parts of the country, and with their brothers of the Southern Tenant Farmers union to promote the work of the KAOW committee.

Presidents of four colleges and universities have joined with outstanding educators such as Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, chairman of the department of sociology, Duke University, Professor Kirtley F. Mather, Miss Vida Scudder, and others in the educators section.

Writers

Peace leaders from the well-established movements and from many local councils work with such prominent artists and writers as Cyrus Leroy Baldrige, il-

(Continued on Page 7)

Unity of Mexican Labor Pushes Cardenas Ahead

BY S. FANNY SIMON

The momentous decision, which struck a hammer-like blow to imperialism in Mexico, made recently by the Cardenas government was due mainly to the organized workers. The oil workers' demands precipitated the struggle and the advice of the leaders of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, the C. T. M., was presumably what influenced Cardenas to announce the nationalization of the oil industry.

From this it should not be inferred that the oil workers or even the C. T. M. with which the Oil Workers Union is affiliated had, when they began their strike in May, 1937, either foreseen or had intended the outcome. As a matter of fact, the outcome was not always clear. Few would have predicted in June the turn events actually took, although they were very well aware of the relation between the government and the organized labor movement. Immediate socialization.

The C. T. M. which came into existence in February 1936 soon came to hold a position similar to that of the Mexican Regional Federation, the CROM, during the presidency of Calles. In June 1935, General Plutarco Elias Calles, who had been since 1929 virtual dictator in Mexico, denounced the attempts of the workers to improve their conditions through strikes.

In his ultimatum to President Cardenas he demanded a change in the government's policy of encouraging strikes or face the danger of being deposed. Faced with this threat the government and the unions drew closer together. The unions organized a National Committee of Proletarian Defense to forestall a fascist coup and to prepare for organic unity among the various national federations which claimed jurisdiction over all workers. In addition to these national federations, the Committee was composed of delegates representing the powerful Union of Railroad Workers, the Union of Miners and Metallurgical Workers, and the Electrical Workers Union of Mexico City and environs as well as representatives of regional groups.

COMMUNIST UNION

Among the national federations was the Communist Controlled CSUM. In Mexico as in all other countries in 1929, the Communist Party had organized a dual union movement, the CSUM. In 1930 the Communist Party was declared illegal; the trade union wing of the party, the CSUM, was legal but failed to attract any significant section of the Mexican workers. In 1935 the C. P. was again publishing and selling publicly its official organ, El Machete, no longer illegal.

In fact, it had in the Minister of Education and in the Minister of Transportation, General Múgica, good friends. Although the Communist International had not yet decreed the People's front, the scurrilous attacks, characteristic of Communists had somewhat abated. Nevertheless, the Communist Party of Mexico continued in the summer of 1935 to denounce the Cardenas government which it was before long to acclaim as the hope of the workers. Its attitude toward Lombardo Toledano who had always been roundly denounced as a labor fakir was by August 1935, also, undergoing changes.

TOLEDANO AND MORONES CLASH

Vincente Lombardo Toledano became in 1930 the most powerful figure in the labor movement. His position in 1936 was comparable to that of Luis W. Morones, the founder of the CROM in the twenties. Until

1933 Lombardo had remained in the Morones' dominated C. R. O. M. In 1932 the two clashed for control; Lombardo lost out and with his followers, he bolted the CROM soon after he was defeated for the position of secretary. By June 1933, he had managed to unite almost all the groups that had left the CROM since 1929 into the Confederation of Workers and Peasants. It was his organization that was in the forefront of the strike campaigns of 1934 and 1935.

Rumor has it that it was Múgica, a Communist sympathizer, who gave Lombardo aid in organizing the Confederation of Workers and Peasants. It was with Múgica's help that Lombardo in August 1935 went to the Soviet Union as the guest of the government. He returned full of enthusiasm and in a series of lectures on the Soviet Union, he lauded Stalin and his government. That, of course, made him persona grata with the Communists. When the C. T. M. was formed soon thereafter, the Communist controlled CSUM which was liquidated along with the other national organizations received recognition in the new by the election of two Communists to the National Executive Committee of the C. T. M.

C. P. — CROM FIGHT

But all was not sweetness and light between the Communists and the leaders trained in the CROM. Pretty soon the Communists were accused of attempting to obtain a mechanical control of many unions; while they, in turn, denounced the old line union leaders as crooks. The Communists because of the friendship they enjoyed from those in high positions in the Department of Education were able to call a national convention of teachers for the purpose of organizing them into a federation.

The convention, however, did not have the authorization of the C. T. M. and the C. T. M. refused to recognize the Federation of Educational Workers of Mexico which was established by the convention. A similar struggle for control arose among other federal employees. This became acute when President Cardenas announced his intention of passing a Civil Service Bill in which federal employees would, also, be given the right to organize unions and bargain collectively.

These difficulties along with the political ambitions of those in the C. T. M. or those in the government and closely allied to it, as was General Múgica to the Communists and the railroad workers, brought the struggle to a head at the fourth National Conference of the C. T. M. held in April 1937. There was a split in the C. T. M. for which Lombardo blamed Communists. A number of organizations withdrew and refused to recognize the action of the conference.

In splitting the C.T.M. the Communist showed that they had not quite learned the "new line". "Comrade" Browder from the United States had to rush to Mexico to remind them that Communists do not split unions in the fourth period. After a plenum of "auto" criticism the Mexican "comrades" saw the light, confessed the error of their ways, and urged the organizations which left the C.T.M. to return to the fold. All the Communist controlled organizations most of which, according to Lombardo, were to a large extent paper organizations made their peace at the fifth conference. The railway workers union, also, made peace, presumably, because ordered by Cardenas. The Communists came out of

Unpopular



Sir John Simon, "most highly paid barrister in the Empire" has had many unpopular jobs since he entered the National Government in 1931. His recent one, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, of presenting the new \$5,000,000,000 budget was most unpopular.

This highest peacetime budget is caused by cost of armament preparations. It provides a basic income tax of 27½ per cent with no exemptions, raises the tax on tea to 16 cents a pound, and on gasoline to 18 cents a gallon.

Despite assignment of cabinet members to go to the country to defend the government program, Chamberlain's government has lost three "bye-elections" in the past three weeks, demonstrating the unpopularity of the budget and the lack of faith in Chamberlain's foreign policies.

The unity having been achieved the C. T. M. turned to answer the attacks launched by certain senators against Lombardo at a banquet. Lombardo was given a banquet in turn by his followers at which senators were roundly denounced and then both labor and the senators decided to call it quits. When President Cardenas read his message to Congress on September 1, 1937 peace had been re-established in the ranks of labor and outwardly between labor and a certain faction of the National Revolutionary Party, the P.N.R. Both were, thus, ready for the proposed change in the political composition advocated by Cardenas.

(Continued Next Week)

OHIO RELIEF CRISIS ACUTE

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The only action the last City Council meeting took for the starving citizenry was to ask the relief staff to continue working, without pay.

More and more it is evident that the Workers Alliance will have to do for its members whatever they want done, and not pass the buck to "sympathetic" City Councilmen.

75,000 Cleveland relief clients were existing on stale staples supplied by the Federal Surplus Commodities and milk provided by a \$20,000 grant from the Associated Charities. No relief orders have been received since April 16.

Mayor Harold H. Burton, silk-stocking boy, called a "Citizens" Committee of 84 to relieve himself of the 75,000 relievers. It is his responsibility to provide for his constituents in times of distress—it says so in the City Charter! It is a foregone conclusion that this committee will not recommend utilizing the vast sums in the city's Sinking Fund (for bonds) for relief.

ARMS! ARMS! SEND US ARMS!

The following appeal has just been received from the National Confederation of Labor of Spain (the CNT). It is a stirring request for arms and illustrates the greatest need of our Spanish comrades in their most critical test. The embargo against Spain must be lifted.

"The workers of England, France, America and other democratic countries must awaken and voice the urgent need of the hour if civil rights, democracy and human liberties are to be saved in Spain now and be insured for the rest of the world. The workers and the workers only can be the powerful instrument to force the miracle that will clear up the atmosphere of all the clouds, which are evermore darkening the horizon as time goes on.

"It will be nearly two years ago that the war, our so-called "civil war", was unfurled in Spain by the agents of a reactionary trinity longing for the revival of the ancient inquisition.

"Time and again we have stated the fact that the military rebellion would have been immediately ended by the Spanish people had it not been refused every legal international right to purchase the means that were vital for the defense of the country.

"The task of suffocating the rebellion fell upon the working people of Spain. The enemies did not expect such a stubborn resistance. They could never imagine the greatness of popular heroism, bitter with indignation at the criminal treachery. And it was the people, following the lead of its most advanced labor unions, poorly armed with pistols and hunting guns, that took away from the rebellious military, cannons, machine guns and everything they had stored in the principal cities of Spain.

"The streets and main avenues of the cities soon became red with the blood of the people. Waves of human beings were advancing towards the forts from which the renegades were discharging their powerful, deadly weapons, until the people, walking over the dead, reached their goal. Such was the spirit that serves us now as the guiding beacon for Spanish freedom and independence!

League of Nations

"Spain not only has been denied the support of countries which are co-members in the League of Nations but also has suffered the jeopardy of great countries who claim themselves the leading sponsors of the principles upon which the League was founded. France and England found "sufficient" reasons to take from the jurisdiction of the League the burden of solving the Spanish question. That in itself will be registered in History as a treacherous betrayal.

"But they had to disguise the intentions that were behind them and, it was for that purpose that they had the "bright idea" of giving birth to the well known grotesque monster which, under the name of Non-Intervention, was to be used to foster the ends of the rebellion and to hinder and make it impossible the defense of the people's sacred rights.

Non-intervention

"Instead of giving Spain the support of those countries that were co-members of the League of Nations, our country was condemned to suffer by the foremost sponsors of the principles upon which the League was founded. Meanwhile the enemy was allowed to receive everything and, at any time, through the frontier of Portugal—the dumping depot for Franco's war materials—the Spanish-French frontier observed closely all the clauses of the "Non-Intervention" pact.

"It was thus perfectly established how SINCERE was the desire of the members of the "Non-Intervention" farce to work up things in such a way as to benefit the enemies of the Spanish people. However, and in

CONFAB TO BE ON DOMESTICS

Conference officials estimated that over 500 delegates would attend the city-wide conference on house-hold employment, May 19-22 at the Women's Trade Union League, 630 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

The conference, which is being sponsored by the Domestic Workers Association and its Citizens' Committee, has created widespread interest, both throughout the city and nationally. Outstanding local and national leaders in the labor and liberal movement have expressed their desire to attend the conference. Notably among those who will attend and participate in the conference are: Miss Mary Robinson, Director of Public Information, Womens' Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor; Miss Agnes Nestor, President of the Womens' Trade Union League of Chicago; Miss Thyra Edwards, noted lecturer and social worker; Lester B. Granger, Secretary, Workers Bureau, National Urban League; Walter Hardin, Organizational Director of Negro Work, United Automobile Workers Union; Miss Lillian Herstein, vice-president, American Federation of Teachers and a representative of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

To Broadcast

Neva Ryan, president of the Domestic Workers Association, announced that a radio program is being prepared and will be broadcast over station WCFL. Mrs. Thelma Kirkpatrick, Chairman of the Education Committee, is issuing a questionnaire relative to wages, hours and working conditions which will be circulated among the vast majority of domestic workers throughout the city. Reports on the questionnaire will be one of the radio features, it was also announced by Miss Ryan.

spite of all, Spain has been able to hold its own against the traitorous generals and even to inflict setbacks to the invaders.

"To defend Spain from our enemies we do not ask anybody to come and enroll in our ranks. We are sufficient numerically to make our fascist invaders pay dear for their mad adventure. We are not such an easy bit as Austria was for Germany or Ethiopia for Italy. But, since we are forced to fight such a tremendous combination of powers as those arrayed against us, we wish to impress upon the working class of the world how imperative is their help to provide our heroic Army with cannons, tanks and aeroplanes in sufficient quantities, so as to enable us to make a rapid clean of all the spurious pests that infect our fertile soil.

"The working class has in its own hands tremendous powers to help us. That which the corrupted tools of diplomacy have built up so patiently to enslave progressively the workers of Spain and of the entire world can be turned up side down by a simple move of that great giant—Labor!

"And it is from you workers of the world, that we expect action, quick and decisive action to help us defeat fascism! If we are to be helped, send us arms, for ARMS ARE WHAT WE NEED!"

Support the Trade Union Relief for Spain Committee! Get your mass organizations to rally to the aid of your embattled Loyalist Comrades!

Where Go The National Progressives?

LaFollette Echoes Tory Preachments

By John Thurber

The mixture of vague statement and downright conservatism which has been brewed by Governor Phil LaFollette as the program and declaration of Principles of the National Progressives of America is being recognized for what it is by commentators throughout the nation.

LaFollette, trading on the liberal reputation attached to his name, seems to be attempting to put over on the people of the country a program comparable with that of Al Smith, Herbert Hoover, Col. Frank Knox and Alf M. Landon.

The welcome accorded LaFollette's new movement by the New York Journal of Commerce is particularly interesting to workers:

"The heads of neither of the two great political parties have had the courage to come out for so conservative an economic program."

"Gov. LaFollette proposed nothing less than the termination of relief for the unemployed, the abandonment of crop control, deflation of wages and prices and the withdrawal of the federal government from housing and other fields in which it has assumed so prominent a role in recent years."

"The National Progressives would do more than modify the new deal which the Republicans are ready to do. They would abolish it from the face of the earth."

Contrasts

The real nature of LaFollette's program is indicated when important sections of his Madison speech are set beside paragraphs on the same subjects by the recognized masters of conservative politics in America. Compare what Phil LaFollette said at Madison with what Herbert Hoover wrote in "The Challenge of Liberty" back in 1935.

LaFollette on Socialism

"American progress has come not from pulling people down the ladder of achievement, but keeping the way open for all to climb higher. There is a vast difference between a Socialist theory of absolute equality and the American principle of equality of opportunity. The former would pull achievement down to the level of mediocrity; the latter opens the way for ability to rise."

ter opens the way for ability to rise."

Hoover on Socialism

"The disguised or open objective of Socialism is equality of income, wages or economic rewards. The tenet of equality in true Liberalism is a tenet of equality in birth, equality before the law and equality of opportunity, as distinguished from equality of reward for services."

These two great rugged individualists envisage a similar objective, an economy of abundance in sharp contrast to Mr. Roosevelt's planned scarcity, according to their declarations.

La Follette on Abundance

"What so many people fail to see is that American freedom is inescapably interwoven with and a part of our 'high standard' of living. Our liberty is grounded in our capacity to produce abundance. If the foundation is undermined our liberties are likewise undermined."

tion of that haunting specter of humanity—the fear of dependency... The first requirement of solution is to sustain an economic system which has proved its ability to produce a 'plenty' of goods, services and comforts adequate for the needs of the whole population.

"The only way out is by putting and keeping all our able-bodied people at wealth-producing work. Thus, and thus alone, can we be free and prosperous."

"There is no other system, whether it be regimentation, Fascism, Socialism or Communism, that does not slow down the human stimulus and thereby decrease the volume of production."

"The vast majority of our people live from their own work. They are primarily interested in preserving opportunity for themselves and for their children."

"Having secured the 'plenty' and the constant forward movement of the standards of living are nine-tenths of the great battle of humanity against poverty."

Hoover on Abundance

"The American system envisages this problem as the abolition of that haunting specter of humanity—the fear of dependency... The first requirement of solution is to sustain an economic system which has proved its ability to produce a 'plenty' of goods, services and comforts adequate for the needs of the whole population."

LaFollette talked of the "American way" at Madison, just as that famous team of Landon and Knox talked of it back in the 1936 campaign. Hoover, earlier, had preferred "the American system". His concept of American destiny, in its ultimate development, stands side-by-side with another great American, Alfred E. Smith, who delivered himself of a series of political declarations when he took his famous walk, back in 1936. Compare the two, as the N. Y. Times did recently:

LaFollette on Destiny

"And lastly! We believe that this hemisphere—all of it—was set aside by our creator for the ultimate destiny of man. Here a vast continent was kept virgin for centuries. Here it was ordained that man should work out the final act in the great drama of life."

because that is what I believe it to be. It had His grace and His choicest blessings from the very first day that He permitted the prow of the Santa Maria to pierce the veil that opened it up to civilization, and from that day made it a haven of repose and a harbor of refuge for the downtrodden, the poor and the oppressed of every land."

"From the Arctic to Cape Horn, let no foreign power trespass. Our hemisphere was divinely destined to evolve peace, security and plenty. It shall remain inviolate for that sacred purpose."

"And here in the time of our children He made the United States of America the instrumentality of His Divine Providence for the preservation of world civilization."

Al Smith on Destiny

"Let us look at God's country."

An Open Letter To Gov. Phil LaFollette

PHILIP F. LAFOLLETTE
MADISON, WISCONSIN.

Dear Mr. LaFollette:

In the Madison speech with which you launched your new party last week you repeat the old shibboleth about Socialism pulling achievements down to the level of mediocrity. It is difficult for us to see how you expect to build a Progressive Party that will stay progressive and launch it with an attack on Socialism.

But this letter is concerned with attitudes more immediate in consequence than your attitude toward any Socialist theory. As the National Action Committee of the Socialist Party, for our information and for the guidance of our future policy with reference to your new party, we should like to ask you for a statement of your position on several matters. We may be mistaken, but we think they are important in determining just what your new party is or is likely to become.

1. Are you willing to take in organized farm and labor groups and make the new party a national Farmer-Labor Party?

2. How soon and by what steps do you expect to institute democratic control of the party by the rank and file in place of the centralized control now vested in you as its "chief officer"?

3. Will national and state conventions of elected delegates be called to write national and state platforms for the party and to choose the candidates which it will support?

4. You imply that the United States is to police the Western Hemisphere. Do you propose that the United States shall protect its markets in the Western Hemisphere by force of arms?

5. You have proposed that the railroads be refinanced by government initiative but left in the hands of private owners. Are you not willing to take a position as progressive as that taken by your father, who advocated government ownership and operation of the railroads?

6. You say that ownership and control of money and credit must be under public control. Does this mean public ownership of the entire banking system, or merely public regulation of a banking system which will continue to be privately owned and operated for profit?

7. You flatly oppose "coddling or spoon-feeding" of those on relief. How much do you propose that relief should be cut?

If you can give us your answer to these questions within a week we should be happy to print them in the next issue of our national weekly, the Socialist Call.

Sincerely yours,
NATIONAL ACTION
COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST PARTY, USA
Roy E. Burt, Secretary.

After making such comparisons between Governor LaFollette's announced objectives and those of these other leaders, Thomas G. Brown, editor of the Buffalo Courier-Express, rose to nominate the logical candidate for the National Progressives in the 1940 campaign. His nominations were: For President, Herbert Hoover of California; For Vice-president, Philip LaFollette of Wisconsin.

MID-WEST POPULISM STRONG IN ORIGIN OF LAFOLLETTE'S PARTY

By FRANK NEWTON

Several times during the last four decades the American political scene has been enlivened—the confusedly so—by the march of the "Progressives" into state and national politics. In each instance these temporary alignments stemmed from the Republican Party and up to the present turn in Wisconsin lapsed back into the Republican Party. The leadership of these movements has been and still is predominantly of the midwestern agrarian and populist (i. e. anti-Wall street) variety. Even in the case of Teddy Roosevelt in 1912 the convention "Call" and the support for it came from that section of the country.

This geographic origin of the "Progressive" movement is no accident. Politics in the area is largely determined by the nature of the economic problems generated by its dominant industry: Agriculture. For the corn, hogs, wheat and dairy farmers of the midwest have long suffered from the exploitation of the produce exchanges and the control and cost of credit by the banks and the insurance companies. In time of "prosperity" they have ignored the causes of their recurring economic ills; and in other times their resentment has taken the path of direct action and political organization (i. e. retaliation) against the supposed source of their troubles. This usually has meant clamor for cheap money and credit to pay off debts, protection against supposed competing farm imports and demand for lower prices on manufactured articles which they have to buy.

The Elder LaFollette

In 1924 when the elder LaFollette ran for president he secured, for the first time, labor support for this typically midwestern outlook and program. The circumstances leading to this farm-labor political coalition arose out of the depression in farming that set in with the post-war period; the attack upon labor by industry and government in the steel, coal, packing organization drives; and the realization by labor that it had been sold down the river during the War and in the Harding administration by a handful of misleaders and labor bureaucrats.

To this should be added the long-sown propaganda by the Socialist Party for a Farm-Labor Party. The elder LaFollette accepted support both from organized labor and the Socialist-Party but neither he nor the top labor leaders were interested in building on a firm foundation the class Party of workers and farmers needed then and now.

Call Of Progressive

Once again we are confronted by the "Call of the Progressive." Expressing disappointment with the Roosevelt economic program of scarcity in the field and high prices in the factory, worried by the extensive war preparations of the naval-minded president, the LaFollette brothers, governor and senator from Wisconsin, are sounding the tocsin for a new attempt at a Progressive Party. Their criticism of the Roosevelt Administration is, just, though much belated. Their somewhat vague realization that an economy of abundance is both practicable and necessary is to be applauded—as is every similar manifestation. But no amount of sympathy

for the liberal ideals and practices of the LaFollette brothers can refuse to recognize that their announced program and accompanying speech of justification are dangerously vague, economically confused and politically retrogressive where not actually demagogic!

An understanding of the background for the present LaFollette move helps to clarify its character. Up to three years ago the brothers were still members, albeit left wing members of the Republican Party. They had the support of—but were not and are not yet members of the Farmer Labor Political Federation in Wisconsin. The latter, led by Congressman Amle, finally forced the LaFollettes to break organizationally with the Republican Party to form the Wisconsin Progressive Party in 1935. The brothers became ardent New Dealers both in the state and in Washington.

New Deal Base

Together with the Benson group in the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party they—and not the regular Democratic Party machine—formed the base for F. D. R. in the area. Phil LaFollette has gone into the neighboring states of Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas to campaign against the maintenance or the beginning of Farm Labor Parties on the ground that these were "class parties" and not peoples parties. He has always given greater encouragement to the disreputable leadership of Wallace Short in the Iowa F.-L. set-up than he has to the bona fide labor leadership in the Illinois Labor Party (really a committee for a Labor Party until 1938).

The fruits of this studied policy come out in the present call for the new party. It is not to be a party based upon the organized workers and farmers; it is not to be a party with clear class program or even with an anti-capitalist program; its present orientation is not derived from their either conferences of representative leaders or organization. It is entirely the product of the LaFollettes.

Program

The program calls for the ever-prevailing midwest nostrums of "money and credit" manipulation—and I say manipulation for it is impossible to discover whether the LaFollettes are for the socialization of monetary and credit facilities or for nationalization of the Banks or for additional "control" a la public utilities. This vagueness I believe to be purposeful and not accidental.

Altho the Wisconsin Progressives in Congress voted against F. D. R.'s mild Reorganization Bill, the second plank in the program is for governmental reorganization. Planks two and four advocate jobs for all, increased production for an expanding economy and an annual wage. But in these same planks (as well as in the fifth and final one) there are carefully worded phrases designed to appease farmer antagonism to industrial worker's shorter work week.

The last plank is a masterpiece of political demogogy. It opposes government intervention in farming, industry and relief for the unemployed but it swears an oath to use "the power of the United States" to restore to every American the opportunity to help himself.

(Concluded Next Week)

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Davey, Earle and Murphy

It used to be that when anyone questioned the political policy of supporting "friends of labor" on capitalist party tickets, he would be floored with the confident reply, "Look at Davey in Ohio! Look at Earle in Pennsylvania! Look at Murphy in Michigan! What could a Labor Party do that they haven't done?"

Then, just a year ago, labor's friend Davey used the troops to protect the "right to work" during the steel strike.

Then, just a few months ago, labor's friend Earle split with labor's friend Guffey and labor's own Kennedy in the Keystone state. This is the Earle who was so happy to call himself a traitor to his class. It seems that he is happy to be a traitor to both classes, one at a time, each in turn.

We propose that the definition of a "friend of labor" be tightened up a bit now the labor movement has accepted as a "friend of labor" any capitalist candidate who needed labor's votes to be elected. We propose that nobody should be counted a "friend of labor" unless he is willing to support labor's candidates in labor's own Labor Party. Then maybe we won't get burned so often.

It used to be Davey, Earle and Murphy. Now it is just Murphy.

Does this suggest anything to the boys in Michigan who are playing with the idea of supporting Murphy for reelection?

You Couldn't Vote "Nein"

How the tables can be turned, even on a totalitarian referendum, was demonstrated this week when the summaries of the "Nation" referendum on American foreign policy were announced.

Despite the set-up which put the victory of collective security in the bag, it is clear from the complete tabulation that many of those who voted for collective security because they were not for isolation were actually in agreement with the Socialist anti-war platform of independent international peoples' action against war.

Two questions give the answer to what the replies really mean: "Has the failure of the major democratic powers effectively to oppose the aggressions of Germany, Italy and Japan weakened your belief in the possibility of collective action?" The answers were YES, 3,547 (40%); NO, 5,411 (60%).

"Has it caused you to direct your hopes for such action to nonofficial groups in all countries—particularly to labor and liberal and pacifist elements in the populations and in the parliaments?" The answer to this question were YES, 5,560 (60.7%) and NO, 2,764 (33.3%).

It thus is perfectly clear that the claim by the "Nation" that only 16.1% of the replies were against collective security is less than accurate. It is our guess that those who voted for "cooperation with other nations in defense of peace" were voting with the reservation, "Socialist cooperation with other Socialist nations in defense of peace."

The "Nation" knows as well as we do that many sincere exponents of a real fight against war did not participate in the referendum at all because they could not express their point of view thru it.

May we advise the "Nation" that the next time it runs a referendum it either give all points of view a chance for expression or else that it go the whole hog and make provision for the expression of only one opinion, its own.

Auto Workers
DETROIT, Mich. — Seventy five delegates to the National Anti-War congress is the goal set by the automobile workers section of the Detroit Committee to Keep America Out of War. The Committee has issued a speakers handbook, prepared by Tucker Smith. Copies are available for 15 cents from 1117 Griswold Blvd.

L. N.-P. L.
JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—The National Anti-War congress will have a delegate from the Missouri section of Labor's Non-Partisan League. The action was taken by the state convention here, along with demands for nationalization of the railroads, public utilities, the Federal Reserve bank, and the munitions industry.

Workers Alliance Demands Relief Legislation



Pres. David Lasser of the Workers Alliance, Assistant WPA Administrator Aubrey Williams and WPA Administrator Harry Hopkins (left to right) at a meeting at which the Alliance asked for legislation to provide direct relief for un-

employables and a \$40 monthly minimum wage on all WPA projects. Hopkins was asked to provide for 3,500,000 persons on WPA rolls during the next fiscal year.

Workers' Forum

Contributions to the SOCIALIST CALL must be accompanied with the name and address of the writer as a matter of good faith, not to be used for publication if the writer prefers that the name be omitted. Short, snappy letters will receive first consideration.

Proletarian Dictatorship

Chicago, Ill.

In what way would Robert Delson's kind of "Proletarian Dictatorship" differ from that instituted in Russia in 1917? How can a classless society be built upon the basis of the dictatorship of any section of society over any other section? How is the classless society, the cooperative commonwealth to emerge from or develop out of the "transitional Proletarian Dictatorship?"

It is not enough to say reverently that Marx and Engels said so and so. They did not have the benefit of observing the "Russian Experiment" or the OGPU in action in Spain and scientific socialism certainly does not hold with blind, unquestioning, theological acceptance of theories on the basis of faith.

—Henry Ducl.

More

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I am a constant reader of the Call, and as such I want to express publicly my disagreement with that part of your editorial "A Lesson to Workers" where you speak about dictatorship.

The quotes conveyed the impression that you are against proletarian dictatorship as such, otherwise you would point out that the Russian kind is a Stalin and not a proletarian dictatorship.

—M. K. Parson.

Anti War

Detroit, Mich.

I have written the following verses to go to music of a workers song written several years ago entitled "They're Talking War."

They're talking war,
Who's talking war?
The bosses' press,
We know what for.
They send us wallow in
mire and mud
While they coin gold
out of workers' blood.

Chorus:

Try it again — just once. Try it again — just once,
And we'll reverse our bayonets then,
They cry for war. Who cries for war?
The pulpitiereers. We know what for.
They send us to fight in the
name of the Lord
To safeguard the profits of
Mellon and Ford.

(Chorus)
They call for war. Who calls for war?
The profiteers. We know what for.
They tell us "Defend your native soil,"
So that they may sell more
steel and oil.

(Chorus)

They shout for war.
Who shouts for war?
The jingoists. We know what for.
They tell us we're heroes and
noble and brave,
Then send us by millions to
unwanted graves.

(Chorus)
We want no war. Who wants no war?
THE WORKING CLASS.
WE WANT NO WAR.
We're tired of giving our lives in vain.
If they want a war, we will sing
this refrain.

(Chorus)

Harry Fleishman,
Harry Bridges and the Sailors
Union

San Francisco, Calif.

You carried a few lines in last week's Call on the recent fracas between the Longshoremen and the Sailors. You described it as jurisdictional fight. In reality

it was anything but that.

The actual dope on it was as follows: As a result of the 1936 maritime strike, the Sailors Union of the Pacific was able to get a closed shop contract with the Shepard line, a line that hitherto had been traditionally open shop and finky. Shepard was the last freight line in the country to sign with the maritime unions, and when it finally did so, it was with the intention of sliding out of the stipulations of the contract as soon as possible.

The avenue that was finally taken was to pull the SUP members off the ships, substitute them with professional strike-breakers and then call for an NLRB election. The SUP wasn't even on the ballot, just the NMU and the old ISU. The result of the election was an almost unanimous vote for the NMU on all of the Shepard-line ships. (In the maritime industry, votes are taken on individual ships and not for the line as a whole). This is a clear instance of the scabberding role of the NLRB.

Now it was this breaking of agreement by the Shepard line, and not the results of the election that the SUP was protesting in throwing picket lines around the Shepard freighters when they came to this coast. The role of Harry Bridges and the CIO as a whole on this coast in smashing the SUP picket lines was nothing less than clear cooperation with the shipowners to destroy the most advanced and militant union in the country, the SUP.

The Sailors Union of the Pacific is the only union that has been able to achieve closed shop contracts on all of its ships. The NMU and the ISU do not have one single closed shop contract. Theirs is the open shop brand of unionism, a type of unionism that enables the ship operators to hire men right off the docks and pay them as little as twenty-five dollars a month. This is the unionism that Harry Bridges, the CIO, and the CP are promoting in the maritime industry.

When the Shepard line broke its agreement with the SUP and used the NLRB as a wedge to force the open shop upon the seagoing workers of this coast, it was threatening the gains that the maritime workers have been fighting for and sacrificing their lives for the past four years. I hope that I have made it clear that last week's beef was a whole lot more than a mere jurisdictional fight. The Communist Party is disposing of it in that way to discredit the SUP. The fight has not even started yet. There is lots more to come.

Comradely,

SAILOR.

SQUIBS

BY GENE LOMAN

CLEVELANDERS FAST

There is a rumor that a large number of Clevelanders will go on a matzo diet. This is not going to be a matter of saving enough for a new outfit. It will be the aftermath on a 10% slash presented to the relievers there by the powers what am for an Easter (free) gift.

With a picture of Brendan Sexton clipped to it from a recent issue of the Socialist Call, the following letter from a "Loyal Friend of the Workers Defense League," was recently received by the WDL:

SIR: I have been struck by the startling resemblance between the picture enclosed and that of a fugitive from justice—one John Campbell—listed on the bulletin board in our postoffice.

This here Campbell has been wanted for five years (5) for arson and manslaughter. I would suggest that you check closely on this man Sexton, nee Campbell, as he has all the earmarks of a criminal."

The letter was opened in the office of the WDL by its secretary, none other than Brendan Sexton!

New York's famous police force will not like this unsung hero showing Sexton (nee Campbell) up we fear. For years they have met him on picket lines, in conferences about demonstrations; for years he has been making speeches all over New York and parts of Brooklyn—and all this time they only knew him for what he is.

The 1-cent sales tax on cigarettes has gone in to effect in New York City, our spies report, thanks to "Labor's Mayor," LaGuardia, among others. You pays your money and you takes your Mayor—then your Mayor takes your money.

Staff Of G-Men Will Be Reduced.—Headline.

Don't tell us they're going to mow 'em down.

Down in Florida, the New Deal pine has an old slogan serving new purposes: That's the old Pepper gang!

N. Y. Teachers

NEW YORK CITY—The Educators Division of the K. A. O. W. Committee, under the able leadership of Dr. George Hartman, Columbia University, has called a meeting of teachers to take place at the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, 22nd Street and Lexington Avenue, on Friday evening, May 20 at 8:15. All teachers, librarians and settlement workers who work youth are invited.

AT THE —
FRONT
with Norman Thomas



As I have made clear in this column, we Socialists must have our doubts concerning the future of the LaFollettes' new party and, what is more important, we cannot accept without constructive criticism its program or basis. (The New York Times May Day story exaggerated my degree of confidence in the progressive movement.) I look for leadership in dealing with this problem to our Wisconsin comrades. In particular I hope that the farmer-labor federation in Wisconsin will win control of the Progressive party.

Nevertheless when the Communist Party and its new Charley McCarthy, Heywood Brown, denounce it in such sweeping terms as they have used they are distorting facts in the interest of their "popular front within the Democratic Party". And the Democratic Party is still the party of Southern Bourbons, corrupt political machines and Frank Hague! The LaFollettes are right in their basic criticism of the failure of the New Deal in respect to production. They are right as compared with Roosevelt in their stand on the war issue. (That's another reason for Communist opposition to them.)

Moreover, in general, I think Bob LaFollette's tax program is sound and courageous. Better income taxes than all these disguised sales taxes which fall far more heavily on the poor than income taxes even if the latter should begin at a little lower income level. Certainly Bob's work for civil liberty deserves well of labor. In standing for our socialist principles in reference to this progressive movement and in favoring the farmer-labor federation in Wisconsin let's not play either Roosevelt's game or the Communist Party's.

A party with a sounder base than the Progressive Party, the A. L. P. in New York, is menaced by the violent attack of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy upon it. Whatever shortcomings socialists find in the A. L. P. they must resent William Green's latest attempt to divide the workers politically or lead them back to the old subservience to the old parties. This is part of the bitter price the workers pay for civil war.

N. L. R. B. Retreat

Another part of that same price will be the weakening of the National Labor Relations Board. It has had to retreat, for legal reasons, from its important orders against Ford and the Republic Steel Co. It is naturally under relentless attack from capitalist ranks. Nevertheless it might better withstand such attack and consolidate its power on the basis of a record that is in general admirable were it not that the A. F. of L. for practical reasons gives aid and comfort to the bosses.

I do not hold the C.I.O. innocent of all mistakes or deny the necessity of a greater will to peace than some of its leaders have shown when I say that on a bitter tomorrow the workers will have to hold avowed labor leaders in the A. F. of L. responsible for unnecessary divisions leading to defeat in the face of the foe.

Jersey City

Socialists have reason to be proud of the work done by our Jersey comrades and the Workers' Defense League in Jersey City. I don't pretend to understand

just how the International Labor Defense took such complete charge of the Congressmen, O'Connell and Bernard, who did not appear there last Saturday night. But I do know that Hague's forces stirred up the mob. All the more reason to fight this local Hitler!

Before these lines are read the Communists and their allies through the International Defense League will have made their test, using Democratic Congressmen O'Connell and Bernard. We wish them well. The more groups that enter the fight the better. Meanwhile old cases are coming to trial. Hague's days as the Jersey City Hitler are numbered. But poor Jeff Burkitt is still in jail! And Hague is still vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee!

The Spanish Embargo

Socialists who have always opposed the embargo on military supplies to Loyalist Spain will earnestly hope that the New York Times is right in saying that its removal will be voted by Congress with Administration approval. It is too late to undo all the harm done by the original imposition of an embargo unnecessary to keep America out of war and in reality too favorable to fascist Franco. But to end the embargo will give belated psychological and practical aid to the gallant Loyalists.

It will be remembered that I, almost alone, in behalf of the Party opposed the original embargo when O'Connell, Nye and the Administration united in supporting it. Later I urged that at least the neutrality law be applied against Spain's enemies, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. All in vain. But better late than never.

Two things we should insist:

1. That the profiteers in war supplies be kept under some control so that there be no repetition of the purchase of second class goods at extravagant prices as was apparently the case with the ill fated cargo of the Mar Cantabrico.

2. That this abandonment of an attempt at neutrality which was in effect aid to Franco should not be a general procedure for abandoning neutrality in international war trade. Any exceptions should be by solemn act of Congress; not by Presidential discretion. The pressure of one man on the White House may be too great. Let Congress decide in the light of all the facts. And the fundamental principle should be: Keep America Out of War, in which the only sure result will be fascism in America with no compensating benefit to mankind.

Reactionaries

The jingoistic, wasteful, inexcusable super navy bill has passed both Houses of Congress. It is thoroughly militaristic, thoroughly imperialistic. It is still possible to fight appropriations to carry out the plans which this bill authorizes. More than ever we need to make the Keep America Out of War Committee a success. Let the Memorial Day Congress in Washington be a landmark in American history!

If Hoover's Oklahoma speech and the resolutions of the National Chamber of Commerce, published the same day, are the highest wisdom of conservative business men, then, indeed, is conservatism economically and politically bankrupt

COLLECTIVE SECURITY WITH IMPERIALISTS DOESN'T AID LABOR

BY GUS TYLER

The Allies used to be called the "international gendarmes" of capitalism by Lenin after the last war. And he had good reason to say so. The governments of "democratic" England, France, and America had not only actively intervened against the Soviet Union but had also sent their troops against revolutionary Hungary and Bulgaria; had threatened to send their troops against a proletarian Germany and Austria.

In brief, wherever the defeats of autocracy in the last war opened the door for proletarian power, the great democracies put their foot in the way. Indeed, so "internationalistic" were the allies in their defense of capitalism — everywhere — that they were quite ready to join with White Guardists, reactionary dictators, in the struggle against the masses.

It is important to bear this in mind, when considering the long time perspectives of the working class in the light of the coming world wars.

Weird Nations

There are those who vainly hope that the mere defeat of Hitler or Mussolini or both in a world war will automatically pave the road for a smooth proletarian conquest of power. Such a hope can only be based upon the weirdest notions of capitalist "democracy." Such a hope will be blown to smithereens by the cannon of the American, French and British armies bombarding the revolutionary masses as ruthlessly as they warred against Hitler.

Not only the experiences immediately after the last war, but the whole policy of French, American and British diplomacy of the last three years make the reactionary character of democratic capitalism crystal clear:

- 1.) In defense of its imperialist interests the "democracies" are always ready to make a deal with the Fascists at the expense of the workers;
- 2.) Should capitalism be threatened anywhere, the bourgeois democracies will come to its military defense.

Examples

Let us take a few examples: When Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, Britain was sorely vexed—because British control of the Mediterranean was endangered. Yet Britain in no wise sought the defeat of Rome in Abyssinia.

Such a defeat would 1) have opened the way to proletarian revolution in Italy, and 2) have encouraged all the colored races in their struggle for freedom against the imperialist whites.

Hence, Britain sought to "make a deal" with Il Duce—at the expense of the Ethiopian people and in betrayal of the trusting British masses.

The great election in Britain just prior to the grand double-cross bore all the aspects of a pre-war campaign. The slogan was: Democracy versus fascism. The conservatives appealed for a nation without division, to show Mussolini that Britain was united and strong, a formidable foe—whose will he must obey.

On the basis of this gloriously

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—To dispel the stench raised here by the recent "Save the Soviet Union Rally" sponsored by the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, the League for Peace and Democracy, and nine other "liberal" organizations, which heard Big Navy Congressman Byron Scott and Cinema Villainess Gale Sondergaard fulminate for "concerted action" (formerly collective security), the Los Angeles Section of the Keep America Out of War Committee will hold the third of its local mass meetings at the First Unitarian Church, Eighth and Vermont, on Thursday evening, May 13.

hypocritical slogan, the conservatives, the imperialists, swept the country. The masses of England had voted to "down Mussolini," to entrust their "democratic" government with the protection of world democracy.

But, no sooner was the election ended, no sooner was the old imperialist gang in power, than they turned about and offered Mussolini the now infamous Hoare-Laval Pact. In crass defiance of the electorate, of all mass pressure, they offered to give Ethiopia to Mussolini, provided he respected British interests.

Object Lessons

It is rarely that history provides such perfect object lessons to teach the workers. A perfect lesson, indeed! It told the workers that the imperialist government—no matter how democratic, no matter its promises, no matter the mass pressure—stands ever ready to make its deal with the fascists at the expense of the masses.

And lest there might be those who failed to see the point after the first lesson, history quickly provided a second lesson: the war in Spain.

No one can deny that there is great mass pressure in Britain and even greater mass pressure in France, to have the government come to the aid of the Loyalists in the struggle against Franco. Yet, the governments have not only failed to aid the Loyalists, but they have actually pursued a policy that is redounding to the advantage of Franco. (This, of course, includes the U. S., whose very many congressmen recently signed a declaration of support for the Loyalist government.)

What is the explanation of the "democratic" betrayal?

It's the same old story: the capitalists have learned to stick together in a crisis—far, far better than the workers have yet learned to do.

All Capitalist Governments

Britain wanted no early Loyalist victory—because that would open the door to revolution again. The French Popular Front Government—for all the proletarian "influence" in it—is essentially a capitalist government, motivated by capitalist objectives. And so is the United States.

Hence these great "democracies" became the official strangulators of the Spanish masses.

Those who cry "shame" without recognizing that such "betrayal" of democracy and the masses is inherent in bourgeois democracy are wasting their voices.

The diplomatic line which caused the democracies to make deals with the fascists, to intervene everywhere for the restoration and maintenance of capitalism, is the same line that will compel capitalist America to act against the possibilities of a revolution in Germany and Italy. If American workers are interested in aiding their brothers and comrades in other lands, the best service they can do is to weaken and destroy the American military machine, the power of American imperialism.

A roster of leading Los Angeles unionists will address the meeting. Among them are Charles West, jr., recently elected president of the Douglas Aircraft local, U. A. W.; William Seligman, United Shoe Workers; Chet Cook, Motion Picture Painters; and George Burden, United Rubber Workers. Other speakers will include former Congressman Charles H. Randall, who was one of the 50 representatives who voted against the declaration of war in 1917; Warren Mullin and Oscar Ameringer.

Socialist Answer--

"Burning Question" by Louis Wallis, 111 pg., Willett, Clark & Co., Chicago and New York, \$0.75.

Reviewed by Maynard C. Krueger.

It is interesting to note that Willett & Clark do not assume responsibility for the statements with which the Burning Question is being advertised in several radical and liberal publications. The New Masses has refused the challenge. Perhaps the new line isn't equal to it.

The Socialist Call accepts the challenge and this review is the answer.

The main thesis of the book is that productive enterprise is being ground between the upper millstone of taxation and the nether millstone of ground rents.

Chapter I shows correctly that housing and slum clearance are being blocked by the tax and land policies. Socialists have long proclaimed that there could be no real solution of the housing problem without a head-on attack on vested interests in land. No unsubsidized housing projects, public or private, can get housing masses of wage-earners at rates which they can pay and at the same time meet the hereditary ground rent claims of the Astors.

Taxes

Chapter II and III are a rather unclear explanation of the manner in which our tax structure has favored land speculation by giving a low rate to unused land, and penalized production by slapping higher taxes on improved land. This encouragement to those who hold land out of use results in higher rents for land which is used by restricting its supply. Reducing the tax on improvements and increasing the tax on "site values" ameliorates crowding, makes acquisition of home sites easier.

The fourth chapter is an unsupported complaint that everyone is out of step except the single-taxers, especially that "all strikes are futile in the long run because they assume that the issue is merely between 'labor' and 'capital'."

Chapter V shows how rents and taxes restrict purchasing power and promote depressions.

Marx

It is in Chapter VI on Machinery and Economics and Chapter VII on Law and Economic History that Mr. Wallis tangles with the Socialist and labor movement, and with Marx in particular. "A talented German, Karl Marx," "in a volume entitled Capital which he wrote at a table in the British Museum" "committed himself to Marxism" before he found that "great numbers of the agricultural population had been driven from the soil into the towns by the enclosures." It is kind of Mr. Wallis to excuse Marx on ground of ignorance, but there is ample evidence that Marx had heard of the enclosures and written about them long before he published the first volume of Das Kapital, and consciously refused to make "land monopoly" the central problem of capitalism.

Nobody denies that in Britain power has been grudgingly yielded by the landed aristocracy to the bourgeoisie, nor that the bourgeoisie has been very considerate in preserving the landed nobility and its House of Lords. Perhaps this is because a really successful bourgeois usually graduates into the nobility. This happens even to labor leaders.

Socialists have not "regarded with disdain" the taxing power of the state. They have demanded the kind of taxes which reduce inequality, and which cannot be passed on. This includes not only the tax on the economic rent of land, which Mr. Wallis supports, but also the income and inheritance taxes, which are never once mentioned in Mr. Wallis' book except by implication that there should be none.

Socialists have believed that it is not taxation which is "the most powerful engine of oppression in human society," a sentiment cheered to the echo at the recent Chamber of Commerce convention, but the private ownership and control of the means of production. Land is only one of the means of production.

But Mr. Wallis appears to believe that if only the economic rent of land were taken in taxes, a proposal which he never calls socialization of land, the private ownership of capital would be acceptable to all right-thinking people. The profit system does not produce profit "for the purpose of liquidating the double burden of ground rent and taxation." It produces profit for the sake of profit.

Profits

The profit-takers can make profits easier if they do not have to pay such high ground rents, such high interest on capital, such high taxes, such high wages. They favor lower taxes and lower wages, but not lower capital and land charges because they are usually themselves the owners of land and capital. And if their payments for land rent are made to the government instead of to private land owners, as Mr. Wallis and the Socialists would both prefer, the masters of the profit system will be in favor of lower wages to labor and higher returns to the capital of which they will still be the private owners.

It is good to get rid of a private landlord. It is good to get rid of a private boss who owns the other means of production. But it is no good to pretend that getting rid of the landlord will automatically get rid of the boss.

In a final note at the end of the book Mr. Wallis explains his disagreement with the philosophy of Henry George, whose Progress and Poverty opened the eyes of the world to the land problem. If you are thinking of spending six bits to buy the Burning Question, you will do better to save up your money until you have about twenty-three cents more, and then buy instead a cheap edition of the classic PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

ANTI-WAR CONGRESS PLANS YOUTH WORK

by AL HAMILTON

Preparations for the National Anti-War Congress are the occasion for an evaluation of the strength of the youth movement struggle against war. Young Socialists, leaders in the heart of the Youth Struggle against war may well look on the strike this year as a mile-post in the progress of a powerful and realistic anti-war movement.

In the strike meetings were crystallized the sentiments against the "collective security" drive to war, and the Administration's war preparations. Back of these students were long months of struggle and growth in strength. Ahead lie fields that must be carefully surveyed if our anti-war movement is to continue vigorous and militant.

First Test

At the time of the Y.P.S.L. convention in September, young Socialists recognized and assumed as their major task in mass work, the building of a broad and powerful youth movement against war. Beginning with the Youth Committee for the Oxford Pledge, formed by pacifists, socialists, and liberals in the student, union and church youth field, the American Student Union convention saw the first test of strength and conviction of youth anti-war forces.

In the face of only slightly veiled capitulation to the Roosevelt war plans on the part of young Communists and their followers, fighting a majority that used every device of parliamentary machinery to stifle intelligent discussion, the Youth Committee stood its ground and gained in numbers and respect.

Consolidation

The open drive to war that resulted in the formation of the Keep America Out War Committee brought to the surface new elements in the youth movement that had heretofore been "for peace" in a disunited way. Now young trade union rank and file members, farm youth who had been carrying on their own education and action independent of labor, and students in hundreds of colleges over the country, begin to awaken to the need for a youth anti-war movement. The pro-

gram of the Keep America Out of War Committee and its mass meetings and campaigns resulted in youth recruits. The Youth Committee for the Oxford Pledge was consolidated as the Youth Committee Against War of the Keep America Out of War movement.

Organizations

Today, what do we find? The delegates to the youth sessions at the National Anti War Congress in Washington will typify the new and fresh groups that are becoming a part of the anti-war movement. The participation of important leaders in youth organizations will indicate the extent and strength of the Youth Committee's work.

Young Socialists have aimed to reach youth, first, through the economic organizations of the workers. In the fight against war, this is vital. And so, it will be a historic occasion when a youth Anti-War Congress opens with students and church youth meeting side by side with young auto workers from Detroit, young steel workers who want their products to be girders not guns, young men and women from the garment trades, the tenant farmers, the radio industry, all of them working for a common program.

We have encouraged labor participation in the student strike, and have passed countless resolutions paying lip service to the principle that students must look to cooperation with the fight of workers against war if they are to be effective.

Now, at this Congress, it will be up to young Socialists, and to all young workers there, to plan a movement that includes within it students, farmers, working and unemployed youth.

No Socialist — No Communist Can Answer This Proposition

"The so-called 'profit system,' denounced by socialists and by well-meaning moralists under the influence of Marx, is one which creates profit for the purpose of liquidating the double burden of ground rent and taxation prior to considering the claims of labor upon the industrial output. And if the Marxians are to carry their propaganda onward to success, the burden of proof is upon them to show that the kind of profit system which they execrate will continue in a regime of competition between units of tax-free capital unfettered by monopoly of the ground."

From BURNING QUESTION: Making Your Living in a Monopolized World, pp. 68-69.

ECONOMIC FUNDAMENTALS POSTPONED BY MARX IN "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" AND IN "DAS KAPITAL"

The claim that "privately owned tools of production" are the force which degrades and exploits Labor is the central thesis of socialism and communism, expressed in Marx's "Communist Manifesto" and in his "Das Kapital." After writing these publications, Marx discovered (too late) that prior to the Industrial Revolution the masses of the country folk of Britain had been evicted from the soil by land monopoly, and flung into the towns.

GROUND RENT TO GROUND LANDLORDS; TAXES TO STATE

Capital has always been compelled, directly or indirectly, to liquidate ground rent and taxes before payment of wages to Labor.

LABOR FIGHTS CAPITALIST AS ENEMY NO. 1

Wholly aside from and independently of socialism and communism, Labor has fought Capital for generations on the fallacious assumption that privately owned labor-saving machinery is the instrument which degrades and exploits the workingman.

LABOR'S FALLACY ENDORSED BY MARX

Marx gained world-wide attention by underwriting the Labor-Capital fallacy. The number of his followers proves the fact of his influence but not the truth of his thesis about the nature of "exploitation." He not only perceived the land question too late; but he completely failed to see the connection of taxes with monopoly of the ground. His followers, accordingly, regard with disdain, as a casual and incidental matter, the taxing function of the State—the most powerful engine of oppression in human society.

NATURE OF DEMOCRACY GENERALLY MISUNDERSTOOD

The ground landlords of Britain grudgingly allowed modern parliamentary democracy to be born only on condition that the taxing-power of the State be lifted from ground values and brought to bear upon industrial capital and merchandise. Neither Marxists nor academic professors of "political science" have ever explained the origin of the modern state in terms of realistic history.

(Responsibility for the foregoing material rests upon author of the book advertised below; while publishers are answerable only for the following notice):

WAR AND IMPERIALISM

How land monopoly is the basis of British imperialism. How the necessity to pay ground rent to the British aristocracy for the use of land in city and country alike has reduced the buying power of the British masses. And how economic forces the same in substance, though different in the form of their operation, are at work in America today. This is told in simple terms in—

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Making Your Living in a Monopolized World
By LOUIS WALLIS
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The CALL Has No Angels

The Socialist Call is supported only by Socialists and sympathetic workers. It is their hard earned pennies and nickels that have made the publication of this newspaper possible.

Now, however, the CALL faces stormy financial seas. Claimants on old debts are pounding our doors. As a result new ones are accumulating. We have no other recourse but our comrades and fellow workers to turn to for aid. You can help us by immediately:

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4. Or by sending us a donation.

We are stretching our dollars to the nth degree. Won't you help by responding to our appeal at once?

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—Editorial Board.

S. P. LOCALS HOLD SPECIAL YOUTH MEETING

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Young Socialist organization work was given a critical review at a meeting held in Racine, Wisconsin, at the Debs Hall. The Welfare Board, the youth committee of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, met with the youth and organization committees of the Kenosha and Racine Socialist Branches to discuss their work.

Members attending ranged from veteran Socialists, who have years of experience with youth to young YPSL's who have just entered the movement. YPSL's and adults both praised the comprehensive program and the wonderful facilities of the Milwaukee Young Socialist Federation and YPSL.

Agree On Program

The meeting agreed upon the following points as vital for a vigorous youth movement:

1. Youth work must have full support of the local comrades and a youth committee should be set up to do this work.
2. Capable and responsible sponsors or adult directors should be secured for each YPSL Circle.
3. Clean, cheerful, headquarters should be provided for the youth.
4. An organizer should be retained to keep contact with all

BRANCH DIRECTORY

RATES: 3 lines, 25c, 5 cents per additional line.
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MANHATTAN

VILLAGE BRANCH meets every Wednesday night at 107 MacDougal St., Paul Allen, secretary, 55 Horatio St.

UPPER WEST SIDE BRANCH, 12 W. 97th Street, Apt. 311, N. Y. C. Emma Hartor, Sec. Meets every 2 and 4 Wednesday.

BRONX

5TH A.D. Meets every Wed. 7 West Burnside Ave. Harold Reisman, Sec'y.

DETROIT

BRANCH ONE meets every Wednesday, 8 P. M., 1110 West Warren.

CHICAGO

CENTRAL BRANCH, Chicago and Cook county: Open meeting first Thursday of each month; business meeting second Thursday at 549 Randolph St., 4th fl.

CHICAGO WEST SIDE YPSL Circle—Tuesday at 8:30, 3108 Douglas Blvd. Marxism classes same place Sundays at 11:30 a. m.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

CENTRAL BRANCH meets every Thursday night in Room 517, 524 S. Spring St. Ben Sands, secretary, 500 E. Maple, Glendale, Calif.

SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco Local SP meets every Wednesday night at 8 p. m. at 1057 Steiner street.

groups and national office.

5. Proper financial support should be given when needed although YPSL's should be encouraged to be self-sufficient.

6. Circles should be constantly recruiting new members from "Red Falcons" and other Junior groups to replace those growing up.

The meeting was arranged by the YPSL organizer Peter Warttinen, Jr. Racine Socialist party was the host and the woman's Auxiliary furnished refreshments.

Indiana Socialists Hold Convention

The Indiana Socialist Party will hold its State Convention, Saturday and Sunday, May 14-15 in the Holliday Building in Indianapolis. The convention will open on Saturday morning at 9:30.

Roy E. Burt, National Secretary, will attend the convention.

On Saturday evening there will be a dinner meeting in one of the local hotels at which Comrade Burt and others will speak.

On Friday evening, May 13, the evening before the convention, the SEC of the Indiana Socialist Party will hold a meeting at the home of the Secretary, 215 North Rural Street.

PAN DEAN STRING QUARTETTE

8:30 P. M. Friday
May 20th
at Knickerbocker Village
"K" Auditorium
10 Monroe St., N. Y. C.
For the Benefit of
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Unionists Rally To Anti-War Committee

(Continued from Page 1)

illustrator, John Dos Passos, novelist, Quincy Howe, and H. C. Engelbrecht writers on war subjects, Lewis Browne, the best known writer on Jewish history, and William Evjue, editor of the Capitol Times, Madison, Wis.

In addition to Norman Thomas, Bertram Wolfe of the I. C. L. L., and Howard Y. Williams of the St. Paul Farmer-Labor Association represent other political groupings.

Fraternal organizations, co-operatives, and other groups also have their share in the composition of the Committee of 1000.

The Rialto Theatre, scene of the recent United Mine Workers huge convention has been rented for the Congress, and the officers of the KAOW committee feel that the response to the Call justifies their belief that it will be filled. (Incidentally, it is airconditioned!)

Credentials should be sent immediately to Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the Committee, 1707 H. St., NW, so that proper arrangements can be made for the delegations.

Massachusetts

BOSTON, Mass.—The Massachusetts state committee of the Workmen's Circle, largest working class fraternal organization, has endorsed the National Anti-War Congress and is urging its branches to send delegates.

The Massachusetts Anti-War committee, 6 Park St., Helen James, secretary, announces that the first trade union delegates were from two locals of the United Toy and Novelty Workers union.

Local 1, P. M. A.

GILLESPIE, Ill.—The largest body in the Progressive Miners of America, local 1, has elected delegates to the National Anti-War Congress.

Illinois

STAUNTON, Ill.—Rabbi Ferdinand Isserman of St. Louis spoke to a large and enthusiastic crowd at the Labor Temple here Thursday in a Keep America Out of War Rally. Edward C. Morgan, state secretary of the Workers Alliance, and member of the Committee of 1000, presided.

I. L. G. W. U.

BALTIMORE, Md.—The Baltimore Joint board, I. L. G. W.

Yipsel Jailed "Resisting" Cop

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—In freeing Comrade Harriette Clyde Young of an Assault and Battery charge entered by the policeman she resisted when he attempted to stop her and other Future Outlook League members from picketing Woolworth's until more colored workers were employed, Judge Bradley Hull said: "It's great to be young and have a cause."

The philosophic judge suspended the \$10 fine imposed, but let her conviction stand.

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U., and the largest local of the International have just voted to send delegates to the National Anti-War Congress.

N. Y. City

NEW YORK—Nineteen neighborhood groups of the Keep America Out of War have been organized here. The trade union section of the local committee has just issued an illustrated leaflet addressed to labor men, What's In It For You? Copies may be secured from the Committee, 39 Union Square.

A special train will run from here to the National Anti-War Congress. Fare \$6.75.

Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA — Frank Burch, executive secretary of the Central Labor union, has just joined the Committee of 1000, according to the local Anti-War committee, 1924 Chestnut St.

Electrical Workers

CAMDEN, N. J.—United Electrical and Radio Workers local 103, in the RCA plant here, has endorsed the work of the Keep America Out of War committee. It is one of the largest in the country.

"PINS AND NEEDLES"

With one company of "Pins and Needles," the I. L. G. W. U. musical revue, still playing to capacity houses at Labor Stage (New York), another opened a three week engagement at the Shubert Theatre in Boston on Monday, May 9.

Boston is the travelling troupe's second stop on a projected trans-continental tour. Philadelphia was the first and Chicago will be the next one, opening May 30.

"Pins and Needles," with its I. L. G. W. U. Player-cast, played the Chestnut Street Opera House in Philadelphia for three weeks.

May Day Greetings

from the
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Details and descriptive prospectus from BARGER CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY or CAMP THREE ARROWS
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Gov. Phil LaFollette, leader, founder, formulator of the newly formed National Progressives of America. A week-long discussion as to what may be meaning of the vaguer sections of his program, the implications of the sections which have a reactionary sound, has swept the nation.

DEBS LABOR SCHOOL

The Debs Labor School, conducted by Local New York of the Socialist Party is continuing under full steam. It gives courses on Saturday afternoons and Monday evenings. Among the instructors are Gus Tyler, Frank Crosswaith, Louis Nelson, Fanny Simon and Frank Trager. Address all inquiries to Ernestine Simon, Socialist Party, 11 West 17th St., New York, N. Y. Telephone CHELsea 2-0179.

R. O. T. C.

An important victory in the fight of anti-war students against the Reserve Officers Training Corps was gained this week at the University of Oregon. Gordon Connelly, young Socialist student, won exemption from the military training requirements on his fifth attempt after four petitions had failed.

D. A. Griffin of McCrory was recently chosen by the S. T. F. U. as organizer for Arkansas. Efforts for to establish County Central Councils is underway.

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Labor Unity Gets 3 Slaps

Prospects for harmony in the labor movement were given another setback this week when the principals in the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. dispute moved to widen the breach despite widespread rank and file sentiment on both sides for peace.

Chief developments of the week were the expulsion of six C.I.O. unions from the A. F. of L.; the organizing drive initiated by the Progressive Miners of America in an effort to win away the membership of John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers, and the order issued by George Meany, President of the New York State A. F. of L., to all unions and members affiliated to the Federation in the state to sever all connections with the American Labor Party.

The American Federation of Labor Executive Council, acting under powers granted it by the Tampa Convention of 1935, expelled six more unions that have been prominently connected with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Even more significant, however, than the list of expelled unions is the fact that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was not expelled. It is believed that action was not taken against the ILGWU, because President David Dubinsky of that union has publicly disagreed with Lewis' policy of establishing a permanent trade union federation. It appears that the A. F. of L. is trying to woo Dubinsky and his union back into the fold.

One of the more dramatic aspects of the difference between Lewis and Dubinsky is an excellent argument for the absolute necessity of labor unity. Lewis offered Dubinsky the chairmanship of the C.I.O. committee on housing. Dubinsky refused, asserting that a labor housing committee without the

participation of the building trades unions was absolutely useless.

The expelled unions were: Amalgamated Clothing Workers; United Automobile Workers; United Rubber Workers; United Textile Workers; Oil Field and Refinery Workers; and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers which includes the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

P. M. A.

The Progressive Miners, organized in 1932 as the result of a rank and file revolt against the Lewis administration of the UMWA, has opened offices and is sending organizers into the coal fields that have hitherto been solidly organized into Lewis' union. Since its organization the PMA has become reactionary, anti-semitic and thoroughly bad. It is generally understood that the aim of the PMA organization drive is to harry Lewis and to force him to withdraw organizers from the Steel and Auto Unions in order to beat off the A. F. of L. attack.

In New York State, the leadership of the A. F. of L. issued a statement to its affiliates explaining that the American Labor Party is an affiliate of Labor's Non-Partisan League which is controlled by Lewis. The A. F. of L. had withdrawn from the LNPL some months ago. The A. F. of L. letter charged that the ALP was using the word Labor in its name in order to fool workers into support of it. It urged all unions and unionists to remain loyal to

Red Caps Organize Independent Union

Returning to Chicago from an extended tour of the south and southwest, Willard S. Townsend, president of the International Brotherhood of Red Caps, announced that the red cap's union would immediately inaugurate its campaign to completely unionize the red caps, station porters, ushers and parcel porters of the south and southwest.

The tour carried the red cap leader through ten southern and western states. Meetings were held in Memphis, New Orleans, Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, Waco, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Kansas City, St. Louis and various other cities in this region.

"Moved by a keen desire to improve their living standards through trade union organization," Mr. Townsend declared, "the red caps in this section of the country have demonstrated their willingness to take an active part in the nation-wide struggle to end the present employer-employee relationship now existing between red cap and railway management."

The red cap's union office announced that a Southern Committee on Organization would be created to consolidate and further the organization drive in the south. Southern trade union, liberal and professional groups have promised wholehearted co-operation, it was also announced.

The growth of the International Brotherhood of Red Caps since the January unification conference has increased tremendously. With the proposed campaign getting under way in the south, it is felt in union circles that the union will double its membership during the next few months.

the principle of Samuel Gompers, "Reward your friends and punish your enemies" as against the ALP policy of participation in Party politics.

PEPPER VICTORY IS OK OF LYNCHINGS

TAMPA, Fla. — The liberal press of the nation, from New Deal supporters to the Communist "Daily Worker," are overjoyed. Senator Claude Pepper, one of the Roosevelt's legislative supporters, has been victorious in the primaries.

"The Florida primaries show that reaction is on the war path—but that the people can win," chants the Daily Worker in a column-long, editorial threnody.

But Tampa citizens, mindful of the Shoemaker lynching that took place in this city more than two years ago, are not so happy. The champion of progress, Senator Pepper, was the foremost filibusterer in the group that scuttled the anti-lynching bill.

Liberal?

Despite the fact that this state has the most notorious record for lynchings in the past year, the New Deal hero led the fight to prevent congressional action against the rope and faggot, the tar-brush and the whip.

In the two long years since Shoemaker and two others were taken into the woods outside of Tampa and brutally flogged because of their labor sympathies, Senator Pepper kept silent despite appeals directed to him for aid. He did not keep that silence, however, when the anti-lynching bill was on the floor of the Senate. He talked all right—against the bill!

Lynchings

The test of liberalism here in the South is the anti-lynching bill, particularly in Florida.

Florida was the state where Claude Neal was brutally murdered after public invitations were issued through the press and the radio, and the mob was given almost two days in which to gather from three states for the ceremony. The authorities were blind to the news stories announcing the event and deaf to the radio broadcasts; they

acted as a government only in the preparations made to direct the heavy flow of traffic to the scene of the killing.

Only a few months ago, several Negro boys were taken from the jail in Tallahassee, about three blocks from the state capitol, and murdered by masked men.

But Senator Pepper talked for hours and hours assuring the Senate and the United States that the South can take care of law and order without the help of federal legislation.

This New Dealer is now re-elected. For in the monolithic South, particularly in semi-totalitarian Florida, the Democratic primaries are virtually the only elections. The New Deal covers a multitude of sins; and this sin is one of the multitude that covers the New Deal.

War "Prosperity"

NEW YORK (NNS) — The National City Bank does not believe that the United States would benefit economically from a war in Europe. To hold otherwise, is a "shortsighted view and there is no certainty that it would be even temporarily correct."

World business, the bank review holds, is already supported by public expenditures on armaments, public works, relief and other government activities which are equal to the costs of war. It is doubtful whether many countries could increase their purchases in this country. Perhaps loans would be granted, if the present prohibitory laws were repealed.

Or investments now held here would be liquidated. Nobody knows what the result would be, whether fright, liquidation, disruption of trade, and sources of supply, or an inflow of orders,

Socialist Convention on Labor Unity- onLN-PL-

Adopted at the National Convention, Socialist Party U. S. A., April, 23, 1938.

The Socialist Party recognizes in the great upsurge of labor, beginning in 1933 and renewed with significant gains in the mass production industries in 1936, the beginning of a new period in working class history in the United States. The chief characteristic of this period is that for the first time the workers in the most strategic and powerful sections of American industry have, through heroic struggles, established union organization and collective bargaining. Through these struggles the workers have built a new movement and stimulated many sections of the older organizations, thereby more than doubling the total union membership. Head-on conflict with reactionary officials and government, disillusionment with vacillating liberal friends, have brought to large numbers of organized workers the realization of the need for an independent party of labor. These developments confirmed the emphasis Socialists have long placed upon the importance of industrial unionism and of independent political action by labor.

These truly great achievements, the necessary pre-condition for socialism, are menaced by the prevailing dis-unity between the AFL and CIO, which in many communities has reached the stage of civil war between workers. Tragic are the consequences of such a war. Antagonisms between unions of the AFL and CIO are in some instances sharper than the opposition between labor and capital. Respective picket lines have been broken and undercut. Industry has taken

advantage by imposing wage cuts. Union membership has been lost. Militancy has been sacrificed. Growing class consciousness deteriorates into factionalism. Competing jurisdictions, the sin of trade union dualism, have been established. The possibilities for independent political action are sabotaged. United labor opposition, the only way to oppose capitalist war, is weakened. The end of reactionary and bureaucratic leadership in the executive council of the AFL are served by expulsion of CIO unions. The self-delivering task of the labor movement is defeated.

For Unity

Every act of the Socialist Party shall be motivated by a genuine concern to bring about the speedy unification of the American labor movement. In renewing the efforts for trade unity the Socialist Party is keenly aware that lasting unity must insure the continuation of the drive to organize the unorganized and must preserve and extend the gains made for labor by the industrial form of organization in the great mass production industries. The Socialist Party members in the trade unions will devote themselves to this great task.

The labor movement itself has in part recognized the existing need for trade union unity. Negotiations for unity were opened during the October, 1937 conferences of the AFL and CIO. Unfortunately, these negotiations were fruitless. Inquiries into the cause so as to assess praise and blame is, at this time, an academic question to be left entirely to the historians of the movement. More important is it to recognize that

that there have been spontaneous actions by rank and file sections in both the AFL and CIO which either preserved or created unified labor action. Large international unions, such as the ILGWU affiliated to the CIO are campaigning for unity. The president of the auto workers union has offered a five-point program to establish unity. The Kenosha labor movement has initiated nation-wide rank and file petitions calling for unity. The president of the teamsters union, affiliated to the AFL, urges unity. Large state federations of labor affiliated to the AFL, up to the threat of expulsion, resisted the order which would have divided their organization into rival AFL and CIO councils. There exists a genuine demand on the part of the rank and file which must be deepened and furthered to heal as rapidly as possible the break in the labor movement.

The most important question, therefore, facing the members of the trade union movement is that of unity. This can come about only by rank and file of both rival organizations bringing pressure upon their leaders to resume negotiations looking forward to a speedy unification of the entire American labor movement. This disunity of the labor movement is creating in the minds of the unorganized workers of the country an anti-union attitude towards both AFL and CIO. The duty to organize thirty million yet unorganized workers devolves upon both the CIO and AFL. The Socialist Party endorses the petition campaign for unity initiated by the Kenosha Trades and Labor Council, and urges its members to give it their wholehearted

support.

Truce

Though division is present in the ranks of labor and some time must lapse before rank and file pressure can bring about peace, yet it is necessary that the rival organizations of labor establish a truce in this civil war. This truce shall include measures to prevent raiding of union membership by one or another of the organizations; to cooperate in promoting such national and state legislation as will be beneficial to all workers and in resisting such proposed legislation as is harmful to all workers; to fight jointly against wage cuts attempted by industry anxious to take advantage of a divided house of labor; to take up the task of organizing the yet unorganized thirty millions of workers without creating new competing jurisdictions. As a further aid to unity, local and regional conferences of labor should be brought about to promote united labor campaigns on specific issues. Such campaigns may be used to advance the cause of workers' education, workers' legislation, vocational training and guidance for youth, union label, and especially for public works and jobs for the unemployed, as well as a united labor anti-war campaign, and independent political action.

No blueprint for peace exists. Nonetheless, the Socialist Party holds that in face of the dangers of war and want no effort should be spared to preserve the gains of labor organization, to insure the principles upon which those gains are based, and to reunite the labor movement in order to go forward to new working class victories in these historic times.

Adopted at the National Convention of Socialist Party, U. S. A., April 23, 1938.

The Socialist Party recognizes that Labor's Non-Partisan League, though organized primarily for the Roosevelt campaign in 1936, does in some instances offer opportunity for promoting the development of an independent labor party or independent labor campaigns.

Socialists will seek to work in L.N.P.L. where-ever such activity can help the development of a labor party and wherever it involves efforts towards independence. Such activity must at no time involve Socialist cooperation with campaigns for candidates of capitalist parties.

Special stress is placed by the Socialist Party on the need for carrying on education in the union movement as a means of developing Labor's Non-Partisan League activities along independent lines wherever possible.

The Socialist Party protests the efforts being made, especially under the influence of the Communist Party to use Labor's Non-Partisan League against bona fide Labor Party and Farmer-Labor Party movements. Socialists will oppose such use of L.N.P.L. with special vigor.

To promote the drive to develop a genuine Labor Party, this convention directs the NEC to explore the possibilities of collective action by Labor Party movements on a national scale. Should it be ascertained that participation in a national conference shall be desirable the NEC is authorized to arrange for proper representation with the understanding that final decisions require the approval of a national convention or a membership referendum.