

Spain's Tragedy

The Real Story Behind the Rift Within Loyalist Spain—Miaja a Communist Until Four Weeks Ago—Communists Deliberately Deceive American Public.

By Dr. James Loeb

As reports continue, to come in that, on the one hand, the new Spanish national defense junta under the leadership of General Jose Miaja is seeking peace negotiations, and, on the other hand, that an immense Franco offensive is about to be launched on Madrid and Valencia, Socialists and anti-Fascists generally are attempting to understand the sudden developments which brought the dramatic and unexpected downfall of the Negrin-Del Vayo government.

The Miaja government is not a "Fifth Column" government, the Daily Worker and the New Republic misunderstand. Nor is there as yet any convincing proof that it was set up with the aid of France and England. The Nation which blandly affirms this does not explain how the aid was granted.

Will of People
The very composition of the Junta indicates that it is a government which, for better or for worse, is attempting to express the will of the Spanish people. General Miaja, until four weeks ago a member of the Communist party, is still the "heroic defender of Madrid"; General Casado, in addition to his war record, has to his credit a long prison term for his opposition to the Primo de Rivera dictatorship; Cipriano Mera has been the leading anarchist military figure since the death of Duruti and has been generally acclaimed even by the Communists.

Resent Communists
Basically the ousting of Negrin and his Communist supporters is a result of a long smoldering resentment against Communist methods and policies which many observers expected long before this. The immediate cause for the revolt was Negrin's attempt to institute a military dictatorship under himself, Del Vayo, Modesto, Lister, Casarao and Francisco Galan, all Communists with the exception of Negrin. (In Spain it was common knowledge that Del Vayo belonged to both the Communist and Socialist parties.)

Charges Are Fantastic
It is fantastic to assume, as the Daily Worker and the New Republic do, that Negrin would have made an "honorable peace" while Miaja will accept a dishonorable one. It is almost certain that at this stage of the game neither government can force any important concessions. Miaja's demands are identical with Negrin's. What are these demands? This correspondent's hearing of the Negrin Communist high in the Negrin government, say seriously demanded a plebiscite as a condition of surrender. Obviously the Spanish government, knowing that it had behind it the vast majority of the people, would have accepted a plebiscite the second day of the war, 24 months ago.

The demand that foreign troops be removed from Spain clearly implies the actual acceptance of Spanish clerical fascism. Can one demand of the Spanish workers to fight to the death by telling them that they are fighting for an "independent" Spain? The third demand concerns plebiscites. Assuming that Franco granted some "guarantee," would

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Hearst Goon



This nice fellow armed with a blackjack is not one of Hitler's Gestapos now operating in Czechoslovakia... he is a gorilla employed by the Hearst press to crack heads of American workers now on strike in Chicago.

Public Ownership Of Railroads Seen As National Issue

30% of Railroads in Receivership; Railroad Men Averaged \$95 Monthly
By HARRY W. LAIDLER
Public ownership of the railroad system of the United States and management by a railroad administration on which workers, consumers and technicians were adequately represented, provides the only real solution to the railroad problem.

This has long been the belief of the Socialist party of the United States and of large numbers of railroad workers. The railroad roadblocks, immediately following the World War, enthusiastically supported the plan for public ownership, and for many years vigorously worked in behalf of that plan, which received the endorsement of organized labor in general. In 1935, the Railway Labor Executives' association and most of the standard railway labor organizations reiterated their belief in public ownership as the only sensible way out of the railway dilemma.

The Railway Labor Executives' association, in its resolution of June 20, 1935, admirably set forth the case for public ownership in part as follows:
Wall Street Control
"Study of the many problems of the industry shows conclusively the responsibility for most of its major difficulties is to be found in the fact that the railways have come under the practically complete domination of the banking and financial interests of the country. Control by these interests, which center in a few powerful Wall Street banking houses, is exerted largely through their representation upon the boards of directors of the railway corporations."

Railroad Workers Lose Jobs
"The effects of the depression, which would have been serious if not for the industry being properly financed, were, under the circumstances, disastrous. Railway revenues naturally declined, until the net income was in many cases barely sufficient to meet the swollen charges brought about by pre-depression financing. Railway facilities have been allowed to deteriorate to the point where the efficiency of railway service has been seriously impaired and where its safety has been greatly reduced. Railway workers' absolutely necessary to a proper maintenance and operation of the railways have been thrown out of employment in order that the money which should have been paid in wages might be diverted to satisfy the demands of the railway financiers."

Huge Anti-War Meet in New York April 6

NEW YORK — To honor the congressmen who had the courage and the vision to vote against the declaration of war on April 6, 1917, anti-war forces in New York will hold a meeting at Manhattan Center, Thirty-fourth st. and Eighth ave., on the anniversary of the war vote, Thursday, April 6.
Arranged jointly by the Keep America Out of War Congress, Labor Anti-War Council and the Youth Committee Against War, the meeting will not only pay tribute to those who resisted the terrific pressure of the war mongers of those days but will also be a demonstration against the present drift to war.
Among the speakers will be two congressmen who stood firm in 1917, Jeanette Rankin, first congresswoman to sit in the house of representatives, and Harold Knutson of Minnesota, the only member left in the house who belongs on the honor roll.
Other speakers scheduled to address the meeting are Quincy Howe, author; Dr. Israel Knox, youth director; Joseph Schlossberg; Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe. McAlister Coleman will be the chairman.

Two German Spies Expelled From Mexico

By a Special Correspondent
MEXICO CITY—Charged with espionage for the Nazis, a German citizen, Baron von Hochwefer, and Pablo Garbinsky, said to have been head of the Polish spy service during the World War, last week were deported from Mexico. Garbinsky masked his activities for the Hitlerites by obtaining a job in the advertising department of a local Jewish newspaper. He was born in Poland of a Jewish family, but was early baptized into the Catholic church.
According to the Mexican secret service, the two men sold photographs of Magdalena Bay in Lower California and of Mexican and United States ships to other harbors, and forged a number of documents for illegal entrants into Mexico. Garbinsky was arrested last year for forging checks.
Thus far, there has been no protest from the German embassy, giving rise to the belief locally that the Nazi do not wish to call attention to their use of a renegade Jew for espionage purposes.

Thomas Pins Back Ears Of 'Polite Racketeer'

Flag Association Agent Peddles Bunk to Patriotic Suckers
NEW YORK — A silly charge that "more than three million Socialists" maintain camps and newspapers in the United States to teach hatred of God and the flag was branded as "polite racketeering" by Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist party, in a letter addressed to the press of the nation last week.
One P. A. Mulrine who used the letterhead of the United States Flag association had made the ridiculous charge against Socialists in a letter addressed to a large number of people.
Thomas also wrote to President Roosevelt and Chief Justice Hughes, honorary members of the flag association, protesting the allegations of screwball-Mulrine. Col. James A. Moss, president of the association, wrote Thomas that Mr. Mulrine had been directed to dis-

Rust Brothers to Address Southern Socialist Confab

S. P. Delegates to Act on Political, Economic Problems
ROCHDALE, Miss. — Socialists from 14 southern states will gather here at the Delta Cooperative farm for a three-day conference during Easter holidays, April 7, 8 and 9, according to an announcement by Frank McCallister, (St. Petersburg, Fla., member of the S. P.'s national executive committee).
The last NEC meeting set up a special committee consisting of McCallister, Gus Tyler, Ward Rogers and Harold Gibbons to study and render full report on the tactical, social and organizational problems particular to the southern states, and development of discussion of these problems in the party press.
To Show Cotton Picker
The CALL recently has carried a series of significant articles on southern problems from a Socialist viewpoint and these are expected to be continued as a result of the action by the NEC.
John and Mack Rust, inventors

Czech Working Class Bear Brunt of Nazi Conquest

War Referendum Bill Now Before Congress

Introduction of a war referendum amendment by Bob La Follette and 11 other senators signaled the opening of a concentrated drive for signatures to the petitions for the amendment circulated by the Youth Committee Against War. Already, hundreds of signatures are arriving in the Y. C. A. W. headquarters daily, but they are still not sufficient to stem the tide of war preparations.
An emergency call to action addressed to local organizations—particularly unions, farm groups, and youth clubs—has been issued by the Y. C. A. W. "Give the people the right to vote on war" is a potent answer to the cries of the congressmen who want Roosevelt to rule international affairs with a new "big stick" army and navy. Thousands of signatures, from people all over the country, will give pause to the battleship-loving president returning from the naval maneuvers off the East coast.

Two German Spies Expelled From Mexico

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Rank and File Votes to Stop 'Ruin or Rule' Gang

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—A struggle of many months between the Southern Tenant Farmers' union and the Communist-controlled United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America culminated recently in a decision of the executive committee of the STFU here to order immediate withdrawal from that body after a referendum of its membership on that proposition.
Officers of the STFU emphasized that they had no quarrel with the CIO as such, but that they were protesting in their denunciation of Communist disruption in the trade union movement.
The referendum, completed March 10, was taken among the 35,000 members of the STFU, with 200 locals in five southern states.
The canvass of the membership followed repeated attempts to persuade Donald Henderson, president of the UCAFAWA, to desist from tactics which the sharecropper officials described as a "Communist rule or ruin policy."

Patrick Read Wins Release

NEW YORK — Patrick Read, Irish veteran of the International Loyalist brigade who has been held on Ellis Island for the past four months facing exclusion from the United States, has been allowed to enter the country.
Read, former electrician in charge of transmission for the fifteen-ship brigade of the Spanish Loyalist army, is a former resident of Chicago. He was born in Ireland, entered the United States legally in 1919. In 1937 he went to Spain from Chicago, and in December, 1938, returned here with a non-quota entry visa, only to be denied admission and held at Ellis Island.

Bourgeois Democrats Aided Hitler in New Territorial Grab

(See editorial, page 4)
The simmering kettle of imperialist antagonisms again boiled over last week. It laid low Czechoslovakia—Adolph Hitler decreed that the energetic peoples of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia should be dissolved as an autonomous republic and his mercenary legions executed his will with the force of arms.
Europe's succession of crises appeared unending as Hitler's government cast covetous eyes on the Baltic district of Memel, placed under the sovereignty of Lithuania by the Versailles treaty, and also pressured Rumania into acknowledging Nazi-Soviet hegemony over the Balkans.
London, Paris, Bucharest, and other European capitals were in a high state of jitter. The "peace" of Munich was proven to be another scrap of paper, and Hitler's strategy, Sept. 27, 1938, that "if the problem (the Sudetenland claim) is solved, there will be no further territorial problems in Europe for Germany" was confirmed as what Socialists had from the first declared it to be an unmitigated lie.

War on Socialists Immediate victims of the latest phase of the Nazi 'drive to the east' were Socialists, trade unionists, patriots, religionists, and Jews.

Concentration camps were immediately erected and into them were interned thousands of leaders and activists of the Socialist and labor movements.
More than 400,000 Jews, many of them already refugees from Germany and Austria, were trapped and instantly a reign of terror was unleashed against them. The dreaded Gestapo, Hitler's training school, extended their network to ferret out every militant whose opinions were for one reason or another anti-Nazi.
Hitler's latest drive against Czechoslovakia was essentially a war against the workers and peasants' movements and also a craving desire to augment the military might of Germany for the biggest war that is to come. Organized workers and peasants constitute a greater threat to Fascism than all the Daladier and Chamberlain's tricky, hypocritical politics and the work of annihilating this revolutionary force as in Germany, Austria, etc., before, was the Nazis' first undertaking.

Sharecroppers Leave Communist-Dominated Agricultural Union

The executive committee of the STFU listed the following grievances against the CP bureaucracy:
1. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) charges Donald Henderson, president of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers' of America (UCAFAWA), an affiliate of the CIO, with arbitrary and irresponsible actions, culminating in an attempt to disrupt the STFU by violating the agreements between that organization and the international union, by suspending the officers of the STFU, and by attempting to set up a union dual to the STFU.
Attack CP Control
2. Such conduct on the part of a union official would be incomprehensible without the knowledge that Henderson's actions are not designed to help our union or the southern sharecroppers but to impose Communist control over the largest bona fide agricultural workers' union in the South.
3. Henderson's attacks on the STFU are not new. While acting directly for the Communist party, he made several efforts to split the STFU on doctrinaire Communist lines.
4. In 1936 Henderson was admitted as a guest to a convention of the STFU at Little Rock, Ark., following which he attempted to use his alleged friendship for the STFU in printing articles in his agricultural paper, advocating the cutting up of the STFU among other groups.

Want CIO, Not Henderson

5. When the STFU, in September, 1937, after an independent existence of three years, entered the UCAFAWA, it was because the STFU believed firmly in the purposes of the CIO, with its program of industrial unionism, and not because it desired the Henderson leadership.
6. Hardly had the STFU entered the international union when the Henderson controlled executive board proceeded to violate the agreement of autonomy which was basic to the entrance of the STFU into an international union so controlled. Thus the STFU was to have a status similar to that of the Hosiery Workers' Federation in the TWOC with full administrative self-government.
Vile Campaign
7. Henderson's attempt March 1 to suspend the duly elected officers of the STFU is the latest act climaxing a campaign of vilification and rumor-mongering carried out since Henderson's election as secretary of the STFU, as an independent union organized in July, 1934, had affiliated on an autonomous basis in September, 1937, with the UCAFAWA, because "the STFU believed firmly in the purposes of the CIO with its program of industrial unionism, not because it desired the Henderson leadership."

Hague Junior Flayed By Socialist Leader

Totalitarian Boss Flayed by Jersey S. P. Secretary
By AL HAMILTON, New Jersey Organizer, Socialist Party
NEWARK, N. J.—By a deliberate juggling of court judgments, Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City has succeeded in placing his son, Frank Hague, Jr., on the N. J. Court of Errors and Appeals, the highest court in the state. On March 8 that appointment, signed by Democratic Gov. A. Harry Moore, flayed Hague man, was approved in secret session by a vote of 14 to 6, in the Republican controlled New Jersey senate, seven Republicans and seven Democrats joining for this purpose.
As there are only seven Democratic senators, and 11 votes were needed for approval, it was with the power of the Republicans that they were really an independent party to stop endorsement of a candidate so clearly unit through illegal connection with the boss of the state and through lack of training or social vision.
The voters of New Jersey can thank the Hague-controlled Republican and Democratic parties of New Jersey for that, most unprincipled job of court-packing this state has ever witnessed. For years the presence of Hague, Jr., on the highest court of New Jersey will be living testimony of Mayor

The Fallacy of Armament Economics by Norman Thomas

In the first article of this series we considered the break-down of the system; the failure either of conservative or liberal supporters of the profit system to have any ideas adequate to solving the problem of production. The certainty that out of this failure, inherent in the nature of capitalism, would arise an increasing, not decreasing necessity for some sort of state intervention, and the challenge to Socialism to rally its forces to see to it that state intervention would be in the direction of Socialism and not of fascism.

The outstanding fact about state intervention in economics in almost the entire world today is the extraordinary diversion of machinery and energy into the armament race. The result has been a kind of relative and fearful prosperity; at any rate, a reduction or abolition of unemployment in the European nations which are leaders in this race. It is a result achieved in all countries, including the USSR by an extraordinary lowering of the standard of living. As every economist and most statesmen, including President Roosevelt, have pointed out, the arms race produces nothing which men can eat, drink, wear or use for their happiness. It produces nothing which is of service in satisfying man's ordinary wants and needs. The only excuse for it is insurance for national safety or national ambition.

Unemployment

Before we consider the validity of that excuse in the case of the United States, it is well to point out how dangerous is the present trend toward armament economics, even in this country. We are in far more peril of extreme militarism and war, because we have a standing army of 11,000,000 unemployed, and have been so incapable of putting our machinery to work to clothe, to feed, and to re-house our people. Probably there is no one in high office so irresponsible or depraved that he deliberately wishes war as a way of temporary and horrible escape from the pressure of unsolved economic and political problems at home, but undeniably the existence of those problems makes it easier for the masses to accept war and for the statesmen to drift into it. Certainly it makes it easier to accept the profits and jobs which come from a great program of armament.

As far back as the summer of 1937, before the race had become anything like as intense as it is today, John T. Flynn, in an article in Harper's magazine, pointed out with an imposing array of figures how completely European economies were bound up with a sort of war boom. The \$2,000,000,000 army and navy program in the United States is a considerable step for us toward the same kind of economy. Now, as Mr. Flynn and scores of others have pointed out, this sort of armament economics cannot be suddenly stopped even should there be, by some miracle, a world agreement of peace. The resultant economic collapse and panic would be too appalling for statesmen to face; hence the race in arms goes on with a momentum

of its own. Of itself, it helps to engender the fear, the hate and the other emotions to which it is a response, and by which the people can be persuaded to support it. To all this the United States will be no exception.

War for Profit

Today, the Communists and a great many liberals who until yesterday savagely denounced war and the munitions manufacturers, preach the bluffing of armament industries as a kind of holy duty. They not only to arm our own nation, but as rapidly as possible to arm South America and the European democracies. All this, of course, for profit. However idealistic may be the approach of certain individuals to this problem, the trade in armaments will be carried on by the same men and with exactly the same motives as formerly.

It has been reported that Great Britain in the week before Munich gave license for the sale of some \$800,000 worth of war supplies to Germany and France sold an almost equally large amount of material, mostly tanks, to its potential enemy. This is what armament economics means. It gives to hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people, a direct stake in this desperate race. Directly or indirectly, it means some market for farm products, some demand for labor; so the farmer and worker are drawn into the support of a system to which the most horrible end is war. They are deflected from the path of organizing to compel their government to use the natural resources and machinery to fight poverty and unemployment on terms which mean abundance for all.

They are compelled to be quiet about their own demands, lest they weaken their country in the face of an actual or a probable enemy. This is a road to a quasi-fascism, even if by some miracle it is not directly the road to a great war, of which fascism will be the consequence.

Lineup of Forces

I shall be told that, unfortunately as all this is, it is nevertheless inescapable. I may be reminded that Roosevelt's bold tone and America's great armament program have already resulted in some signs of weakness and indecision in the program of German aggression.

Possibly, but not certainly! Such signs of weakening in Hitler's program as may be observed are at least as much, or probably more, due to the internal condition in Germany, including its bad economic plight, than to Roosevelt's big armament program plus its threat of economic sanctions. Hitler, unless he is in one of his more fanatical moods, will not start a war which he does not expect to win within the first few months by his enormous superiority in the air.

Major Elliot has pointed out that no American preparedness would make the United States a powerful factor in those first few months. In any long run war, the predominance of man power and resources is overwhelmingly on the side of the anti-fascist nations in Europe, whatever the United States may do.

The whole notion that the United States may ayid war by a bold front has its dangers. Our program for increasing armament is not necessary for a reasonable defense of our own shores, even in military terms. The people who in the last war believed that the Germans had concealed machine guns and placements on the banks of the Hudson river were sober realists compared with those who believe that in any near time Germany and Italy can or will attack the United States.

Most of our new air fleet may be obsolete before the dictators are in a situation seriously to attack America from any base which they now have or which they may get. Admiral Leahy has testified that Japan ought not to be at risk of our fortification of Guam because there are no bombers in the world which can travel from Guam to Japan, a distance of some 1,400 miles, and return in safety. Yet we who listen to that testimony are often expected to believe that this hemisphere is already in danger!

Bluffing a Dangerous Game

Quite obviously our present arms are not for plain defense. They are either to bluff the dictators or to fight in a general war. Bluffing is a dangerous game, especially when one of the players is as near a paranoiac as Hitler. No responsible statesman should bluff with the lives of his people at stake unless he has at least prepared to go beyond the bluff. And in the process of preparation we shall erect a military institution and further a military psychology which can be used for aggression at least as well as for defense. Already in a debate with me over the radio a certain Major Simmons quite frankly admitted that he wanted a bigger army to keep order at home. Some of our labor people who accept arms with equanimity partly because of their great trust in Roosevelt, ought to consider that these new arms will not be ready, in all probability, until a new president is about to succeed Mr. Roosevelt.

The road by which the United States will probably get into war is neither by way of attack nor by way of crusading for democracy. The British and French empires have already piled up proof, mountain-high, that they will abide by the rule that nations fight only for their own interests, as their rulers understand or misunderstand those interests. They probably will fight, if necessary, to preserve their empire, let us say in Africa. The United States will probably not immediately declare war, but will go in for a very big war trade in the name of aid to the democratic powers. Interruption to this trade will likely be the cause of the war, or it may come out of the sheer hysteria which a gigantic new war will produce. Or it may come because, Japan taking some sort of advantage of the situation, attacks America's relatively small trade in the East, or possibly drives south toward the Philippines.

Not a War for Democracy

About such a world war, however it starts and whatever may be the mixture of emotions behind it, certain things are true by reason of the nature of war and of the capitalist states which wage it. It will not be a war for democracy. The nations which have regularly failed to aid democracy in the years between 1918 and 1933, by processes that would not have involved war, will not do it by war. Democracy will not even be a sure by-product. Probably a long war would result in a revolt in Germany and Italy and that would be good. But the revolt would be no Sunday school picnic and there is an excellent chance that American boys who enlisted to fight for democracy might find themselves sent to Berlin or Rome "to preserve order" for the capitalist governments of Britain, France and America.

There was a precedent for this when American boys were sent to Archangel after the Armistice. Moreover, not all the revolting may be done in Berlin and Rome. And that also may be good. But it would be a tragedy if American boys were sent to help preserve order against revolution in India, or among the Arabs now distributed through the French and British empire, or possibly in Ireland. World war is far more likely to mean a world blow-up than the triumph of any ideology, and at the end various dictators under various slogans will try to pull exhausted and desperate people into some kind of order. Even if that is too gloomy a prophesy, there is no reason to think that the triumphant capitalist democracies would do a better job of remaking the map of Europe and Asia than they did at Versailles, and that means that none of the causes that lead to dictatorship would be removed.

War Breeds Totalitarianism

The United States could not make of the next war an easy affair. It was told by a prominent senator in the last war that we wouldn't have to send troops abroad. Today I hear the same sort of talk. It is false. You can't get half way into a totalitarian war. Difficult as would be the task, in a world war the United States would probably end by managing to get an army somehow into China. To do that

would require a totalitarian state with all the regimentation of dictatorship that goes with it. We had a rather narrow escape from such dictatorship in and immediately after the last war. We should not escape this time from a dictatorship for an indefinite period because the world has become more callous to brutality and its tyrannies more proficient in propaganda.

These are reasons why I think that Socialists must fight the kind of state intervention which leads to armament economics, and that, in all probability, to war. It can be fought positively by programs of housing and the like, by the accumulation of certain supplies of raw materials, trade in which might be interrupted in other parts of the world. It can be fought by fighting imperialism, and by curbing the dictatorial powers of the president to put us into war. That means, at the very least, that the neutrality law should be strengthened, not weakened, and that exceptions to it should be made, if at all, in behalf of "innocent people," after solemn debate by congress; not at the discretion of a president subject to all sorts of pressure, including the pressure of the Messianic complex.

Ludlow Bill

It means that the so-called Ludlow referendum, while not itself perfect, and certainly not a panacea, will help. There is a good deal of hypocrisy about this talk of democracy which still insists that the people aren't good enough to vote on the wars in which they and their sons must die. In all probability, war will not be forced on America by physical invasion, and there will be time, if we keep the control of the radio, to have a short discussion and a vote. The process will take no longer than debate in congress. Aside from this program to keep America out of war, America ought to strive to help put war out of the world. A capitalist America is not likely to take effective steps to that end and whatever it does in that direction must be under pressure of organized Socialism and from the workers. There are things that Socialists can do which a capitalist nation cannot and should not be expected to do. We can and should give aid to the underground movements against war and fascism abroad. We can and should practice a consumers' boycott which will not have the dangers implicit in a rigid boycott by the capitalist nations possessed by the famous idea that, as Senator Hittman put it, "Why shoot a man when you can starve him to death?" An armed nation will shoot first!

Land of Asylum

Of course we Socialists must work incessantly to restore America's glory as a land of asylum and to make decent arrangements for refugees. If possible, with even more vigor must we work to bring it to pass that the American government will let the nations know its willingness at the earliest practicable moment to take part in a conference on disarmament, and a conference or a series of conferences on removing of international economic injustices which the dictators have capitalized to maintain their power over their peoples. This can be done on terms that do not mean bribing the dictators. Most of all, we can work with new courage and intelligence to make democracy succeed at home. Democracy is on the defense not merely or chiefly because of the extraordinary skill, cunning, or diabolic wickedness of the dictators, but because of its own inner failure. It is not the over-weening armed might of the United States which will most impress the peoples of South America. It will be our success under democratic entries in meeting the age-old problem of economic and emotional drift of America, its definitely toward armament economics and probably toward war. That drift can only be overcome by something far bigger than the narrow isolationism of nationalists unwilling to think about the problems of their fellow men in an interdependent world. It must be overcome along the lines of a Socialist policy which says "All possible cooperation for peace; all possible isolation of America from war."

Noted Labor Leaders Sponsor National Sharecroppers' Week

Sharecroppers Week Local Secretaries

- Chicago—Miss Hazel Whitman, care Purnell Behson, 5659 University ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Cleveland—Miss Janet Gregg, 506 Prospect Fourth bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
- Detroit—Miss Florence Meyers, 4203 Grand ave., Detroit, Mich.
- Milwaukee—Frank P. Zediger, 1024 N. Fourth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
- St. Paul (Twins Cities)—Miss Dorothy Schultz, 158 LaFond St., St. Paul, Minn.
- Boston—Alfred Baker Lewis, 680 Massachusetts ave., Cambridge, Mass.
- Baltimore—Miss Elizabeth Gill, 318 Park ave., Baltimore, Md.
- Newark—Miss Bella Kussy, 30 N. 4th pl., Newark, N. J.
- New York—Miss Harriett Young, Room 302, 112 E. Nineteenth st., New York, N. Y.
- Louisville—Mrs. Cary Robertson, Anchorage, Ky.
- Berea College—Miss Julia Allen, Berea college, Berea, Ky.
- Lexington—Mrs. Jacques Kwalick, P. O. Box 184, Lexington, Ky.
- St. Louis—Josephine Johnson, Box 360, R. R. 5, Webster Groves, Mo.

Sharecroppers Leave C. P. Infested Union

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on by Communists, sometimes unknowingly by their friends, designed to impair the prestige and effectiveness of the STFU.

8. The STFU was therefore compelled to expel early this year Claude Williams, Communist director of Commonwealth college, who has used that institution's faculty and student body as a base of operations against the STFU, thus carrying out the Communist rule of ruin policy.

9. Henderson has refused to cooperate with the STFU. The most recent of these was the Missouri demonstration where hundreds of members camped on the highways in protest against the evictions from the land and UCAPAWA did not contribute a cent to their relief.

10. Against this background, the STFU has been trying to carry on. Despite obstacles the STFU constitutes the largest bloc of agricultural workers in the South, with a membership of 35,000.

Vote for Secession

11. The attack by Henderson on a union which has won membership, prestige, and national support for itself, in maintaining an organization of Negro and white workers, must be described as an act perpetrated by a man with party feelings.

12. For the last 10 days a referendum has been in progress among the local unions of the STFU on the proposition that the STFU withdraw from the USAPAWA. The returns indicate an overwhelming support by the membership for disaffiliation, thus separating their union from the control by Communists who think in terms of their own party necessities and not the welfare of the sharecroppers and their union.

13. A series of conferences between officials of the STFU and UCAPAWA at the office of John

Friends Urged to Support Affairs For Tenant Union

BY SAM ROMER

NEW YORK—Seven noted labor leaders have joined with other prominent Americans in acting as national sponsors of National Sharecroppers' Week, it was announced in New York last week by Harriet Young, secretary of National Sharecroppers' week. The week, which will be observed this year from March 24 through March 31, is intended to bring support to the Southern Tenant Farmers' union and its program.

The labor union officials who are national sponsors are: John H. Bosch of Minneapolis, president of the National Farm Holiday association; Allen S. Hayward of New York city, regional director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO); Donald Henderson, president of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America; Julius Hochman of New York city, manager of the Dress Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers of America; A. Philip Randolph of New York city, president of the International Brotherhood of Pullman Porters; Joseph Schlossberg of New York city, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and N. A. Zonarich of New Kensington, Pa., president of the Aluminum Workers of America.

Lauds Tenant Union

In a special statement, Miss Young declared that "the Southern Tenant Farmers' union represents labor's insurance in the north that the southern workers will not be used as scabs and strikebreakers. The Southern Tenant Farmers' union has brought trade-union consciousness to its 35,000 sharecropper members; its very existence is a warning to unscrupulous employers that the southern worker is now protected by his own trade union and stands solid with his northern brother in the fight against long hours, child labor and starvation pay."

Miss Young said that the week would be observed from coast to coast with special meetings, concerts, etc.

Officials of the union, including J. R. Butler, president, and H. L. Mitchell, secretary, will tour the country, accompanied by sharecropper organizers right out of the fields.

Brophy, director of the CIO, failed when Henderson refused to rescind his call for a dual convention and his attempt to suspend officers.

To Build Union

14. Henderson himself has ignored the welfare of the CIO by suspending officers without a hearing and outside his powers, by calling a dual convention to be held March 12, designed to spread doubt, mistrust and confusion among a union of agricultural workers who have been winning a struggle against unbelievable odds.

15. The STFU continues its policies which have resulted in an organization of sharecroppers that has won the regard of friends throughout the United States.

16. The facts listed above outline the situation created—destructive and unthinking elements from which the STFU now separates itself in order to maintain organizational integrity and increase its union's strength.

Labor Has Special Interest in STFU

BY HARRIET YOUNG,
Secy., National Sharecroppers' Week

The Southern Tenant Farmers' union represents labor's insurance in the north that the Southern workers will not be used as scabs and strike-breakers. The Southern Tenant Farmers' union has brought trade-union consciousness to its 35,000 sharecropper members; its very existence is a warning to unscrupulous employers that the southern worker is now protected by his own trade union and stands solid with his northern brother in the fight against long hours, child labor and starvation pay.

During the observance of National Sharecroppers' Week this year from March 24 to March 31, officials of the union and sharecropper organizers from the field will tour the country, speaking in cities from coast to coast, bringing to American labor the stirring message of solidarity.

These men will tell the story of sharecroppers to America. This year National Sharecroppers' week assumes unusual importance for all people interested in the solution of the sharecropper problem. The program of mechanized cotton farming has meant the eviction of thousands of sharecroppers from even their wretched hovels, that today they are denied the right to even the miserable existence they had until this year.

In speaking for the Southern Tenant Farmers' union, we are not opposing mechanized progress; but we are trying to make this progress mean happiness and health for the sharecropper instead of his destruction. The machine now is his enemy; it must be made his friend.

Sponsors of National Sharecroppers' Week

- Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, Dr. Frank P. Graham, Francis Fox-Tone (movie actor), David L. Chiddister, Arthur Garfield Hays, Gardner Jackson, Josephine W. Johnson, Bishop Robert Padcock, Norman Thomas, John Rust, Meek Rust, Roger Baldwin, Margaret Bourke-White, Dorothy Detzer, Sherwood Eddy, Harold E. Fey, Mary Fox, John C. Granberry, Richard B. Gregg, Adolph Held, Arnold T. Hill, Prof. C. S. Johnson, Alfred Baker Lewis, Robert Morris Lovett, W. M. McKee, James Myers, Broadus Mitchell, Reinhold Niebuhr, H. Clarence Nixon, Dr. Alva Taylor, Katherine Terrill, Oswald Garrison Villard, Walter White, Frances H. Williams, Howard Kester.

Seek Writ on WPA Alien Ban

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — Challenging the constitutionality of the federal appropriations act, which discriminates against aliens with respect to employment on WPA projects, the southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties union has filed suit in federal court at Los Angeles seeking a writ to enjoin the WPA administrator from discharging 2,500 alien employees.

New Dealers Crash Picket Line Of Hotel Strikers

Teamsters Lead CIO-AFL Fight Against Starvation Wages

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Two thousand striking AFL hotel workers in the nation's capital have had two important lessons brought forcibly home to them since they were forced to walk out March 7.

First of these lessons, and one which has deeply impressed AFL workers of every kind in Washington, is the effectiveness of and consequently the need for labor unity.

Second is the dawning realization of the "progressiveness" of "progressive" New Deal leaders who have constantly violated their picket lines.

The need for militant labor unity in the face of wholesale importation of strikebreakers from New York and full page ads in the local press, has been deeply impressed on the minds of every rank-and-file hotel worker.

CIO Gives Swift Support

More swiftly even than other AFL locals, CIO unions mobilized their support within 24 hours after the city-wide strike was declared. The CIO's United Cafeteria Workers voted full support to their striking brothers. CIO units in the government service and other fields threw their strength behind the AFL's fight against the starvation wages and for the closed shop.

John Brophy, CIO national director, joined the picket line in front of one hotel, and the Washington League of Women Shoppers sent out several of their members in abbreviated dresses to carry placards reading "Skirts Are Getting Shorter; How About Hours?"

Import Scabs

As scabs and strikebreakers flooded into the city (promised \$10-a-week wages), the striking hotel workers began to see the need of complete militant trade union support if their struggle and jobs were not to be lost.

Most heartening to the strikers was action of the powerful teamsters' union in refusing to make deliveries to hotels.

Union firemen, engineers and musicians threatened like action if the wealthy hotel owners' association did not come to terms with the union. Meanwhile, day after day and far into the night, the picketers walked back and forth in front of hotel entrances in driving rain and bitter cold.

Katherine Hepburn, appearing here in a new play, refused to cross the picket line in front of her hotel. The White House Press Correspondents canceled their annual dinner for President Roosevelt in one of the 13 struck hotels. The Women's Trade Union league and the American Student union joined the picket lines.

Unemployed Deceived

Unemployed hotel workers from New York continued to stream in, hired through agencies and not told of the strike. Many, met at the railroad station by strikers, turned back to New York, several saying they had no money.

The spy-like hundreds of New Deal "friends of labor" was exposed both to the strikers and the general public as they ignored the picket lines of workers who

Picket Line Unity



CIO Director John Brophy (right) pickets with striking members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance (AFL) outside the Mayflower Hotel in Washington.

Public Ownership of Railroads a Big Issue

Continued From Page One

ner most conducive to safe, efficient, and economical operation. Federal financing under federal ownership will cost much less and can be much more wisely directed than either private or public financing under private ownership and operation.

The necessary coordination of railroads with other types of transportation can be done in a manner to safeguard public interests only if there is complete government control of the railroads. The immediate rehabilitation of railway facilities, which is absolutely essential to the safe and efficient operation of the railroads, is not possible excepting through federal financing, and will be very difficult unless with federal financing there is also federal ownership and operation.

80 Per Cent In Receivership

The Socialist party supports the arguments for public ownership of the railroad system as set forth by the railroad workers. Nearly 30 per cent of the railroad mileage of the country is now in the hands of the receivers.

The average wages of railroad workers are low. According to the railroad brotherhoods, the average wage of 111 railroad workers in 1933 was \$1,115, less than \$95 a month. Fifty per cent of all employees earned less than \$1,000 during the year. The hourly compensation of railway employees is but 1 cent higher than it was 18 years ago. The railroads, due to increased efficiency and productivity of their employees, are now receiving more work and far more efficient work for each dollar of wages paid than through the days of the Standard Oil Company. The railroads, therefore, are urged to reduce wages.

Criminal Speculation

For years past, we in America have depended upon regulation to solve the railroad muddle. After a half century of regulation as the railway labor exacting one crisis to another, with neutral direction, wasting the unnecessary duplications of millions millions and millions of dollars, underpaying their employees, failing to keep up their equipment, in many instances, squandering in service and squandering their investors' money, in well-nigh criminal speculation

Jobless Confab At Pittsburgh

April 22-23

McDowell Sends Lasser Original Memo Which He Misquoted

CHICAGO—The Socialist party has called a national unemployment conference of its members and friends for Pittsburgh, April 22 and 23 in the Workers' Club headquarters, 1862 Cent. ave. E. Conference will discuss a new formulation of Socialist program ending and immediately reducing unemployment, the present CIO and WPA crisis and the question of the nature and manner of organization of the unemployed whether by unions or independently by themselves.

An amusing prelude to this conference was the publication in "Work" organ of the now thoroughly Communist party dominated national organization of the Workers Alliance of America, a sensational story attempting to equal the sensation of the Alliance as an independent organization by the Communist party machine by charging that defection of whole city and state organizations was a "Socialist plot."

A bulletin listing Communist expulsions and exclusions of public opponents from the Alliance is a dozen states and issued by Arthur G. McDowell, labor secretary of the Socialist party was extensively misquoted and a quotation by Norman Thomas invented out of the whole cloth.

In a letter to Dave Lasser, president of the Alliance, who was forced out of the Socialist party because of his acceptance of Communist party dictation McDowell pointed out that his bulletin was "extremely, extensively misquoted." "Just to help you correct inaccuracies, if that is something which you are not responsible for," he sent you a copy of the bulletin in question so that when you quote it you may quote it with accuracy, if at all," McDowell wrote Lasser.

Co-ops to Have World's Fair Bureau

NEW YORK — Cooperator of the metropolitan area of New York will set up a "cooperative consumer information and consumer problems" office in the city, as part of a life expected in New York summer at the time of the World Fair, a committee of New co-operators announced this week.

have depended upon regulation to solve the railroad muddle. After a half century of regulation as the railway labor exacting one crisis to another, with neutral direction, wasting the unnecessary duplications of millions millions and millions of dollars, underpaying their employees, failing to keep up their equipment, in many instances, squandering in service and squandering their investors' money, in well-nigh criminal speculation

NOTICE

Irving Salert, former manager of the Flatbush Book Shop, now manages and owns the Park Book Shop at 931 Flatbush ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

On the Map With the Socialist Party

Comrade Roy Burt, the national secretary, is on leave of absence from the national office and Comrade Arthur G. McDowell, labor secretary, is for the present time both acting executive secretary and the author of this column.

Dues Payment Plan

Completed report for February shows a national increase in dues payments of 22 per cent during February as against January. The increase shows in every state except one. The increase in dues reflects not only the drive of the party to put on the annual census or registration of members, but also reflects a very definite rise in party membership and interest in the last few months. Some branches and locals have taken the recruiting campaign very seriously and are getting results, as are noted in the column below.

The recruiting drive, which started the first of February and is to run to May 1, calls for each party local to report the names of the director of the recruiting campaign and the committee members in the national office, along with the quota which the branch or local organization sets itself in this important drive.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

On Thursday, February 23, Local Boston-Cambridge, Socialist party of Massachusetts, adopted the following referendum resolution which was officially certified to the national executive secretary of the Socialist party by Marguerite Campbell, secretary, of the local.

"WHEREAS, the national executive committee at its meeting in Chicago, according to its minutes, reports that its special committee on Socialist unity has reached substantial agreement with the Social Democratic federation on a basis for reuniting the Socialist movement of this country, and

"WHEREAS, we are convinced that the membership of the Socialist party, U.S.A. is desirous of immediate action on this matter, be it referred,

RESOLVED, that the Boston-Cambridge local of the Socialist party of Massachusetts, affiliated with the Socialist party, U.S.A., hereby moves that the following proposals, when properly seconded, according to Article XII, Section 1 (b) of the party constitution, be submitted to a referendum of the membership:

PROPOSAL A:

The national executive committee of the Socialist party is hereby directed to call a special convention of the Socialist party jointly with the Social Democratic federation for the purpose of establishing a unified Socialist movement, on a basis of the simultaneous action taken by the Social Democratic federation. Points of disagreement not previously eliminated by the special unity committees of the two groups, shall be referred to the convention. The convention shall be called to take place not later than 60 days after the approval of this referendum by the majority of the voting membership of the Socialist party, contingent upon agreement with the Social Democratic federation on time and place.

PROPOSAL B:

That the national constitution is hereby amended to authorize the national executive committee to enter into agreement with the Social Democratic federation for equal numbers of delegates to this convention and to reduce the number of delegates of the Socialist party to one-half the number of delegates ordinarily prescribed by the Socialist party constitution for a special national convention.

PROPOSAL C:

That pending action on this referendum for unity and the meeting of a unity convention if and when agreed to, that the national executive committee is directed to postpone any action on any changes in national personnel and/or location of national headquarters in deference to the deliberation of the aforementioned unity convention.

Due to failure to print in the issue of the Socialist Call next succeeding receipt of notice of Boston-Cambridge action, the Utica-Cornwall action, the Utica-Cornwall action, the New York party on March 9 adopted virtually identical resolutions to the above proposition have been adopted by Locals Hammond, Gary and Crown Point, Ind.; Local Cook County, Ill.; Local Milwaukee, Wis.; Local Twin Cities, Minn.; and Local Clovis, New Mexico.

The Boston-Cambridge local at its March 9 meeting voted 6 to 5 to rescind its previously unanimous action in initiating the referendum resolution, but the national chairman of the party has ruled that the local cannot rescind its motion without the permission of the locals which have seconded it and the resolution of the party. Referendum property of the party. Referendum may be designated as Referendum A, B, or C.

Article XII of the constitution of the Socialist party has the following applicable provisions on party referendums:

"ARTICLE XII REFERENDUMS

"Section 1. The national executive committee, or a national party secretary, shall submit to a referendum vote of the members:

(a) Any question, motion or resolution submitted to the national executive committee and endorsed by at least five (5) locals, which shall have a total membership of twenty (20) per cent of the total membership of members of the local is to be ascertained from the respective state secretaries.

"Section 2. A referendum shall be submitted to a referendum vote in the party press, and shall be open for discussion for a period of three (3) months. If there are not sufficient second or endorsement motions received within the three (3) month period, the referendum shall be dropped and cannot be raised again for a period of six (6) months.

"Section 3. The term 'local' as used in this article, shall apply to the unit organization in a city or county and does not apply to branches or subdivisions of city county organizations.

"Section 4. The term membership shall mean the average dues paying members of the party as shown on the list for the preceding calendar year.

"Section 5. Referendum shall be submitted without previous comment not to exceed 200 words both for and against any proposition may accompany the motion.

"Section 6. The return of the vote on any referendum must be in the national office not later than 75 days from the date ballots were mailed by the national office.

"Section 7. Whenever a motion, resolution or an amendment has been regularly initiated and passed upon by the party membership, and another motion that conflicts with the same shall not be considered for at least one year.

"Section 8. (a) Only members of the Socialist party who have been members of the Socialist party for at least six (6) months and are in good standing can vote on referendums.

"Section 8. (b) In preparing a ballot for referendum there shall be printed the name of the motion, the length of membership on the party.

FRANK ZEIDLER, National Secretary, U.S.A. Acting Executive Secretary.

members for this live little local is the quota which they have set for themselves by May 1.

State Secretary Arthur Kling writes that there will be a state conference or convention at Louisville March 25 and 26, at which time there will also be a statewide YPSL conference.

Local Berea in Kentucky is back on the map with the school year and wants the party to know it.

Illinois

Local Cook County has put a new full-time organizer to work. He is Comrade Harry Fleischmann, formerly of Detroit. Comrade Fleischmann has done organizing work for the party and the YPSL in Pennsylvania, New York and Connecticut, was formerly secretary of the Red Falcons, Socialist children's movement, and for the past two years has been doing heavy trade union and party work in Michigan. He started work in Chicago on March 5, at the first of the Cook County monthly suppers and discussions.

Two new branches in the county and increased activity for the older organizations are on his immediate schedule. One of the immediate results of his advent to Chicago was the decision of the county central committee to run a write-in campaign for the mayoralty election, in spite of the rigorous Illinois election law which bars new parties from a regular place on the ballot, so that there might be some opposition to the corrupt and blood-stained anti-labor Democratic and Republican machines of Chicago.

The county central committee nominated the county chairman and acting national secretary, Arthur G. McDowell, as the candidate for the write-in campaign for mayor of Chicago.

The Illinois state executive committee met at Gillespie over the week-end with party members and set up a program of party building, starting with organizing committees of local comrades operating in the various sections of the state, Waukegan, Lake County, LaSalle County and the Gillespie comrades operating out of their town into both Springfield and sections of southern Illinois.

The treasury was found to have accumulated funds for organizing purposes and the work of loyal Socialists in building a stronger and better miners' union and unemployed organization in the state has laid the basis for a genuine friendly hearing on the part of the workers.

An intensive campaign to build subscriptions to the SOCIALIST CALL will accompany the organizational drive. A local will shortly be rechartered in Granite City under the capable organizing efforts of Comrades Marvin Barnes and Arthur Eres.

Indiana

Local Hammond, which for some time has been meeting with Whiting, Indiana, comrades, last meeting took in two new members and looks forward to signing up some other prospects. Comrade Ralph Logsdon is engaged in active agitation among his fellow railroad workers on the matter of government ownership of the roads as a basic solution for the problem of the railroad workers faced with unemployment.

Local Gary and Crown Point have also held meetings within the last period of weeks, and hope to recruit some new members.

New York

Comrade Merle A. Wilson, Binghamton, reports the strengthening of Socialist sentiment as a result both of the Socialist policy of vigorous advocacy of unity between the CIO and the AFL and recent developments toward unity among Socialists. He reports the Binghamton Central Labor union has reached the point of being prepared to back labor candidates for city council positions this fall, an advance in terms of independent political action which is really a victory in this conservative community.

Comrade Wilson reports an increasingly favorable response to the appeal of the Socialist movement as he canvasses enrolled Socialists and American Labor Party people.

The Rome-Utica local reports that the Utica group has added new membership and the Rome group has prospects in line. For the present every member of the local will be on the membership committee and vitally engaged in the building of the strength of the Socialist party in these two communities. Charles Ludson is secretary and Albert Tully of Rome chairman of the combined local.

The New York City Socialist organization announces the opening of the spring quarter of the Debs Labor School. The spring period runs from March 20 to May 13. Members of the faculty for this session include Harry W. Laidler, Frank N. Trager, Lewis Corey, Jack Barbash, Phil Heller and the most illustrious of all, Angelica Balabanoff.

Ohio

The comrades at Cleveland, Local Cuyahoga County, have organized a labor league made up of all Socialists active in trade unions and other mass organizations, for the purpose of intensified Socialist agitation among organized groups of workers. Robert Parker is labor secretary of the party in Cleveland.

Ward Rodgers, the new state organizer, has covered meetings of a wide variety in Yellow Springs, Columbus and Cleveland.

Michigan

State Secretary Ben Fischer has completed a tour of western Michigan. Michigan was one of the states making sharp gains in dues paying membership during the month of February.

Kentucky

Local Louisville continues its upward progress in membership and activity with the stimulation of a YPSL circle in the city.

Local Paducah has elected Comrade George Richards as member-

Kansas

Kansas is one of the state Socialist organizations which keeps in touch with its members through a monthly bulletin. We note that the Wichita local, in a time when all too many Socialist branches and locals have neglected their educational programs, is able to maintain continuously two classes in Socialist fundamentals, a beginning and an advanced group. The organization welcomes to its ranks a new group of eight YPSL members at Kansas University, who are a mighty welcome addition to the Socialist organization of the state of Kansas.

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Supreme Court Sits Down



Members of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (CIO), who took part in a 1937 sit-down strike at the Fansteel Metallurgical company plant, surrender at the Lake county jail at Waukegan, Ill., after losing in the U. S. supreme court.

Young Socialists at Work

CONFERENCES STRESS ANTI-WAR DRIVE

The first two of a series of regional conferences, planned by the Young Peoples' Socialist League, were held on March 11 and 12 in Racine, Wis., and Ann Arbor, Mich. The conferences were planned at the recent meeting of the National Executive committee of the YPSL for the month of March. The first conference was in Cleveland, over the weekend of March 18 and 19. The following weekend will be the occasion for three conferences—one in Louisville, Ky., one in Chicago, Ill., and one in Springfield, Mass.

The Wisconsin conference was attended by 50 delegates from circles in Madison, Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha, as well as several not-yet Socialist youth. Its feature speakers were Paul Perter, editor of "Kenosha Labor," Frank Zeidler, Wisconsin party secretary, Andy Ivan Hazing, John Van Helsing, Tom Rusch, Charles Rubin, Gerald Rubin and Judah Drob.

The Michigan conference was attended by about 20, including delegates from circles in Flint, Ann Arbor and Detroit. The speakers included Ben Fischer, party secretary in Michigan, and Robin Myers, student director of the YPSL. The Flint circle of 10 members had received its charter the evening before the conference, in a presentation ceremony addressed by Robin Myers.

Discussion at both conferences centered around the work of the league in the next few months. It was featured by reports of comrades active in the various fields of work-in which young Socialists are active, and by plans for extension of work into new fields.

lications of local and state-wide bulletins, the initiation at Milwaukee State Teachers' college of a student-faculty campaign against cuts in college budgets, and participation in organizations for youth's right to work.

Advance Socialist Ideas

Throughout the discussion of the immediate problems of young people and the activity around them, it was stressed that the organization of youth to act upon their problems is the initial step toward interesting and involving them in the struggle for Socialism. It was agreed that the aim is not to make these campaigns the exclusive property of Socialists, but to get the cooperation of as many young people as possible. Many of those who participate will become good YPSL members in time.

The conferences discussed the summer work of the comrades, many of whom will be free during that ordinarily dull period. The announcement was made of the YPSL national summer school and camp to be held in Wisconsin from July 1 to Aug. 12. Plans were discussed for the raising of money for the students who will attend and for the possible employment of some of them as full-time organizers in the fall.

Wisconsin Summer Camp

The Wisconsin conference heard the report of the state executive committee which appointed a committee headed by State Chairman Gerald Rubin to raise the funds needed for the physical development of the camp site which has been donated by a Milwaukee comrade.

The comrades also discussed the other summer activities in which they might engage, including the possibilities of attending other summer schools and doing antiwar work.

Both conferences were so successful that they decided to call follow up conferences in May. The Wisconsin state convention will be held in Milwaukee and the Michigan conference will be held in Flint. The Michigan date has definitely been set as the first weekend in May.

These two conferences are indices of the increasing maturity of the YPSL and augur very well for its continued growth in membership and influence.

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Student Strike

The most immediate of the problems discussed was that of the student strike against war, to be held April 20. Socialists in all centers where there are student members, are hard at work building the Youth Committee Against War, under whose auspices the strike will be held as a dress rehearsal for student refusal to support the U.S. government in any war it may undertake. Particular emphasis will be laid upon securing nonstudent, and particularly labor support for the strike. In Flint, a city-wide protest against the threatened introduction of ROTC into the city's high schools, will be the main feature of the antiwar demonstration.

Stress Anti-War Work

The young Socialist conferences stressed the importance of the Youth Committee Against War. Special attention was given to the work that YPSL members must do to induce as many young people and youth organizations as possible to affiliate to the YCAW. Stress was laid on the fact that the youth committee is a broad united effort and that every possible collaborator must be brought into it. The necessity for securing individual memberships and group affiliations was underlined.

Work reported upon included the establishment of campus cooperative organizations of student workers, distribution of large quantities of Socialist literature, the pub-

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Wisconsin News—Views

Honored

News dispatches from Madison announce that Mayor Daniel W. Hoan will receive an honorary degree from the University of Wisconsin at the annual commencement program on June 19. The university in a press statement described the mayor's record thus: "During his many years as mayor of one of the largest cities in America, his conduct has on him a high reputation for personal integrity and executive competence. Under Mayor Hoan Milwaukee has become one of the best governed cities in the country."

The degree to be awarded is doctor of law.

Koegel Milk Bill

The recent plight of the dairy farmers and the lowering of the price to farmers for milk in the Milwaukee area focuses public attention on the Koegel milk bill, designed to make the distribution of milk a public function. The bill, introduced by Assemblyman Arthur Koegel, protects the consumer, labor, and the farmer against exploitation in the distribution systems now prevailing.

Raps Racial Discrimination

Assemblyman Ben Rubin has introduced a bill to enforce equal racial rights in resorts, places of public accommodation and employment.

Racine and Kenosha Jottings

Kenosha local spent Thursday evening, March 16, viewing the film: "The Co-operative Movement in Wisconsin." There was a sizeable crowd, including the manager of the Kenosha co-op. Edward Weston presided over the meeting, and was assisted by Hilda Roberts, the efficient secretary. Frank Zeidler operated the projection machine.

After the showing there was an informal discussion on the farm problem, in which Harry Miller took the lead.

The organization is planning an April Fool's party to which Gerry Allard, editor of the Call, will be invited. Gerry will not know whether this is a compliment or an insult.

Gerry will be honored because April 1 is the coal miners' national holiday.—The Editor.

Racine local played host to about thirty young Socialists who attended a Wisconsin-Minnesota conference in Debs hall. Active promoters of the conference were Jerry Rubin, Charley Rubin, Andy Van Hazing, Jack Cohn and the Marxian circle of Milwaukee. The conference lasted two days, Saturday and Sunday March 11 and 12. As usual in Racine, the meals were superlative.

Harry Dadian, Racine secretary, with the aid of Chris and Dorothy Jorgenson has been helping manage labor's campaign committee in the spring elections. Victor Cook was running for alderman in Jack Harvey's ward. Jack has decided not to run.

Debs Labor School Plans Spring Term

NEW YORK—The educational committee of the Socialist party of New York city is planning an ambitious and stimulating spring program for the Debs Labor school.

Among the instructors listed for the spring program are Angelica Balabanoff, Lewis Corey, Harry W. Laidler, Frank N. Trager, Jack Barbash, Will Chasin, Phil Heller, Herbert Zam and Aaron Levenstein.

Complete information can be secured by communicating with Neil Russell, director, Debs Labor School, 303 Fourth Ave., New York City.

School Board

Four of the five candidates of the Farmer Labor Progressive Federation for school board in Milwaukee were nominated in the primary. They are William Teuch, William Busch, and Hannah Eismiller, party members; and Willard Bowman, progressive. The fifth nominee, Stanley Sudry, was not nominated because an unknown of the same surname received thousands of votes meant for Stanley.

John Brophy, Fifth ward, Milwaukee, received the largest number of votes in the special primary election for alderman in that ward. John's chances are excellent and he should win if he gets enough help in foot-work.

Washington

Correspondence is being conducted between the secretaries of Local Tacoma, Spokane and Seattle with a view to taking steps for organizing a vigorous state organization as soon as the support for it has been built. Local Spokane elected to its membership recruiting committee W. E. Kilgore, chairman, and Charles Grant and J. E. Tolley. The labor committee is composed of Leo Welch, chairman; Jack Hopkins and J. R. Tuininga. We look for lively organization news in the near future from the Pacific Northwest, Oregon being included.

Spits Conservatives

The bill has created something of a split in Democratic and Republican ranks, since those assemblymen representing districts of working class people have deserted party leadership to vote with the Socialists and Progressives.

In a forum of assemblymen of the Farmer-Labor Federation, Mayor Hoan expressed the hope that labor will learn which group stands for its interests in government. In speaking of the Catin-Ludvigsen bill and a bill to license union organizers, the mayor said: "These bills were not passed this week, they were passed at the polls last November. And if you give the anti-labor forces the chance they will press you back into the slavery on which humanity was held before labor led the way to such things as universal free education, a free press and escape from jail for debts."

There is no doubt that farm sentiment is bitter against labor, because dairy prices are low and volume has dropped. This sentiment has been aided by a diligent campaign to wean the farmer away from labor through such mediums as Glenn Frank's magazine "Rural Progress," distributed free throughout Wisconsin.

However, substantial sections of the farm movement such as Farmers' Equity Union have been outspoken in their opposition to the bill; but at the present their voices are in the minority and the bill may pass.

Wisconsin Tories War On Labor

Republican, Democratic Coalition Passes Anti-Trade Union Bill

BY FRANK ZEIDLER, Sec'y., S. P. of Wisconsin

Following the pattern set by big business in Oregon, Wisconsin industrialists have taken on the guise of organized farmers to beat down the rights of labor. Under the mask of the Wisconsin Council of Agriculture, the Republican majority in the assembly introduced and successfully passed in that body the Catin-Ludvigsen bill, designed to curb the power of labor to organize itself.

This bill provides for 10-day notice, prior to a strike involving perishable products; it outlaws sit-downs and secondary boycotts; it bars a closed shop except by three-quarters vote; it prohibits picketing unless a majority vote to strike. It empowers the state labor board to throw out a closed shop agreement when the union refuses to admit a non-union member to membership.

Atty. W. H. Bender, Milwaukee corporation lawyer, drew up the bill which the Wisconsin Council of Agriculture, an association of various farm groups, under the leadership of Herman Inde, Neenah, and Milo K. Swanton, Madison, undertook to sponsor.

The bill has been vigorously fought by labor and some farm organizations sympathetic to labor, but the determination of shambles in both Republican and Democratic parties has put the bill through the lower house.

Swanton, secretary of the council, visited a camp being conducted by teachers from the state university for teaching in rural education and returned to blast in the conservative papers that these potential rural educators were discussing production for use, Mark Catin, Jr., of Appleton, recent graduate of the state university and one of the introducers of the bill, left a record in the 1937 legislature of zero on labor bills, and 187 on farm bills. The co-sponsor, Alfred Ludvigsen, Hartland, has a record of .037 on labor bills and zero on farm bills. Mark Catin, Sr., father of the assemblyman, was appointed by Gov. Hell to the conservation commission.

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714 Seneca Avenue Brooklyn, N. Y.

Offers Plan

Abraham Makower
Socialist party members, sympathizers and members of the Workers' Circle in San Francisco and East Bay were shocked to hear of the sudden death of Abraham Makower, of heart failure, in Berkeley. Sympathy is extended to the family of the deceased.

Five Weeks to Go For May Day!

Organization and individual greetings for the combined Anniversary and May Day issue of the SOCIALIST CALL should be sent in without further delay.

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Europe's Crisis

While Hitler consolidates his positions in Czechoslovakia and Slovakia, and while he wins new victories in Memel, Danzig and Rumania, the French workers are learning what the consequences are to democracy and freedom when left to the tender mercies of capitalist and imperialist governments.

The French chamber of deputies and senate have approved the granting of unlimited dictatorial powers to Daladier, with which he is to "fight the Fascists" and the labor and anti-war movements in France. Fascism thus struck a smashing blow at labor and democracy, not only in eastern Europe, but in the "stronghold" of democracy itself.

Slamming shut the stable doors after the Czech and Slovakian peoples had been gobbled up by an insatiable Fascist Germany, Daladier and Chamberlain are reacting to the outraged public opinion of their peoples. Roosevelt, continuing his campaign to expand the Latin-American markets of the United States industrialists and to divert the attentions of American workers and farmers from the unsolved problem of the depression, has joined in the chorus of condemnation. Now that Hitler is safely installed, the heroes of Munich and the Stranglers of Spain, are raising a howl against his latest atrocities.

But there is a change due in the attitudes of the rulers of the democratic-imperialist states. Now that Hitler is so much stronger and his hungry eyes are turning in every direction, searching for signs of weakness, they are beginning to prepare for the finish fight they recognized was coming when they initiated their frantic efforts at speeding their armaments.

Hitler is moving faster than the dopsters had expected. He is moving fast so that he will be in an impregnable position by the time the British-French-United States alliance is ready for action. The only hope for his defeat will then lie in the internal economic and political forces that are operative in his empire.

The French and British are no longer hopeful that Hitler will exhaust his energies in his drive to the East. His latest victories give ample evidence that he is rapidly approaching the point at which he can successfully challenge the British and French for the possession of their empires. These two had been extremely concerned lest the successes of Franco would signal new attacks in the west of Europe and immediate threats to their interests and territories. While they were wooing Franco with their recognition of him and by offers of financial aid in the consolidation of his coup in Czechoslovakia, and is awaiting favorable opportunities for future action.

In this situation, the French and British are hastening their war preparations and planning to take the field against Hitler as soon as they can. It is in preparation for this war, and in order to suppress all possible impediments to war plans that Daladier forced the granting of dictatorial powers.

These developments raise again the question of the means and agencies which can be expected to resist Fascism, to offer it successful opposition, and in their victory can create an end to all Fascism.

Can the combined efforts of Britain, France, the United States and U. S. S. R. carry out the above listed tasks? Those who depend upon these forces have placed the fight against Fascism solely in the field of the actions of capitalist-imperialist governments. They refuse to hope that the anti-Fascist forces in the Fascist countries, the anti-war movements in the democratic countries and the anti-imperialist movements in the colonial countries, can overthrow the oppressive rule of the system that breeds Fascism and war.

Can the European democracies resist Fascism? Certainly, to date, they have not. They have preferred to give way before it, hoping that it would not challenge their dearest interests. They have been unable to solve the problems that will make for Fascism in their own countries—unemployment, depression and concentration of industry and finance—and have continued their Fascist-like oppression of their colonies.

They have sacrificed Austria, the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, to the insatiable appetites of the Fascists. They have kept from Loyalist Spain the means whereby it might protect itself against the offensive of international Fascism.

Their actions have been guided by two supreme considerations. The first is the necessity for the preservation of capitalist rule in the world. A war, destructive as it will be, may unleash irrepressible social conflicts which can sound the death knell of capitalism, if civilization itself is not swallowed up. The regimes in Fascist lands are necessary for the maintenance of capitalism, and have always had the whole-hearted financial and moral support of the ruling capitalist class of all great exploiting nations. A war which might undermine the entire capitalist system is to be avoided at the cost of many otherwise important considerations.

Secondly, the British and French Empires must be maintained. The job of ruling the colonial peoples, of forcing them to work for their imperial masters and of conscripting them into the armies, has become increasingly difficult. The movements for the freedom of the colonial peoples will take advantage of the wars of the ruling nations for attempts to win their own freedom. There is grave danger that the empires cannot survive a war.

In the light of these considerations the European democracies have not resisted aggressions but have concurred in them. They will determine their future actions by them. Because the strengthening of Hitler means a much increased threat to their empires, the Anglo-French axis is sharpening its weapon for the struggle for control of the empire.

What will be the result for freedom and democracy of the stiffening of the democracies? In France the answer is at hand. France is now a dictatorship, an armed camp, in transition toward the completely fascist set-up that will accompany war. The same thing will happen in Britain and the United States the day they go to war, and must because of the great demands upon a nation at war. France is preparing beforehand for the suppression of labor difficulties, of the movement for civil rights, and of the anti-war forces in the nation. The conclusion is inescapable. If the democratic nations go to war they will become fascist. The victory of fascism will then be complete all over the world and the workers everywhere will have to fight against even greater odds than face them now.

The results of the war that is in preparation are unpredictable. There is great danger of the complete collapse of western civilization. But short of that at least three possibilities are worth noting:

1) The victory of the French-British-United States axis will mean the continuation of the empires; the institution of new dictatorships in the fascist nations for the "preservation of order" and the suppression of revolution; the continuation of the dictatorships established before and during the war.

2) The victory of the fascist powers will mean the transfer of the ownership of the empires and their continued exploitation; the continuation of all the dictatorships.

3) The overthrow of all capitalist-imperialist dictatorial governments; the freeing of the colonies; the painful beginnings of the rebuilding of the world's economy under social ownership and control.

The first two are the most likely outcomes. This

should give pause to those who are supporting the proposition that war will mean the defeat of fascism and the victory of democracy. Those who encourage war today are laying the basis for the supremacy of fascism over all the world.

Those who look forward to the third outcome listed above must remember the terrible cost of such a possibility. They must recognize that the overthrow of capitalist rule is made a thousand times more difficult by war. They dare not hope for war for the opportunity to achieve their objectives. On the other hand, even in war time they will continue their struggle against capitalist oppression, and under the most difficult of circumstances, will not desert the struggle.

The revolutionary outcome, in whose name so many are willing to support a war, is possible only and is continued throughout the war, should it come. [Revolutions are not spontaneous. They cannot be whisked up at the whim of an omniscient revolutionary minority. They are the result of long preparation of the masses, who gain solidarity and militancy and consciousness of class and purpose, through their struggles against the abuses of capitalism. In wartime they are the outcome of the blending and coordination of many natural reactions: the workers strike against the pinch of rising prices, against speed-up and overtime of wartime production, against the straitjacket discipline of wartime factories; the protests of families deprived of the vital necessities of life, bereft of beloved ones, war weary and disillusioned; the striking out of the colonial peoples for independence.]

If these struggles can be given direction and meaning, the dynamic forces can be set into motion which have the strength to overthrow capitalist rule, stop the war, and inspire the masses of other nations to do likewise.

To carry out such a program there must be organizations that are starting the fight now, that are conscious of their tasks and that are capable of leading and guiding the struggles of the masses against war. The organizations in this country that have a thorough understanding of their job and the potentiality of leading the workers in successful assault on the war system are the Socialist party and the Young People's Socialist League. Every worker who sees the labor implications of the fight against war must join them.

Little Essays In Socialism

BY JOHN M. WORK

A while ago I wrote in this collectivist corner, "I have no objection to anyone believing in real fairies—if you know what I mean." I am asked what did I mean?

The question reminds me of the scene in the movie about the Barretts and the Brownings where Elizabeth Barrett asked Robert Browning to explain a passage in one of his poems. He read it, scratched his head and said, "When I wrote that, only God and Robert Browning knew what it meant, and now only God knows." Substituting my name for that of Browning, I make the same reply.

But I stand pat on my objection to the current practice of believing fairy tales merely because they are told by those to whom publicity has given more prominence than their intrinsic worth justifies.

Fairy tales are not confined to campaign years. We now have the one to the effect that if government and business will cooperate, all will be well.

The newdealers are aware that the new deal is a failure so far as putting the unemployed to work is concerned. They fear the result of the 1940 election unless more progress in this direction is made. Business claims it could put the unemployed to work if government would let it alone. Government, it seems, agrees to do so.

I do not doubt that a few temporary gains may be made here and there, especially if the government keeps on spending. But to assert that prosperity for the masses can be attained by private industry is the sheerest fairy tale.

However, I shall be glad to see it tried again. After the plan again for the steenth time demonstrates itself to be a failure, perhaps there will be more of a disposition to try production for use. That is what should have been commenced in March, 1933. It is tragic to have wasted six precious years.

The Dishonor Roll

Vice President John N. Garner.
 Senator Henrik Shipstead.
 Secretary of Agriculture Wallace.
 Solicitor General Robert H. Jackson.
 Justice Stanley Reed.
 Speaker William Bankhead, and others.

High salaried "New Deal" politicians, for crashing the picket line of 2,000 Washington striking hotel workers who are striking against starvation wages of \$4 to \$12 a week.

To the Police of Washington, D. C.

Though you guard every seed
 And pursue every weed
 And adore your conservative garden
 Don't you think in the spring
 It's a very wrong thing
 To imprison a Red, Red Robin?

—M. I.

Sir Stafford and the Labour Party

BY RUTH SCHECHTER
 (Concluded from last issue.)

Liberals Bitter Rivals

The Labour party has had two bitter experiences, when in 1924 and 1929, it had short periods of minority government offices without power, and found itself hamstringed in internal policy by dependence on its liberal party allies. Moreover, the Labour party has been built up in the teeth of fierce competition with the Liberal party. Now that the Liberal party has petered out, Labour sees the people's front as a technique for reviving its bitterest rival.

To give an idea of relative strength, I cite the votes recorded for each party in the election of 1935. (74.5 per cent of the registered electorate voted.)

Conservatives	10,498,310
National Liberal and National Labour	1,293,151
Labour	3,326,131
Liberal	1,377,992
ILP	238,317
Others	366,756

(These take the government whip)

Other Reasons

There are other reasons for the opposition to the people's front. Some critics suggest that the Labour party's primary aim is to avoid taking power in these turbulent days and to prefer the security of His Majesty's loyal opposition. Others who object see Cripps as a spoiled darling who has never soiled his hands in a bollermaker's factory. This distrust of "intellectuals" has always been implicit in the labour movement.

Still others see the people's front as interesting but

Unity and American Foreign Policy

To the Editor of the Call:
 Present differences of opinion among Socialists concerning a desirable American foreign policy are not of sufficient importance to prevent unity between the Socialist party and the Social Democratic federation.

Despite official declarations neither group is one mind on foreign policy—nor is any other Socialist organization in any country. The differences that exist among American Socialists are to be found less between the Socialist party and the Social Democratic federation than within each.

If Socialists were in a position at this time to determine or decisively to influence American foreign policy these differences might be serious (though not even then should they be a cause for disunion). But by the time Socialists have the strength to shape foreign policy in an important degree the world picture will almost certainly be changed. It is unrealistic to suppose that present groupings among Socialists will continue unchanged in new situations.

Pressure of War and Fascism

The aims of all Socialists will be better served by a frank recognition that the enormous complexities of a struggle against both war and fascist aggression under present world conditions inevitably give rise to differences of opinion, and that many of these disagreements will be settled not by debates or resolutions but by the rapid march of events over which we now have little control. The disagreements or "confusions" are large, but a measure of the hugeness of the problem. Probably there can be no important policy in this present period of world history that does not carry with it some contradictions.

This does not mean that Socialists cannot find a common basis for a program for the present and near future. Upon many elements of a desirable program we are substantially agreed. We have, let us say, agreement upon 80 per cent of a full program. Then let us support that part unitedly, and agree to permit public disagreement upon other matters. We are now doing the latter anyway; but we have not united to support those views we hold in common.

A More Fruitful Approach

In this we will not be helped by overall formulas—"collective security," "joint action by the democracies," "neutrality" or "isolation"—no matter how stated. A more fruitful approach will be to build a program, point by point, listing those things upon which a substantial majority of Socialists are agreed. I do not attempt to present that program here, but I am suggesting a few points upon which I believe virtually all Socialists can agree.

1. It should be clear that the main danger of world war today comes from the fascist aggression of Nazi Germany. Present wars in Spain and China would not be raging except for the direct intervention of the fascist axis, of which Germany is the spearhead. Conversely, it may be stated that these measures which serve to curb Nazi expansion and which themselves are not productive of war are measures that prevent or at least postpone war.

Among these may be included a halt to the shipment of munitions or other war materials to any of the fascist powers; cooperation between American labor and the labor movements of all other countries, support of the underground movement in Germany, Austria, Italy (and now Spain and what was once Czechoslovakia), an open door to refugees; and a relentless exposure of fascist aims and deeds.

Fight Against Anti-Semitism

2. A fight against anti-Semitism and fascist propaganda in this country, and those individuals and organizations promoting them, is inseparable from the defense of American civil liberties, the advancement of the labor movement, and preparation for the establishment of a socialist economy.

3. Latin America as a prospective market and a source of indispensable raw materials (rubber and tin, for example) is today a major concern of every industrial nation, including the United States. American corporations, for their own reasons, desire to restrict or exclude their fascist competitors. The interests of Socialists are not the same as theirs, but Socialists do not become vegetarians because capitalists eat meat. Socialists recognize that fascist gains in Latin America not only endanger the struggling labor and peasant movements below the Rio Grande but also increase the prospect of war, for imperialist reasons, between the United States and the fascist nations.

Unity With South American Labor

From this it follows that a Socialist program for resisting fascist expansion in Latin America is one that should be undertaken in the closest collaboration with the Socialists of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, the Aristas of Peru and the non-Communist labor movements of all the Latin American countries. Often such a program will conflict with the aims of American corporations and a government compliant to their will; at other times our aims may temporarily coincide with theirs. The needs of the labor and Socialist movements of the countries involved should be the determining factor.

4. Some increase in American armaments at an early date is a foregone conclusion. No Socialist, except for the rare non-resistant pacifist, opposes such national defense as may be necessary to resist an unlikely invasion. Neither do any Socialists to my knowledge, propose a military force capable of serving as a policeman of European conflicts (if such were possible), nor do they believe that an American army and navy could establish democracy abroad or promote Socialism. Blind, categorical resistance to any military expenditures (the logic of which would be unitary disarmament) is not a realistic Socialist policy.

But it is the responsibility of Socialists to oppose a large and wasteful armament program, made more palatable by the specious argument of spending to promote recovery. We can surely agree upon the need for opposing a militarization of the populace through the ROTC, an army controlled CCC, or conscription. (Any war that might conceivably justify American participa-

tion would be a war for which there would be ample volunteers.)

Surely, too, all Socialists can join in opposing the M-Day mobilization plans that would overnight regiment the labor movement and wipe out for the duration of the war or longer the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly. Edges (devoted to these particular tasks are more likely to be serviceable to Socialism than quarrels among ourselves over the dead horses of collective security and isolation, in which the opponents' views are generally misrepresented).

—PAUL PORTER

The Forum

A Discussion of Socialist Unity

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Surely, too, all Socialists can join in opposing the M-Day mobilization plans that would overnight regiment the labor movement and wipe out for the duration of the war or longer the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly. Edges (devoted to these particular tasks are more likely to be serviceable to Socialism than quarrels among ourselves over the dead horses of collective security and isolation, in which the opponents' views are generally misrepresented).

Labor Unity—Socialist Unity

No group in the country has agitated more consistently and honestly for unity in the ranks of our organized labor movement than have the Socialists. The labor movement is not primarily an ideological movement. It represents the entire working class, regardless of political tendencies, in its organized struggles with its exploiters. The present differences between the two big labor groups (aside from personal and bureaucratic animosities) are differences on organizational methods which could readily be adjusted.

But, however eager we may be for labor unity, we do not urge unity upon the labor movement AT ANY PRICE! We would not urge the CIO to abandon the principle of industrial unionism in order to achieve unity with the AFL, because unity on such terms would be a step backward, a tragedy for organized labor rather than an advantage.

Nor do we urge an artificial unity which would merely transfer the conflicts of two separate organizations into the conflicts of two warring and competing factions within one organization—a situation which would soon tear it to pieces. To be lasting and effective, unity must be achieved on the basis of mutual agreement upon certain fundamental principles of organization.

Basic Principles Important

If this is true in the field of organized labor it is a thousand times more so in the Socialist movement, which is the expression of a definite social philosophy. In a period of world reaction like the present, all honest radicals must deplore the organizational divisions within the political labor movement and must work for as much unity as is possible within that movement without the sacrifice of those fundamental principles without which a Socialist movement is meaningless.

There is, however, a sentimental tendency on the part of many radicals and their liberal friends to feel that everything would be just dandy in the revolutionary movement if all the revolutionary and radical groups would just forget their differences and get together. They fail to realize that certain kinds of unity are a source of weakness rather than of strength; that where organizations differ, not just on minor tactical problems but on very fundamental issues, their unity in one large "all-inclusive" organization may stultify that organization by making it a battle-ground wherein all the energies of the different groups are consumed in fighting each other, not the common enemy. As separate units, maintaining decent and friendly relations with each other (not the incessant warfare and vilification practiced against other radicals by both Stalinist and Trotskyist) they may be far more effective in their fight against capitalism.

The Basis of Real Unity

The pre-war Socialist movement was a "unified" movement, combining all kinds of Socialist tendencies. But it fell to pieces in 1914 when the World War raised an issue which it could not straddle. French Socialism has been a unified movement in the past decade, but a new world war. The issue of Socialist internationalism is not a tactical one which can be compromised—as many tactical issues can and should be, in the interest of harmony. It is a matter of fundamental principle.

It is for this reason that the national executive committee of the Socialist party made this issue one of the basic conditions for unity in our negotiations with the Social Democratic federation. There are other conditions which have grown out of our party experience and which we consider vital to the functioning of genuine Socialist party, but our war position is probably the most important of all.

If unity can be achieved on these questions, with compromises on minor tactical problems, we shall all rejoice. But let us not lose our heads about a purely amorphous unity which would merely turn the party into a general free-for-all and which probably would not last a year—less than that, if the world is plunged into war.

An Exchange of Hostages

Obviously, there are members of the Social Democratic federation who are closer to our position in this matter than to that of their own organization—the action of the Reading comrades would indicate as much. There are also a few members of the Socialist party whose position is closer to that of the SDF than to that of the SP. Perhaps an exchange of hostages might help. Then both organizations might sit down calmly to find out just how many issues they can agree and cooperate on. On those issues they could and should form "united fronts" and fight shoulder to shoulder while maintaining their organizational integrity. Organized unity in one organization is not the only method—and not always the most effective one—for Socialist cooperation. And cooperation is what we need.

As one who is not and never has been a Leninist, the writer is opposed to monolithic parties of any kind. There is room for healthy differences of opinion in the Socialist party, but one section of a Socialist party can not be whooping it up for bigger armaments and war while another section is engaged in fighting armaments and all imperialist wars.

Nor could one section be supporting the Democrats while another is debunking the New Deal. Let us have the ultimate in friendly personal and organizational relationships with our comrades in the SDF but let us not wreck that friendship by any attempt to force the two organizations into an impossible marriage. If we find that there is no basis for mutual compatibility. Weakness plus weakness does not equal strength.

—LILLIAN SYMES

For a New Beginning

To the Editor of the Call:
 Unity of Socialist forces in this country, the SDF, is highly desirable, if an agreement can be reached on important principle and tactical questions. Perhaps the most important is the war question. Unity could be realized on this question in accord with the 22 year old, but still manifestly sound, S. L. anti-war declaration of the SP, then well and good, not any unity would be meaningless historically or otherwise.

Socialists worthy of the name should leave the muzzling for "defense of democracy" to Communists and their stooges and to professional militarists and imperialists. The experiences of such a "war to democracy" of 1914-18 and its results should be a sufficient argument for adhering to the spirit, if not the letter, of the SP St. Louis anti-war declaration which in essence is still the policy of the party; today even more so as far as this country is concerned.

For one thing is crystal clear: We will get fascism here as soon as the United States enters a foreign war. People who are clamoring for a war "against fascism" either because they honestly think so or because of their justification for supporting the war policies of the present administration, should bear this in mind.

Hot Air or Realism?

If the European Socialists, Communists and laborites are up against the wall, where not already crushed and destroyed, their unfortunate position is to a large extent of their own making. And we should learn from their mistakes before it is too late. If we cannot do this then all the talk of Socialist unity, the very desire and necessity to rebuild the movement, based on pious hopes and hot air; uttary hopes and unrealistic.

However an honest Socialist unity is desirable and necessary, a unity based on sound Socialist principles and working-class ethics, it is not enough. It is obvious to any sincere rebel what we urgently need in the USA is a new radical political movement based on the principles of a true functional industrial democracy, capable of building "in our time," if I may use this expression, a New America of peace, plenty and true democracy for the masses.

Unless we build such a movement in the near future (Socialist unity could be a constructive step in this direction), native in approach and spirit, with a program for fundamental political and economic reorganization of the country and capable to rally all the sincere Socialist, progressive and radical thinkers and the masses under its banner—unless we do this, we will not escape from an American brand of fascist totalitarian state, perhaps even more sadistic and brutal than the Nazi's. For observe that such a totalitarian state is already in the making in the womb of the decaying capitalist order. Any war—"for democracy" in reality between one set of imperialist nations against another, will merely accentuate this development to its immediate fruition.

I might mention a number of us are already working plan for such a new movement and we hope to publish it in the near future.—ANTON GARDEN

The Hammond, Ind., Resolution

To the Editor of the Call:
 As a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist party, who was present at the Federal meeting of the NEC in Chicago, I wish to register protest against the misleading referendum motion which has been introduced by the Hammond, Ind., local of the SP, and which contains unfounded statements calculated to misinform our membership on the vital issue of negotiations with the SDF.

The motion begins: "Whereas, the national executive committee at its meeting in Chicago, according to its minutes, reports that its special committee in Socialist unity has reached substantial agreement with the SDF on a basis for re-uniting the Socialist movement in this country..."

There is no such statement in the minutes and no time in Chicago was the NEC of the opinion that substantial agreement had been reached. The facts are entirely to the contrary. The committee reports to the NEC that agreement had been reached on a number of minor points but not on the most vital and important issues to be considered before unity is possible. Issues involve primarily our attitude toward war armaments. For the further guidance of our negotiating committee in its continued conferences with the NEC, by practically a unanimous vote, adopting a minimum program on these subjects to be submitted to the SDF "as a basis for a program of organic unity program which, among other things, calls for the most opposition to all capitalist wars." Confusion on this subject are still on and to date, judging by the editorial policy of the New Leader, the SDF has shown no indication of changing its present program position.

The statements made in the Hammond, Ind., motion were calculated not only to misrepresent the position of our NEC on this subject, but to stampede the membership of the party in behalf of its motion for a "convention" before any genuine basis for unity had been reached by the two negotiating committees.

If the Hammond members wish to sacrifice the party's traditional, internationalist position on war in favor of the Social Democratic tradition of 1914, they want an SP with no position on war, they have no right to pretend that this reflects the sentiment of the national executive committee of the Socialist party. As a member of that committee, I emphatically protest and suggest that they read the minutes of the NEC again.

"Protestant Bourgeois"

To the Editor of the Call:
 I enjoy your paper very much, but feel that party and labor solidarity is endangered by party members who vent their Protestant-bourgeois spleen upon the Catholic church as an institutional challenge Mr. Sorensen's statements that the church is inimical to freedom of thought and hostile to war. Evidently he has never heard of the Catholic War movement, the Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII or Pope Pius XI or of many of the clergy who are war tirelessly in behalf of the working man.

Socialists complain about reactionary and pro-Fascist tendencies among Catholics, but what else can we expect when certain Socialists, for example, demand church property be taxed, even though they know under the capitalist system it is the Catholic tariat which will pay such taxes. Besides, Catholics are being doubly taxed at present, in keeping up public and parochial education. Can anything be unjust—this demand that they be taxed further?

How gleefully reactionaries can point to the and convince liberal-minded Catholics who look only upon the Socialist principles of production and use, that the Socialist party is not for them because it is necessarily anti-Catholic. Not only do these drive people away from the party itself, but they do irreparable harm to all liberal candidates for office. If the Socialists party is to be successful among Catholics, it must smother these attacks, comparable only to Hitler's arguments against Jews. There are many Catholics who sympathize with the Socialist party principles, and their ultimate but NOT at the expense of their religion.

A YCAW, Milwaukee, Wis.

To the great Catholic rank and file, part of the militant trade unions among them, our love. To Franco, Coughlin, and their ilk, our constant undying opposition.—The Editor.

Slaughtering Batista

From our Mexican correspondent comes this interesting anecdote of Batista's visit to Mexico:
 "In the recent parade to welcome Batista staged by the CTM, the leading sign in the parade was WELCOME TO BATISTA!"
 "House Workers' union!"
 "It wasn't being funny either, since two men from Cuba who tried to paste up stickers on Batista were jailed for their troubles and until Batista was safely out of the country."